
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. 1094

1937 October 11

**Address on Occasion of Re-Burial of
General Krayzanowski**

Krzyzanowskⁱ

(Last name)

HOLD FOR RELEASE

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HOLD FOR RELEASE

October 11, 1937

This address of the President, to be delivered by radio, from the White House, on Monday, October 11, 1937, MUST BE HELD IN CONFIDENCE UNTIL RELEASED.

Release upon delivery, expected at 11:45 A. M., Eastern Standard Time.

Please safeguard against premature release.

STEPHEN EARLY
Secretary to the President

- - - - -
MR. CHAIRMAN, MR. AMBASSADOR, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN:

In the epic struggle of the human race to govern itself Poland for centuries has been the champion of freedom. Through stress and storm whether her sun shone brightly or suffered long though temporary eclipse, she has ever fought to hold aloft the torch of human liberty.

Because we hold this ideal of liberty in common, ours has been a long and unbroken friendship with the people of Poland. From the days of our struggle to achieve Nationhood, unbroken by any rift through the century and a half of our life as a Nation, the American people and the people of Poland have maintained a friendship based upon this common spiritual ideal.

General Krzyzanowski, whose patriotism we commemorate today, is another link to bind us to the people from which he came in the full tide of youthful promise when shadows lay over the land which gave him birth. It is a high privilege to bear witness to the debt which this country owes to men of Polish blood. Gratefully we acknowledge the services of those intrepid champions of human freedom — Pulaski and Kosciuszko — whose very names are watchwords of liberty and whose deeds are part of the imperishable record of American independence. Out of the past they speak to us to bid us guard the heritage which they helped to bestow.

They and the millions of other men and women of Polish blood, who have united their destinies with those of America — whether in the days of Colonial settlement; in the War to attain independence; in the hard struggle out of which emerged our national unity; in the great journeys across the Western Plains to the slopes of the Pacific; on farm or in town or city — through all of our history they have made their full contribution to the upbuilding of our institutions and to the fulfillment of our national life.

Those are the thoughts and reflections that come to mind today as we consign to Arlington National Cemetery the honored dust of a son of Poland who faithfully served the country of his adoption. General Krzyzanowski was the embodiment of the Polish ideal of liberty. Into the making of that ancient ideal had gone the struggles and the vicissitudes of a thousand years of Polish national life. He whom we honor today, no less than those of his blood and kindred, who preceded him to America or who followed him to our shores, brought to us, and with us became partakers in, a common aspiration of freedom.

Neither time nor distance could erase from stout Polish hearts the memory of a glorious struggle for liberty, a struggle which happily ended in our own day and generation in the restoration of Poland to nationhood and to her rightful place as a sovereign state. As we sympathized in her aspirations to freedom so we rejoiced in her attainment of independence.

We as a Nation seek spiritual union with all who love freedom. Of many bloods and of diverse national origins we stand before the world today as one people united in a common determination. That determination is to uphold the ideal of human society which makes conscience superior to brute strength — the ideal which would substitute freedom for force in the governments of the world.

- - - - -

Draft for consideration by the President in preparation of his address to be delivered Monday morning, October 11, at 11:15 A.M. in connection with the re-burial in Arlington of Brigadier General Wladimir B. Kryszanowski. (Pronounced by Library of Congress Kur - zhán - óvskí.)

MR. CHAIRMAN, MR. AMBASSADOR, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN:

In the epic struggle of the human race to govern itself Poland ~~Czarist Russia~~ has been the champion of freedom. Through ~~the~~ stress and storm ~~of~~ ~~of generations~~ whether her sun shone brightly or suffered long though temporary eclipse, she has ever fought to hold aloft the torch of human liberty.

Because we hold this ideal of liberty in common, ours has been a long and unbroken friendship with the people of Poland. From the days of our struggle to achieve Nationhood ~~and~~ unbroken by any rift through the century and a half of our life as a Nation, the American people and the people of Poland have maintained a friendship based upon this common spiritual ideal.

General Kryszanowski, whose patriotism we commemorate today, is another link to bind ~~our people to the Nation~~ ^{us to the people from which} he came in the full tide of youthful promise when shadows lay over the land which gave him birth. It is a high privilege to bear witness to the debt which this country owes to men of Polish blood. Gratefully ~~we~~ we acknowledge the services of those intrepid champions of human freedom -- Pulaski and Kosciuszko -- whose very names are watchwords of liberty and whose deeds are part of the imperishable record of American independence. Out of the past they speak to us to bid us guard the heritage which they helped to bestow.

They and the millions of other men and women of Polish blood, who have united their destinies with those of ~~America~~ ^{America} -- whether in the days of Colonial settlement; in the War to attain independence; in the hard struggle out of which emerged our national unity; in the great ~~post Civil War movement~~

travelings across the Western Plains to the slopes of the Pacific; on farm or in town or city - ~~they have~~ through all of our history made their full contribution to the upbuilding of our institutions and to the ~~fulfillment~~ fulfillment of our national life.

These are the thoughts and reflections that come to mind today as we consign to ~~our nation's~~ ^{By long years National Country} Valhalla the honored dust of a son of Poland who faithfully served the country of his adoption. General Krzyzanowski was the embodiment of the Polish ideal of liberty. Into the making of that ancient ideal had gone the struggles and the vicissitudes of a thousand years of Polish national life. He whom we honor today, no less than those of his blood and kindred, who preceded him to America or ~~who have found their homes here~~, ^{followed him to our shores}, ~~his honored career came to a close a half century ago~~, brought to us, and with us, ^{and friend and} became ~~us~~ ^{we} partakers in, a common aspiration of freedom.

Neither time nor distance could erase from stout Polish hearts the memory of a glorious struggle for liberty, a struggle which happily ended in our own day and generation in the restoration of Poland to nationhood and to her rightful place as a sovereign state. As we sympathized in her aspirations to freedom so we rejoice in her attainment of ~~the ideal upon which all of our own happiness as a Nation is founded~~.

We as a Nation seek spiritual union with all who love freedom. Of many bloods and of diverse national origins we stand before the world today as one people united in a common determination. That determination is to uphold the ideal of human society which makes conscience superior to brute strength — ~~the ideal~~ ^{and friend and} which would substitute freedom for force in the governments of ~~the world~~.

COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF
REAR ADMIRAL R. R. BELKNAP, NEW YORK

HONORARY COMMANDERS-IN-CHIEF
GENERAL JOHN J. PERSHING,
ADMIRAL WILLIAM BOWDEN SIMS,
BRIG. GEN. JOHN ROSE DELAFIELD
LT.-COL. GEORGE E. IJAMS

VICE COMMANDERS-IN-CHIEF

CAPT. JOHN PARKER HILL, PHILADELPHIA
COLONEL E. N. WENTWORTH, CHICAGO

JUNIOR VICE COMMANDERS-IN-CHIEF

LT. COL. F. C. DRUM, DENVER
LTC. OSCAR E. ENGER, OMAHA
CAPTAIN BEN C. NOGUE, ATLANTA
COLONEL CHARLES C. ALLEN, PHILADELPHIA
LT. COL. CLAUDE M. JR., NEW YORK
COLONEL FRANK E. LOWE, PORTLAND, ME.
MAJOR KARL F. BURKHARD, CINCINNATI
COLONEL JAMES L. ENGLE, DALLAS
COLONEL FRANK G. JONAH, ST. LOUIS

TREASURER-GENERAL

MAJ. EDWIN S. BETTELHEIM, JR., WASHINGTON
JUDGE ADVOCATE-GENERAL

CAPTAIN JOHN LEWIS SMITH, WASHINGTON
PAST COMMANDERS-IN-CHIEF
"MAJOR GEN. GEORGE H. HARRIES
"MAJOR GEN. MARK L. HERSEY
GENERAL DOUGLAS MACARTHUR
COLONEL CLAUDE M. JR.
"LT. GEN. ADAMAL T. J. COWIE
BRIG. GEN. JOHN ROSE DELAFIELD
LT. COL. GEORGE E. IJAMS.

*DECEASED!

NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS



MILITARY ORDER
OF THE WORLD WAR

1700 EYE STREET NORTHWEST

TELEPHONE NATIONAL 1926

WASHINGTON, D. C.

October 6, 1937

Mr. W. D. Bassett
The White House
Washington, D. C.

My dear Mr. Bassett:

Confirming my conversation with you this morning, I hasten to give you in better form the outline of the broadcast for October 11th. It will be over the National Broadcasting Company, and I believe Mr. Carlton Smith, who usually announces the Presidential broadcasts, will contact your office as to the usual arrangements.

Briefly, the President's message will be carried to the five hundred or more, gathered around the grave of the late Brig. Gen. Vladimir Krzyzanowski, as well as carried throughout the nation and concurrently, by short wave, over the Polish National Broadcasting System in Poland.

The time schedule is as follows:

- 11:45 A.M. - 1 min. station announcement.
11:46 A.M. - address of the President of the U.S. (in English)
11:51^{1/2} A.M. - address of the Polish Ambassador to U.S. (in Polish)
11:57^{1/2} A.M. - station announcement, with an outline of what has transpired, the names of those who have spoken over the air, etc. (this latter is supposed to consume 1^{1/2} min. to 2 min., leaving sufficient latitude to take care of any over-lapping)

In this connection, I am pleased to enclose herewith a copy of my letter to the National Broadcasting Company, of September 14th. If I can be of any further service, please be good enough to telephone me. With best regards, I am

Sincerely yours,

EDWIN S. BETTELHEIM, JR.
Adjutant General

SURGEON-GENERAL
COL. HOWARD LILIENTHAL, NEW YORK
CHAPLAIN-GENERAL
MAJ. ARLINGTON A. MCCALLUM, WASHINGTON
HISTORIAN-GENERAL
MAJ. GIST BLAIR, WASHINGTON
CHAIRMAN TRUSTEE OF TRUST FUND
LIEUT. FORDHAM E. KIMBALL, BOSTON

GENERAL STAFF

MAJOR ENNALS WAGGAMAN, NEW ORLEANS
LT. COL. SYDNEY L. SMITH, NEW YORK
LT. COLONEL FREDERIC C. SPARREY, VA.
LTC. COMDR. CHARLES A. MILLS, MIAMI
MAJ. GEN. GEORGE VAN H. MOORE, ATLANTA
CAPTAIN VALENTINE C. COOPER, BALTIMORE
MAJ. GEN. CLARENCE C. CLARK, WASHINGTON
BRIG. GEN. PALMER E. PIERCE, NEW YORK
MAJOR CAMERON H. SAUER, BOSTON, MASS.
CAPTAIN GEORGE L. JOHNSON, TUSCALOOSA,
ALABAMA
CAPTAIN JOSEPH R. CARLSON, PORTLAND, ORE.
COLONEL HERBERT E. SIDNEY, PITTSBURGH
MR. A. S. W. FRAILEY, WASHINGTON

EXECUTIVE OFFICER

MAJ. EDWIN S. BETTELHEIM, JR.
ADJUTANT GENERAL
NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS

September 14, 1957

National Broadcasting Company
Trans-Lux Building
Washington, D. C.

Attention: Mr. Carlton Smith

Dear Carl:

Confirming my telephone conversation with you yesterday, after consulting with the military officials as well as the committee in charge, concerning the Pulaski Day ceremonies on October 11th, the following is the schedule which I am giving you, complete, for your information and assistance:

7:15 A.M. The General Wladimir Krzyzanowski Memorial Committee and delegation arrives at Union Station, escorting the remains of the General and his wife from the Evergreen Cemetery in Brooklyn, New York for re-interment in Arlington National Cemetery.

10:30 A.M. The group augmented by the Polish Alliance, the Polish Veterans Association, and the Polish Club of Washington, bringing the number to approximately 500, will arrive at the Ft. Myer Chapel where High Mass will be said by the Reverend F. F. Burant (Chaplain, Reserve Corps, U.S.A.) This will be in the presence of the Secretary of War and Count Jersy Potocki, the Polish Ambassador, and other officials.

The cortege will move under military escort with firing squad and buglers to the graveside, arriving there with all arrangements in place for the commencement of the broadcast.

11:45 A.M. The radio broadcast at the graveside:
1 min.:= Station announcement.
5 min.:= Address of President of the U. S. (in English)
3 min.:= Address of the Polish Ambassador (in Polish)
3 min.:= Address of the Secretary of War (in English)
2 min.:= To close Station, outlining what has transpired.
1 min.:= Allowed for leeway and over-lapping.

12:50 The group will hold ceremonies at the tomb of the Unknown Soldier, where a wreath will be placed. The Guard of Honor, supplied by the U. S. Army, will be present.
The group will proceed, accompanied by police escort, back to their hotel for luncheon.

3:00 P.M. A placing of the wreath, with a 5 or 10-minute ceremony, at the Pulaski Monument at 13th Street and Pennsylvania Ave., N.W.

3:20 P.M. Similar ceremonies at the monument of Kosciuszko, located at the northeastern portion of Lafayette Park, just opposite the Veterans Administration.

4:00 P.M. A reception at the Polish Embassy.

8:00 P.M. The Polish ceremony in honor of the making of the Constitution of the United States.

* * * * *

This letter is rather lengthy, but it gives you a general idea, for the National Broadcasting Company, just what is transpiring on that particular day.

Yours very truly,

EDWIN S. BETTELHEIM, JR.
Adjutant General

Brigadier General
WLADIMIR B. KRZYZANOWSKI
Memorial Program



*"As a son of my beloved Poland
and remembering Her misfor-
tunes, did I fight for the ideals
and freedom of America."*

— KRZYZANOWSKI

On the Fiftieth Anniversary of His Death

1887

1937

This booklet is a contribution of the Publisher of NOWY SWIAT. The proceeds from the sale of it will be offered to the POLISH VETERANS towards a fund to erect a suitable tombstone on Gen. Krzyzanowski's grave.

NEW YORK CITY

JANUARY 31, 1937

A MESSAGE FROM THE
PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES
FRANKLIN DELANO ROOSEVELT

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

January 8, 1937

Dear Major Anuszkiewics:

It is fitting that the memory of Brigadier General Wladimir B. Kryszanowski should be commemorated with exercises on the fiftieth anniversary of his death, January 10, 1863. He was a man of Polish blood who carried on the earlier tradition which men of Polish origin established in the service of American freedom. It gives me great pleasure to associate myself with those who plan to pay tribute to so intrepid a spirit.

Very sincerely yours,



Major B. T. Anuszkiewics,
Chairman,
General Kryszanowski Memorial Committee.

BRIGADIER GENERAL
WLADIMIR B. KRYZANOWSKI



Official photograph taken during the Civil War.

N. Y. Historical Society.

COMMANDER « SECOND BRIGADE « THIRD DIVISION
XX. CORPS OF THE ARMY OF THE POTOMAC

A MESSAGE FROM THE
AMBASSADOR OF POLAND TO THE U. S.
HIS EXCY. COUNT JERZY POTOCKI

AMBASADA
RZECZPOSPOLITEJ POLSKIEJ
W WASHINGTONIE
POLISH EMBASSY
WASHINGTON
UNITED STATES

January 18, 1957.

Dear Sir,

The memory of Brigadier General Wladimir B. Krzyzanowski is another living link in the history of the two great Republics.

Descendent of those heroic warriors who fought for the cause of freedom and democracy, General Krzyzanowski had brought here his great ideals.

Cherishing in his heart the dream of the greatness of his father's land and the spirit of sacrifice for the right cause, the brave General had served with courage and faith his adopted country, attaining here the highest distinctions and thus setting a noble example for millions of his brethren living in this country.

Today's commemoration of this great hero will strengthen again the friendship between our two nations.

Yours sincerely,

J. Potocki
Jerry Potocki
Ambassador of Poland.

Jerzy S.T. Anuskiewicz,
Chairman, General Krzyzanowski
Memorial Committee.

DEDICATION



In each generation of men there rise a few personages whose deeds and ideals make them loom like the giant redwoods in the fastness of a California forest. Just as the giant redwoods grow to their stature only through the centuries so with men. The fleeting years rolling into decades and centuries, finally give another generation of men the proper perception of the greatness of men in the past.

Such a man was Brigadier-General Wladimir B. Krzyzanowski.

Fifty years ago today His noble heart was stilled forever. Just a handful of friends knew of the genuine attributes and the splendid character of this Pole, who as an adopted son of America, fought inspiringly for the ideals that She represented.

Today we see the man in His true light. We learn that His magnanimity was only exceeded by His kindness. His modesty by His valor and His staunchness, by His leadership. We also learn that His life was guided by the flaming torch of Freedom, having come across the seas from a harrowed land, a fugitive because He had tried to enflame a few glowing embers in the ashes of the Fires of Liberty that had once burned so brightly in Poland.

Then when a discordant note tolled from the cracked Liberty Bell and the peoples of America were thrown into bitter conflict, testing whether the principles of Democracy born through so much labor were to endure, General Wladimir Krzyzanowski was among the first to stand in staunch defense of America's Fledgling of Freedom, who was just about to try its wings in soaring flight.

