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**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**

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**File No. 1179-A**

**1938 November 4**

**Election Eve Radio Address to the Nation**

RADIO ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT

HYDE PARK, N. Y.

NOVEMBER 4, 1938

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On the eve of another election, I have come home to Hyde Park and am sitting at my own fireside in my own election district, my own County and my own State.

I have often expressed my feeling that the mere fact that I am President should not disqualify me from expressing as a citizen my views on candidates and issues in my own State.

I have changed my mind about the nature of some problems of democratic government over the past few years as I have had more and more experience with them. I had never realized how much my way of thinking had changed until the other day when I was watching the finishing touches being put on a simple cottage I have recently built -- a cottage which, by the way, is not in any sense of the word a "dream house". Just watching the building go up made me realize that there was a time not so long ago when I used to think about problems of government as if they were the same kind of problems as building a house -- definite and

*sooner or later*

compact and capable of completion within a given time.

Now I know well that the comparison is not a good one.

Once you build a house you always have it. On the other hand, a social or an economic gain is different. A social or economic gain made by one Administration may, and often does, evaporate into thin air under the next one.

We all remember well-known examples of what an ill-advised shift from liberal to conservative leadership can do to an incompletely liberal program. Theodore Roosevelt, for example, started a march of progress during his seven years in the Presidency, but after four years of President Taft, little was left of the progress which had been made. Think of the great liberal achievements of Woodrow Wilson's New Freedom and how quickly they were liquidated under President Harding. We have to have reasonable continuity in liberal government to get permanent results.

The whole United States concedes that we in New York State have carried out a magnificent liberal program through our State government during the past sixteen years. If the continuity of that liberal government had been broken in this State during that time, we would be nowhere near the point we have reached today.

The voters throughout the country should remember that need for continuous liberal government when they vote next Tuesday.

On that day the oldest of modern democracies will hold an election. A free people will have a free choice to pick free leaders for free men.

In other lands across the water the flares of militarism and conquest, terrorism and intolerance, have vividly revealed to Americans for the first time since the Revolution how precious and extraordinary it is to be allowed this free choice of free leaders for free men.

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No one will order us how to vote, and the only watchers we shall find at the polls are the watchers who guarantee that our ballot is secret. Think how few places are left where this can happen.

But we cannot carelessly assume that a nation is strong and great merely because it has a democratic form of government. We have learned that a democracy weakened by internal dissension, by mutual suspicion born of social injustice, is no match for autocracies which are ruthless enough to repress internal dissension.

Democracy in order to live must become a positive force in the daily lives of its people. It must make men and women whose devotion it seeks, feel that it really cares for the security of every individual; that it is tolerant enough to inspire an essential unity among its citizens; and that it is militant enough to maintain liberty against social oppression at home and against military aggression abroad.

The rest of the world is far closer to us than in the days of democracy's founders -- Jefferson, Jackson and Lincoln. Comparisons are unavoidable. To disprove the pretenses of rival systems, democracy must be an affirmative, up-to-date conception. It can no longer be negative -- no longer adopt a defeatist attitude. In these tense and dangerous situations in the world, democracy will save itself with the average man and woman by proving itself worth saving.

Too many of those who prate about saving democracy are really only interested in saving things as they were. Democracy should concern itself also with things as they ought to be.

I am not talking mere idealism; I am pressing realistic necessity.

I reject the merely negative purposes proposed by old-line Republicans and Communists alike -- for they are people whose only purpose is to survive against any other Fascist threat than their own.

As of today, Fascism and Communism -- and old-line Tory Republicanism -- are not threats to the continuation of our form of government. But I venture the challenging statement that if American democracy ceases to move forward as a living force, seeking day and night by peaceful means to better the lot of our citizens, Fascism and Communism, aided, unconsciously perhaps, by old-line Tory Republicanism, will grow in strength.

It will take cool judgment for our people to appraise the repercussions of change in other lands. And only a nation completely convinced -- at the bottom as well as at the top -- that their system of government best serves their best interests, will have such a judgment.

And while we are developing that coolness of judgment, we need in public office, above all things, men wise enough to avoid passing incidents where passion and force try to substitute themselves for judgment and negotiation.

7.40

During my four years as Governor and during my nearly six years as President, I am proud of the fact that I have never called out the armed forces of the State or Nation except on errands of mercy. That type of democratic wisdom was illustrated last year by the action of Governor Murphy of Michigan when he persuaded the negotiators of the employers and employees to sit around a table and thus got an agreement, avoided bloodshed, and earned the praise of both sides of a controversy that had frightened a whole nation.

With such an approach, the New Deal, keeping its feet on the ground, is working out hundreds of current problems from day to day as necessities arise and with whatever materials are at hand. We are doing this without attempting to commit the nation to any ism or ideology except democracy, humanity and the civil liberties which form their foundations.

Our economic and social system cannot deny the paramount right of the millions who toil and the millions who wish to toil, to have it function smoothly and efficiently.

After all, any such system must provide efficiently for distributing national resources and serving the welfare and happiness of all who live under it.

The modern interdependent industrial and agricultural society is like a large factory. Each member of the organization has his own job to perform on the assembly line, but if the conveyor belt breaks or gets tangled up, no one in the factory, no matter how hard he tries, can do his own particular job. Each of us -- farmer, business man or worker -- suffers when anything goes wrong with the conveyor belt.

If our Democracy is to survive it must give the average man reasonable assurance that the belts will be kept moving.

Dictators have recognized that problem. They keep the conveyor belts moving -- but at a terrible price to the individual and to his civil liberty.

The New Deal has been trying to keep those belts moving without paying such a price. It does not wish to run or manage any part of our economic machine which private enterprise can run and keep running. That should be left to

individuals, to corporations, to any other form of private management, with profit for those who manage well. But when an abuse interferes with the ability of private enterprise to keep the national conveyor belt moving, government has a responsibility to eliminate that abuse.

We do not assume for a minute that all we have done is right or all that we have done has been successful, but our economic and social program of the past five and a half years has definitely given to the United States a more stable and less artificial prosperity than any other nation in the world has enjoyed.

The very fact that the business slump beginning last fall and running into last summer, did not become a major economic disaster like the slump that ran from 1929 to 1933, is the best kind of proof that fundamentally we have found the right track.

You have just heard the news about the automobile factories and many other industries that are opening up for full employment again. And during the month of October alone overall employment has risen nearly 3½%.

I have been very happy in the last six months to see how swiftly a large majority of business men have been coming around to accept the objectives of a more stable economy and of certain necessary supervision of private activities in order to prevent a return of the serious abuses and conditions of the past. But if there should be any weakening of the power of a liberal government next Tuesday, it would resurrect false hopes on the part of some business men, now beginning to change antiquated ideas, that if they can hold out a little longer no adaptation to change will be necessary.

7.45

There is no doubt of the basic desires of the American people. And because these basic desires are well known you find all parties, all candidates, making the same general promises to satisfy these desires.

During the weeks before a general election, all parties are the friends of labor, all parties are against monopoly, all parties say that the unemployed must have work or be given government relief, all parties love the farmer.

Let me warn you now, as I warned you two years ago in my address at Syracuse, against the smooth evasion which says: "Of course we believe all these things; we believe in social security; we believe in work for the unemployed; we believe in saving homes. Cross our hearts and hope to die, we believe in all these things; but we do not like the way the present Administration is doing them. Just turn them over to us. We will do all of them -- we will do more of them -- we will do them better; and, most important of all, the doing of them will not cost anybody anything".

But when democracy struggles for its very life, these same people obstruct our efforts to maintain it, while they fail to offer proof of their own will and their own plans to preserve it. They try to stop the only fire engine we have from rushing to the fire because they are sales agents for a different make of fire engine.

New ideas cannot be administered successfully by men with old ideas, for the first essential of doing a job well is the wish to see the job done at all.

Judge parties and candidates, not merely by what they promise, but by what they have done, by their records in office, by the kind of people they travel with, by the kind of people who finance and promote their campaigns. By their promoters ye shall know them.

No national Administration, however much it may represent the genuine popular will of the people, can in the long run prove enduringly effective if that Administration can be cut off from the people by state and local political machinery controlled by men who are hostile.

My own State of New York is to choose a Governor. Ours is the most complex State in the Union -- thirteen million population, great farming areas, hundreds of small communities, one huge city of seven million people, and many other cities, great and small.

Governing the State of New York requires the skill  
which comes from long experience in public affairs.

In 1918 when I was thirty-six years old, I was invited  
to run for the Governorship of this State. I was then Assistant  
Secretary of the Navy. I declined the offer, because my job  
required me at that time to sail on a destroyer for overseas  
service. I am glad I did for, looking back on that time, I  
do not think that I had experience and knowledge of public  
affairs wide enough to qualify as Governor. Besides, I did  
not think it quite right to abandon in mid-stream an important  
public job that I had undertaken.

(7,50)

Governing the State of New York is more than being an  
Assistant Secretary of the Navy or a District Attorney. The  
Governor of this State is called upon to administer eighteen  
great departments of government and to supervise state  
institutions that house over one hundred thousand wards of  
the State. He must be able to understand and handle the  
vast and intricate problems of agriculture. He is charged  
with the supervision of State finance and the maintenance

of State credit. He is responsible for its widespread system of roads, parks, canals, bridges and schools. He has to maintain, preserve and improve the great body of social legislation already on the statute books of the State -- unemployment insurance, workmen's compensation, social security, help for the needy and the underprivileged; and he must see to it that these recent reforms are made to keep pace with the broadening conception of social justice.

Equal protection of the law -- criminal and civil -- for human rights as well as property rights; prosecution of criminals in high financial places as well as low places; the preservation of civil and religious liberties -- all these precious essentials of civilization are entrusted to him.

New York has State laws matching every progressive Federal measure of the last five years. They were all enacted under the guiding hand and driving energy of Governor Herbert H. Lehman.

Recruits in the battle for economic democracy are always welcome irrespective of party; but at a critical moment in the world's history we cannot take the risk of supplanting seasoned leaders like Governor Lehman with men, no matter how sincere, who have yet to win their spurs or prove what they really know or where they really stand in the fight for social justice. Those who truly and sincerely join the struggle for social justice, <sup>and</sup> economic democracy for its own sake do not throw stones at veteran fighters in that cause.

No one can properly minimize the need of active law enforcement, whether it be in a great city or in the rural counties. Certainly Governor Lehman has never minimized it and has never hesitated to call to his assistance in law enforcement, young and vigorous prosecutors, irrespective of politics. We need more active law enforcement, not only against the lords of the underworld, but also against the lords of the overworld.

It is right -- wholly right -- to prosecute criminals. But that is not enough, for there is the immense added task of working for the elimination of present and future crime by getting rid of evil social conditions which breed crime. Good government can prevent a thousand crimes for every one it punishes.

The fight for social justice and economic democracy has not the allure of a criminal jury trial; it is a long, weary, uphill struggle -- and those who give themselves unsparingly to it are seldom acclaimed at my lady's tea or at my gentleman's club.

As a resident and voter in the State of New York, I urge my fellow citizens and voters, who are interested in preserving good government and American democracy, to vote for Herbert H. Lehman.

And just as a Governor is required to be much more than a good prosecutor, so a United States Senator must be much more than a good lawyer. A Senator from New York must do more than merely vote on whatever bills drift by. He

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must be able and willing to take the initiative -- to keep the legislative wheels turning in the right direction.