Therefore, our Memorial Exercises on the fiftieth anniversary of the death of General Wladimir Krzyzanowski are only a small but sincere gesture of tribute of our generation. It is hoped that fifty years from now at the centennial commemoration the generation of men, yet to be born, will find our simple services, in memory of this great man, acting as an inspiration for a truly great memorial.

Roger J. Anderson

MAJOR BENJAMIN T. ANUSKIEWICZ

Chairman

GENERAL VLADIMIR B. KRZYZANOWSKI

HIS LIFE AND DEEDS

BY HENRY ARCHACKI



In the year 1804, the people of Poland, with willing hands but heavy hearts were finishing the Kosciuszko Mound on the outskirts of Krakow. An air of quiet mourning had lain over the land like a heavy shroud for Thaddeus Kosciuszko, Poland's great hero in the quest of Liberty, had died only a few short years ago.

In this atmosphere of stifled sobs and tear-laden eyes was born a son to Stanislaw Krzyzanowski and his wife Ludwika Ponowska in Roznowo, Poland, then under German regime. The date was indelibly imprinted in the memory of the child, January 5, 1824. The names at christening were then Vladimir Bonaventura.

Life for the little family group was not easy. The German occupation of the territory had hampered the natural liberty-loving Poles. All inhabitants were treated with disdain and suspicion. The Polish language was not allowed to be used. A thousand and one forms of subjecting the people to a niggardly servitude were practiced.

BOYHOOD AND STUDENT DAYS.

Thus grew to boyhood the young Vladimir Krzyzanowski. Already he had begun to understand the furtive glances at the windows by his parents; already he understood why the language of his parents and forbears must be spoken in whispers; already in his youthful breast there was kindled the urge and desire to right such conditions of intolerance.

The kindled flame grew and spread until it was a fire and now young Krzyzanowski, a student, blending together with other students in whose hearts kindred fires burned, the oppressive yoke, the heavy fisted hand, the law to be raised, With the impulsiveness and energy of youth, the students began to make trouble for the then ruling authorities. Experienced gendarmes and spies were sent out to break up the menacing movement. Young Krzyzanowski, whose powerful physique and commanding mein made him a natural leader, was singled out as a conspirator against the German government. However, the grapevine of that period conveyed the news to young Vladimir that he was a hunted man. Faced with a long prison sentence, if caught, which undoubtedly he would have been due to the thoroughness of the German police and spy system, Vladimir Krzyzanowski made the decision of coming to America, the land of legend and unheeded of freedom.

EARLY YEARS IN AMERICA.

After a long and perilous voyage, the 22 year old Vladimir glimpsed for the first time the shore line of that wondrous land — the land that he was to adopt — the land that he was to help save from being torn in two.

The America of 1846 was a bustling thriving country, yet the pioneer spirit of the individual still played an important part. Freedom was to be had, but a livelihood was something you got for yourself. Hampered by the language and general strangeness of conditions, young Vladimir set about with a determination of purpose which later marked his military campaigns.

At the age of 22 he buckled down to the task of mastering the language and not only that, but to acquire an American education. Necessary to any, many a man commented by the difficulties that faced Krzyzanowski, would have given up, it is a real indication of the man's character that not only did he master the language but went on to study and graduated as an engineer.

Many miles of bedding railroad lines of that period were charted by Krzyzanowski in the middle west. His engineering knowledge stood him in good stead during the war.

THE CIVIL WAR.

The dull and ominous rumblings of a conflict that seemed inevitable broke with volcanic force and from the gaping wound belched forth the hideous form of Civil War.

On December 20th, 1860, South Carolina was the first state to secede from the Union. On April 12th, 1861, the Confederates opened fire on Fort Sumter in South Carolina thus starting the armed hostilities that were to shake the world. On April 11th, 1861, (the day before) Vladimir Krzyzanowski enlisted as a private into company B. of the Turner Rifles in Washington, D. C.

His keen sense of justice against any form of servitude or oppression quickly made Krzyzanowski ally himself with the Union against the South with its slavery. His organizing ability which had manifested itself during his student days, once again tested itself and before many weeks Krzyzanowski had a company of militia formed.

Aiding materially in the defense of Washington during the early attacks of the Confederates Krzyzanowski was rapidly advanced to the rank of major.

THE 58TH REGIMENT OF NEW YORK.

On August 20th, 1861, Krzyzanowski stepped into the office of the Secretary of War, Simon Cameron and offered his services to the Union forces. Secretary of War Cameron looked at the towering six feet and 190 pounds of manhood before him. Krzyzanowski being 38 years old at that time, and gazing into the sincere grey eyes of the Pole did not hesitate for a moment to accept such a volunteer.

The 58th Regiment then gave Colonel Vladimir Krzyzanowski authority to recruit a regiment of infantry which he designated as the United States Rifles. Quoting from the War Department records we learn that:

"Colonel Julian Allen had received authority July 22nd, 1861, also from the War Department to recruit a regiment which was known as the Polish Legion.

"Later the Polish Legion and Gallatin Rifles, were merged into the Morgan Rifles, under Colonel Lutz; October 19, 1861, the 58th Regiment was organized in New York City, by State authorities through the consolidation of the incomplete Morgan and United States Rifles. Colonel Vladimir Krzyzanowski was appointed Colonel of Regiment. The companies were mustered into this service for three years. It was composed of Danes, Frenchmen, Germans, Poles and Russians who were recruited principally in New York City."

The Regiment left the State November 7th, 1861, and served in the Army of the Potomac up till June 26th, 1862.

THE BATTLE OF CROSS KEYS.

On June 2nd, 1862, the Regiment got its first baptism of fire. Here Col. Krzyzanowski distinguished himself by heroically massing his men and leading them in the face of fire. The following exerts from the report of Brigadier General Henry Bohlen, commanding the brigade at the Battle of Cross Keys, best illustrates the bravery of the 58th Regiment:

"Meanwhile, as is shown in the report of Col. Krzyzanowski, the Fifth-eighth marched gallantly ahead, supported by a section of Captain Schirmer's battery which silenced the enemy's pieces placed on a hill on the right of the regiment. The Fifth-eighth met the enemy and drove him back at the point of the bayonet."

At the end of his report Brig. Gen. Bohlen again commented:

"From the report of Captain Schirmer, whose guns were supported by the Fifth-eighth Regiment, this regiment behaved with great gallantry under the command of Col. Krzyzanowski."

Col. Krzyzanowski in his own reports to Gen. H. Bohlen writes in a simple and concise hand of the heroic feat of his men:



"After the arrival of my regiment near the field of battle to the left of the battery of the First Brigade, I received your orders to move to the right, when Brigadier-General [unclear] sent me to him as his assistant. At once I formed my regiment into line, being in column by division, and advanced to the place indicated by General [unclear]. I was at that time in the middle of a large rye field. Upon a hill I perceived a battery opening fire toward our right. Directly after this Capt. Schirmer came up and seeing the battery he told me if I would protect him with my regiment he would bring up a couple of guns and open fire upon the enemy's battery. He did so, and soon silenced the latter. Capt. Schirmer now withdrew his guns and soon the whole regiment was engaged. Keeping up a constant fire, which told greatly among the enemy's lines, I now gave the command to charge bayonets, and succeeded in driving him back about a hundred yards."

BULL RUN

Starting August 16th, 1862, Colonel Krzyzanowski and the 58th Regiment became part of the Army of Virginia. The Regiment saw action at Fox Ford, Sulphur Springs, Waterloo Springs, Crozetown, Virginia and the famous historic Battle of Bull Run.

During the Battle of Bull Run in which the Union forces were defeated, somewhat disastrously, Col. Krzyzanowski and his regiment offered a resistance, which historically has not passed unnoticed.

In his own long report on this battle, Col. Krzyzanowski vividly describes the movements of his regiments and true to the character of the man was unstinting in his praise for his men, which can be judged from the following excerpt:

"The gallant conduct of First Lieutenant Wertheimer of this regiment, deserves to be noticed, who, while the enemy's batteries were pouring a perfect hail of lead into our lines, nobly grasped a guidon flag and cheered the men to follow him. Lieut.-Col. Ashley of this regiment, Capt. Wahle, Capt. Ernewein and Adjutant Brandt on this day behaved very bravely.

The 58th Regiment was more fortunate in regards to the loss of officers, but suffered intensely in the ranks. All the officers deserved credit for their behavior on that day. I have also to mention the gallant conduct of First Lieutenant Chesebrough, of General Schenck's staff, whom I met on the battlefield, and who assisted me for some time. I was unfortunate enough on that day to lose my horse, which was shot under me."

On September 12, 1862, Col. Krzyzanowski and his regiment became part of the Army of the Potomac again. After the Battle of Bull Run there was a lull in the fighting on both sides as each prepared for what now appeared to be a major struggle.

BRIGADIER GENERAL.

November 29, 1862, Col. Krzyzanowski was appointed Brigadier-General of the New York Volunteers. This appointment expired on March 4, 1863, for an unexplainable reason and he was reverted back to Colonel.

Although having the rank of Colonel he actually was commanding five regiments, equivalent to a brigade which only a brigadier-general commands. These regiments were the 58th—New York, 119th—New York, 26th—Wisconsin, 82nd—Ohio and 7th—Pennsylvania. His regiments saw action again at Chancellorsville on May 1st, 1863. Here again Col. Krzyzanowski and his men were the only ones that stopped Gen. Stonewall Jackson.

CITATION.

His regiment also saw heroic action in the Battle of Gettysburg, and it was during this battle that Col. Krzyzanowski received his highest praise coming from Major General D. O. Howard who wrote in his citation the following:

"Were I to accord praise to individuals, I would hardly know where to begin or where to end. I noticed Generals Schurz and Steinwehr; Colonel Krzyzanowski commanding second Brigade,

"I commend them for bravery, faithfulness and efficiency in the discharge of duty."

SOUTHERN CAMPAIGN.

Following the Gettysburg campaign Colonel Krzyzanowski and his men were transferred to Tennessee, where they were occupied in the Chattanooga and Rossville campaign.

While in the South even the enemy grew to admire and like Colonel Krzyzanowski. It is told that while occupying Bridgeport, Tennessee, Col. Krzyzanowski was practically dictator of life and death over the townsmen, nevertheless, his kindly and humane attitude made him appear to be more of a friend than an enemy.

During the rest of the war Col. Krzyzanowski and his men held portions of conquered territory, and on October 1st, 1865, at the close of the war, were honorably discharged and mustered out at Nashville, Tennessee.

General Krzyzanowski finally was mustered out as Brigadier-General of the United States Volunteers, on March 13th, 1865.

The high esteem and love that General Krzyzanowski's men had for him can best be exemplified by a token of admiration tendered the general in the form of a beautiful sword with the inscription: "From the officers and soldiers of the 2nd Brigade 3rd Division, 2nd Corps in tribute to their beloved Commander."

POST WAR DAYS.

Gen. Krzyzanowski's service of fifty-five months in the Civil War was not to go unrewarded. In 1865, shortly after America had purchased Alaska, Gen. Krzyzanowski was sent there in governmental capacity to start and promulgate the first United States supervision of the territory.

From the snow-capped peaks of Alaska, Gen. Krzyzanowski went down to Panama, also in governmental capacity.

The restless spirit that prompted Gen. Krzyzanowski to leave his native Poland was in evidence practically to his last days when he served as a special agent of the Treasury Department.

Just as the stalwart general was turning his 82nd birthday, a complication brought about by his war years and hard early life, began to ravage the huge muscular frame and his steel grey eyes became dimmed in their later.

HIS DEATH.

Six months later the broad shoulders became stooped and bowed, and on January 31st, 1887, at 3:10 A. M. General Wladimir Bonaventura Krzyzanowski breathed his last.

The death certificate stated that he had lived sixty-two years six months and twenty-three days. He died at the home of his adopted daughter Mrs. Maior, 870 Lexington Ave. (The building since then has been torn down and a modern apartment stands there today). The death was attributed to two causes by attending physician Dr. Alfred Meyer, namely: Uraemia from chronic Bright's disease and chronic thickening of the right pleure.

BURIAL.

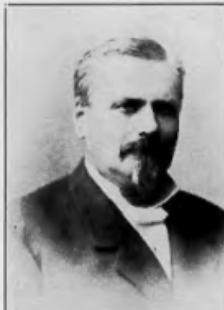
February 2, 1887, a large body of comrades from the Steinwehr Post, many friends and dignitaries of state, accompanied the mortal remains of General Wladimir Krzyzanowski to his last resting place.

Overlooking the wan and wintry country-side of the Southwestern edge of the Greenwood Cemetery in Brooklyn, the funeral procession halted and huddled about a fresh turned mound of earth. Here General Carl Schurz, Major general over General Krzyzanowski during the war, and now United States Senator and the Secretary of the Treasury, spoke the final words of eulogy and the words of praise that fell from his lips warmed the chill countryside.

Later the Steinwehr Post of the G. A. R. raised a modest monument in memory of their general and comrade which stands there to this day.

FIFTY YEARS LATER.

Although the earth closed over the mortal remains of Gen. Wladimir Krzyzanowski, yet his life and deeds were soon to become an integral part of the history of America and on this day of January 31st, 1887, fifty years after his death, we are only forging one more link in the chain that binds together the hearts of Poland and the United States — a chain that was so laboriously welded together by the white hot flame of Liberty, burning in the breasts of Washington, Kosciuszko and Pulaski.



GEN. KRZYZANOWSKI
shortly before his death.

NASZE POMNIKI

Knóżką uśwąd posłada pamulki, które zaszerły w zbię-
jęgo cierpienia i radości, jeho w pełni opusku, zekradła-
wując przeszczęstia całych pokoleń. Takiecei pamulki są
cenne, polu hilewne, gredy, ulice, na tych ulicach domy,
na których wiele serca biegały w przód i tył, należący do
nich. Są to świadectwa historii, których Polska pamięta tak
głębko.

Józef Piłsudski.

Possieda je nie tylko w rubieżach swoich ale i na obszarze. Gdziekol-
wiek, gdziekolwiek istniały polskie gospodarstwa polityczne tam drogi zaznaczo-
ne są pomnikami miasta i powstania wielkiego. Na drogach wielkiego
Napoleona, w Pirenach i na St. Dominga, w Alpach i na rozdrożach bez-
drożach Rosji, oręg polski i polskie serce pisali dzieje nasze.

Pon Saratoge i Savannah, w West Point i Gettysburgu... gdziekolwiek
gdziekolwiek polscy żołnierze zginęli, sama ofara krwi, trwała nad spłz i marmur
pewnego czasu status quo. A... pod płotem na cmentarzu Greenwood w
Brooklynie skromny kamień znaczy grób jednego z wielu — generała Włodzimierza Krzyzanowskiego.

Pomnik to nasz, pomnik Polski, świadectwo chlubne naszego udziału
w historii Stanów Zjednoczonych. To nie ruiny, nie pola bitwne, nie naz-
wa ulicy, nie pomnik świątynny, ale serce i pamięć wychodzące po czasy
pełu wieku z czułością nabożną wymawia imię jego.

Dział odbywa się w Washington Irving High School akademia żałobna
z okazji półwiecznego rocznicy jego śmierci. Jego i wielu bezimiennych żo-
łnierzy wolności. Urządzają ją byli żołnierze armii amerykańskiej i polskiej,
w uczniam zasług żołnierzy.

Jeli patrzec chcesz na dzieje nasze. Polaki i Stanów Zjednoczonych,
z punktu widzenia który zajęć medza tylko wiża, musią sobie wyobrazić,
iż na estradzie zasiada duch Krzyzanowskiego, posiadający władzę mówią-
cą i widzeniem.

Cóż powiedzieliby oglądając Polaków w khaki, w mundurach amerykań-
skich i w szarych mundurach polskich?

Jakim językiem opowiadaliby im o swoich cierpieniach, o wygnaniu,
ucieczce, trudach wojennych, życiu w nieostatku i śmierci w nędzy?

I coż powiedzielibyśmy mu my, gdyby rozmowę taki był możliwy?

Ille tem spotkaniu naszem z nim jest historii i epopei?

Ille treći bogatej i bogidów polążnych?

Ille natchnienia i uczuć głębokich?

Ille prawdy nam nie zawsze świadomej i ille nauki.

Jest ponad codziennością szara sira moralna, sira wielka, która majes-
tatem swym naszą maleńcą i grzeczny nosze przykrywa.

Jest nia jeszcze — przeszłość, pomniki przeszłości, do których wracamy
po świnio i cieplu, jak do zdroża wiecznego.

P. VOLLES

GEN. KRZYZANOWSKI MEMORIAL COMMITTEE



Seated from left to right: J. Witek; Lieut. L. C. Kajko; Commander Charles Hann, Jr.; Major B. T. Anuskiewicz; Dr. A. V. Piskorski; Capt. Joseph Dabrowski; Standing: Joseph Bunster; Henry Archacki; J. F. Czechlewski; Rev. F. F. Burant; K. Kulesza; R. Skowronski; and A. Bitowski.

MEMBERS OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

Chairman
Major B. T. Anuskiewicz

Vice-Chairmen
Lieut. Lucian Kajko

Joseph Witek

Secretary
Captain Joseph B. Dabrowski

Treasurer
Rev. Felix F. Burant

Publicists
Peter P. Yoltes

Henry Archacki

Historian
Joseph F. Czechlewski

Dr. Albin V. Piskorski
United Spanish War Vet.
Commander Charles Hann, Jr.
N. Y. County American Legion
Lieut. Matthew Szekowski
Vice-Pres. Pulaski Military Club

Adam Lycak
Nat'l Vice-Comm. P. A. V.
K. Kulesza
State Vice-Comm. P. L. A. V.
L. L. Krzyzak
Nat'l Adjutant P. A. V.
J. Kela
District Commander P. A. V.
Frank Walicki
Dombrowski Post A. L.
P. Gawrychowski
Post No. 1 P. L. A. V.
B. Maruszewski
Post No. 2 P. L. A. V.
Adrian Baczevski
Post No. 3 P. L. A. V.
A. Bitowski
Post No. 5 P. L. A. V.
Joseph Gromiec
East Side Post A. L.
John J. Sergi
Disabled Amer. Vets.
R. F. Skowronski
Mrs. S. Gruchacz
Mrs. L. Drelenkiewicz

HONORARY COMMITTEE

Hon. Dr. Sylvester Gruska	Rev. Francis Mlynarski
Consul General of Poland	Rev. A. Mazurkiewicz
Rear Admiral Reginald R. Peiknap	Rev. John Regulski
Major General John J. Byrne	Rev. Joseph Sieczek
Brig. General John H. Madden	Rev. John T. Smykla
Brig. General John F. Danniel	Rev. Joseph Studzinski
Brig. Gen. Walter A. De Lamater	Rev. Dr. Francis Szubinski
Colonel Julius O. Adler	Hon. Royal S. Copeland
Colonel George W. Berleigh	Hon. John J. Bennett
Colonel Franklin Q. Brown	Hon. Edward Corsi
Capt. William Seaman Bainbridge	Hon. M. Wegryznek
Commander, Polonia Restituta	Hon. Emil Bryczynski
Colealor Stephen A. Douglas	Hon. Judge Bernard Kogicke
Colonel K. Arvid Enland	Hon. Joseph Glebocki
Colonel Charles Perley Gray	Hon. Vincent Kowalski
Colonel William R. Jackson	Dr. A. Morawski
Colonel J. W. Kruger	Dr. Anthony Sawicki
Colonel Leopold Philipp	Dr. Marlow Siudzinski
Colonel Sidney L. Smith	Dr. Joseph L. Kostecki
Colonel John Tytowski	Dr. Jesse Labanowska
Colonel William J. Walsh	Dr. A. Rusin
Colonel George A. Zabriskie	Mr. Anthony Rusyn
Captain Harry R. Zeiner	Mr. S. J. Desz
Commander J. A. Jackson	Mr. W. J. Bayor
Lieut. Col. Alfred B. C. McNevin	Mr. John Smolenski
Major John Vernon Boulier, Jr.	Mr. S. Gornowski
Major Robert E. Condon	Mr. Joseph Glowacki
Major Clarence A. Manning	Mr. Theodore Dylewski
Major R. F. Migdalski	Mr. Casimir H. Bryczynski
Captain Julius B. Anuskiewicz	Mrs. H. Welowska
Captain James Warner Bellah	Mrs. Stephen A. Douglas
Captain Walter Cieciuch	Mrs. I. Michalska
Captain Maurice Hamonneau	Mr. William Kwaeniewski
Ensign Nathaniel Spear, Jr.	Mr. E. Joseph Zebrowski
Rev. G. Kubec	Mr. Karol Marjanski

PROGRAM

SUNDAY, JANUARY 31ST, 1937.

11:45 A. M.

High Mass at St. Stanislaus B. M. — Rev. Felix F. Burant.

12:45 P. M.

Luncheon: Polish National Home, 19-23 St. Marks Pl., New York.

2:00 P. M.

Departure by motor convoy under escort to the Greenwood Cemetery,
Brooklyn, N. Y.

3:00 P. M.

Services at Greenwood Cemetery at the grave of General Kryzanowski.

1. Address by Hon. Raymond V. Ingersoll, President Borough
of Brooklyn.

2. Address and placing of wreath by Dr. Sylvester Gruszka,
Consul General of Poland.

3. Placing of wreath by the executive Committee:

Lieut. Lucian Kajko, National Com. Polish Army Veterans Association;
Lieut. Vincent Karwacki, State Com. Polish Legion of American Veterans;
Dept. of N. York, Lieut. Matthew Szekowski, Vice-Pres. Pulaski Mil. Club;
Frank Walicki, Commander Dombrowski Post, American Legion.

4. Placing of wreath by Ens. Nathaniel Spear, Jr., Chairman
Foreign Relations Committee, The American Legion.

5. Placing of wreath by the Councilmen representing City
of Buffalo, N. Y.

6. Prayer: Rev. Lieut. Felix F. Burant, Chaplain Brooklyn Chapter
Reserve Officers Association.

7. Firing Squad: 18th U. S. Infantry, Ft. Hamilton, N. Y.

8. Taps — Trumpeter, 18th U. S. Infantry.

Comrade R. F. Skowronski, past commander P. L. A. V. Dept. N. Y.
in charge of ceremonies. Troop Boy Scouts of America — Troop 370.

Program for the Evening

(Starting 7:30 P. M.)

WASHINGTON IRVING HIGH SCHOOL AUDITORIUM
New York City.

Chairman: Maj. Benjamin T. Anuskievics,
Chemical Warfare Reserve, U. S. A.

1. Massing of Colors.
2. The National Anthems: 18th Infantry Band.
3. Invocation: Rev. Felix F. Burant.
4. Taps: for all who gave their lives during the war 1861—1865.
Trumpeter 18th U. S. Infantry.
5. Address: Dr. Abdon V. Plakorski, United Spanish Am. War. Vet.
6. Address: Peter Yolles, Managing Editor Polish Morning World.
7. Patriotic Selections: 18th U. S. Infantry Band.
8. Address: Col. Andrew B. Humphrey, Veteran of the Civil War
1861—1865.
9. Battle Hymn of the Republic: Polish Singing Societies.
Echo and Harmonia.
10. Address: Brig. Gen. Walter A. De Lamater, representing the
Governor of N. Y., the Hon. Herbert Lehman.
11. Address: Dr. Julius Szygowski, Polish Consul.
12. Band Selections.
13. Address: Col. Jas. E. Barzynski, Quartermaster Corps U. S. A.
14. Closing: Lieut. Lucius Kajko, Nat'l Com. Pol. Army Vet. Ass'n.
15. America: 18th U. S. Inf. Band, Band leader Simon Tresing.

BORN JULY 9, 1824



Sketched at the grave by Henry Archacki

DIED JANUARY 31, 1887

This booklet is a contribution of the Publisher of NOWY SWIAT. The proceeds from the sale of it will be offered to the POLISH VETERANS towards a fund to erect a suitable tombstone on Gen. Krzyzanowski's grave.

Chisholmowski

ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT IN CONNECTION
WITH THE RE-BURIAL IN ARLINGTON OF
BRIGADIER GENERAL VLADIMER B.
KRZYZANOWSKI, OCTOBER 11, 1937.

MR. CHAIRMAN, MR. AMBASSADOR, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN:

In the epic struggle of the human race to govern
itself Poland for centuries has been the champion of freedom.
Through stress and storm whether her sun shone brightly or
suffered long though temporary eclipse, she has ever fought
to hold aloft the torch of human liberty.

Because we hold this ideal of liberty in common,
ours has been a long and unbroken friendship with the people
of Poland. From the days of our struggle to achieve
Nationhood, unbroken by any rift through the century and a
half of our life as a Nation, the American people and the
people of Poland have maintained a friendship based upon this
common spiritual ideal.

General Krzyzanowski, whose patriotism we commemorate
today, is another link to bind us to the people from which he
came in the full tide of youthful promise when shadows lay over

the land which gave him birth. It is a high privilege to bear witness to the debt which this country owes to men of Polish blood. Gratefully we acknowledge the services of those intrepid champions of human freedom -- Pulaski and Kosciuszko -- whose very names are watchwords of liberty and whose deeds are part of the imperishable record of American independence. Out of the past they speak to us to bid us guard the heritage which they helped to bestow.

They and the millions of other men and women of Polish blood, who have united their destinies with those of America - whether in the days of Colonial settlement; in the War to ~~attain~~^{Amer} independence; in the hard struggle out of which emerged our national unity; in the great journeyings across the Western Plains to the slopes of the Pacific; on farm or in town or city - through all of our history they have made their full contribution to the upbuilding of our institutions and to the fulfillment of our national life.

These are the thoughts and reflections that come to mind today as we consign to Arlington National Cemetery the honored dust of a son of Poland who faithfully served the country of his adoption. General Krzyzanowski was the embodiment of the Polish ideal of liberty. Into the making of that ancient ideal had gone the struggles and the vicissitudes of a thousand years of Polish national life. He whom we honor today, no less than those of his blood and kindred, who preceded him to America or who followed him to our shores, brought to us, and with us became partakers in, a common aspiration of freedom.

Neither time nor distance could erase from stout Polish hearts the memory of a glorious struggle for liberty, a struggle which happily ended in our own day and generation in the restoration of Poland to nationhood and to her rightful place as a sovereign state. As we sympathized in her aspirations to freedom so we rejoice in her attainment of independence.

We as a Nation seek spiritual union with all who love freedom. Of many bloods and of diverse national origins we stand before the world today as one people united in a common determination. That determination is to uphold the ideal of human society which makes conscience superior to brute strength -- the ideal which would substitute freedom for force, in the governments of the world.

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October 12, 1937

[Radio Address from the White House]

1095

FDR Speech File

RADIO ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT
delivered from the White House
October 12, 1937, 9:30 P.M., E.S.T.

MY FRIENDS:

This afternoon I have issued a Proclamation calling a special session of the Congress to convene on Monday, November 15, 1937.

I do this in order to give to the Congress an opportunity to consider important legislation before the regular session in January, and to enable the Congress to avoid a lengthy session next year, extending through the summer.

I know that many enemies of democracy will say that it is bad for business, bad for the tranquility of the country, to have a special session -- even one beginning only six weeks before the regular session. But I have never had sympathy with the point of view that a session of the Congress is an unfortunate intrusion of what they call "politics" into our national affairs. Those who do not like democracy want to keep legislators at home. But the Congress is an essential instrument of democratic government; and democratic government can never be considered an intruder into the affairs of a democratic nation.

I shall ask this special session to consider immediately certain important legislation which my recent trip through the nation convinces me the American people immediately need. This does not mean that other legislation, to which I am not referring tonight, is not an important (for) part of our national well-being. But other legislation can be more readily discussed at the regular session.

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 present when I dictated them. There appear in the previously prepared reading copy text, however, no instance of anything not to搬家. I
will

claim--we are engaged not of acts of terror at side of I
at places where off excited political influence or
places where a blow or enough not sides of has , claim
which off doesn't believe , just like
it isn't you'll you're to believe you and I
as , you're off to you're not bad , you and you bad at
excited when it's you're going to have -- believe I have a good
tale off this you're had been even I the believe longer off
political situation as off example off to believe a right hole to
off ready . existent factors are off "solidly" like you'd take to
off now . need to you're off good or have you're still for on
has ; interesting circumstances to you're believe as off you're
off off you're off believe as never has interesting circumstances
believe off you're off to believe
claiming believe as believe is long side the like I
off don't you're off side multilateral foreign relations
now side . been distributed among nations off as believe believe
foreign activities for us I didn't off multilateral radio and name for
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believe believe and to believe believe even off one multilateral

Anyone charged with proposing or judging national policies should have first-hand knowledge of the nation as a whole.

That is why again this year I have taken trips to all parts of the country. Last spring I visited the Southwest. This summer I made several trips in the East. Now I am just back from a trip all the way across the continent, and later this autumn I hope to pay my annual visit to the Southeast.

For a President especially it is a duty to think in national terms.

He must think not only of this year but of future years, when someone else will be President.

He must look beyond the average of the prosperity and well-being of the country (for) because averages easily cover up danger spots of poverty and instability.

He must not let the country be deceived by a merely temporary prosperity which depends on wasteful exploitation of resources which cannot last.

He must think not only of keeping us out of war today, but also of keeping us out of war in generations to come.

The kind of prosperity we want is the sound and permanent kind which is not built up temporarily at the expense of any section or (any) a group. And the kind of peace we want is the sound and permanent kind, which is built on the cooperative search for peace by all the nations which want peace.

The other day I was asked to state my outstanding impression gained on this recent trip to the Pacific Coast and back, and I said that it seemed to me to be the general understanding on the

part of the average citizen, understanding of the broad objectives and policies which I have just outlined.

Five years of fierce discussion and debate -- five years of information through the radio and the moving picture -- have taken the whole nation to school in the nation's business. Even those who have most attacked our objectives have, by their very criticism, encouraged the mass of our citizens to think about and understand the issues involved, and, understanding, to approve.

Out of that process, we have learned to think as a nation. And out of that process we have learned to feel ourselves a nation. As never before in our history, each section of America says to every other section, "Thy people shall be my people."

For most of the country this has been a good year -- better in dollars and cents than for many years -- far better in the soundness of its prosperity. (And) Everywhere I went I found particular optimism about the good effect on business which is expected from the steady spending by farmers of the largest farm income in many years.

But we have not yet done all that must be done to make this prosperity stable. The people of the United States were checked in their efforts to prevent future piling up of huge agricultural surpluses and the tumbling prices which inevitably follow them. They were checked in their efforts to secure reasonable minimum wages and maximum hours and the end of child labor. And because they were checked, many groups in many parts of the country still have less purchasing power and a lower standard of living than the nation as a whole can permanently allow.

Americans realize these facts. That is why they ask Government not to stop governing simply because prosperity has come back a long way.

They do not look on Government as an interloper in their affairs. On the contrary, they regard it as the most effective form of organized self-help.

Sometimes I get bored sitting in Washington hearing certain people talk and talk about all that Government ought not to do -- people who got all they wanted from Government back in the days when the financial institutions and the railroads were being bailed out in 1933, bailed out by the Government. It is refreshing to go out through the country and feel the common wisdom that the time to repair the roof is when the sun is shining.

They want the financial budget balanced. But they want the human budget balanced as well. They want to set up a national economy which balances itself with as little Government subsidy as possible, for they realize that persistent subsidies ultimately bankrupt their Government.

They are less concerned that every detail be immediately right than they are that the direction be right. They know that just so long as we are traveling on the right road, it does not make much difference if occasionally we hit a "Thank you marm."

The overwhelming majority of our citizens who live by agriculture are thinking (very) clearly how they want Government to help them in connection with the production of crops. They want Government help in two ways -- first, in the control of surpluses, and, second, in the proper use of land.

The other day a reporter told me that he had never been able to understand why the Government seeks to curtail crop produc-

tion and, at the same time, to open up new irrigated acres.

He was confusing two totally separate objectives.

Crop surplus control relates to the total amount of any major crop grown in the whole nation on all cultivated land, (good or bad) good land or poor land -- control by the cooperation of the crop growers and with the help of the Government. Land use (on the other hand) is a policy of providing each farmer with the best quality and type of land we have, or can make available, for his part in that total production. Adding good new land for diversified crops is offset by abandoning poor land now uneconomically farmed.

The total amount of production largely determines the price of the crop, and, therefore, the difference between comfort and misery for the farmer.

Let me give you an example: If we Americans were foolish enough to run every shoe factory twenty-four hours a day, seven days a week, we would soon have more shoes than the Nation could possibly buy -- a surplus of shoes so great that it would have to be destroyed, or given away, or sold at prices far below the cost of production. That simple (law) illustration, that simple law of supply and demand equally affects the price of all our major crops.

You and I have heard big manufacturers talk about control of production by the farmer as an indefensible "economy of scarcity," as they call it. And yet these same manufacturers never hesitate to shut down their own huge plants, throw men out of work, and cut down the purchasing power of the whole community (communities) whenever they think that they must adjust their production to an oversupply of the goods they make. When it is their baby who has the measles,

they call it not "an economy of scarcity" but "sound business judgment."

Of course, speaking seriously, what you and I want is such governmental rules of the game that labor and agriculture and industry will all produce a balanced abundance without waste.