If you were to list some of the newly recognized major responsibilities of government to meet the complexities of modern life -- security in old age, unemployment insurance, protection of the rights of labor, low-cost housing and slum clearance -- you would have a virtual resume of the Acts of the Congress which bear the name of Robert F. Wagner. So often since 1933 has new legislation been described as "The Wagner Act" that the phrase has become confusing because there have been so many Wagner Acts. For example, there is not only the Wagner Labor Relations Act; there are the Wagner Social Security Act and the Wagner Housing Act, and although you might feel uncertain as to which particular Act is meant by the phrase, you can feel no uncertainty as to this - that any one of the Wagner Acts was an Act intended for the benefit of those who need the help and support of government against oppression and intolerable conditions of living.

His name stands for courageous and intelligent leadership, constructive statecraft and steadfast devotion to the common man and the cause of civil liberties.

With him I hope the voters of this State will send to the Senate an experienced Member of the House of Representatives -- James M. Mead -- known through many years for his expert knowledge of three fields whose intricate problems press heavily upon government today -- railroads, aviation and Civil Service, and for his unflagging support of every liberal measure that has come before the Congress. We need that legislative experience, that temper of mind, that expert knowledge in the United States Senate.

Look over the rest of the names on the ballot next Tuesday. Pick those who are known for their experience and their liberalism. Pick them for what they have done and not just for what they say they would do.

And one last but important word: Pick them without regard to race, color or creed. Some of them may have come of the earliest Colonial stock; some of them may have been brought here as children to escape the tyrannies of the Old World. All of them are American citizens now.

Remember that the fathers of the American Revolution represented many religions and came from many foreign lands.

Remember that no matter what their origin they agreed with Benjamin Franklin: "We must indeed all hang together or most assuredly we shall all hang separately".

Remember that in these grave days in the affairs of the world we need internal unity -- national unity. For the sake of the Nation that is good advice -- and it never grows old.

*Franklin Roosevelt*

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*Original reading copy*

RADIO ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT  
Delivered from his Home at Hyde Park  
Friday, November 4, 1938, 7:30 P.M.

MY FRIENDS:

On the eve of another election, I have come home to Hyde Park and am sitting at my own fireside in my own election district, my own County and my own State.

I have often expressed my feeling that the mere fact that I am President should not disqualify me from expressing as a citizen my views on candidates and issues in my own State.

I have changed my mind about the nature of some problems of democratic government over the past few years as I have had more and more experience with them. I had never realized how much my way of thinking had changed until the other day when I was watching the finishing touches being put on a simple cottage I have recently built -- a little cottage which, by the way, is not and never has been in any sense of the word a "dream house." Just watching the building (go) going up made me realize that there was a time not so long ago when I used to think about problems of government as if they were the same kind of problems as building a house -- definite and compact and capable of completion within a given time.

Now I know well that the comparison is not a good one. Once you build a house you always have it. On the other hand, a social or an economic gain is a different matter. A social or an economic gain made by one Administration, for instance, may, and often does, evaporate into thin air under the next (one) Administration.

We all remember well-known examples of what an ill-advised

Franklin D. Roosevelt Library

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

... and some even I , ~~and~~ additions made to my air all  
, which not only are to be omitted now as part of the speech as has been  
done so far as you can see now as  
well as the other additions made to  
make it more or less pleasant to the audience while even I  
realize it is necessary that we keep up the dignity of the occasion as I  
asked you to do and make the additions as many as  
to myself; now to ending off speech here as follows even I  
had much the same I am sorry we may not have imagined otherwise  
To you as some had pointed out, had I said this speech was intended  
with all qualities even I said you were off track regarding the unimportant  
— silent pictures even I expect signs as no two cities would expect  
you all need and may have had all you odd to , which appears right as  
(by) selected ads printed out "good work" a nice off to name  
I made out that we had only a few creditable entries as others as option  
men and those that lie as interesting to consider from drifts of both  
— sides one requires has sufficient — which is nothing as anything to talk  
about having a number of difficulties to his  
name and doing a few of our difficulties off fair like even I will  
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shift from liberal to conservative leadership can do to an incompletely liberal program. Theodore Roosevelt, for example, started a march of progress during his seven years in the Presidency but, after four years of President Taft, little was left of the progress (which) that had been made. Think of the great liberal achievements of Woodrow Wilson's New Freedom and how quickly they were liquidated under President Harding. We have to have reasonable continuity in liberal government in order to get permanent results.

The whole United States concedes that we in (New York State) the State of New York have carried out a magnificent liberal program through our State government during the past sixteen years. If the continuity of that liberal government had been broken in this State during that time, we would be nowhere near the point we have reached today.

The voters throughout the country should remember -- they should remember that need for continuous liberal government when they vote next Tuesday.

On that day in every state the oldest of modern democracies will hold an election. A free people will have a free choice to pick free leaders for free men.

In other lands across the water the flares of militarism and conquest, terrorism and intolerance, have vividly revealed to Americans for the first time since the Revolution how precious and extraordinary it is to be allowed this free choice of free leaders for free men.

No one next Tuesday will order us how to vote, and the only watchers we shall find at the polls are the watchers who guarantee that our ballot is secret. Think how few places are left where this can

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But we cannot carelessly assume that a nation is strong and great merely because it has a democratic form of government. We have learned that a democracy weakened by internal dissension, by mutual suspicion born of social injustice, is no match for autocracies which are ruthless enough to repress internal dissension.

Democracy in order to live must become a positive force in the daily lives of its people. It must make men and women whose devotion it seeks, feel that it really cares for the security of every individual; that it is tolerant enough to inspire an essential unity among its citizens; and that it is militant enough to maintain liberty against social oppression at home and against military aggression abroad.

The rest of the world is far closer to us in every way than in the days of democracy's founders -- Jefferson and Jackson and Lincoln. Comparisons in this world are unavoidable. To disprove the pretenses of rival systems, democracy must be an affirmative, up-to-date conception. It can no longer be negative -- no longer adopt a defeatist attitude. In these tense and dangerous situations in the world democracy will save itself with the average man and woman by proving itself worth saving.

Too many of those who prate about saving democracy are really only interested in saving things as they were. Democracy (should) ought to concern itself also with things as they ought to be.

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Republicans and Communists alike -- for they are people whose only purpose is to survive against any other Fascist threat than their own.

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It will take cool judgment for our people to appraise the repercussions of change in other lands. And only a nation completely convinced -- at the bottom as well as at the top -- that their system of government best serves their best interests, will have such a cool judgment.

And while we are developing that coolness of judgment, we need, you and I need, in public office, above all things, men wise enough to avoid passing incidents where passion and force try to substitute themselves for judgment and negotiation.

During my four years as Governor of the State of New York and during my nearly six years as President, I am proud of the fact that I have never called out the armed forces of the State or Nation except on errands of mercy. That type of democratic wisdom was illustrated last year by the action of Governor Murphy of Michigan when he persuaded the negotiators of the employers and employees to sit around a table and keep sitting around a table. (and thus) Thus he got an agreement, avoided bloodshed, and earned the praise of both sides of a controversy that had frightened a whole nation.

With such an approach, the New Deal, keeping its feet on the ground, is working out hundreds of current problems from day to day as necessities arise and with whatever materials are at hand. We are doing this without attempting to commit the Nation to any ism or any ideology except democracy, humanity and the civil liberties which form their foundations.

Our economic and social system cannot deny the paramount right of the millions who toil and the millions who wish to toil, to have it function smoothly and efficiently. After all, any such system must provide efficiently for distributing national resources and serving the welfare and happiness of all who live under it.

The modern interdependent industrial and agricultural society which we live in is like a large factory. Each member of the organization has his own job to perform on the assembly line, but if the conveyor belt breaks or gets tangled up, no one in the factory, no matter how hard he tries, can do his own particular job. Each of us -- farmer, businessmen or worker -- suffers when anything goes wrong with the conveyor belt.

If our democracy is to survive it must give the average man reasonable assurance that the (belts) belt will be kept moving.

Dictators in other countries have recognized that problem. They keep the conveyor (belts) belt moving -- but at a terrible price to the individual and to his civil liberty.

The New Deal has been trying to keep those belts moving without paying such a price. It does not wish to run or manage any part of our economic machine which private enterprise can run and keep running. That should be left to individuals, to corporations, to any other

form of private management, with profit for those who manage well. But when an abuse interferes with the ability of private enterprise to keep the national conveyor belt moving, government has a responsibility to eliminate that abuse.

We do not assume for a minute that all we have done is right or all that we have done has been successful, but our economic and social program of the past five and a half years has definitely given to the United States of America a more stable, (and) a less artificial prosperity than any other nation in the world has enjoyed in that period.

The very fact that the business slump (beginning) that began last fall and kept running into last summer, did not become a major economic disaster like the terrible slump that ran from 1929 all the way through to 1933; that is the best kind of proof that fundamentally we have found the right track.

You have just heard the news about the automobile factories and many other industries that are opening up for full employment again. And during the month of October alone over-all employment has risen nearly  $3\frac{1}{2}\%$ .

I have been very happy in the last six months to see how swiftly a large majority of businessmen have been coming around to accept the objectives of a more stable economy and of certain necessary supervision of private activities in order to prevent a return of the serious abuses and conditions of the past. But if there should be any weakening of the power of a liberal government next Tuesday, it would resurrect false hopes on the part of some businessmen who are now beginning to change antiquated ideas, hopes that if they can hold out just a little longer no adaptation to change will be necessary.

There is no doubt, as we all know, of the basic desires of the American people. And because these basic desires are well known you find all parties, all candidates, making the same general promises to satisfy these desires.

During the weeks before a general election, all parties are the friends of labor, all parties are against monopoly, all parties say that the unemployed must have work or be given government relief, and all parties love the farmer.

Let me warn you now, as I warned you two years ago in my address at Syracuse, against the type of smooth evasion which says:

"Of course we believe (all) these things; we believe in social security; we believe in work for the unemployed; we believe in saving homes. Cross our hearts and hope to die, we believe in all these things; but we do not like the way that the present Administration is doing them. Just turn them over to us. We will do all of them -- we will do more of them -- we will do them better; and, most important of all, the doing of them will not cost anybody anything."

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He is charged with the supervision of State finance and the maintenance of the State credit. He is responsible for its widespread system of roads and parks and canals and bridges and schools. He has to maintain, preserve and improve the great body of social legislation already on the statute books of the State -- unemployment insurance, workmen's compensation, social security, help for the needy and the underprivileged; and he must see to it that these recent reforms are made to keep pace with the broadening conception of social justice.

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Recruits in the battle for economic democracy are always welcome irrespective of party; but at a critical moment in the world's history we cannot take the risk of supplanting seasoned leaders like Governor Lehman with men, no matter how sincere, who have yet to win their spurs or prove what they really know or where they really stand in the fight for social justice. Those who truly and sincerely join the struggle for social justice, economic democracy for its own sake, they do not throw stones at veteran fighters in that cause.

No one can properly minimize the need of active law enforcement, whether it be in a great city or in the rural counties of this or any other state. Certainly Governor Lehman has never minimized it,

(and) has never hesitated to call to his assistance in law enforcement, young and vigorous prosecutors, irrespective of politics. We need more active law enforcement, not only against the lords of the underworld, but also against the lords of the overworld.

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Yes, the fight for social justice and economic democracy has not the allure of a criminal jury trial; it is a long weary, uphill struggle -- and those who give themselves unsparingly to it are seldom acclaimed at my lady's tea or at my gentleman's club.