So we intend this winter to find a way to prevent four-and-a-half cent cotton and nine cent corn and thirty cent wheat -- with all the disaster those prices mean for all of us -- to prevent those prices from ever coming back again. To do that, the farmers themselves want to cooperate to build an all-weather farm program so that in the long run prices will be more stable. They believe this can be done, and the national budget kept out of the red.

And when we have found that way to protect the farmers' prices from the effects of alternating crop surpluses and crop scarcities, we shall also have found the way to protect the nation's food supply from the effects of the same fluctuation. We ought always to have enough food at prices within the reach of the consuming public. For the consumers in the cities of America, we must find a way to help the farmers to store up in years of plenty enough to avoid hardship in the years of scarcity.

Our land use policy is a different thing. I have just visited much of the work that the National Government is doing to stop soil erosion, to save our forests, to prevent floods, to produce electric power for more general use, and to give people a chance to move from poor land (on) to better land by irrigating thousands of acres that need only water to provide an opportunity to make a good living.

I saw bare and burned hillsides where only a few years ago

great forests were growing. They are now being planted to young trees, not only to stop erosion, but to provide a lumber supply for the future.

I saw CCC boys and WPA workers building check-dams and small ponds and terraces to raise the water table and make it possible for farms and villages to remain in safety where they now are. I saw the harnessing of the turbulent Missouri, a muddy stream, with the top soil of many states. And I saw barges on new channels carrying produce and freight athwart the Nation.

Let me give you two simple illustrations of why Government projects of this type have a national importance for the whole country, and not merely a local importance.

In the Boise Valley in Idaho I saw a district which had been recently irrigated to enormous fertility so that a family can now make a pretty good living from forty acres of its land. Many of the families, who are making good in that valley today, moved there from a thousand miles away. They came from the dust strip that runs through the middle of the Nation all the way from the Canadian border to (Mexico) Texas -- a strip which includes large portions of ten states. That valley in western Idaho, therefore, assumes at once a national importance as a second chance for willing farmers. And, year by year, we propose to add more valleys to take care of thousands of other families who need the same kind of second chance in new green pastures.

The other illustration was at the Grand Coulee Dam in the State of Washington. The engineer in charge told me that almost half of the whole cost of that dam to date had been spent for materials

that were manufactured east of the Mississippi River, giving employment and wages to thousands of industrial workers in the eastern third of the Nation, two thousand miles away.

All of this work needs, of course, a more business like system of planning, (and) a greater foresight than we use today.

And that is why I recommended to the last session of the Congress the creation of seven planning regions, in which local people will originate and coordinate recommendations as to the kind of this work (of this kind) to be done in their particular regions. The Congress (will), of course, will determine the projects to be selected within the budget limits.

To carry out any twentieth century program, we must give the Executive branch of the Government twentieth century machinery to work with. I recognize that democratic processes are necessarily and, I think, rightly slower than dictatorial processes. But I refuse to believe that democratic processes need be dangerously slow.

For many years we have all known that the Executive and Administrative departments of the Government in Washington are a higgledy-piggledy patchwork of duplicate responsibilities and overlapping powers. The reorganization of this vast Government machinery which I proposed to the Congress last winter does not conflict with the principle of the democratic process, as some people say. It only makes that process work more efficiently.

On my recent trip many people have talked to me about the millions of men and women and children who still work at insufficient wages and overlong hours.

American industry has searched the outside world to find

new markets -- but it can create on its very doorstep the biggest and most permanent market it has ever (had) seen. It needs the reduction of trade barriers to improve its foreign markets, but it should not overlook the chance to reduce the domestic trade barrier right here -- right away -- without waiting for any treaty. A few more dollars a week in wages, a better distribution of jobs with a shorter working day will almost overnight make millions of our lowest-paid workers actual buyers of billions of dollars of industrial and farm products. That increased volume of sales ought to lessen other cost of production so much that even a considerable increase in labor costs can be absorbed without imposing higher prices on the consumer.

I am a firm believer in fully adequate pay for all labor. But right now I am most greatly concerned in increasing the pay of the lowest-paid labor -- those who are our most numerous consuming group but who today do not make enough to maintain a decent standard of living or to buy the food, and the clothes and the other articles necessary to keep our factories and farms fully running.

I think that farsighted business men already understand and agree with this policy. They agree also that no one section of the country can permanently benefit itself, or the rest of the country, by maintaining standards of wages and hours (far) that are far inferior to other sections of the country.

Most business men, big and little, know that their Government neither wants to put them out of business nor to prevent them from earning a decent profit. In spite of the alarms of a few who seek to regain control (of) over American life, most

business men, big and little, know that their Government is trying to make property more secure than ever before by giving every family a real chance to have a property stake in the Nation.

Whatever danger there may be to the property and profits of the many, if there be any danger, comes not from Government's attitude toward business but from restraints now imposed upon business by private monopolies and financial oligarchies. The average business man knows that a high cost of living is a great deterrent to business and that business prosperity depends much upon a low price policy which encourages the widest possible consumption. As one of the country's leading economists recently said -- "The continuance of business recovery in the United States depends far more (upon) business policies, business pricing policies, than it does on anything that may be done, or not done, in Washington."

Our competitive system is, of course, not altogether competitive. Anybody who buys any large quantity of manufactured goods knows this, whether it be the Government or an individual buyer. We have anti-trust laws, to be sure, but they have not been adequate to check the growth of many monopolies. Whether or not they might have been (adequate) originally adequate, interpretation by the courts and the difficulties and delays of legal procedure have now definitely limited their effectiveness.

We are already studying how to strengthen our anti-trust laws in order to end monopoly -- not to hurt but to free legitimate business of the Nation.

I have touched briefly on these important subjects, which, taken together, make a program for the immediate future. And I know

you will realize that to attain it, legislation is necessary.

As we plan today for the creation of ever higher standards of living for the people of the United States, we are aware that our plans may be most seriously affected by events in the world outside our borders.

By a series of trade agreements, we have been attempting to recreate the trade of the world (which) that trade of the world that plays so important a part in our domestic prosperity; but we know that if the world outside our borders falls into the chaos of war, world trade will be completely disrupted.

Nor can we view with indifference the destruction of civilized values throughout the world. We seek peace, not only for our generation but also for the generation of our children.

We seek for them, our children, the continuance of world civilization in order that their American civilization may continue to be invigorated, helped by the achievements of civilized men and women in all the rest of the world.

I want our great democracy to be wise enough to realize that aloofness from war is not promoted by unawareness of war. In a world of mutual suspicions, peace must be affirmatively reached for. It cannot just be wished for. And it cannot just be waited for.

We have now made known our willingness to attend a conference of the parties to the Nine Power Treaty of 1922 -- the

Treaty of Washington, of which we are one of the original signatories. The purpose of this conference will be to seek by agreement a solution of the present situation in China. In efforts to find that solution, it is our purpose to cooperate with the other signatories to this Treaty, including China and Japan.

Such cooperation would be an example of one of the possible paths to follow in our search for means toward peace throughout the whole world.

The development of civilization and of human welfare is based on the acceptance by individuals of certain fundamental decencies in their relations with each other. And, equally, the development of peace in the world is dependent similarly on the acceptance by nations of certain fundamental decencies in their relations with each other.

Ultimately, I hope each nation will accept the fact that violations of these rules of conduct are an injury to the well-being of all nations.

Meanwhile, remember that from 1913 to 1921, I personally was fairly close to world events, and in that period, while I learned much of what to do, I also learned much of what not to do.

The common sense, the intelligence of the people of America agree with my statement that "America hates war. America hopes for peace. Therefore, America actively engages in the search for peace."

STATEMENTS FILE

HOLD FOR RELEASE

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October 12, 1937

CAUTION: This address of the President, to be delivered by radio from the White House, is for release in all editions of newspapers appearing on the streets NOT EARLIER than 9:30 o'clock P. M., Eastern Standard Time, October 12, 1937.

Care must be exercised to prevent premature publication.

STEPHEN EARLY
Secretary to the President

This afternoon I have issued a Proclamation calling a special session of the Congress to convene on Monday, November 15, 1937.

I do this in order to give to the Congress an opportunity to consider important legislation before the regular session in January, and to enable the Congress to avoid a lengthy session next year, extending through the summer.

I know that many enemies of democracy will say that it is bad for business, bad for the tranquility of the country, to have a special session -- even one beginning only six weeks before the regular session. But I have never had sympathy with the point of view that a session of the Congress is an unfortunate intrusion of what they call "politics" into our national affairs. Those who do not like democracy want to keep legislators at home. But the Congress is an essential instrument of democratic government; and democratic government can never be considered an intruder into the affairs of a democratic nation.

I shall ask this special session to consider immediately certain important legislation which my recent trip through the nation convinces me the American people immediately need. This does not mean that other legislation, to which I am not referring tonight, is not important for our national well-being. But other legislation can be more readily discussed at the regular session.

Anyone charged with proposing or judging national policies should have first hand knowledge of the nation as a whole.

That is why again this year I have taken trips to all parts of the country. Last spring I visited the Southwest. This summer I made several trips in the East. Now I am just back from a trip all the way across the continent, and later this autumn I hope to pay my annual visit to the Southeast.

For a President especially it is a duty to think in national terms.

He must think not only of this year but of future years when someone else will be President. (1) *President*

He must look beyond the average of the prosperity and well-being of the country, for averages easily cover up danger spots of poverty and instability.

He must not let the country be deceived by a merely temporary prosperity which depends on wasteful exploitation of resources which cannot last.

He must think not only of keeping us out of war today, but also of keeping us out of war in generations to come.

The kind of prosperity we want is the sound and permanent kind which is not built up temporarily at the expense of any section or any group. And the kind of peace we want is the sound and permanent kind, which is built on the cooperative search for peace by all the nations which want peace.

The other day I was asked to state my outstanding impression gained on this recent trip. I said that it seemed to me to be the general understanding on the part of the average citizen of the broad objectives and policies which I have just outlined.

Five years of fierce discussion and debate -- five years of information through the radio and the moving picture -- have taken the whole nation to school in the nation's business. Even those who have most attacked our objectives have, by their very criticism, encouraged the mass of our citizens to think about and understand the issues involved, and, understanding,

to approve.

Out of that process, we have learned to think as a nation. And out of that process we have learned to feel ourselves a nation. As never before in our history, each section of America says to every other section, "Thy people shall be my people".

For most of the country this has been a good year -- better in dollars and cents than for many years -- far better in the soundness of its prosperity. ~~Not everywhere I went,~~ ^(and) I found particular optimism about the good effect on business which is expected from the steady spending by farmers of the largest farm income in many years.

But we have not yet done all that must be done to make this prosperity stable. The people of the United States were checked in their efforts to prevent future piling up of huge agricultural surpluses and the tumbling prices which inevitably follow them. They were checked in their efforts to secure reasonable minimum wages and maximum hours and the end of child labor. And because they were checked, many groups in many parts of the country still have less purchasing power and a lower standard of living than the nation as a whole can permanently allow.

Americans realize these facts. That is why they ask government not to stop governing simply because prosperity has come back a long way.

They do not look on government as an interloper in their affairs. On the contrary, they regard it as the most effective form of organized self-help.

Sometimes I get bored sitting in Washington hearing certain people talk and talk about all that government ought ~~not~~ do -- people who got all ~~they~~ wanted from government back in the days when the financial institutions and the railroads were being bailed out in 1933. It is refreshing to go out through the country and feel the common wisdom that the time to repair the roof is when the sun is shining.

V.V.T.
Sailed on by the Government.

They want the financial budget balanced. But they want the human budget balanced as well. They want to set up a national economy which balances itself with as little government subsidy as possible, for they realize that persistent subsidies ultimately bankrupt their government.

They are less concerned that every detail be immediately right than they are that direction be right. They know that just so long as we are traveling on the right road, it does not make much difference if occasionally we hit a "Thank you man".

The overwhelming majority of our citizens who live by agriculture are thinking very clearly how they want government to help them in connection with the production of crops. They want government help in two ways -- first, in the control of surpluses, and, second, in the proper use of land.

The other day a reporter told me, ^{that} he had never been able to understand why the government seeks to curtail crop production and, at the same time, to open up new irrigated acres.

He was confusing two totally separate objectives.

Crop surplus control relates to the total amount of any major crop grown in the whole nation on all cultivated land, good or bad -- control by the cooperation of the crop growers and with the help of the government. Land use, ^{on the other hand} ~~is~~, is a policy of providing each farmer with the best quality and type of land we have, or can make available, for his part in that total production. Adding good new land for diversified crops is offset by abandoning poor land now uneconomically farmed.

The total amount of production largely determines the price of the crop, and, therefore, the difference between comfort and misery for the farmer.

If we were foolish enough to run every shoe factory twenty-four hours a day, seven days a week, we would soon have more shoes than the nation could possibly buy -- a surplus of shoes that would have to be destroyed, or given away, or sold at prices far below the cost of production. That simple law of supply and demand equally affects the price of all our major crops.

You and I have heard big manufacturers talk about control of production by the farmer as an indefensible "economy of scarcity". And yet these same manufacturers never hesitate to shut down their own huge plants, throw men out of work, and cut down the purchasing power of whole communities whenever they think they must adjust their production to an oversupply of the goods they make. When it is their baby who has the measles, they call it not "an economy of scarcity" but "sound business judgment".

Of course, speaking seriously, what you and I want is such governmental rules of the game that labor, agriculture and industry will produce a balanced abundance without waste.

We intend this winter to find a way to prevent four-and-a-half cent cotton, nine cent corn and thirty cent wheat -- with all the disaster these prices mean for all of us -- from ever coming back again. To do that, the farmers themselves want to cooperate to build an all-weather farm program so that in the long run prices will be more stable. They believe this can be done, and the national budget kept out of the red.

And when we have found that way to protect the farmers' prices from the effects of alternating crop surpluses and crop scarcities, we shall also have found the way to protect the nation's food supply from the effects of the same fluctuation. We ought always to have enough food at prices within the reach of the consuming public. For the consumers in the cities of America, we must find a way to help the farmers to store up in years of plenty enough to avoid hardship in the years of scarcity.

Our land use policy is a different thing. I have just visited much of the work that the national government is doing to stop soil erosion, to save our forests, to prevent floods, to produce electric power for more general use, and to give ^(an) people a chance to move from poor land ~~as~~ to better land by irrigating thousands of acres that need only water to provide an opportunity to make a good living.

I saw bare and burned hillsides where only a few years ago great forests were growing. They are now being planted to young trees, not only to stop erosion, but to provide a lumber supply for the future.

I saw CCC boys and WPA workers building check-dams and small ponds and terraces to raise the water table and make it possible for farms and villages to remain in safety where they now are. I saw the harnessing of the turbulent Missouri ^{stream} ~~badly~~, with the top soil of many States. And I saw barges on new channels carrying produce and freight athwart the nation.

Let me give you two simple illustrations of why government projects of this type have a national importance for the whole country ^{and not merely in local importance}.

In the Boise Valley in Idaho I saw a district which had been recently irrigated to enormous fertility so that a family can now make a pretty good living from forty acres of its land. Many of the families, who are making good in that valley today, moved there from a thousand miles away. They came from the dust strip that runs through the middle of the nation all the way from the Canadian border to Mexico ^{(Mexico) (years)} — a strip which includes large portions of ten States. That valley in western Idaho, therefore, assumes at once a national importance as a second chance for willing farmers. And, year by year, we propose to add more valleys to take care of thousands of other families who need the same kind of second chance in new green pastures.

The other illustration was at the Grand Coulee Dam in the State of Washington. The engineer in charge told me that almost half of the whole cost of that dam to date had been spent for materials that were manufactured east of the Mississippi ^{1/2 of money}, giving employment and wages to thousands of industrial workers in the eastern third of the nation, two thousand miles away.

All of this work needs a more businesslike system of planning ^{1/2 of money} and greater foresight than we use today.

That is why I recommended to the last session of the Congress the creation of seven planning regions, in which local people will originate and coordinate recommendations as to work ^{of this kind} to be done in their particular regions. The Congress will, of course, determine the projects to be selected within the budget limits.

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For many years we have all known that the executive and administrative departments are a higgledy-piggledy patchwork of duplicate responsibilities and overlapping powers. The reorganization of government machinery which I proposed to the Congress last winter does not conflict with the principle of the democratic process, as some people say. It only makes that process work more efficiently.

On my recent trip many people have talked to me about the millions of men and women and children who still work at insufficient wages and overlong hours.

American industry has searched the outside world to find new markets -- but it can create on its very doorstep the biggest and most permanent market it has ever had. It needs the reduction of trade barriers to improve its foreign markets, but it should not overlook the chance to reduce the domestic trade barrier right here -- right away -- without waiting for any treaty. A few more dollars a week in wages, a better distribution of jobs with a shorter working day will almost overnight make millions of our lowest-paid workers actual buyers of billions of dollars of industrial and farm products. That increased volume of sales ought to lessen other cost of production so much that even a considerable increase in labor costs can be absorbed without imposing higher prices on the consumer.

I am a firm believer in fully adequate pay for all labor. But right now I am most greatly concerned in increasing the pay of the lowest-paid labor -- those who are our most numerous consuming group but who today do not make enough to maintain a decent standard of living or to buy the food, clothes and other articles necessary to keep our factories and farms fully running.

Wise business men already understand and agree with this policy. They agree also that no one section of the country can permanently benefit itself, or the rest of the country, by maintaining standards of wages and hours ~~for~~ ^(for) inferior to other sections of the country.

Most business men, big and little, know that their government neither wants to put them out of business nor to prevent them from earning a decent profit. In spite of the alarms of a few who seek to regain control of American life, most business men, big and little, know that their government is trying to make property more secure than ever before by giving every family a real chance to have a property stake in the nation.

Whatever danger there may be to the property and profits of the many, if there be any danger, comes not from government's attitude toward business but from restraints now imposed upon business by private monopolies and financial oligarchies. The average business man knows that a high cost of living is a great deterrent to business and that business prosperity depends much upon a low price policy which encourages the widest possible consumption. As one of the country's leading economists recently said -- "the continuance of business recovery in the United States depends far more upon business policies, business pricing policies, than it does on anything that may be done, or not done, in Washington".

Our competitive system is not altogether competitive. Anybody who buys any large quantity of manufactured goods knows this, whether it be the government or an individual buyer. We have anti-trust laws, to be sure, but they have not been adequate to check the growth of many monopolies. Whether or not they might have been adequate originally, interpretation by the courts and the difficulties and delays of legal procedure have now definitely limited their effectiveness.

(adequate) We are already studying how to strengthen our anti-trust laws in order to end monopoly -- not to hurt but to free legitimate business.

To the Nation. I have touched briefly on these important subjects, which, taken together, make a program for the immediate future.) To attain it, legislation is necessary.

As we plan today for the creation of ever higher standards of living for the people of the United States, we are aware that our plans may be most seriously affected by events in the world outside our borders.

By a series of trade agreements we have been attempting to recreate the trade of the world which plays so important a part in our domestic prosperity; but we know that if the world outside our borders falls into the chaos of war, world trade will be completely disrupted.

Nor can we view with indifference the destruction of civilized values throughout the world. We seek peace, not only for our generation but also for the generation of our children.

We seek for them the continuance of world civilization in order that their American civilization may continue to be invigorated, by the achievements of civilized men and women in the rest of the world.

I want our great democracy to be wise enough to realize that aloofness from war is not promoted by unawareness of war. In a world of mutual suspicions, peace must be affirmatively reached for. It cannot just be wished for. It cannot just be waited for.

And

We have now made known our willingness to attend a conference of the parties to the Nine Power Treaty of 1922 -- the Treaty of Washington, of which we are one of the original signatories. The purpose of this conference will be to seek by agreement a solution of the present situation in China. In efforts to find that solution, it is our purpose to cooperate with the other signatories to this Treaty, including China and Japan.

Such cooperation would be an example of one of the possible paths to follow in our search for means toward peace throughout the whole world.

The development of civilization and of human welfare is based on the acceptance by individuals of certain fundamental decencies in their relations with each other. The development of peace in the world is dependent similarly on the acceptance by nations of certain fundamental decencies in their relations with each other.

Ultimately, I hope each nation will accept the fact that violations of these rules of conduct are an injury to the well-being of all nations.

Meanwhile, remember that from 1913 to 1921, I was fairly close to world events, and in that period, while I learned much of what to do, I also learned much of what not to do.

The common sense, the intelligence of America agree with my statement that "America hates war. America hopes for peace. Therefore, America actively engages in the search for peace".

DRAFT #5

DRAFT #5
1/21/1977

For anyone who is charged with proposing or ~~expressing~~ judging national policies, first hand knowledge of the nation as a whole is, I think, an absolute essential -- not only for officials, but also for those who publicly comment on news and policies and assume to form public opinion.

That is why I have taken trips to all parts of the country this year. ^{Afghan} I visited the Southwest ^{last spring.} ~~This~~ ^{Now} I have made several trips through the East. ^{Now} I am just back from a trip all the way across the continent, and later this autumn I hope to pay an annual visit to the Southeast.

For a President especially it is a duty to think in national terms -- to think not only of today, but of future years when someone else will be President.

He must consider not ~~only~~ the average of the prosperity and well-being of the country, for averages easily conceal ^{Cover up} danger spots of poverty and instability which exist in many individual areas or among many special groups of citizens.

He must not let the country be deceived by a merely temporary prosperity which depends ~~on~~ on wasteful exploitation

of natural resources, for when those resources are exhausted depressions come [again] to stay.

He must think not only of keeping us out of war today, but also of keeping war out of our way for generations to come.

The kind of prosperity we want is the sound and permanent kind which is not built up temporarily at the expense of any section or any group. And the kind of peace we want is the sound and permanent kind, which is built on the cooperative search for peace by all the nations who want peace.

The other day I was asked to state my outstanding impression gained on this recent trip. I said that it was the general understanding, on the part of the average citizen, of the broad objectives and policies which I have just outlined.

I have talked with those who farm in every part of the country. I have talked with tradesmen in small rural communities and in great cities. I have talked with those who manufacture and sell all kinds of things used by farmers and industrial workers. ~~and I have talked with those who work in many different occupations.~~
For most people this has been a good year -- better in dollars and cents than any year since 1929, and far better in the soundness of its prosperity than 1929 itself.

But we have not yet done all which must be done to make this prosperity stable. The people of the United States were ~~cheered~~ stopped in their efforts to prevent ^{future} [the] piling up of huge agricultural surpluses and the price ~~creations~~ ^{tumbling} which inevitably follow them. They were ~~cheered~~ stopped in their efforts to secure reasonable minimum wages and maximum hours and the end of child labor. And because they were ~~cheered~~, many groups in many parts of the country still have less purchasing power and a lower standard of living than the nation as a whole can afford to ~~stand for~~ ^{stand for}. ~~allow~~.

The American people realize these facts. [They do want stability. They do want every section in the nation and every group in the nation to share in that stability.]

That is why they ask government not to stop governing simply because prosperity has come back a long way or because some people believe that alternate waves of prosperity and ruin are inevitable, [and] would like to return to the old freedom of speculation.

The American people do not look on government as an interloper in their affairs. On the contrary, they regard it as the most effective form of organized self-help.

They want the financial budget balanced -- but they want the human budget balanced as well. They want a national economy which balances itself with as little ^{government} subsidy as possible, for they realize that persistent subsidies ultimately bankrupt their government.

They are not so greatly concerned that every child be right as for instance the overwhelming majority of our citizens who live by agriculture are thinking very clearly about the [proper function of government] in connection with the production of crops. They help should assume

affirm that government must help in two ways -- first,

in the use of land, and, secondly, in the control of surpluses,

Let me speak first of the control of surpluses. The other day at one of my press conferences a reporter told me he had never been able to understand why the government wants to curtail crop production and, at the same time, wants to open up new irrigated acres. He was confusing ~~two~~ ^{totally} two separate objectives.

The answer is this. *Crop control regulates the amount of production; land use regulates the type of land used for each farmer's in his part of the country.*

Crop control is regulation -- (with the approval) of the crop growers and with the help of the government -- of the total

amount of any major crop grown in the whole nation on all cultivated land, good or bad. The total amount of production largely determines the price of the crop, and the difference between comfort and misery for the farmer.

A farm crop is like any other commodity, for instance, shoes. If we were foolish enough to run every shoe factory twenty-four hours a day, seven days a week, we would soon have more shoes than the nation could possibly buy -- a surplus of shoes that would have to be destroyed, or given away, or sold at prices far below the cost of production. That simple law of supply and demand equally affects the price of all our major crops.

A We are seeking to devise machinery which will prevent four and a half cent cotton, nine cent corn and thirty-six cent wheat -- with all the disaster [that means] for all of us -- from coming back again. But we do not want to adopt a method which will cost the Treasury more by subsidy than is necessary to help

To do that, the farmers merely a subsidy, the farmers help themselves. The farmers do not want ~~to do that, the farmers help themselves~~. They want to export so that in the long run by ~~they want to export so that in the long run by~~ ~~so far as possible the control of farm surplus~~ ~~so far as possible the control of farm surplus~~ ~~Adjustments from year to year, Unsubsidized will not be necessary~~ ~~be necessary~~ ~~so far as possible the control of farm surplus~~ ~~so far as possible the control of farm surplus~~ ~~can be kept more readily out of the market~~ ~~the national budget in balance and keep it in balance~~.

[And, equally important, is the objective to protect the food supply of the nation from the effects of alternating crop

surpluses and crop scarcities.] We ought always to have enough food.
[and] at prices within the reach of the consuming public.

[So much for the need of stopping the reckless piling up

of surpluses. The other matter with respect to which government can help in agriculture is that of land use -- something entirely

different.] Our land use policy is a different thing.

As I have just visited much of the work that the national government is doing to prevent floods, to stop soil erosion, to save our forests, to produce electric power for more general use, and to give people a chance to move from poor land on to better land by irrigating thousands of acres that need only water to provide an opportunity to make a good living.

B) Let me give you two simple illustrations of why ~~these~~
~~of this type~~
government projects, ~~situated in the Northwest~~, have a national importance for the whole country.

In the Boise Valley in Idaho I found a district which had been irrigated to [a degree of] enormous fertility so that a family can now make a pretty good living from forty acres of its land. A great many of the families, who are making good in that valley today, moved there from a thousand miles away. They came

from the dust strip that runs through the middle of the nation all the way from the Canadian border to Mexico -- a strip which includes large portions of ten States. That little valley in western Idaho, therefore, assumes at once a national importance, *as a second chance for willing farms*. And, year by year, we *shall have* to add many more similar little valleys to take care of thousands of other families who need the same kind of *help* *and* *chance*.

The other illustration was at the Grand Coulee Dam in the State of Washington. The engineer in charge told me about half of the whole cost of that dam to date had been spent for materials that were manufactured east of the Mississippi, giving employment to thousands of industrial workers in the eastern third of the nation, two thousand miles away. *(X)*

I saw bare and burned hillsides where only a few years ago great forests were growing. They are now being planted to young trees, not only to stop erosion, but to provide lumber supply for the future.

I saw CCC boys and WPA workers building check-dams and small ponds and terraces to raise the water table and make it possible for farms and villages to remain in safety where they *are now*. I saw the harnessing of the turbulent Missouri so

B
that ultimately it will not pour its floods through its lower reaches and the Mississippi River all the way to the Gulf of Mexico. And I saw the improvement of navigation which is enabling barges to carry farm produce and all kinds of freight across the nation from North to South.

All of this work, which, in the long run affects the family which lives in the slums of New York City just as much as a family that lives on a sub-marginal farm in the Dakotas, needs a more businesslike system of planning and ~~more~~
^{the use} greater foresight than ~~more~~ today.

That is why I recommended to the last session of the Congress the creation of seven planning regions.⁴ These regions are not intended to be seven TVA's, as some people have mis-stated, because the Tennessee Valley Authority is an administrative as well as a planning agency.

In spirit of
There has been a lot of misrepresentation about regional planning by people who do not want anything really done,

This ~~type of~~ planning does not and will not encroach on the power of local government or of States. Actually it tends to decentralize. In deciding what work is to be done next, the plan originates in the small local unit; ~~is sent on to the~~ ^{move up the line to the} connection with similar plans in neighboring units, then in its relationship to all plans for the whole of the region, finally, ^{and} ~~the recommendations come to Washington and are~~ ^{for} considered ~~in~~ in connection with the recommendations for all the other six or seven regions. The Executive Branch of the Government then determines, from the standpoint of how much the Treasury can afford to spend, the amount it can ask from the Congress. The Congress thus has a list of carefully analyzed projects, listed ^{any branch} ~~in the order of their immediate importance~~, from which to choose, and directs the President to proceed with their construction ⁱⁿ ~~and~~ ^{making their} ~~with~~ appropriations ~~within~~ ^{any branch} ~~within~~ the budget limits.

Another important need ^{To} ~~in~~ carrying out this great program, ^{any branch} ~~any branch~~ on which our future well-being depends, is to make the machinery of the Executive Branch of the Government ^{twentieth century machinery} ~~more efficient. Some~~ ^{with} ~~body has said that~~ I am a real believer in the democratic processes of government, as opposed to the dictatorship method, ~~but~~ ^{any branch} ~~any branch~~

~~now~~ an impatient in the way I go about things. The first is absolutely tame and the second is partly tame. Impatience is a relative term. ^{fact} I recognize that democratic processes are necessarily and rightly slower than dictatorial processes. But I refuse to believe ~~I do not think~~ that democratic processes need be dangerously slow. ^{in fact} During the past five years, ^{we have} come to ~~a~~ nationwide realization of the need of many new policies relating to our future security. ^{and activities} Some of these new policies have been blocked ^{a powerful fact} ~~in their fulfillment~~ -- blocked principally by ~~people~~ who who do not believe in them at all and want us to revert to the "do nothing -- let nature take its course" era of the 1920's. These people still hope that by further delay for another year, or four years, or eight years, they can prevent for all time the accomplishment ^{bring} ~~of~~ for all time these policies.

~~It seems to me~~ that the time has come for us to say that five years constitutes a long enough period of delay and that our democratic representative method of government ought now to go through with certain broad policies which the majority of our people undoubtedly approve. It is not impatience on my part or on your part if we say we are not willing to stand still where we are for another generation ^{another five years or} ⁷⁾

without continuing to move forward.

One thing I am certainly impatient with. For years we have all known that the present arrangement of the Executive and Administrative departments of government is ^{an} ~~a higgledy-piggledy~~ patchwork of duplicate responsibilities and overlapping powers. [It has grown ^{up} higgledy-piggledy over many years.] ~~No one in America wishes to surrender America's democracy for the greater efficiency of a dictator, but~~ No one wants to retain the archaic clogs on government machinery. The reforms in government administration that I proposed to the Congress last winter will not take away in the slightest degree from the principle of the democratic process. They will help to make that process work more efficiently.

I want to say a word, too, about another vital link in our prosperity. You and I have heard big manufacturers talk about control of production by the farmer as an indefensible economy of scarcity. And yet these same manufacturers never hesitate to shut down their own huge plants, throw men out of work, ^{and} cut down the purchasing power of whole communities whenever they think they must adjust their production to an oversupply of ^{the} goods they make. When it is their baby that has the measles, they call it not "an economy

A [of scarcity" but "sound business judgment."]

On my recent trip ~~leaders~~ ^{many people} have talked to me
about men and women and children working at insufficient wages
and overlong hours.

American industry has searched the outside world to
find new markets -- but it can create on its very doorstep the
biggest and most permanent market it has ever had. American
industry ^{needs} needs the reduction of trade barriers to improve its
foreign markets, but it should not overlook the chance to
reduce the domestic trade barrier right here -- right away --
without waiting for any treaty. I refer to the vast army of
underpaid workers here in the United States of America -- an
army which needs only better wage and hour standards to become
actual buyers of billions of dollars of industrial products.

The addition of a few dollars a week more in wage scales for
the low-paid workers will not add nearly as much to the cost
of production as some people fear. The cost of the lowest
grade of labor seldom represents more than a quarter of the
total cost of production of the goods themselves. And we have
always boasted that increased volume ^{of sales} ought to lessen other
costs so that even a considerable increase in labor costs can
not produce much

[ought to] be absorbed without imposing [substantially] higher prices on the consumer.

I am a firm believer in fully adequate pay for all labor -- pay which has been and should be based on the ~~xxim~~

skill of the laborer.] But, ^{right now} in the present state of our economy,

I am most greatly concerned in increasing the pay of the ~~under-~~

paid -- what is called "cheap labor" -- labor which over a

course of a year does not give a return sufficient ^{enough} to maintain

a decent standard of living or keep the wheels of industry

turning by buying more food, more clothes and more of all the

necessary to keep our factories and farms ^{fully} running articles which today have become properly necessities of life.

Most business men understand and agree with this policy.

[When] they [think it over they] agree also [with the thought] that

no one section of the country will permanently benefit itself

or the rest of the country by maintaining standards of wages

and hours far inferior to other parts of the country.

Yes, most business men, big and little, agree with

these fundamental principles, and [most of them understand fully]

that their government neither wants to put them out of business

nor to prevent them from earning a decent profit. In spite of

the obvious efforts of a comparative few to regain ~~control~~

control of American government, most business men, big and little,

a right to have
appreciate the fact that we are trying to make property as a whole

more secure than ever before under the democratic processes by giving
very firmly a property, state in the nation. ①

And this leads me to one final thought about business. It

is a fact that our competitive system is not altogether competitive.

any
Anybody who buys in large quantity of manufactured goods knows this,

whether it be the government or an individual buyer. In the case

of many important articles we have not a free market. Since

~~fixed by agreement, which is a polite word for collusion.~~ We have

anti-trust laws, to be sure, but they have not been adequate to

check the growth of many monopolies. Whether originally they might

have been adequate, interpretation by the courts and the diffi-

culties of legal procedure have definitely limited their effect-

iveness.