As a resident and voter in the State of New York I urge my fellow citizens and voters, who are interested in preserving true good government and American democracy, to vote for Herbert H. Lehman.

And just as a Governor is required to be much more than a good prosecutor, so a United States Senator must be much more than a good lawyer. A Senator from New York must do more than merely vote on whatever bills happen to drift by. He must be able and willing to take the initiative -- to keep the legislative wheels turning in the right direction.

If you were to list some of the newly recognized major responsibilities of government to meet the complexities of modern life -- security in old age, unemployment insurance, protection of the rights of labor, low-cost housing, (and) slum clearance -- you would have a virtual resume of the Acts of the Congress (which) that bear the name

of Robert F. Wagner. So often since 1933 has new legislation been described as "The Wagner Act" that the phrase has become confusing because there have been so many Wagner Acts. For example, there is not only the Wagner Labor Relations Act; there are the Wagner Social Security Act and the Wagner Housing Act; and although you might feel uncertain as to which particular Act is meant by the phrase, you can feel no uncertainty as to this -- that any one of the Wagner Acts was an Act intended for the benefit of those who need the help and support of government against oppression and against intolerable conditions of living. His name stands in our history for courageous and intelligent leadership, constructive statescraft and steadfast devotion to the common man and the cause of civil liberties.

With him I hope the voters of this State will send to the Senate in Washington an experienced Member of the House of Representatives -- James M. Mead -- known through many years for his expert knowledge of three fields whose intricate problems press heavily upon government today -- railroads, aviation and Civil Service, and for his unflagging support of every liberal measure that has come before the Congress. We need that legislative experience, that temper of mind, that expert knowledge in the United States Senate.

Look over the rest of the names on the ballot next Tuesday. Pick those who are known for their experience and their liberalism. Pick them for what they have done, and not just for what they say they (would) might do.

And one last but important word: Pick them without regard to race, color or creed. Some of them may have come of the earliest Colonial stock; some of them may have been brought here as children

to escape the tyrannies of the Old World. But remember that all of them are good American citizens now.

Remember that the Fathers of the (American) Revolution, the American Revolution, represented many religions and came from many foreign lands.

Remember that no matter what their origin they all agreed with Benjamin Franklin in that crisis: "We must indeed all hang together or most assuredly we shall all hang separately."

Remember that in these grave days in the affairs of the world we need internal unity -- national unity. For the sake of the Nation that is good advice -- and it never grows old.

## STATEMENTS FILE

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## Shorthand By Kannan

HOLD FOR RELEASE

HOLD FOR RELEASE

HOLD FOR RELEASE

**C A U T I O N :** This address of the President, to be delivered over the radio from his home at Hyde Park, N.Y., is to be held for release upon delivery, expected about 7.30 P.M., E.S.T., Friday, November 4, 1938.  
Please guard against premature release.

M. H. McINTYRE,  
Secretary to the President

On the eve of another election, I have come home to Hyde Park and am sitting at my own fireside in my own election district, my own County and my own State.

I have often expressed my feeling that the mere fact that I am President should not disqualify me from expressing as a citizen my views on candidates and issues in my own State.

I have changed my mind about the nature of some problems of democratic government over the past few years as I have had more and more experience with them. I had never realized how much my way of thinking had changed until the other day when I was watching the finishing touches being put on a simple cottage I have recently built -- a cottage which, by the way, is not in any sense of the word a "dream house." Just watching the building go up made me realize that there was a time not so long ago when I used to think about problems of government as if they were the same kind of problems as building a house -- definite and compact and capable of completion within a given time.

Now I know well that the comparison is not a good one. Once you build a house you always have it. On the other hand, a social or an economic gain is different. A social or economic gain made by one Administration may, and often does, evaporate into thin air under the next one.

We all remember well-known examples of what an ill-advised shift from liberal to conservative leadership can do to an incomplete liberal program. Theodore Roosevelt, for example, started a march of progress during his seven years in the Presidency but, after four years of President Taft, little was left of the progress which had been made. Think of the great liberal achievements of Woodrow Wilson's New Freedom and how quickly they were liquidated under President Harding. We have to have reasonable continuity in liberal government to get permanent results.

The whole United States concedes that we in New York State have carried out a magnificent liberal program through our State government during the past sixteen years. If the continuity of liberal government had been broken in this State during that time, we would be nowhere near the point we have reached today.

The voters throughout the country should remember that need for continuous liberal government when they vote next Tuesday.

On that day the oldest of modern democracies will hold an election. Free people will have a free choice to pick free leaders for free men.

In other lands across the water the flares of militarism and conquest, terrorism and intolerance, have vividly revealed to Americans for the first time since the Revolution how precious and extraordinary it is to be allowed this free choice of free leaders for free men.

STATEMENTS FILE

Shorthand By Kannan

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No one will ordain how to vote, and the only watchers we shall find at the polls are the watchers who guarantee that our ballot is secret. Think how few places are left where this can happen.

But we cannot carelessly assume that a nation is strong and great merely because it has a democratic form of government. We have learned that a democracy weakened by internal dissension, by mutual suspicion born of social injustice, is no match for autocracies which are ruthless enough to repress internal dissension.

Democracy in order to live must become a positive force in the daily lives of its people. It must make men and women whose devotion it seeks, feel that it really cares for the security of every individual; that it is tolerant enough to inspire an essential unity among its citizens; and that it is militant enough to maintain liberty against social oppression at home and against military aggression abroad.

The rest of the world is far closer to us than in the days of democracy's founders — Jefferson, Jackson and Lincoln. Comparisons are unavoidable. To disprove the pretenses of rival systems, democracy must be an affirmative, up-to-date conception. It can no longer be negative — no longer adopt a defeatist attitude. In these tense and dangerous situations in the world democracy will save itself with the average man and woman by proving itself worth saving.

Too many of those who prate about saving democracy are really only interested in saving things as they were. Democracy should concern itself also with things as they ought to be.

I am not talking mere idealism; I am pressing realistic necessity.

I reject the merely negative purposes proposed by old-line Republicans and Communists alike — for they are people whose only purpose is to survive against any other Fascist threat than their own.

As of today, Fascism and Communism — and old-line Tory Republicans — are not threats to the continuation of our form of government. But I venture the challenging statement that if American democracy ceases to move forward as a living force, seeking day and night by peaceful means to better the lot of our citizens, Fascism and Communism, aided, unconsciously perhaps, by old-line Tory Republicanism, will grow in strength.

It will take cool judgment for our people to appraise the repercussions of change in other lands. And only a nation completely convinced — at the bottom as well as at the top — that their system of government best serves their best interests, will have such a judgment.

And while we are developing that coolness of judgment, we need in public office, above all things, men wise enough to avoid passing incidents where passion and force try to substitute themselves for judgment and negotiation.

During my four years as Governor and during my nearly six years as President, I am proud of the fact that I have never called out the armed forces of the State or Nation except on errands of mercy. That type of democratic wisdom was illustrated last year by the action of Governor Murphy of Michigan when he persuaded the negotiators of the employers and employees to sit around a table and thus got an agreement, avoided bloodshed, and earned the praise of both sides of a controversy that had frightened a whole nation.

Loyalty

With such an approach, the New Deal, keeping its feet on the ground, is working out hundreds of current problems from day to day as necessities arise and with whatever materials are at hand. We are doing this without attempting to commit the nation to any ism or ideology except democracy, humanity and the civil liberties which form their foundations.

Our economic and social system cannot deny the paramount right of the millions who toil and the millions who wish to toil, to have it function smoothly and efficiently. After all, any such system must provide efficiently for distributing national resources and serving the welfare and happiness of all who live under it.

The modern interdependent industrial and agricultural society is like a large factory. Each member of the organization has his own job to perform on the assembly line, but if the conveyor belt breaks or gets tangled up, no one in the factory, no matter how hard he tries, can do his own particular job. Each of us — farmer, business man or worker — suffers when anything goes wrong with the conveyor belt.

If our Democracy is to survive it must give the average man reasonable assurance that the belts will be kept moving.

Dictators have recognized that problem. They keep the conveyor belts moving — but at a terrible price to the individual and to his civil liberty.

The New Deal has been trying to keep those belts moving without paying such a price. It does not wish to run or manage any part of our economic machine which private enterprise can run and keep running. That should be left to individuals, to corporations, to any other form of private management, with profit for those who manage well. But when an abuse interferes with the ability of private enterprise to keep the national conveyor belt moving, government has a responsibility to eliminate that abuse.

We do not assume for a minute that all we have done is right or all that we have done has been successful, but our economic and social program of the past five and a half years has definitely given to the United States a more stable, and less artificial prosperity than any other nation in the world has enjoyed.

The very fact that the business slump beginning last fall and running into last summer, did not become a major economic disaster like the (slump that ran from 1929 to 1933) is the best kind of proof that fundamentally we have found the right track.

You have just heard the news about the automobile factories and many other industries that are opening up for full employment again. And during the month of October alone overall employment has risen nearly 3%.

I have been very happy in the last six months to see how swiftly a large majority of business men have been coming around to accept the objectives of a more stable economy and of certain necessary supervision of private activities in order to prevent a return of the serious abuses and conditions of the past. But if there should be any weakening of the power of a liberal government next Tuesday, it would resurrect false hopes on the part of some business men, now beginning to change antiquated ideas, that if they can hold out a little longer no adaptation to change will be necessary.

There is no doubt of the basic desires of the American people. And because these basic desires are well known you find all parties, all candidates, making the same general promises to satisfy these desires.

During the weeks before a general election, all parties are the friends of labor, all parties are against monopoly, all parties say that the unemployed must have work or be given government relief, all parties love the farmer.

Let me warn you now, as I warned you two years ago in my address at Syracuse, against the smooth evasion which says:

"Of course we believe ~~all~~ these things; we believe in social security; we believe in work for the unemployed; we believe in saving homes. Cross our hearts and hope to die, we believe in all these things; but we do not like the way the present Administration is doing them. Just turn them over to us. We will do all of them — we will do more of them — we will do them better; and, most important of all, the doing of them will not cost anybody anything."

But when democracy struggles for its very life, there same people obstruct our efforts to maintain it, while they fail to offer proof of their own will and their own plans to preserve it. They try to stop the only fire engine we have from rushing to the fire because they are sales agents for a different make of fire engine.

New ideas cannot be administered successfully by men with old ideas, for the first essential of doing a job well is the wish to see the job done at all.

Judge parties and candidates, not merely by what they promise, but by what they have done, by their records in office, by the kind of people they travel with, by the kind of people who finance and promote their campaigns. By their promoters ye shall know them.

No national Administration, however much it may represent the genuine popular will of the people, can in the long run prove enduringly effective if that Administration can be cut off from the people by state and local political machinery controlled by men who are hostile.

My own State of New York is to choose a Governor. Ours is the most complex State in the Union -- thirteen million population, great farming areas, hundreds of small communities, one huge city of seven million people, and many other cities, great and small.

Governing the State of New York requires the skill which comes from long experience in public affairs.

In 1918 when I was thirty-six years old, I was invited to run for the Governorship of this State. I was then Assistant Secretary of the Navy. I declined the offer, because my job required me at that time to sail on a destroyer for overseas service. I am glad I did, for, looking back on that time, I do not think that I had experience and knowledge of public affairs wide enough to qualify as Governor. Besides, I did not think it quite right to abandon in mid-stream an important public job that I had undertaken.