A thorough revision, not to weaken but to strengthen our
anti-trust laws in order to end monopoly, is, I think, one of the
matters to which the Congress of the United States will soon
address itself. The Department of Justice and other agencies
studying this entire subject
of the government are already engaged in this study.

I have touched briefly on a number of important subjects,
which, taken together, carry on and compose what may be regarded
as a program for the immediate future. It is a consistent program
because every element of it bears on the future ~~interest~~ well-being
and security of our people. It seeks to iron out the peaks and

valleys, to help those who most need it, to make every section prosperous, to maintain the rights of property and prevent the control of property and of human opportunities by any very small group of private citizens. ~~(to give opportunity to acquire property)~~

To attain this objective some ^{of} legislation is, of course, necessary.

To give to the Congress an opportunity to consider legislation now before them, and to make it possible for them to avoid next year a long session extending through the summer, I have today called a special session of the Congress to meet on _____.

I know that many enemies of democracy say that it is bad for business and bad for the tranquility and confidence of the country to have a special session -- even one beginning ^{only} six weeks before the regular session. But I have never had any sympathy with those who look on a session of the Congress as an unfortunate infusion of what they call "politics" into our national affairs. The Congress is an essential instrument of democratic government; and democratic government can never be considered an intruder into the affairs of a democratic nation.

Only those who do not like democracy want to keep legislators at home and out of session. -

[This year in particular there are additional reasons for slightly advancing the date of the session. There is to be a Congressional election in 1938 - ~~an election which will decide issues of great importance to the future of America~~ - to decide whether we proceed normally and continuously towards a greater economic and social security, or whether we stand still and thereby automatically revert to selfish individualism and another period of chaos. To debate those issues before their constituents next autumn, the members of the House and the Senate will, I think, want to be in a position to adjourn their next session in the spring of 1938.]

{ It has been said to me that if the Congress convenes in November there will be ~~such~~ discussion of other subjects such as judicial reform and foreign affairs. Why not? What ^{is the} difference ~~does it make whether they discuss them as they have~~ ^{between debate} ~~a perfect right to do, at the end of November or the beginning of January?~~

Speaking of foreign affairs, I am glad that the American people as a whole are giving to them such understanding thought. They are realizing that aloofness from war does not require unawareness of the fact of war, and that the ostrich is not necessarily safe when he sticks his head in the sand.

As I said in Chicago the other day we Americans are actively seeking the means toward peace. Most of us approve that search, for in order to work for peace we have to keep our eyes sufficiently open to see the fact of death and destruction in other parts of the world.

chaos
We all know that world/~~peace~~ would eventually touch

America if it came to pass, and we all know that world peace

cannot be obtained by wishing for it. A fire down the street

does not menace us at the moment, but a high wind is blowing,

(and we all know) ~~from past experience that we don't take some~~
~~kind of interest in helping to put out that fire. It might~~
extend down the block, jump to another block and eventually spread to our own block and our own house.

We are not helped in our search for peace by those

In this search we have little patience either with

those who disseminate headlines declaring "War ~~on~~ United States"

or those who for partisan gain or lack of understanding shout

from the house tops that search for peace will of necessity

bring war to America. We have only contempt for

such people.

will be directed toward keeping America out of war. We have only

contempt for those who oppose a search for peace; we have only

pity for those who do not understand that the American people

~~owe to civilization the active experience of support for
conduct between nations.~~

War today is far more horrible in its effects than at anytime in the history of the world. There is still a thing known as humanity. In the ~~maximim~~ preservation of humanity within a community or within a nation, certain generally acceptable rules of conduct are observed. Humanity between nations can be maintained by the acceptance of similar rules of conduct by all nations, and by adherence to those rules of conduct when they have been accepted.

That means acceptance of the fact that violations of international agreements affect the well-being of all nations, whether parties to the agreements or not.

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War today is more horrible in its effects than at any time in the history of the world, and because the world is so much (smaller), war spreads more easily, is more contagious, than ever before.

The Republics of the Western Hemisphere recognize this. They have joined in accepting rules of conduct. They have joined in agreements to solve economic and social problems by peaceful and not warlike means. They have agreed to consult together with the purpose of arriving at similar action in the event of violations of their international agreements or in the event that they are attacked by outside nations.

In our search for means toward peace throughout the world, we believe that the sound public opinion of the great majority of nations is working toward the adoption of rules of international conduct. That means the ultimate acceptance by all nations of the fact that violations of these rules of conduct are an injury to the well-being of all nations.

@12/1951

Anyone charged with proposing or judging national policies, first hand knowledge of the Nation as a whole, is, I think, an absolute essential -- not only for officials, but also for those who publicly comment on news and policies and assume to form public opinion.

That is why I have taken trips to all parts of the country again this year. Last spring I visited the Southwest. This summer I made several trips in the East. Now I am just back from a trip all the way across the continent, and later this autumn I hope to pay my annual visit to the Southeast.

For a President especially it is a duty to think in national terms -- ~~he must~~ think not only of ~~today~~, but of future years when someone else will be President.

He must consider not ~~lose~~ the average of the prosperity and well-being of the country, for averages easily cover up danger spots of poverty and instability, which may exist in many individual areas or among many special groups of citizens.

He must not let the country be deceived by a merely temporary prosperity which depends on wasteful exploitation

of ~~our~~ resources, for when these resources are exhausted,
~~democracy comes to stay.~~

He must think not only of keeping us out of war today,
~~but also of keeping war~~ ^{us out of} ^{for} generations to come.

The kind of prosperity we want is the sound and permanent kind which is not built up temporarily at the expense of any section or any group. And the kind of peace we want is the sound and permanent kind, which is built on the co-operative search for peace by all the nations ~~which~~ want peace.

The other day I was asked to state my outstanding impression gained on this recent trip. I said that it seemed to me to be the general understanding on the part of the average citizen of the broad objectives and policies which I have just outlined.

(A) ~~I have talked with those who farm in every part of the country. I have talked with tradesmen in small rural communities and in great cities. I have talked with those who manufacture and sell all kinds of things used by farmers and industrial workers. And I have talked with those who work in many different occupations.~~

For most people this has been a good year -- better

(A)

A

Five years of fierce discussion and debate -- five years
of information through the radio and the moving picture -- have
taken the whole nation to school in the nation's business.

Even those who have most attacked our objectives have, by their very
criticism, encouraged the mass of our citizens to think about
and understand the issues involved, and understanding, to approve.

Out of that process, we have learned to think as a nation.
And out of that process we have learned to feel ourselves a nation.
As never before in our history, each section of America says to
^{its} ~~its~~ ^{other},
every other ^A "Thy people shall be my people."

in dollars and cents than any year since 1929, ~~is~~ far better
in the soundness of its prosperity than 1929 itself. (C)

But we have not yet done all which must be done to make this prosperity stable. The people of the United States were checked in their efforts to prevent future piling up of huge agricultural surpluses and the tumbling prices which inevitably follow them. They were checked in their efforts to secure reasonable minimum wages and maximum hours and the end of child labor. And because they were checked, many groups in many parts of the country still have less purchasing power and a lower standard of living than the Nation ~~as a whole can afford.~~ ^{permanently}

The American people realize these facts. That is why they ask government not to stop governing simply because prosperity has come back a long way. ~~or because some people,~~
~~believing that alternate waves of prosperity and ruin are~~
~~inevitable, would like to return to the old freedom of~~
~~speculation.~~

^{They}
~~The American people~~ do not look on government as an interloper in their affairs. On the contrary, they regard it as the most effective form of organized self-help.

E →

(C)

(C)

SUGGESTION

And everywhere I went, I found people ^{very} optimistic
about the good effect on business which they expected from
the steady spending by farmers of this largest farm income
since 1929.

~~BB~~ E

SUGGESTION

Bored
Sometimes I get depressed sitting in Washington
hearing certain people talk and talk about all that
government ought not do -- people who got all they wanted
from government back in the days when the financial in-
stitutions and the railroads were being bailed out in
1933. It is refreshing to get out in the country and
feel the wisdom of common folk that the time to repair
the roof is when the sun is shining.

Bottom

p 3

They want the financial budget balanced -- But they want the human budget balanced as well. They want a national economy which balances itself with as little government subsidy as possible, for they realize that persistent subsidies ultimately bankrupt their government.

(B) ~~They are not so greatly concerned that every detail be~~
~~right, there are that direction is right. Furthermore, the~~
A overwhelming majority of our citizens who live by agriculture
are thinking very clearly ~~about the direction which government~~
to ~~help~~ ^{the} in connection with the production of crops.
A ^{What} They ~~agree that government must~~ help in two ways -- first, in
the control of surpluses, and, second, in the proper use of
land.

The other day ~~at one of my press conferences~~ a reporter told me had never been able to understand why the government ~~wants~~ to curtail crop production and, at the same time, ~~wants~~ to open up new irrigated acres.

He was confusing two totally separate objectives.
[] Crop control is regulation -- by the cooperation of the crop growers and with the help of the government -- of the total amount of any major crop grown in

the whole Nation on all cultivated land, good or bad. Land
on the other hand
use_A is a policy of providing each farmer with the best quality
and type of land we have or can make available for his part
in that total production.

The total amount of production is what determines the
price of the crop, and, therefore, the difference between
comfort and misery for the farmer.

If we were foolish enough to run every shoe factory
twenty-four hours a day, seven days a week, we would soon have
more shoes than the Nation could possibly buy — a surplus of
shoes that would have to be destroyed, or given away, or sold
at prices far below the cost of production. That simple law
of supply and demand equally affects the price of all our major
crops.

You and I have heard big manufacturers talk about
control of production by the farmer as an indefensible "economy
of scarcity". And yet these same manufacturers never hesitate
to shut down their own huge plants, throw men out of work, and
cut down the purchasing power of whole communities whenever
they think they must adjust their production to an oversupply
of the goods they make. When it is their baby that has the
measles, they call it not "an economy of scarcity" but "sound

business judgment".

We ~~intend~~ ^{intend this winter} to find a way to prevent four and a half cent cotton, nine cent corn and thirty-six cent wheat -- with all the disaster those prices mean for all of us -- from ever coming back again. To do that, the farmers themselves ~~do not~~ ~~want~~ ^{want} ~~any~~ ^{any} subsidy. They want to cooperate ~~maximizing~~ ^{maximizing} incomes by crop adjustments from year to year so that in the long run ^{prices will be more stable,} large subsidies will not be necessary, and the national budget ~~will~~ ^{will} be kept out of the red.

And when we have found that way to protect the farmers' prices from the effects of alternating crop surpluses and crop scarcities, we shall also have found the way to protect the Nation's food supply from the effects of the same fluctuation. We ought always to have enough food at prices within the reach of the consuming public. ~~If before the drought of 1936 we had had a legal way to store reserve supplies of meat products,~~ ^{and 1936} ~~equal to one quarter of the annual amount of food consumed,~~ ~~the price of meat today would be 20% lower.~~ For the consumers in the cities of America, we must find a way to help the farmers ~~in this kind of thing~~ to store up in years of plenty enough to lighten the burdens of the years of scarcity.

[REDACTED]

Our land use policy is a different thing. I have just visited much of the work that the national government is doing to stop soil erosion, to save our forests, to prevent floods, to produce electric power for more general use, and to give people a chance to move from poor land on to better land by irrigating thousands of acres that need only water to provide an opportunity to make a good living.

I saw bare and burned hillsides where only a few years ago great forests were growing. They are now being planted to young trees, not only to stop erosion, but to provide lumber supply for the future.

I saw CCC boys and WPA workers building check-dams and small ponds and terraces to raise the water table and make it possible for farms and villages to remain in safety where they now are. I saw the harnessing of the turbulent Missouri, ^{and nearby} ~~so~~ ~~that ultimately it will not pour its floods through its lower reaches and the Mississippi River all the way to the Gulf of~~ ~~the Nation, North to South.~~ And I saw ~~the improvement of navigation which is~~ ~~on the channels passing~~ ~~berges to~~ ~~produce and all kinds of freight~~ ~~athwart~~ ~~the Nation, North to South.~~

Let me give you two simple illustrations of why government projects of this type have a national importance for the whole country.

In the Boise Valley in Idaho I found a district which had been irrigated to enormous fertility so that a family can now make a pretty good living from forty acres of its land. ~~in~~
~~many~~ Many of the families, who are making good in that valley today, moved there from a thousand miles away. They came from the dust strip that runs through the middle of the Nation all the way from the Canadian border to Mexico -- a strip which includes large portions of ten States. That ~~valley~~ valley in western Idaho, therefore, assumes at once a national importance as a second chance for willing farmers. And, year by year, we propose to add ~~more~~ more ~~new~~ ~~little~~ valleys to take care of thousands of other families who need the same kind of second chance. *in new green pastures*

The other illustration was at the Grand Coulee Dam in the State of Washington. The engineer in charge told me that ~~almost~~ ~~about~~ half of the whole cost of that dam to date had been spent for materials that were manufactured east of the Mississippi,

giving employment and wages to thousands of industrial workers in the eastern third of the Nation, two thousand miles away. These Eastern workers may never see that dam which has given them employment during the past dark years; ~~and~~ yet in a short time they may be getting a part of their food supply from land which it has made fertile.

All of this work, ~~which in the long run affects the family which lives in the slums of New York City just as much as the family that live on a sub-marginal farm in the Dakotas,~~ needs a more businesslike system of planning and greater foresight than we use today.

That is why I recommended to the last session of the Congress the creation of seven planning regions, in which local people will originate and coordinate ~~see Washington~~ their recommendations as to work of this kind to be done in their particular regions. This type of planning ~~will~~ ~~not~~ encroach on the power of local government ~~or the States~~ ~~of course~~. The Congress in Washington ~~will~~ ~~determine which of~~ these carefully analyzed projects it will select within budget limits.

The Congress will of course determine the projects to be selected within the budget limits.

~~These regions are not intended to be seven TVA regions.~~
~~Some people have suggested, because the Tennessee Valley~~
~~Authority is an administrative as well as a planning agency.~~

To carry out any twentieth century program, we must give the Executive Branch of the Government twentieth century machinery to work with. I recognize that democratic processes are necessarily and rightly slower than dictatorial processes. But I refuse to believe that democratic processes need be dangerously slow.

~~During the past five years the people have said time and again that they realize the need of many new policies and activities by Government to promote future security and preserve democracy in this country. Some of these new policies and activities have been blocked -- blocked principally by a powerful few who still hope that by further delay for another year, or four years, or eight years, they can bury these policies for all time.~~

~~Five years of persistence have proven that these are not merely passing public whims. It is not impatience on my part or on your part if we say we are not willing to stand still where we are for another five years or another generation~~

without continuing to move forward.

One thing I certainly am impatient with. For many years we have all known that the Executive and Administrative departments are a higgledy-piggledy patchwork of duplicate responsibilities and overlapping powers. The reorganization of government machinery which I proposed to the Congress last winter does not conflict with the principle of the democratic process, as some people say. It only makes that process work more efficiently.

On my recent trip many people have talked to me about the millions of men and women and children who still work at insufficient wages and overlong hours.

American industry has searched the outside world to find new markets -- but it can creat on its very doorstep the biggest and most permanent market it has ever had. It needs the reduction of trade barriers to improve its foreign markets, but it should not overlook the chance to reduce the domestic trade barrier right here -- right away --- without waiting for any treaty. A few more dollars a week in wages, a better distribution of jobs with a shorter working day will almost overnight make millions of our lowest paid workers actual buyers of billions of dollars of industrial products. That

and far

increased volume of sales ought to lessen other costs of production so much that even a considerable increase in labor costs can be absorbed without imposing higher prices on the consumer.

I am a firm believer in fully adequate pay for all labor. But right now I am most greatly concerned in increasing the pay of the lowest-paid labor -- those who are our most numerous consuming group but who today do not make enough to maintain a decent standard of living or to buy the food, clothes and other articles necessary to keep our factories and farms fully running.

~~The few righted~~ ^{already} ~~most~~ business men understand and agree with this policy.

They agree also that no one section of the country can permanently benefit itself, or the rest of the country, by maintaining standards of wages and hours far inferior to other sections of the country.

Most business men, big and little, ~~agree with those fundamental principles~~, and know that their government neither wants to put them out of business nor to prevent them from earning a decent profit. In spite of the ~~various miscreants~~ ^{Afairs} of a few who seek to regain control of American life, ~~most business men, big and little~~, know that their

government is trying to make property more secure than ever before by giving every family a real chance to have a property stake in the Nation.