Governing the State of New York is more than being an Assistant Secretary of the Navy or a District Attorney. The Governor of this State is called upon to administer eighteen great departments of government and to supervise state institutions that house over one hundred thousand wards of the State. He must be able to understand, and handle the vast and intricate problems of agriculture. He is charged with the supervision of State finance and the maintenance of State credit. He is responsible for its widespread system of roads, parks, canals, bridges and schools. He has to maintain, preserve and improve the great body of social legislation already on the statute books of the State -- unemployment insurance, workmen's compensation, social security, help for the needy and the under-privileged; and he must see to it that these recent reforms are made to keep pace with the broadening conception of social justice.

Equal protection of the law -- criminal and civil -- for human rights as well as property rights; prosecution of criminals in high financial places as well as low places; the preservation of civil and religious liberties -- all these precious essentials of civilization are entrusted to him.

New York has State laws matching every progressive Federal measure of the last five years. They were all enacted under the guiding hand and driving energy of Governor Herbert H. Lehman.

Recruits in the battle for economic democracy are always welcome irrespective of party; but at a critical moment in the world's history we cannot take the risk of supplanting seasoned leaders like Governor Lehman with men, no matter how sincere, who have yet to win their spurs or prove what they really know or where they really stand in the fight for social justice. Those who truly and sincerely join the struggle for social justice, economic democracy for its own sake, do not throw stones at veteran fighters in that cause.

No one can properly minimize the need of active law enforcement, whether it be in a great city or in the rural counties. Certainly Governor Lehman has never minimized it, and has never hesitated to call to his assistance in law enforcement, young and vigorous prosecutors, irrespective of politics. We need more active law enforcement, not only against the lords of the underworld, but also against the lords of the overworld.

It is right -- wholly right -- to prosecute criminals. But that is not enough, for there is the immense added task of working for the elimination of present and future crime by getting rid of evil social conditions which breed crime. Good government can prevent a thousand crimes for every one it punishes.

The fight for social justice and economic democracy has not the allure of a criminal jury trial; it is a long, weary, uphill struggle -- and those who give themselves unceasingly to it are seldom acclaimed at my lady's tea or at my gentleman's club.

As a resident and voter in the State of New York I urge my fellow citizens and voters, who are interested in preserving good government and American democracy, to vote for Herbert H. Lehman.

And just as a Governor is required to be much more than a good prosecutor, so a United States Senator must be much more than a good lawyer. A Senator from New York must do more than merely vote on whatever bills drift by. He must be able and willing to take the initiative -- to keep the legislative wheels turning in the right direction.

If you were to list some of the newly recognized major responsibilities of government to meet the complexities of modern life -- security in old age, unemployment insurance, protection of the rights of labor, low-cost housing and slum clearance -- you would have a virtual resume of the Acts of the Congress which bear the name of Robert F. Wagner. So often since 1933 has new legislation been described as "The Wagner Act" that the phrase has become confusing because there have been so many Wagner Acts. For example, there is not only the Wagner Labor Relations Act; there are the Wagner Social Security Act and the Wagner Housing Act; and although you might feel uncertain as to which particular Act is meant by the phrase, you can feel no uncertainty as to this -- that any one of the Wagner Acts was an Act intended for the benefit of those who need the help and support of government against oppression and intolerable conditions of living. His name stands for courageous and intelligent leadership, constructive statesmanship and steadfast devotion to the common man and the cause of civil liberties.

With him I hope the voters of this State will send to the Senate an experienced Member of the House of Representatives -- James M. Mead -- known through many years for his expert knowledge of three fields whose intricate problems press heavily upon government today -- railroads, aviation and Civil Service, and for his unflagging support of every liberal measure that has come before the Congress. We need that legislative experience, that temper of mind, that expert knowledge in the United States Senate.

Look over the rest of the names on the ballot next Tuesday. Pick those who are known for their experience and their liberalism. Pick them for what they have done, and not just for what they say they would do.

And one last but important word: Pick them without regard to race, color or creed. Some of them may have come of the earliest Colonial stock; some of them may have been brought here as children to escape the tyrannies of the Old World. All of them are American citizens now.

Remember that the Fathers of the American Revolution, represented many religions and came from many foreign lands.

Remember that no matter what their origin they agreed with Benjamin Franklin: "We must indeed all hang together or most assuredly we shall all hang separately."

Remember that in these grave days in the affairs of the world we need internal unity - national unity. For the sake of the Nation that is good advice - and it never grows old.

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SECOND DRAFT

RADIO SPEECH

NOVEMBER 4, 1938

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On the eve of another election, I have come home to Hyde Park and am sitting at my own fireside in my own election district, my own County and my own State.

I have often made it clear that the mere fact of being President should not prevent me as a citizen from expressing my views on candidates and issues in my own State. Nor should it prevent me from forcibly expressing my opinion of those in other parts of the country who have unwittingly, or with malice ~~beforethought~~, misused my name or twisted actual facts.

But tonight, before I take up State matters, I want to speak simply and seriously about certain philosophies and objectives of representative government -- and I do so without reference to the party labels of any candidates.

I have been doing a good deal of thinking in the past few years about the continuity of democratic processes. I used to talk about the problems of government as if they were the problems of building and completing a house.

Today, as I was watching the finishing touches being put on a simple cottage I have recently built -- not by the

way a "dream house" in any sense of the term -- I realized that my comparison has been a rather poor one.

For a house can be and generally is completed -- made a finished-product in the course of a few months. Whereas, building operations in the field of government are never finished -- never brought to perfection.

Lots of us have seen our ideas about government change, not only in our lifetime, but especially in the past few years.

This election time gives us another chance to think about <sup>the</sup> continuing processes and to make up our minds whether we want the processes to continue, to remain where they are, or to slip backwards into the old grooves.

We all remember well-known examples of what a change in direction can mean to liberal government. Theodore Roosevelt introduced, without doubt, a march of progress during his seven years in the Presidency, but progress stopped and slipped backward during the four years of President Taft.

Woodrow Wilson resumed another period of liberal government but again the country lost ground under President Harding.

Here in the State of New York it is generally conceded all over the United States that the State government has been liberal and extremely effective during the past sixteen years.

The gains made by Theodore Roosevelt were largely lost under Taft. The social and economic gains made under Wilson were largely lost under Harding. If the continuity of liberal government had not existed during the past sixteen years in this State, liberal gains would have been lost.

A social or economic gain is not like a room in a newly built house. A room stays put but a social and economic gain may, and often does, evaporate into thin air.

Because of their past experience, when they have turned down liberal government in the nation and in the States, the voters throughout the country should bear that clearly in mind when they vote next Tuesday.

On that day the oldest of modern democracies will hold an election. A free people will have a free choice to ~~xxxx~~ pick free leaders of free men. In the past we have often taken this liberty as a matter of course. We have laughed when a campaigner has thought it shrewd to campaign like a circus; some Americans have cynically thought of an election as a corrupt process with which self-respecting persons should not be contaminated.

But what has been going on in other lands across the water has cast a new light on this particular liberty of ours.

The flares of militarism, terrorism, intolerance and conquest have let our generation of Americans see for the first time since the Revolution how precious it is to be allowed this free choice of free leaders for free men.

No one can tell us how we must vote, and the only watchers we have at the polls are the watchers who guarantee that our ballot is secret.

Some nations, ruled under a different form of government, have never known what the free ballot box means. Others, new to democracy, have seen democracy disappear in part because they could not make democracy work.

Therefore, we cannot carelessly assume that a nation is strong and great merely because it has a democratic form of government. We have learned that democracy weakened by internal dissension, by mutual suspicion born of social injustice, is no match for autocracies which are ruthless enough to repress internal dissension and clever enough at the same time to give work and wages to their population.

We know that democracy in order to live must become a positive force in the daily lives of its people. It must make for men and women whose devotion is given to democracy feel that it really cares for the security of every individual; that

<sup>enough</sup>  
it is tolerant to inspire an essential unity; and that it is  
A  
militant enough to maintain liberty against depression at home  
and against aggression abroad.

In these tense and dangerous world situations democracy  
must be made to work by going forward.

No part of the world is anything like as far from us as  
it was in the days of democracy's founders - Jefferson, Jackson  
and Lincoln. Therefore, democracy must be a positive, up-to-date  
conception - competent enough to disprove the pretenses of rival  
systems. It can no longer be negative, it can no longer stand  
still and survive.

Too many of those who prate about saving democracy really  
mean saving things as they are. Kipling wrote about "a God of  
things as they are". I prefer to think about "a God of things  
as they ought to be". For if America has a house that is com-  
pleted, etc.

The New Deal program for the betterment of the every-day  
life of the average American is an aggressive attempt to save  
democracy in spite of those campaigners who try to keep a  
living, forward-moving democracy confused with things as they  
are.

I am not talking mere idealism; I am pressing realistic necessity.

I object to the greatly inactive purposes proposed by Communists and old-line Republicans alike -- seeking to set up their own Fascist type of control, in order to stave off some other Fascist threat.

What the New Deal has tried to do and what its program is is to revive the real strength of democracy as a way of life.

Most of those, who, regardless of party, oppose it today, consciously or unconsciously, are undermining our national strength by choosing to represent them ~~men~~ who are Fascist at heart or else want to turn back the clock.

Fascism and Communism are not threats to the continuation of our form of government today. But I venture the challenging statement that if American democracy ceases to move forward as a ~~maxim~~ living force, seeking day and night by peaceful means to better the lot of our citizens, Fascism and Communism will grow in strength. Fascism and Communism thrive on the calling out of the troops. During my four years as Governor, I am proud of the fact that I never called out the National Guard except on an errand of mercy. During my nearly six years as President, I have never called out the Army or Navy of the United States

except on errands of mercy. Passions in many local instances have run high -- and bloodshed has been threatened. The democratic method is typified by the action of Governor Murphy in Michigan last year when in effect he locked the negotiators of the employers and employees into a room, got an agreement, avoided bloodshed and earned the praise of both sides of that controversy. As a result of actions like this, we are slowly but surely, ironing through the processes of evolution, ~~x~~ working out difficulties between labor and capital, difficulties between utility companies and the public, difficulties between farmers and householders, who are about to be dispossessed, and the people they owe money to. In a hundred other ways the New Deal, keeping its feet on the ground, is working out current problems. That is the salvation of ~~imperial~~ democracy.

Fifty or seventy-five years ago our people could stand the disorder and chaos of an industrial and financial system that was manipulated by powerful men who put their servants into the control of the government. Those who suffered injustice, the underpaid or unemployed workmen, the dispossessed farmers, had an escape -- they could take up homesteads in the West.

That escape has vanished. Our cheap and fertile land is occupied. Science and finance have knit business and industry and agriculture into a vast, delicate, complicated machine. That brings every man, woman and child in the nation within its compass. That machine can no longer be run exclusively for the profit of those who own and manage it. That machine cannot deny the paramount right of the millions who toil and the millions who wish to toil, to have it function smoothly and efficiently as a means of distributing our national resources and of making it serve the welfare and happiness of all the people of America.

The New Deal does not wish to run or manage that machine. That should be left to individuals, to corporations, to private management. There should be profit for those who manage it well. But we have seen the abuse which has come from wholly uncontrolled private management. The New Deal has undertaken, therefore, the type of supervision which seeks only to eliminate from the running of the machine those inequities, those unsocial and those uneconomic results which so often in the past have hurt the lives of the public as a whole.