The real present danger to the property and profits of the many is not government -- but monopolies in business. Our competitive system is not altogether competitive. Anybody who buys any large quantity of manufactured goods knows this, whether it be the Government or an individual buyer. We have anti-trust laws, to be sure, but they have not been adequate to check the growth of many monopolies. Whether or not they might have been adequate originally, interpretation by the courts and ^{and difficulty} the difficulties of legal procedure have now definitely limited ^A their effectiveness.

The Department of Justice and other agencies of the
We
Government are already studying this entire subject in thorough
to strengthen our anti-trust laws in order to end
monopoly, i.e., Trust, one of the matters which the Congress
(an evil),
of the United States must soon address itself.

I have touched briefly on a number of important subjects, which, taken together, make a program for the immediate future. To attain it, legislation is necessary.

As we plan today for the creation of ever higher standards of living for the people of the United States, we ~~must~~^{are} be aware that our plans may be most seriously affected by events in the world outside our borders.

Secretary Hull, by a series of trade agreements, has been attempting to recreate the trade of the world which plays so important a part in our domestic prosperity.. We know that if the world outside our borders falls into ~~bloody~~^{the of war,} chaos, world trade will be completely disrupted, ~~and our own progress will be seriously~~

F. Furthermore, although we are separated by oceans from possible enemies and are determined to stay out of war, we can not view with indifference the destruction of civilized values throughout the world.

I want our great democracy to be wise enough to realize that aloofness from war does not require unawareness of war. ~~we must~~
~~of the facts that in this interlocked interrelated world, how we~~
~~conduct the simple details of our day-to-day life may greatly affect~~
~~the attitudes of other people toward us.~~

~~In this in Chicago on Sunday, we Americans are actively~~

~~working~~

~~seeking the cause towards peace~~. In a world of mutual suspicions, peace must be affirmatively reached for. It cannot just be wished for. ~~It does not come as a blessed reward for innocence to those who close their eyes to the fact of death and destruction in other parts of the world.~~

Influence of that conviction

We have now accepted an invitation to participate with the other signatories of the Nine-Power Treaty of 1922 in a conference with regard to the present situation in China the object of which, as defined in the terms of reference, is "to seek a method of putting an end to the conflict by agreement."

G

We believe that there must be such a thing as international law.

We believe that disputes between nations must be settled by peaceful means.

We believe in throwing whatever influence we may have in the world behind the search for peace.

~~People will remember that from 1913 to 1921, I was fairly close to world events and in that period while I learned much of what to do, I learned ~~also~~ much of what not to do.~~

A

Our search for peace is not helped by those who write
headlines today reading, "WAR MENACES AMERICA." *They themselves*
are the ones who menace America.
~~The men who write such headlines doubtless would have~~
~~written, WAR MENACES THE WORLD, above the words, HOW FAITH-~~
~~PEACE, GOOD WILL TOWARDS MEN."~~

(I)

DRAFT #7

of Oct 12 1937

-1-

This afternoon

I have today issued a Proclamation calling a special session
of the Congress to convene on Monday, November 15, 1937.

I do this in order to give to the Congress an opportunity
to consider important legislation before the regular session in
January, and to enable the Congress to avoid a lengthy session
next year, extending through the summer.

I know that many enemies of democracy will say that it
is bad for business, bad for the tranquility of the country, to
have a special session -- even one beginning only six weeks before
the regular session. But I have never had sympathy with the point
of view that a session of the Congress is an unfortunate intrusion
of what they call "politics" into our national affairs. Those who
do not like democracy want to keep legislators at home. But the
Congress is an essential instrument of democratic government; and
democratic government can never be considered an intruder into
the affairs of a democratic nation.

I shall ask this special session to consider immediately
certain important legislation which my recent trip through the
nation convinces me ~~is~~ ^{The American people insistently} immediate
need. This does not mean
that other legislation, ^{to} which I am not referring ~~is~~ tonight, is
not important for our national well-being. ^{But it is the type of} ~~other legislation~~

legislation which can more ~~easily~~ ^{readily} be discussed at the regular session ~~of the Congress~~.

Anyone charged with proposing or judging national policies ~~should~~ have first hand knowledge of the nation as a whole.

That is why again this year I have taken trips to all parts of the country. Last spring I visited the Southwest. This summer I made several trips in the East. Now I am just back from a trip all the way across the continent, and later this autumn I hope to pay my annual visit to the Southeast.

For a President especially it is a duty to think in national terms.

He must think not only of this year but of future years when someone else will be President.

He must look ^{long and} deeper than the average of the prosperity and well-being of the country, for averages easily cover up danger spots of poverty and instability.

He must not let the country be deceived by a merely temporary prosperity which depends on wasteful exploitation of resources which cannot last.

He must think not only of keeping us out of war today, but also of keeping us out of war in generations to come.

The kind of prosperity we want is the sound and permanent kind which is not built up temporarily at the expense of any section or any group. And the kind of peace we want is the sound and permanent kind, which is built on the cooperative search for peace by all the nations which want peace.

The other day I was asked to state my outstanding impression gained on this recent trip. I said that it seemed to me to be the general understanding on the part of the average citizen of the broad objectives and policies which I have just outlined.

Five years of fierce discussion and debate -- five years of information through the radio and the moving picture -- have taken the whole nation to school in the nation's business. Even those who have most attacked our objectives have, by their very criticism, encouraged the mass of our citizens to think about and understand the issues involved, and, understanding, to approve.

Out of that process, we have learned to think as a nation. And out of that process we have learned to feel ourselves a nation. As never before in our history, each section of America says to every other section, "Thy people shall be my people".

For most ~~people~~^{of the country} this has been a good year -- better in dollars and cents than ~~any~~^{for many} years since 1929 -- far better in the soundness of its prosperity. ~~than 1929 itself~~. And everywhere I

went, I found people particularly optimistic about the good effect
on business which ~~they~~ ^{we} expected from the steady spending by farmers
of ~~this~~ largest farm income ~~since 1927 in many years.~~

But we have not yet done all which must be done to make this prosperity stable. The people of the United States were checked in their efforts to prevent future piling up of huge agricultural surpluses and the tumbling prices which inevitably follow them. They were checked in their efforts to secure reasonable minimum wages and maximum hours and the end of child labor. And because they were checked, many groups in many parts of the country still have less purchasing power and a lower standard of living than the nation as a whole can permanently ~~allow~~ stand for.

~~The~~ Americans realize these facts. That is why they ask government not to stop governing simply because prosperity has come back a long way.

They do not look on government as an interloper in their affairs. On the contrary, they regard it as the most effective form of organized self-help.

Sometimes I get bored sitting in Washington hearing certain people talk and talk about all that government ought not do --

people who got all they wanted from government back in the days when the financial institutions and the railroads were being bailed out in 1933. It is refreshing to ^{go} ~~get~~ out through the country and ~~communism~~ feel the wisdom of ~~some~~ ^A folk that the time to repair the roof is when the sun is shining.

They want the financial budget balanced. But they want the human budget balanced as well. They want to set up a national economy which balances itself with as little government subsidy as possible, for they realize that persistent subsidies ultimately bankrupt their government.

(A) They know that just so long as we are traveling on the right road, it does not make so much difference if occasionally we hit a "Thank you marm".

// The overwhelming majority of our citizens who live by agriculture are thinking very clearly how they want government to help them in connection with the production of crops. They want government help in two ways -- first, in the control of surpluses, and, second, in the proper use of land.

The other day a reporter told me he had never been able to understand why the government seeks to curtail crop production and, at the same time, to open up new irrigated acres.

✓

He was confusing two totally separate objectives.

Crop surplus control ~~is largely to~~ ~~regulation~~ ~~excessive taxation~~

~~is~~ the total amount of any major crop grown in the whole nation
on all cultivated land, good or bad -- ^{Control} ~~regulation~~ by the co-
operation of the crop growers and with the help of the government.
Land use, on the other hand, is a policy of providing each farmer
with the best quality and type of land we have, or can make avail-
able, for his part in that total production.

The total amount of production ^{largely} ~~is almost~~ determines the
price of the crop, and, therefore, the difference between comfort
and misery for the farmer.

If we were foolish enough to run every shoe factory twenty-
four hours a day, seven days a week, we would soon have more shoes
than the nation could possibly buy -- a surplus of shoes that
would have to be destroyed, or given away, or sold at prices far
below the cost of production. That simple law of supply and demand
equally affects the price of all our major crops.

You and I have heard big manufacturers talk about control
of production by the farmer as an indefensible "economy of
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(3) Of course speaking
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~~year after year on~~ ^{the} ~~same~~
~~ground.~~

they must adjust their production to an oversupply of the goods they make. When it is their baby ~~xxxx~~ has the measles, they call it not "an economy of scarcity" but "sound business judgment".

(B) We intend this winter to find a way to prevent four-and-a-half-cent cotton, nine-cent corn and thirty-~~one~~ cent wheat -- with all the disaster those prices mean for all of us -- from ever coming back again. To do that, the farmers themselves want to ~~to build an all-weather farm program~~ cooperate by ~~own adjustments from year to year~~ so that in the long run prices will be more stable, ~~They believe this can be done,~~ ~~large subsidies will not be~~ ~~necessary,~~ and the national budget ~~will be~~ kept out of the red.

And when we have found that way to protect the farmers' prices from the effects of alternating crop surpluses and crop scarcities, we shall also have found the way to protect the nation's food supply from the effects of the same fluctuation. We ought always to have enough food at prices within the reach of the consuming public. For the consumers in the cities of America, we must find a way to help the farmers to store up in ~~surplus land~~ years of plenty enough to ~~lighten the burdens~~ of the years of scarcity.

Our land use policy is a different thing. I have just visited much of the work that the national government is doing to stop soil erosion, to save our forests, to prevent floods, to

produce electric power for more general use, and to give people a chance to move from poor land on to better land by irrigating thousands of acres that need only water to provide an opportunity to make a good living.

I saw bare and burned hillsides where only a few years ago great forests were growing. They are now being planted to young trees, not only to stop erosion, but to provide lumber supply for ^A
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Let me give you two simple illustrations of why government projects of this type have a national importance for the whole country.

In the Boise Valley in Idaho I ~~found~~ a district which had been ^{given} ~~flooded~~ irrigated to enormous fertility so that a family can now make a pretty good living from forty acres of its land. Many of the families, who are making good in that valley today, moved there

from a thousand miles away. They came from the dust strip that runs through the middle of the nation all the way from the Canadian border to Mexico -- a strip which includes large portions of ten States. That valley in western Idaho, therefore, assumes at once a national importance as a second chance for willing farmers. And, year by year, we propose to add ^{more} valleys to take care of thousands of other families who need the same kind of second chance in new green pastures.

The other illustration was at the Grand Coulee Dam in the State of Washington. The engineer in charge told me that almost half of the whole cost of that dam to date had been spent for materials that were manufactured east of the Mississippi, giving employment and wages to thousands of industrial workers in the western third of the nation, two thousand miles away. These Eastern workers may never see that dam which has given them employment during the past dark years; yet in a short time they may be getting a part of their food supply from land which it has made fertile.

All of this work needs a more businesslike system of planning and greater foresight than we use today.

~*~

That is why I recommended to the last session of the Congress the creation of seven planning regions, in which local people will originate and coordinate recommendations as to work of this kind to be done in their particular regions. The Congress will, of course, determine the projects to be selected within the budget limits.

To carry out any twentieth century program, we must give the Executive Branch of the Government twentieth century machinery to work with. I recognize that democratic processes are necessarily and rightly slower than dictatorial processes. But I refuse to believe that democratic processes need be dangerously slow.

For many years we have all known that the Executive and Administrative departments are a higgledy-piggledy patchwork of duplicate responsibilities and overlapping powers. The reorganization of government machinery which I proposed to the Congress last winter does not conflict with the principle of the democratic process, as some people say. It only makes that process work more efficiently.

On my recent trip many people have talked to me about the millions of men and women and children who still work at insufficient wages and overlong hours.

American industry has searched the outside world to find new markets -- but it can create on its very doorstep the biggest and most permanent market it has ever had. It needs the reduction of trade barriers to improve its foreign markets, but it should not overlook the chance to reduce the domestic trade barrier right here -- right away -- without waiting for any treaty. A few more dollars a week in wages, a better distribution of jobs with a shorter working day will almost overnight make millions of our lowest-paid workers actual buyers of billions of dollars of industrial and farm products. That increased volume of sales ought to lessen other costs of production so much that even a considerable increase in labor costs can be absorbed without imposing higher prices on the consumer.

I am a firm believer in fully adequate pay for all labor. But right now I am most greatly concerned in increasing the pay of the lowest-paid labor -- those who are our most numerous consuming group but who today do not make enough to maintain a decent standard of living or to buy the food, clothes and other articles necessary to keep our factories and farms fully running.

~~—F~~arsighted business men already understand and agree with this policy. They agree also that no one section of the

~~SECRET~~
C

Whatever danger there may be to the property and profits of the
many, if there be any danger, comes not from government's attitude
toward business but from restraints now imposed upon business by
private monopolies and financial oligarchies. The average business
man knows that ~~the~~ high cost of living is a great deterrent to
business and that business prosperity depends much upon a low price
policy which encourages the widest possible consumption. As one
of the country's leading economists recently said -- "the continuance
of business recovery in the United States depends far more upon
business policies, business pricing policies, than it does ~~on~~
anything that may be done, or not done, in Washington".

country can permanently benefit itself, or the rest of the country, by maintaining standards of wages and hours far inferior to other sections of the country.

Most business men, big and little, know that their government neither wants to put them out of business nor to prevent them from earning a decent profit. In spite of the alarms of a few who seek to regain control of American life, most business men, big and little, know that their government is trying to make property more secure than ever before by giving every family a real chance to have a property stake in the nation.

(C)

The real present danger to the property and profits of the many is not government -- but monopolies in business. Our competitive system is not altogether competitive. Anybody who buys any large quantity of manufactured goods knows this, whether it be the government or an individual buyer. We have anti-trust laws, to be sure, but they have not been adequate to check the growth of many monopolies. Whether or not they might have been adequate originally, interpretation by the courts and the difficulties and delays of legal procedure have now definitely limited their effectiveness.

We are already studying ~~and~~ strengthening our anti-trust laws in order to end monopoly ~~not to fight but to fix legitimate business.~~

DRAFT #7

-13-

I have touched briefly on ~~several~~ ^{this} important subjects,
which, taken together, make a program for the immediate future.
To attain it, legislation is necessary.

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DRAFT #7 (Substitute for entire FOREIGN AFFAIRS)

As we plan today for the creation of ever high standards of living for the people of the United States, we are aware that our plans may be most seriously affected by events in the world outside our borders.

By a series of trade agreements, we have been attempting to recreate the trade of the world which plays so important a part in our domestic prosperity; ^{but} _A We know that if the world outside our borders falls into the chaos of war, world trade will be completely disrupted.

~~If~~, ^{we} can't view with indifference the destruction of civilized values throughout the world. We seek peace, not only for our generation but also for the generation of our children.

We seek for them the continuance of world civilization ^{and order} that their American civilization ^{independently} _A may continue to be ^{inspired} by the achievements of ^{and honor} civilized men in the rest of the world.

I want our great democracy to be wise enough to realize that aloofness from war is not promoted by unawareness of war. In a world of mutual suspicions, peace must be affirmatively reached for. It cannot just be wished for. It cannot just be waited for.

-2-

DRAFT #7 (Substitute for entire FOREIGN AFFAIRS)

~~Our search for peace is not helped by those who write headlines today reading "WAR MENACES AMERICA." They themselves are the ones who menace America.~~

We have now made known our willingness to attend a conference of the parties to the Nine Power Treaty of 1922 --

the Treaty of Washington, of which we are one of the original signatories. The purpose of this conference will be to find ^{seek by} ~~agreement a solution of the present situation in China, especially the~~ ~~solution of the present situation in China~~ In efforts to

~~find~~, that solution, it is our purpose to cooperate with the other signatories to this Treaty, including China and Japan.

~~Such~~ cooperation ~~would be~~ ^A an example of one of the possible paths to follow in our search for means toward peace throughout ~~this~~ whole world.

The development of civilization and of human welfare is based on the acceptance by individuals of certain fundamental decencies in their relations with each other. The development of peace in the world is dependent similarly on the acceptance by nations of certain fundamental decencies in their relations with each other.

~~Therefore~~ Ultimately, ~~therefore~~, ~~each~~ nation will accept the fact that violations of these rules of conduct are an injury to the

DRAFT #7 (Substitute for entire FOREIGN AFFAIRS)

well-being of all nations.

Meanwhile, [redacted] remember that from 1913 to 1921, I was fairly close to world events, and in that period, while I learned much of what to do, I also learned much of what not to do.

The common sense ^{and} intelligence of America agree with my statement that "America hates war. America hopes for peace. Therefore, America actively engages in the search for peace". 18

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DRAFT #7 (Substitute for entire FOREIGN AFFAIRS)

As we plan today for the creation of ever high standards of living for the people of the United States, we are aware that our plans may be most seriously affected by events in the world outside our borders.

By a series of trade agreements, we have been attempting to recreate the trade of the world which plays so important a part in our domestic prosperity; ^{but} We know that if the world outside our borders falls into the chaos of war, world trade will be completely disrupted.

~~for~~ ^{we} ~~can~~ ^{not} view with indifference the destruction of civilized values throughout the world. We seek peace, not only for our generation but also for the generation of our children.

We seek for them the continuance of world civilization, ^{and} ~~for that American civilization~~ America may continue to be enhanced by the achievements of civilized men in the rest of the world.

I want our great democracy to be wise enough to realize that aloofness from war is not promoted by unawareness of war. In a world of mutual suspicions, peace must be affirmatively reached for. It cannot just be wished for. It cannot just be waited for.

DRAFT #7 (Substitute for entire FOREIGN AFFAIRS)

[Our search for peace is not helped by those who write headlines today reading "WAR MENACES AMERICA." They themselves are the ones who menace America.]

We have now made known our willingness to attend a conference of the parties to the Nine Power Treaty of 1922 -- the Treaty of Washington, of which we are one of the original signatories. The purpose of this conference will be to ~~settle~~ ^{settle} ~~arrange~~ ~~arrange~~ ~~arrange~~ a solution of the present situation in China. In efforts to find that solution, it is our purpose to cooperate with the other signatories to this Treaty, including China and Japan.

Such would be ~~that~~ cooperation is an example of one of the possible paths to follow in our search for means toward peace throughout the ~~this~~ whole world.

The development of civilization and of human welfare is based on the acceptance by individuals of certain fundamental decencies in their relations with each other. The development of peace in the world is dependent similarly on the acceptance by nations of certain fundamental decencies in their relations with each other.

Ultimately, ^{I hope} therefore, each nation will accept the fact that violations of these rules of conduct are an injury to the

DRAFT #7 (Substitute for entire FOREIGN AFFAIRS)

well-being of all nations.

Meanwhile, ~~people~~^{we} remember that from 1913 to 1921,
I was fairly close to world events, and in that period, while I
learned much of what to do, I also learned much of what not to
do.

The common sense, ~~and~~^{the} intelligence of America agree with
my statement that "America hates war. America hopes for peace.
Therefore, America actively engages in the search for peace".

In a recent discussion of the disturbed international situation which is threatening a breakdown of legal and orderly relations in the world, I summed up the American attitude and policy as follows: "America hates war. America hopes for peace. Therefore, America actively engages in the search for peace."

In pursuance of this policy this Government has made known its willingness to accept an invitation to attend the Conference of the parties to the Nine Power Treaty of which we are one of the parties, the purpose of which is to seek by agreement a solution of the Sino-Japanese conflict. It is our purpose to cooperate in efforts to bring about such an agreement. It is my most sincere desire and hope that all of the nations of the world will soon come to realize that their vital interests can best be served through friendship and peaceful cooperation and not through resort to force.

Franklin D. Roosevelt
10/12/1937

DRAFT #7 (FOREIGN AFFAIRS (1))

As we plan today for the creation of ever higher standards of living for the people of the United States, we are aware that our plans may be most seriously affected by events in the world outside our borders.

Secretary Hull, by a series of trade agreements, has been attempting to recreate the trade of the world which plays so important a part in our domestic prosperity. We know that if the world outside our borders falls into the chaos of war, world trade will be completely disrupted.

Furthermore, we cannot view with indifference the destruction of civilized values throughout the world. We seek peace, not only for our generation but also for the generation of our children. We seek for them the maintenance of world civilization, in order that their civilization may not be harmed.

I want our great democracy to be wise enough to realize that aloofness from war does not require ⁴⁴ Awareness of war.

In a world of mutual suspicions, peace must be affirmatively reached for. It cannot just be wished for.

In pursuance of that conviction, we have now made known our willingness to attend a conference of the parties to the Nine Power Treaty of 1922 -- the Treaty of Washington, of which

DRAFT #7 FOREIGN AFFAIRS - (2)

we are one of the original parties. The purpose of such a conference is to seek a solution of the present situation in China. It is our purpose to cooperate with the other signatories to this Treaty, including China and Japan, in efforts to bring about an agreement.

In our search for means towards peace throughout the world, we believe that the sound public opinion of the great majority of nations is working toward the adoption of rules of international conduct. We believe that there must be such a thing as international law.

That means the ultimate acceptance by all nations of the fact that violations of these rules of conduct are an injury to the well-being of all nations. The development of civilization and of human welfare is based on the acceptance by mankind of certain fundamental decencies in relations between themselves. This being an accepted standard among individuals deserves to be an equally accepted standard between nations.

People will remember that from 1913 to 1921, I was fairly close to world events and in that period, while I learned much of what to do, I also learned much of what not to do.

Our search for peace is not helped by those who write

DRAFT #7 FOREIGN AFFAIRS (3)

headlines today reading "WAR MENACES AMERICA". They themselves are the ones who menace America.

The common sense and intelligence of America agree with the heart of America in my statement that "America hates war. America hopes for peace. Therefore, America actively engages in the search for peace".

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Oct. 12, 1937

Fireside Speech #10 - Subject: Special Session
of Congress

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RADIC SPEECH OF THE PRESIDENT

THE WHITE HOUSE

TUESDAY, OCTOBER 12, 1937

(This afternoon) I have issued a Proclamation calling
a special session of the Congress to convene on Monday,
November 15, 1937.

I do this in order to give to the Congress an opportunity
to consider important legislation before the regular session
in January,) and to enable the Congress to avoid a lengthy
session next year, extending through the summer.

I know that many enemies of democracy will say that it
is bad for business, bad for the tranquility of the country,
to have a special session -- even one beginning only six weeks
before the regular session. But I have never had sympathy with
the point of view that a session of the Congress is an unfortunate
intrusion of what they call "politics" into our national affairs.
Those who do not like democracy want to keep legislators at home.

But the Congress is an essential instrument of democratic government; and democratic government can never be considered an intruder into the affairs of a democratic nation.

I shall ask this special session to consider immediately certain important legislation which my recent trip through the nation convinces me the American people immediately need. This does not mean that other legislation, to which I am not referring tonight, is not important for our national well-being. But other legislation can be more readily discussed at the regular session.

Anyone charged with proposing or judging national policies should have first hand knowledge of the nation as a whole.

That is why again this year I have taken trips to all parts of the country. Last spring I visited the Southwest. This summer I made several trips in the East. Now I am just back from a trip all the way across the continent, and later this autumn I hope to pay my annual visit to the Southeast.

For a President especially it is a duty to think in national terms.

He must think not only of this year but of future years when someone else will be President.

He must look beyond the average of the prosperity and well-being of the country, for averages easily cover up danger spots of poverty and instability.

He must not let the country be deceived by a merely temporary prosperity which depends on wasteful exploitation of resources which cannot last.

He must think not only of keeping us out of war today, but also of keeping us out of war in generations to come.

The kind of prosperity we want is the sound and permanent kind which is not built up temporarily at the expense of any section or any group. And the kind of peace we want is the sound and permanent kind, which is built on the cooperative search for peace by all the nations which want peace.

(5)

The other day I was asked to state my outstanding impression gained on this recent trip. I said that it seemed to me to be the general understanding on the part of the average citizen of the broad objectives and policies which I have just outlined.

Five years of fierce discussion and debate -- five years of information through the radio and the moving picture -- have taken the whole nation to school in the nation's business. Even those who have most attacked our objectives have, by their very criticism, encouraged the mass of our citizens to think about and understand the issues involved, and understanding, to approve.

Out of that process, we have learned to think as a nation. And out of that process we have learned to feel ourselves a nation. As never before in our history, each section of America says to every other section, "Thy people shall be my people".

For most of the country this has been a good year -- better in dollars and cents than for many years -- far better in the soundness of its prosperity. And everywhere I went, I found particular optimism about the good effect on business which is expected from the steady spending by farmers of the largest farm income in many years.

But we have not yet done all ~~that~~ ^{that} must be done to make this prosperity stable. The people of the United States were checked in their efforts to prevent future piling up of huge agricultural surpluses and the tumbling prices which inevitably follow them. They were checked in their efforts to secure reasonable minimum wages and maximum hours and the end of child labor. And because they were checked, many groups in many parts of the country still have less purchasing power and a lower standard of living than the nation as a whole can permanently ~~satisfy~~ ^{satisfy}.

Americans realize these facts. That is why they ask government not to stop governing simply because prosperity has come back a long way.

They do not look on government as an interloper in their affairs. On the contrary, they regard it as the most effective form of organized self-help.

Sometimes I get bored sitting in Washington hearing certain people talk and talk about all that government ought not do -- people who got all they wanted from government back in the days when the financial institutions and the railroads were being bailed out in 1933. It is refreshing to go out through the country and feel the common wisdom that the time to repair the roof is when the sun is shining.

They want the financial budget balanced. But they want the human budget balanced as well. They want to set up a national economy which balances itself with as little government subsidy as possible, for they realize that persistent subsidies ultimately bankrupt their government.

They are less concerned that every detail be immediately right than they are that direction be right. They know that just so long as we are traveling on the right road, it does not make much difference if occasionally we hit a "Thank you marm".

(10)

The overwhelming majority of our citizens who live by agriculture are thinking very clearly how they want government to help them in connection with the production of crops. They want government help in two ways -- first, in the control of surpluses, and, second, in the proper use of land.

The other day a reporter told me he had never been able to understand why the government seeks to curtail crop production and, at the same time, to open up new irrigated acres.

He was confusing two totally separate objectives.

Crop surplus control relates to the total amount of any major crop grown in the whole nation on all cultivated land, good or bad -- control by the cooperation of the crop growers and with the help of the government. Land use, on the other hand, is a policy of providing each farmer with the best quality and type of land we have, or can make available, for his part

in that total production. *Adding good land and ~~waste~~ for diversified crops is offset by abandoning poor land now uneconomically farmed.*

The total amount of production largely determines the price of the crop, and, therefore, the difference between comfort and misery for the farmer.

If we were foolish enough to run every shoe factory twenty-four hours a day, seven days a week, we would soon have more shoes than the nation could possibly buy -- a surplus of shoes that would have to be destroyed, or given away, or sold at prices far below the cost of production. That simple law of supply and demand equally affects the price of all our major crops.

You and I have heard big manufacturers talk about control of production by the farmer as an indefensible "economy of scarcity". And yet these same manufacturers never hesitate to shut down their own huge plants, throw men out of work, and cut down the purchasing power of whole communities whenever they think they must adjust their production to an oversupply of the goods they make. When it is their baby who has the measles, they call it not "an economy of scarcity" but "sound business judgment".

Of course, speaking seriously, what you and I want is such governmental rules of the game that labor, agriculture and industry will produce a balanced abundance without waste.

We intend this winter to find a way to prevent four-and-a-half cent cotton, nine cent corn and thirty cent wheat -- with all the disaster those prices mean for all of us -- from ever coming back again. To do that, the farmers themselves want to cooperate to build an all-weather farm program so that in the long run prices will be more stable. They believe this can be done, and the national budget kept out of the red.

And when we have found that way to protect the farmers' prices from the effects of alternating crop surpluses and crop scarcities, we shall also have found the way to protect the nation's food supply from the effects of the same fluctuation. We ought always to have enough food at prices within the reach of the consuming public. For the consumers in the cities of America, we must find a way to help the farmers to store up in years of plenty enough to avoid hardship in the years of scarcity.

15

Our land use policy is a different thing. I have just visited much of the work that the national government is doing to stop soil erosion, to save our forests, to prevent floods, to produce electric power for more general use, and to give people a chance to move from poor land on to better land by irrigating thousands of acres that need only water to provide an opportunity to make a good living.

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In the Boise Valley in Idaho I saw a district which had been recently irrigated to enormous fertility so that a family can now make a pretty good living from forty acres of its land. Many of the families, who are making good in that valley today, moved there from a thousand miles away. They came from the dust strip that runs through the middle of the nation all the way from the Canadian border to Mexico -- a strip which includes large portions of ten States. That valley in western Idaho, therefore, assumes at once a national importance as a second chance for willing farmers. And, year by year, we propose to add more valleys to take care of thousands of other families who need the same kind of second chance in new green pastures.

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thousand miles away.

All of this work needs a more businesslike system of planning and greater foresight than we use today.

That is why I recommended to the last session of the Congress the creation of seven planning regions, in which local people will originate and coordinate recommendations as to work of this kind to be done in their particular regions. The Congress will, of course, determine the projects to be selected within the budget limits.

To carry out any twentieth century program, we must give the Executive Branch of the Government twentieth century machinery to work with. I recognize that democratic processes are necessarily and rightly slower than dictatorial processes. But I refuse to believe that democratic processes need be dangerously slow.

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On my recent trip many people have talked to me about the millions of men and women and children who still work at insufficient wages and overlong hours.

American industry has searched the outside world to find new markets -- but it can create on its very doorstep the biggest and most permanent market it has ever had. It needs the reduction of trade barriers to improve its foreign markets, but it should not overlook the chance to reduce the domestic trade barrier right here -- right away, --- without waiting for any treaty. A few more dollars a week in wages, a better distribution of jobs with a shorter working day will almost overnight make millions of our lowest-paid workers actual buyers of billions of dollars of industrial and farm products. That increased volume of sales ought to lessen other cost of production so much that even a considerable

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I am a firm believer in fully adequate pay for all labor. But right now I am most greatly concerned in increasing the pay of the lowest-paid labor -- those who are our most numerous consuming group but who today do not make enough to maintain a decent standard of living or to buy the food, clothes and other articles necessary to keep our factories and farms fully running.

Farsighted business men already understand and agree with this policy. They agree also that no one section of the country can permanently benefit itself, or the rest of the country, by maintaining standards of wages and hours far inferior to other sections of the country.

Most business men, big and little, know that their government neither wants to put them out of business nor to prevent them from earning a decent profit. In spite of the alarms of a few who seek to regain control of American life,

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is trying to make property more secure than ever before by
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in the nation.

Whatever danger there may be to the property and profits of the many, if there be any danger, comes not from government's attitude toward business but from restraints now imposed upon business by private monopolies and financial oligarchies. The average business man knows that a high cost of living is a great deterrent to business and that business prosperity depends much upon a low price policy which encourages the widest possible consumption. As one of the country's leading economists recently said --"the continuance of business recovery in the United States depends far more upon business policies, business pricing policies, than it does on anything that may be done, or not done, in Washington".

(25)

Our competitive system is not altogether competitive. Anybody who buys any large quantity of manufactured goods knows this, whether it be the government or an individual buyer. We have anti-trust laws, to be sure, but they have not been adequate to check the growth of many monopolies. Whether or not they might have been adequate originally, interpretation by the courts and the difficulties and delays of legal procedure have now definitely limited their effectiveness.

We are already studying how to strengthen our anti-trust laws in order to end monopoly -- not to hurt but to free legitimate business.

I have touched briefly on these important subjects, which, taken together, make a program for the immediate future. To attain it, legislation is necessary.

As we plan today for the creation of ever higher standards of living for the people of the United States, we are aware that our plans may be most seriously affected by events in the world outside our borders.

By a series of trade agreements, we have been attempting to recreate the trade of the world which plays so important a part in our domestic prosperity; but we know that if the world outside our borders falls into the chaos of war, world trade will be completely disrupted.

Nor can we view with indifference the destruction of civilized values throughout the world. We seek peace, not only for our generation but also for the generation of our children.

We seek for them the continuance of world civilization in order that their American civilization may continue to be invigorated by the achievements of civilized men and women in the rest of the world.

I want our great democracy to be wise enough to realize that sloofness from war is not prompted by unawareness of war. In a world of mutual suspicions, peace must be affirmatively reached for. It cannot just be wished for. It cannot just be waited for.

We have now made known our willingness to attend a conference of the parties to the Nine Power Treaty of 1922 -- the Treaty of Washington, of which we are one of the original signatories. The purpose of this conference will be to seek by agreement a solution of the present situation in China. In efforts to find that solution, it is our purpose to cooperate with the other signatories to this Treaty, including China and Japan.

Such cooperation would be an example of one of the possible paths to follow in our search for means toward peace throughout the whole world.

The development of civilization and of human welfare is based on the acceptance by individuals of certain fundamental decencies in their relations with each other. The development of peace in the world is dependent similarly on the acceptance ~~by~~ ^{of} nations of certain fundamental decencies in their relations with each other.

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Ultimately, I hope each nation will accept the fact that violations of these rules of conduct are an injury to the well-being of all nations.

Meanwhile, remember that from 1913 to 1921, I was fairly close to world events, and in that period, while I learned much of what to do, I also learned much of what not to do.

The common sense, the intelligence of America agree with my statement that "America hates war. America hopes for peace. Therefore, America actively engages in the search for peace".