We do not assume for a minute that all we have done is right or all that we have done has been successful, but it is worth pointing out that our economic and social program of the

past five years and a half has given to this country a more stable and less artificial prosperity than any other nation in the world has enjoyed.

Details can and must be changed or improved as we gain experience. But the fact remains that most Americans think we are on the right track.

Why is it that the business slump beginning last Fall and running to last Summer did not become a major economic disaster like the one that began in 1929? Why is it that instead of being on the road to ruin we are now on the road to prosperity once more? You and I know that the automobile factories and many other industries are opening up again. And during the month

*Throughout* of October alone employment has risen nearly 3½ -- not a bad sign.  
*This is because we* have been trying consistently to do a little here and

a little there, not only to improve the conditions of the moment, but also to build on fundamentally sound lines. Only last week a prominent editor and a prominent business man have written me separately to the same effect. "With abundant signs of an upward trend everywhere evident I have not, in ten years, been so certain as I am today that we are on the threshold of an excellent recovery". During these years the great majority of objectives  
of business men have been coming to accept the ~~objectives~~ of social

reform, of a more stable economy and of certain necessary super-  
visions of private activities, in order to prevent a return of  
the serious abuses and conditions of the past.

The chief foes of returning prosperity are those who,  
for political purposes, hurl unsupported charges, ~~making~~ un-  
truthful allegations and offer nothing constructive as a sub-  
stitute for the social and economic program under which we are  
definitely going forward.

I quarrel with them a great deal more than with those  
who are honest enough to say publicly that they want no govern-  
ment controls and no government assistance.

My own State of New York is to choose a Governor. Its population is thirteen million - greater than that of the entire Nation during the first fifty years of its national existence. Ours is a complex State. Great farming areas, hundreds of small communities, one huge city of seven million people and many other cities, great and small. Many elements could make for social unrest.

Therefore, the government of the State of New York requires a very large amount of skill which comes from experience in its conduct.

I was invited to run for the Governorship when I was thirty-six years old but I was headed for the War Zone on a destroyer and I turned it down. I am glad I did, for looking back on that time I do not think that I had a sufficiently broad knowledge of public affairs to have enabled me to make a qualified governor.

Governing the State of New York is more than being an Assistant Secretary of the Navy or a district attorney. Its ~~in~~ government and its legislation has an intimate effect on

the lives of everyone of its thirteen million people. The Governor of this State is called on to administer eighteen great departments of government and state institutions that house over one hundred thousand unfortunate wards of the State. He must be able to understand and handle the problems of agriculture, of State finance and the maintenance of State credit, of his responsibility for its widespread system of roads, canals, bridges, schools designed to meet the present and growing needs of its people. He has to maintain, preserve and improve the great body of social legislation already on its books - unemployment insurance, workmen's compensation, social security, help for the needy and underprivileged; and he must see to it that these recent reforms are made to keep pace with the broadening conception of social justice.

Human rights as well as property rights; prosecution of criminals in high places as well as low; equal protection of the law - criminal and civil; civil and religious liberty - all these precious essentials are entrusted into his hands.

New York State has ever been in the vanguard in cooperation with the recent Federal movements to better the lot of the men

and women of America. On the statute books of New York you will, therefore, find corresponding State laws to match every progressive Federal measure of the last five years.

They were all placed there under the guiding hand and driving energy of Governor Herbert H. Lehman.

Recruits in the battle for economic democracy are always welcome, but at a critical moment in the world's history we cannot take the risk of supplanting highly seasoned leaders like Governor Lehman with men, no matter how sincere, who have yet to win their spurs or prove their stand in the fight for social justice.

No one can properly minimize the need of active law enforcement, whether it be in the great city or in the country county. We need more of it in both places; we need it not only against the lords of the underworld, but also against the lords of the overworld. The fight for social justice and economic democracy is not a criminal jury trial; it is a long, weary, uphill struggle - and those who give themselves unsparingly to it are seldom acclaimed at My Lady's ~~King~~ Tea or at My Gentleman's Club.

Those who would sincerely join the struggle for social justice and economic democracy do not throw stones at their comrades in arms.

I think I have the right as a resident and voter in the State of New York to urge my fellow citizens and voters, who are interested in preserving good government and American democracy, to vote for Herbert H. Lehman.

And just as a Governor is required by to be much more than a good prosecutor, so the office of United States Senator requires much more than a good lawyer. A Senator should be able to do more than merely vote. If you list some of the major newly recognized responsibilities of a government to meet the complexities of modern life -- protection of the rights of labor, security in old age, unemployment insurance, low-cost housing and slum clearance -- you will have a virtual resume of the Acts of the Congress which bear the name of Robert F. Wagner. So often since 1933 has new legislation been described as "The Wagner Act" that the phrase has become confusing because there have been so many Wagner Acts. You can feel no uncertainty of any this, however -- that ~~one~~ one of the Wagner Acts was an Act intended for the benefit of those who need the help and support of government against oppression and intolerable conditions of

living. His name stands for courageous and intelligent leadership, constructive statecraft and steadfast devotion to the common man.

With him I hope the voters of this State will send to the Senate an experienced Member of the House of Representatives -- James M. Mead -- known through many years for his expert knowledge and support of the finest principles of Civil Service legislation, the handling of the mails, aviation, and the problems of the railroads.

Look over the rest of the names on the ballot next Tuesday. Pick those who are known for their experience and their liberalism. Pick them for what they have done and not just for what they say they would do.

Pick them without regard to race, creed or color. Some of them may come of the earliest Colonial stock; some of them may have been brought here as children to escape the tyrannies of the Old World. They are all of them American citizens and that is all that I care to know regarding their origin.

THIRD DRAFT

SJR

RADIO SPEECH

NOVEMBER 4, 1938.

On the eve of another election, I have come home to Hyde Park and am sitting at my own fireside in my own election district, my own County and my own State.

I have often expressed my feeling that the mere fact that I am President should not disqualify me from expressing my views on candidates and issues as a citizen in my own State.

I have changed my mind a great deal about the nature of the problems of democratic government over the past few years as I have had more and more experience with them. I had never realized how much my way of thinking had changed until the other day when I was watching the finishing touches being put on a simple cottage I have recently built -- a cottage which ~~just in my house of the world a~~ by the way is ~~now~~ dream house, ~~it has been~~ entered. Just watching the building made me realize that there was a time not so long ago when I used to think about problems of government as if they were the same kind of problems as building,

A ~~completing~~. A house can be, and generally is, completed <sup>and</sup> made a finished product in a definite period of

Jacob Kraft.

-2-

time and, barring ~~possible~~ catastrophes, stays put. Once you build it you always have it. <sup>On the other hand</sup> A social or an economic gain, ~~however~~, ~~for instance~~, is not like a room in a newly built house. + A new addition to a house stays put, but a social and economic gain made by one administration may, and often does, evaporate into thin air under the next one.

We all remember well-known examples of what a premature shift from liberal to conservative leadership can do to an incompletely liberal program. Theodore Roosevelt, for example, started introduced a march of progress during his seven years in the Presidency, but after four years of President Taft, little was left of the progress which had been made. Think of the great liberal achievements of Woodrow Wilson's new freedom and how quickly they were liquidated under President Harding. We have to have reasonable continuity in liberal government to get permanent results.

The whole United States concedes that we have carried out a magnificent liberal program through our State government during the past sixteen years. ~~During that sixteen year period~~ <sup>in New York State</sup> If the continuity of liberal government had been broken in this State during that time, we would <sup>then</sup> be no ~~where~~ near the point we have reached today.

Third Draft

48

continuous liberal government

The voters throughout the country should bear that ~~message~~  
~~idea~~ for continuity clearly in mind when they vote next Tuesday.

On that day the oldest of modern democracies will hold  
an election. A free people will have a free choice to pick  
free leaders of free men. In the past we have often taken

~~Some~~ ~~that has been going on~~ in other lands across the water ~~has cast a new light on this freedom.~~ The flares of militarism and conquest, terrorism and intolerance, have ~~nowhere~~ <sup>nowhere</sup> To Americans for the first time since the Revolution to our generation of Americans how precious and extraordinary it is to be allowed this free choice of free leaders for free men.

No one can tell us how we must vote; and the only watchers  
we have at the polls are the watchers who guarantee that our  
ballot is secret. Think how few places are left where this  
can happen.

Some nations, ruled under a different form of government, have never known what the free ballot box means. Others, new to democracy, have seen democracy disappear because they could not make ~~democracy~~ work.

Therefore, we cannot carelessly assume that a nation is strong and great merely because it has a democratic form of government. We have learned that <sup>A/</sup> democracy weakened by internal dissension, by mutual suspicion born of social injustice, is no match for autocracies which are ruthless enough to repress internal dissension. [and clever enough at the same time to use a program of robbing to give work to their populations.]

Democracy in order to live must become a positive force in the daily lives of its people. It must make men and women whose devotion it seeks, feel that it really cares for the security of every individual; that it is tolerant enough to inspire an essential unity; <sup>among its citizens</sup> and that it is militant enough to maintain liberty against <sup>social</sup> oppression at home and against military aggression abroad.

~~This is not to say~~ the world is ~~far closer to us than to them~~ is, the days of democracy's founders - Jefferson, Jackson and Lincoln. Comparisons are unavoidable. To disprove the pretenses of rival systems, democracy must be <sup>affirmative,</sup> ~~positive,~~ up-to-date conception. It can no longer be negative <sup>with a defeatist</sup> - no longer ~~analytic~~, <sup>affirmative</sup> ~~concern solely to save itself~~. In these tense and dangerous

*in this world*  
working situations democracy will save itself by proving itself  
worth saving.

~~Too many of those who vote about saving democracy really only  
interested in  
seen-only saving things as they are. Keeping vote about a  
"God-of things-as-they-are". I prefer to think about a "good  
of things-as-they-are to be~~

~~The New Deal program for the betterment of the every-day  
life of the average American is an aggressive attempt to save  
democracy in spite of those complainers who try to confuse  
the idea of a living, forward-moving democracy with freezing  
things as they are.]~~

I am not talking mere idealism; I am pressing realistic  
necessity.

*As I see it, the objective*  
~~I object to the merely negative purposes proposed by  
Communists and old-line Republicans alike [the objective of]~~  
continuing to survive against any other Fascist threat than  
their own.

*- and old-line Republicanism -*  
Fascism and Communism are not yet threats to the con-  
tinuation of our form of government today. But I venture the  
challenging statement that if American democracy ceases to  
move forward as a living force, seeking day and night by

peaceful means to better the lot of our citizens and prevent  
divisions among them, Fascism and Communism will grow in  
strength. It will take cool judgment for our people to  
appraise the repercussions of [economic] change in other lands,  
And only a people completely convinced -- at the bottom as well  
as at the top -- that their system of government best serves  
their social and economic interests will have such a judgment.  
And while we are developing that coolness of judgment we need  
in public office, above all things, men who are wise enough to avoid  
incidents  
not to permit the rising of instances where passion and force  
have a chance to be substituted for judgment and negotiations.  
During my four years as Governor and during my nearly six years  
as President, I am proud of the fact that I have never called  
out the armed forces except on errands of mercy. That type  
of democratic wisdom was illustrated by the action last year  
of Governor Murphy in Michigan when he persuaded the nego-  
tiators of the employers and employees to sit around a table,  
got an agreement, avoided bloodshed and earned the praise of  
both sides of a controversy that had a whole nation justifi-  
ably frightened.

With such an approach,  
In such a way the New Deal, keeping its feet on the ground,

(A)

is working out hundreds of current problems from day to day  
as necessities arise and <sup>with whatever</sup> materials are at hand, without  
attempting to commit the Nation to any ~~ism~~ or [permanent] ideol-  
ogy except ~~any~~ <sup>the</sup> ~~abolition~~ <sup>preservation</sup> of democracy and ~~or~~ the civil  
liberties which form its foundation. That continuing responsi-  
bility of government <sup>To</sup> ~~in meeting~~ current problems is something  
which no modern democracy can avoid.

[Fifty or seventy-five years ago our people were able to sur-  
vive the disorder and chaos of an industrial and financial system  
that was manipulated by powerful men who put their own servants  
in control of the government. Those who suffered injustice,  
the underpaid or unemployed workmen, the dispossessed farmers,  
had an escape -- they could take up homesteads in the West; they  
could find new jobs in a growing country.

Those avenues of escape have now vanished. Our cheap  
and fertile land is occupied; our population is ceasing to grow.  
Science and finance have knit business and industry and agri-  
culture into a vast, delicate, complicated system that brings  
every man, woman and child in the nation within its compass.] <sup>Our economic</sup>  
[That system cannot deny the paramount right of the millions who  
toil and the millions who wish to toil, to have it function  
smoothly and efficiently. After all, any economic system must

in the large be an efficient means of distributing national resources and of serving the welfare and happiness of all who live under it.

The modern interdependent industrial society is like a large factory. Each member has his own job to perform on the assembly line, but if the conveyor belt breaks or gets tangled up, no one, no matter how hard he tries, can do his own particular job. Each of us -- farmer, business man or worker -- suffers when anything goes wrong with the conveyor belts.

[ In an interdependent industrial society, the economic conveyor belts must be kept moving. The individual alone is helpless to keep the conveyor belts moving. ] But if our democracy is to survive it must give the average man and woman reasonable assurance that the economic conveyor belts will be kept moving.

[ In the fits and starts of economic activity there is no security for either capital or labor. The extreme variability of our economic life is probably the gravest threat to orderly, democratic progress. ] Neither our nerves nor our pocketbooks can stand the strain of continually alternating booms and depressions. [ In other lands when democratic governments have failed to keep the economic conveyor belts moving, men in despair have even yielded their liberty to dictators who were

Insert (A) Page #9

But when an abuse interferes with the ability  
of private enterprise to ~~keep~~ the belts moving,

Government has a responsibility to eliminate  
~~that~~  
~~the~~ abuse.

HYDE PARK, N. Y.  
TELEGRAPH POUGHKEEPSIE (A) 3500

Offices and office & telephone bands no need now  
service wired and ~~now~~ or telephone starting to  
economies of ~~will~~ distinguish & will increase  
bands per

THIRD DRAFT

-9-

Dictators know that necessity. They  
keep the belts moving - at a  
terrible price to the individual.

at least willing to try to keep the conveyor belts moving. You  
and I have reason to feel uncomfortable when foreign dictators  
jeer and scoff at the inability of democratic countries to solve  
the problems of unemployed labor and unemployed capital.

At the New Deal has been trying [to do is] to keep those  
belts moving. It does not wish to run or manage any part of our  
economic machine which private enterprise <sup>can</sup> ~~would~~ run <sup>and</sup> keep  
running. That should be left to individuals, to corporations  
and any other form of private management with profit for those  
who manage well. But Government has a continuing responsibility  
to keep the belts moving and Government, it seems to me, has a  
responsibility when it sees an abuse in private enterprise which  
is destroying the ability of private enterprise to do its part  
to keep the belts moving, to eliminate that abuse. Therefore,  
the New Deal has undertaken the type of supervision which seeks  
to eliminate from the running of the machine those inequities,  
those unsocial and those uneconomic results which so often in  
the past have hurt the lives of the public as a whole and the  
very safety of private enterprise. That machine can no longer  
be run exclusively for the profit of those who own and manage it.

We do not assume for a minute that all we have done is  
right or all that we have done has been successful, but our

economic and social program of the past five years and a half has given to this country a more stable and less artificial prosperity than any other nation in the world has enjoyed.

~~Entirely new~~ [Details can and must be changed or improve as we gain experience, but] the very fact that the business slump beginning last fall and running to last summer did not become a major economic disaster like the slump beginning in 1929, is the best kind of proof that fundamentally we have found the right track. [We have changed enough underlying theories and practices so that instead of sliding off further according to the pattern of the 1929 slump, we are now clearly on the road to prosperity once more.] We have met the test of being able to survive a business depression ~~winner~~ <sup>by</sup> the new conditions we have created, and ~~winner~~ <sup>by</sup> the new techniques we have developed [for following through the continued responsibility of government to keep the conveyor belts moving.] You have just heard the news about the automobile factories and many other industries opening up for full employment again. During the month of October alone <sup>new</sup> all employment has risen nearly 3½%.

[Only last week a prominent business man has written me: "With abundant signs of an upward trend everywhere evident I have not, in ten years, been so certain as I am today that we

I have been very happy in the last six months to see how swiftly a large majority of business men have been coming around to accept the objectives of a more stable economy and of certain necessary supervision of private activities in order to prevent a return of the serious abuses and conditions of the past. But if there should be any weakening of the power of a liberal government next Tuesday, it would resurrect ~~ill-will~~<sup>false</sup> hopes on the part of some business men, now beginning to change antiquated ideas that if they can hold out a little longer no adaptation to change will be necessary.

There is no doubt, ~~in this election or any election,~~ of the basic desires of the people. And because these basic desires are known to all, you find all parties, all candidates, making the same general promises to satisfy these desires.

During the weeks before a general election, all parties are the friends of labor, all parties are against monopoly, all parties say that the unemployed must have work or be given government relief.

Let me warn you now, as I warned you two years ago in my address at Syracuse, against the smooth evasion which says:

"Of course we believe all these things; we believe in social security; we believe in work for the unemployed; we believe in saving homes. Cross our hearts and hope to die, we believe in all these things; but we do not like the way the present Administration is doing them. Just turn them over to us. We will do all of them -- we will do more of them -- we will do them better; and, most important of all, the doing of them will not cost anybody anything".

*the same people  
whether, fail to  
and their own plans*  
But when democracy struggles for its very life, they obstruct our efforts to maintain it, even offering proof of their own will to preserve it. They try to stop the only fire engine we have from rushing to the fire because they are sales agents for a different make of engine.

New ideas cannot be administered successfully by men with old ideas, for the first essential of doing a job well is the wish to see the job done at all.

Judge parties and candidates, not merely by what they promise, but by what they have done, by their records in office, by the kind of people they travel with, by the kind of people who finance and promote their campaigns. By their promoters ye shall know them. For before those who throw their money and their power into a political campaign, risk

that money and that power, you may be sure they have calculated  
the value of the candidate to them if he gets in.

The continuing vitality of national democracy depends  
upon the continuing vitality of local democracy. No national  
administration, however much it may represent the genuine  
popular will of the people, can in the long run prove enduringly  
effective if that administration can be ~~disembodied~~ cut off

from the people by state and local political machinery con-  
trolled by men ~~hostile or indifferent~~ <sup>who are</sup> hostile.

My own State of New York is to choose a Governor. [ Its  
population is thirteen million -- greater than that of the  
entire Nation during the first fifty years of its national exis-  
tence.] <sup>the next</sup> <sub>in the union - thirteen million population,</sub> Ours is a complex State <sup>A</sup> - great farming areas, hun-  
dreds of small communities, one huge city of seven million  
<sup>Original</sup> people of many ~~races~~, and many other cities, great and small.

The government of the State of New York requires ~~to be~~ <sup>long</sup> <sub>Govt.</sub>  
connect the skill which comes from experience in public affairs.

In 1918 when I was thirty-six years old, I was invited  
to run for the Governorship. <sup>New York</sup> I was then Assistant Secretary  
~~of the Navy~~ <sup>B</sup> I was glad I did  
of the Navy. ~~I~~ I declined <sup>for, looking</sup>  
back on that time, I do not think that I had ~~sufficient~~  
<sup>wide enough</sup> <sub>ly-broad</sub> experience and knowledge of public affairs to qualify  
me as governor. Besides, I did not think it quite right to  
abandon in mid-stream an important public job that I had under-  
taken.

B

Governing the State of New York is more than being an  
Assistant Secretary of the Navy or a district attorney. [ Its  
government and its legislation has an intimate effect on the  
lives of every one of its thirteen million people.] The Governor

of this State is called upon to administer eighteen great departments of government and to supervise state institutions that house over one hundred thousand wards of the State. He must be able to understand and handle the vast and intricate problems of agriculture, of State finance and the maintenance of State credit. He is responsible for its widespread system of roads, parks, canals, bridges and schools, designed to meet the present and growing needs of its people. He has to maintain, preserve and improve the great body of social legislation already on the statute books of the State -- unemployment insurance, workmen's compensation, social security, help for the needy and underprivileged; and he must see to it that these recent reforms are made to keep pace with the broadening conception of social justice.

Equal protection of the law - criminal and civil - for human rights as well as property rights; prosecution of criminals in high financial places as well as low places; the preservation of civil and religious liberties -- all these precious essentials of civilization are entrusted in him.

New York State has ever been in the vanguard in co-operating with the recent efforts of the Federal government to better the lot of the men and women of America. New York

has State laws matching every progressive Federal measure of the last five years. They were all enacted under the guiding hand and driving energy of Governor Herbert H. Lehman.

Recruits in the battle for economic democracy are always welcome irrespective of party; but at a critical moment in the world's history we cannot take the risk of supplanting seasoned leaders like Governor Lehman with men, no matter how sincere, who have yet to win their spurs or prove what they really know or where they really stand in the fight for <sup>Truth, and</sup> social justice. Those who ~~sincerely~~ sincerely join the struggle for social justice and economic democracy do not throw stones at their comrades-in-arms, <sup>for to our side</sup> veteran fighters in that cause.

No one can properly minimize the need of active law enforcement, whether it be in ~~a~~ great city or in the rural counties. Certainly Governor Lehman has never minimized ~~in~~ it and has never hesitated to call to his assistance in law enforcement, young and vigorous prosecutors, irrespective of politics. We need more active law enforcement, not only against the lords of the underworld, but also against the lords <sup>full</sup> of the ~~under~~world.

(C)

The fight for social justice and economic democracy has not the allure of a criminal jury trial; it is a long, weary, uphill struggle - and those who give themselves unsparingly to it are seldom acclaimed at my lady's tea or at my gentleman's club.

~~I think I have the right~~ A as a resident and voter in the State of New York ~~to~~ urge my fellow citizens and voters, who are interested in preserving good government and American democracy, to vote for Herbert H. Lehman.

And just as a Governor is required to be much more than a good prosecutor, so a United States Senator must be much more than a good lawyer. A Senator should ~~be asked to do more~~ <sup>from New York must</sup> than merely vote on whatever bills drift by. He must be able <sup>and</sup> ~~willing~~ to take the initiative <sup>A</sup> to keep the legislative wheels turning in the right direction. If you were to list some of the newly recognized major responsibilities of government to meet the complexities of modern life -- security in old age, unemployment insurance, protection of the rights of labor, low-cost housing and slum clearance -- you would have a virtual resume of the acts of the Congress which bear the name of Robert F. Wagner. So often since 1933 has new legislation been described

as "The Wagner Act" that the phrase has become confusing because there have been so many Wagner Acts. There is not only the Wagner Labor Relations Act; there are the Wagner Social Security Act and the Wagner Housing Act, and although you might feel uncertain as to which particular Act is meant by the phrase, you can feel no uncertainty as to this -- that any one of the Wagner Acts was an act intended for the benefit of those who need the help and support of government against oppression and intolerable conditions of living. His name stands for courageous and intelligent leadership, constructive statecraft and steadfast devotion to the common man and the cause of civil liberties.

With him I hope the voters of this State will send to the Senate an experienced Member of the House of Representatives --

James M. Mead -- known through many years for his expert knowledge of three fields whose intricate problems press most heavily upon government today -- railroads, aviation and Civil Service, and for his unflagging support of every liberal measure that has come before the Congress.

We need that legislative experience, that temper of mind, that expert knowledge in the United Statesariat. Look over the rest of the names on the ballot next Tuesday.

Pick those who are known for their experience and their liberalism. Pick them for what they have done and not just for what

they say they would do. And ~~say~~ <sup>say</sup> one last but important word:

Pick them without regard to race, ~~or color~~ or color. Some  
of them may have come of the earliest Colonial stock; some of  
them may have been brought here as children to escape the  
~~tyrannies~~ <sup>Their</sup> ~~of~~ <sup>are</sup> all of them American  
citizens <sup>now</sup>

FOURTH DRAFT

SPEECH OF THE PRESIDENT

HYDE PARK, N. Y.

NOVEMBER 4, 1938

---

On the eve of another election, I have come home to Hyde Park and am sitting at my own fireside in my own election district, my own County and my own State.

I have often expressed my feeling that the mere fact that I am President should not disqualify me from expressing as a citizen my views on candidates and issues in my own State.

I have changed my mind ~~s-great-deal~~ about the nature of <sup>definite</sup> problems of democratic government over the past few years as I have had more and more experience with them. I had never realized how much my way of thinking had changed until the other day when I was watching the finishing touches being put on a simple cottage I have recently built -- a cottage which, by the way, is not in any sense of the word a "dream house". Just watching the building made me realize that there was a time not so long ago when I used to think about problems of government as if they were the same kind of problems as building a house -- definite and compact and capable of completion within a given time.

Now I know ~~as~~ well that the comparison is not a good one.   
~~A house can be, and generally is, completed and made a finished~~  
~~product in a definite period of time and, barring catastrophe,~~  
~~a house~~  
~~step by step.~~ Once you build ~~it~~ you always have it. On the other  
hand, a social or an economic gain is ~~not like a house~~ ~~and~~ ~~comes~~ ~~very~~  
~~but it moves.~~ A social or economic gain made by one Administration  
may, and often does, evaporate into thin air under the next one.

We all remember well-known examples of what an ill-advised shift from liberal to conservative leadership can do to an incompletely liberal program. Theodore Roosevelt, for example, started a march of progress during his seven years in the Presidency, but after four years of President Taft, little was left of the progress which had been made. Think of the great liberal achievements of Woodrow Wilson's ~~New~~ <sup>WS</sup> ~~Freedom~~ and how quickly they were liquidated under President Harding. We have to have reasonable continuity in liberal government to get permanent results.

The whole United States concedes that <sup>WS</sup> in New York State have carried out a magnificent liberal program through our State government during the past sixteen years. If the continuity of that liberal government had been broken in this State during that time, we would be nowhere near the point we have reached today.

The voters throughout the country should remember that need for continuous liberal government when they vote next Tuesday.

On that day the oldest of modern democracies will hold an election. A free people will have a free choice to pick free leaders for free men.

In other lands across the water the flares of militarism and conquest, terrorism and intolerance, have vividly revealed to Americans for the first time since the Revolution how precious and extraordinary it is to be allowed this free choice of free leaders for free men.

No one will <sup>order</sup> ~~tell~~ us how ~~we~~ vote, and the only watchers we shall find at the polls are the watchers who guarantee that our ballot is secret. Think how few places are left where this can happen.

Some nations, ruled under a different form of government, have never known what the free ballot box means. Others, new to democracy, have seen democracy disappear because they could not make it work.

*But*  
Therefore, we cannot carelessly assume that a nation is strong and great merely because it has a democratic form of government. We have learned that a democracy weakened

by internal dissension, by mutual suspicion born of social injustice, is no match for autocracies which are ruthless enough to repress internal dissension.

Democracy in order to live must become a positive force in the daily lives of its people. It must make men and women whose devotion it seeks, feel that it really cares for the security of every individual; that it is tolerant enough to inspire an essential unity among its citizens; and that it is militant enough to maintain liberty against social oppression at home and against military aggression abroad.

The rest of the world is far closer to us than in the days of democracy's founders -- Jefferson, Jackson and Lincoln. Comparisons are unavoidable. To disprove the pretenses of rival systems, democracy must be an affirmative, up-to-date conception. It can no longer be negative -- no longer adopt a defeatist attitude. In these tense and dangerous situations in the world democracy will save itself with the average man and woman by proving itself worth saving.

Too many of those who prate about saving democracy are really only interested in saving things as they were. Democracy ~~should~~ <sup>ought to</sup> concern itself also with things as they ought to be.

I am not talking mere idealism; I am pressing realistic necessity.

I reject the merely negative purposes proposed by old-line Republicans and Communists alike -- for they are people whose only purpose is to survive against any other Fascist threat than their own.

As of today, Fascism and Communism -- and old-line Tory Republicanism -- are not threats to the continuation of our form of government. But I venture the challenging statement that if American democracy ceases to move forward as a living force, seeking day and night by peaceful means to better the lot of our citizens, Fascism and Communism, aided, unconsciously perhaps, by old-line Tory Republicanism, will grow in strength.

It will take cool judgment for our people to appraise the repercussions of change in other lands. And only a nation completely convinced -- at the bottom as well as at the top -- that their system of government best serves their best interests, will have such a judgment.

And while we are developing that coolness of judgment, we need in public office, above all things, men wise enough to avoid passing incidents where passion and force try to substitute themselves for judgment and negotiation.

During my four years as Governor and during my nearly six years as President, I am proud of the fact that I have never called out the armed forces of the State or Nation except on errands of mercy. That type of democratic wisdom was illustrated last year by the action of Governor Murphy of Michigan when he persuaded the negotiators of the employers and employees to sit around a table and thus got an agreement, avoided bloodshed, and earned the praise of both sides of a controversy that had frightened a whole nation.

With such an approach, the New Deal, keeping its feet on the ground, is working out hundreds of current problems from day to day as necessities arise and with whatever materials are at hand. We are doing this without attempting to commit the nation to any ism or ideology except democracy, humanity and the civil liberties which form their foundations.

Our economic and social system cannot deny the paramount right of the millions who toil and the millions who wish to toil, to have it function smoothly and efficiently. After all, any such system must provide efficiently for distributing national resources and serving the welfare and happiness of all who live under it.

The modern interdependent industrial and agricultural society is like a large factory. Each member of the organization has his own job to perform on the assembly line, but if the conveyor belt breaks or gets tangled up, no one in the factory, no matter how hard he tries, can do his own particular job. Each of us ~~individual~~ -- farmer, business man or worker -- suffers when anything goes wrong with the conveyor belt.

If our Democracy is to survive it must give the average man ~~the~~ reasonable assurance that the belts will be kept moving. ~~Neither our nerves nor our pocketbooks can stand the strain of continuing alternating hours and collapses.~~

Dictators have recognized that problem. They keep the conveyor belts moving -- but at a terrible price to the individual <sup>and their civil liberty</sup>.

The New Deal has been trying to keep those belts moving without paying such a price. It does not wish to run or manage any part of our economic machine which private enterprise can run and keep running. That should be left to individuals, to corporations, to any other form of private management, with profit for those who manage well. But when an abuse interferes with the ability of private enterprise to keep the national

conveyor belt moving, government has a responsibility to eliminate that abuse .

We do not assume for a minute that all we have done is right or all that we have done has been successful, but our economic and social program of the past five and a half years has definitely given to the United States a more stable and less artificial prosperity than any other nation in the world has enjoyed.

The very fact that the business slump beginning last fall and running into last summer, did not become a major economic disaster like the slump that ran from 1929 to 1933, is the best kind of proof that fundamentally we have found the right track.  
~~We have~~ ~~met~~ ~~the test of being able to survive a business~~  
~~recession~~ ~~by the new conditions we have created and by the new~~  
~~technique we have developed~~

You have just heard ~~of~~ the news about the automobile factories and many other industries that are opening up for full employment again. And during the month of October alone ~~overall~~  
~~employment has risen nearly 3%~~.

I have been very happy in the last six months to see how swiftly a large majority of business men have been coming around to accept the objectives of a more stable economy and of certain necessary supervision of private activities in order to prevent a return of the serious abuses and conditions of the past. But if there should be any weakening of the power of a liberal government next Tuesday, it would resurrect false hopes on the part of some business men, now beginning to change antiquated ideas, that if they can hold out a little longer no adaptation to change will be necessary.

There is no doubt of the basic desires of the American people. And because these basic desires are well known you find all parties, all candidates, making the same general promises to satisfy these desires.

During the weeks before a general election, all parties are the friends of labor, all parties are against monopoly, all parties say that the unemployed must have work or be given government relief, *all parties for the farmer*.

Let me warn you now, as I warned you two years ago in my address at Syracuse, against the smooth evasion which says:

"Of course we believe all these things; we believe in social security; we believe in work for the unemployed; we believe in saving homes. Cross our hearts and hope to die, we believe in all these things; but we do not like the way the present Administration is doing them. Just turn them over to us. We will do all of them -- we will do more of them -- we will do them better; and, most important of all, the doing of them will not cost anybody anything".

But when democracy struggles for its very life, these same people obstruct our efforts to maintain it, while they fail to offer proof of their own will and their own plans to preserve it. They try to stop the only fire engine we have from rushing to the fire because they are sales agents for a different make  
*fire*  
of engine.

New ideas cannot be administered successfully by men with old ideas, for the first essential of doing a job well is the wish to see the job done at all.

Judge parties and candidates, not merely by what they promise, but by what they have done, by their records in office, by the kind of people they travel with, by the kind of people who finance and promote their campaigns. By their promoters ye shall know them. ~~Even if you don't~~

their money and their power into a political campaign, risk that money and that power, you may be sure they have calculated the value of the candidate to them if he gets in.

No national Administration, however much it may represent the genuine popular will of the people, can in the long run prove enduringly effective if that Administration can be cut off from the people by state and local political machinery controlled by men who are hostile.

My own State of New York is to choose a Governor. Ours is the most complex State in the Union -- thirteen million population, great farming areas, hundreds of small communities, one huge city of seven million people ~~and many smaller ones~~, and many other cities, great and small.

Governing the State of New York requires the skill which comes from long experience in public affairs.

In 1918 when I was thirty-six years old, I was invited <sup>This</sup> to run for the Governorship of ~~the~~ State. I was then Assistant Secretary of the Navy. I declined the offer, because my job required me at that time to sail on a destroyer for overseas service. I am glad I did for, looking back on that time, I do not think that I had experience and knowledge of public affairs wide enough to qualify as Governor. Besides, I did not think

~~xxxxxxxxxx~~

it quite right to abandon in mid-stream an important public job that I had undertaken.

Governing the State of New York is more than being an Assistant Secretary of the Navy or a District Attorney. The Governor of this State is called upon to administer eighteen great departments of government and to supervise state institutions that house over one hundred thousand wards of the State. He must be able to understand and handle the vast and intricate problems of agriculture. He is charged with the supervision of State finance and the maintenance of State credit. He is responsible for its widespread system of roads, parks, canals, bridges, and schools. He has to maintain, preserve and improve the great body of social legislation already on the statute books of the State -- unemployment insurance, workmen's compensation, social security, help for the needy and the underprivileged; and he must see to it that these recent reforms are made to keep pace with the broadening conception of social justice.

Equal protection of the law - criminal and civil -- for human rights as well as property rights; prosecution of criminals in high financial places as well as low places; the preservation of civil and religious liberties -- all these precious essentials

of civilization are entrusted ~~to~~ him.

New York has State laws matching every progressive Federal measure of the last five years. They were all enacted under the guiding hand and driving energy of Governor Herbert H. Lehman.

Recruits in the battle for economic democracy are always welcome irrespective of party; but at a critical moment in the world's history we cannot take the risk of supplanting seasoned leaders like Governor Lehman with men, no matter how sincere, who have yet to win their spurs or prove what they really know or where they really stand in the fight for social justice. Those who truly and sincerely join the struggle for social justice, ~~in~~ economic democracy for its own sake do not throw stones at veteran fighters in that cause.

No one can properly minimize the need of active law enforcement, whether it be in a great city or in the rural counties. Certainly Governor Lehman has never minimized it and has never hesitated to call to his assistance in law enforcement, young and vigorous prosecutors, irrespective of politics. We need more active law enforcement, not only against the lords of the underworld, but also against the lords of the overworld.

It is right -- wholly right -- to prosecute criminals. But that is not enough, for there is the immense added task of working for the elimination of present and future crime by getting rid of evil social conditions which breed crime. Good government can prevent a thousand crimes for every one it punishes.

FOURTH DRAFT

The fight for social justice and economic democracy has not the allure of a criminal jury trial; it is a long, weary, uphill struggle - and those who give themselves unsparingly to it are seldom acclaimed at my lady's tea or at my gentleman's club.

As a resident and voter in the State of New York I urge my fellow citizens and voters, who are interested in preserving good government and American democracy, to vote for Herbert H. Lehman.

And just as a Governor is required to be much more than a good prosecutor, so a United States Senator must be much more than a good lawyer. A Senator from New York must do more than merely vote on whatever bills drift by. He must be able and willing to take the initiative -- to keep the legislative wheels turning in the right direction. If you were to list some of the newly recognized major responsibilities of government to meet the complexities of modern life -- security in old age, unemployment insurance, protection of the rights of labor, low-cost housing and slum clearance -- you would have a virtual resume of the Acts of the Congress which bear the name of Robert F. Wagner. So often since 1933 has new legislation been

FOURTH DRAFT

described as "The Wagner Act" that the phrase has become confusing because there have been so many Wagner Acts. For example, there is not only the Wagner Labor Relations Act; there are the Wagner Social Security Act and the Wagner Housing Act, and although you might feel uncertain as to which particular Act is meant by the phrase, you can feel no uncertainty as to this -- that any one of the Wagner Acts was an Act intended for the benefit of those who need the help and support of government against oppression and intolerable conditions of living. His name stands for courageous and intelligent leadership, constructive statescraft and steadfast devotion to the common man and the cause of civil liberties.

With him I hope the voters of this State will send to the Senate an experienced Member of the House of Representatives -- James M. Mead -- known through many years for his expert knowledge of three fields whose intricate problems press most heavily upon government today - railroads, aviation and Civil Service, and for his unflagging support of every liberal measure that has come before the Congress. We need that legislative experience, that temper of mind, that expert knowledge in the United States Senate.

Look over the rest of the names on the ballot next Tuesday.

FOURTH DRAFT

Pick those who are known for their experience and their liberalism. Pick them for what they have done and not just for what they say they would do. And one last but important word: Pick them without regard to race, color or creed. Some of them may have come of the earliest Colonial stock; some of them may have been brought here as children to escape the tyrannies of the Old World. All of them are American citizens now.

Remember that the fathers of the American Revolution represented many religions and came from many foreign lands.

Remember that no matter what their origin they agreed with Benjamin Franklin: "We must indeed all hang together or most assuredly we shall all hang separately."

Remember that in these grave days in the affairs of the world we need national unity. For the sake of the Nation that is good advice - and it never grows old.

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ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT  
OVER THE RADIO FROM HIS  
HOME AT HYDE PARK, N. Y.,  
FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 4, 1938.

On the eve of another election, I have come home to Hyde Park and am sitting at my own fireside in my own election district, my own County and my own State.

I have often expressed my feeling that the mere fact that I am President should not disqualify me from expressing as a citizen my views on candidates and issues in my own State.

I have changed my mind about the nature of some problems of democratic government over the past few years as I have had more and more experience with them. I had never realized how much my way of thinking had changed until the other day when I was watching the finishing touches being put on a simple cottage I have recently built -- a cottage which, by the way, is not in any sense of the word a "dream house." Just watching the building go up made me realize that there was a time not so long ago when I used to think about problems of government as if they were the same kind of problems as building a house -- definite and compact and capable of completion within a given time.

Now I know well that the comparison is not a good one. Once you build a house you always have it. On the other hand, a social or an economic gain is different. A social or economic gain made by one Administration may, and often does, evaporate into thin air under the next one.

We all remember well-known examples of what an ill-advised shift from liberal to conservative leadership can do to an incomplete liberal program. Theodore Roosevelt, for example, started a march of progress during his seven years in the Presidency but, after four years of President Taft, little was left of the progress which had been made. Think of the great liberal achievements of Woodrow Wilson's New Freedom and how quickly they were liquidated under President Harding. We have to have reasonable continuity in liberal government to get permanent results.

The whole United States concedes that we in New York State have carried out a magnificent liberal program through our State government during the past sixteen years. If the continuity of that liberal government had been broken in this State during that time, we would be nowhere near the point we have reached today.

The voters throughout the country should remember that need for continuous liberal government when they vote next Tuesday.

On that day the oldest of modern democracies will hold an election. A free people will have a free choice to pick free leaders for free men.

In other lands across the water the flares of militarism and conquest, terrorism and intolerance, have vividly revealed to Americans for the first time since the Revolution how precious and extraordinary it is to be allowed this free choice of free leaders for free men.

No one will order us how to vote, and the only watchers we shall find at the polls are the watchers who guarantee that our ballot is secret. Think how few places are left where this can happen.

But we cannot carelessly assume that a nation is strong and great merely because it has a democratic form of government. We have learned that a democracy weakened by internal dissension, by mutual suspicion born of social injustice, is no match for autocracies which are ruthless enough to repress internal dissension.

Democracy in order to live must become a positive force in the daily lives of its people. It must make men and women whose devotion it seeks, feel that it really cares for the security of every individual; that it is tolerant enough to inspire an essential unity among its citizens; and that it is militant enough to maintain liberty against social oppression at home and against military aggression abroad.

The rest of the world is far closer to us than in the days of democracy's founders -- Jefferson, Jackson and Lincoln. Comparisons are unavoidable. To disprove the pretenses of rival systems, democracy must be an affirmative, up-to-date conception. It can no longer be negative -- no longer adopt a defeatist attitude. In these tense and dangerous situations in the world democracy will save itself with the average man and woman by proving itself worth saving.

Too many of those who prate about saving democracy are really only interested in saving things as they were. Democracy should concern itself also with things as they ought to be.

I am not talking mere idealism; I am pressing realistic necessity.

I reject the merely negative purposes proposed by old-line Republicans and Communists alike -- for they are people whose only purpose is to survive against any other Fascist threat than their own.

As of today, Fascism and Communism -- and old-line Tory Republicans -- are not threats to the continuation of our form of government. But I venture the challenging statement that if American democracy ceases to move forward as a living force, seeking day and night by peaceful means to better the lot of our citizens Fascism and Communism, aided, unconsciously perhaps, by old-line Tory Republicans, will grow in strength.

It will take cool judgment for our people to appraise the repercussions of change in other lands. And only a nation completely convinced -- at the bottom as well as at the top -- that their system of government best serves their best interests, will have such a judgment.

And while we are developing that coolness of judgment, we need in public office, above all things, men wise enough to avoid passing incidents where passion and force try to substitute themselves for judgment and negotiation.

During my four years as Governor and during my nearly six years as Fradictor, I am proud of the fact that I have never called out the armed forces of the State or Nation except on errands of mercy. That type of democratic wisdom was illustrated last year by the action of Governor Murphy of Michigan whom he persuaded the negotiators of the employers and employees to sit around a table and thus got an agreement, avoided bloodshed, and earned the praise of both sides of a controversy that had frightened a whole nation.

With such an approach, the New Deal, keeping its feet on the ground, is working out hundreds of current problems from day to day as necessities arise and with whatever materials are at hand. We are doing this without attempting to commit the nation to any form or ideology except democracy, humanity and the civil liberties which form their foundations.

Our economic and social system cannot deny the paramount right of the millions who toil and the millions who wish to toil, to have it function smoothly and efficiently. After all, any such system must provide efficiently for distributing national resources and serving the welfare and happiness of all who live under it.

The modern interdependent industrial and agricultural society is like a large factory. Each member of the organization has his own job to perform on the assembly line, but if the conveyor belt breaks or gets tangled up, no one in the factory, no matter how hard he tries, can do his own particular job. Each of us -- farmer, business man or worker -- suffers when anything goes wrong with the conveyor belt.

If our Democracy is to survive it must give the average man reasonable assurance that the belts will be kept moving.

Dictators have recognized that problem. They keep the conveyor belts moving -- but at a terrible price to the individual and to his civil liberty.

The New Deal has been trying to keep these belts moving without paying such a price. It does not wish to run or manage any part of our economic machine which private enterprise can run and keep running. That should be left to individuals, to corporations, to any other form of private management, with profit for those who manage well. But when an abuse interferes with the ability of private enterprise to keep the national conveyor belt moving, government has a responsibility to eliminate that abuse.

We do not assume for a minute that all we have done is right or all that we have done has been successful, but our economic and social program of the past five and a half years has definitely given to the United States a more stable and less artificial prosperity than any other nation in the world has enjoyed.

The very fact that the business slump beginning last fall and running into last summer, did not become a major economic disaster like the slump that ran from 1929 to 1933, is the best kind of proof that fundamentally we have found the right track.

You have just heard the news about the automobile factories and many other industries that are opening up for full employment again. And during the month of October alone over-all employment has risen nearly 5%.

I have been very happy in the last six months to see how swiftly a large majority of business men have been coming around to accept the objectives of a more stable economy and of certain necessary supervision of private activities in order to prevent a return of the serious abuses and conditions of the past. But if there should be any weakening of the power of a liberal government next Tuesday, it would resurrect false hopes on the part of some business men, now beginning to change antiquated ideas, that if they can hold out a little longer no adaptation to change will be necessary.

There is no doubt of the basic desires of the American people. And because these basic desires are well known you find all parties, all candidates, making the same general promises to satisfy these desires.

During the weeks before a general election, all parties are the friends of labor, all parties are against monopoly, all parties say that the unemployed must have work or be given government relief, all parties love the farmer.

Let me warn you now, as I warned you two years ago in my address at Syracuse, against the smooth evasion which says:

"Of course we believe all these things; we believe in social security; we believe in work for the unemployed; we believe in saving homes. Cross our hearts and hope to die, we believe in all these things; but we do not like the way the present Administration is doing them. Just turn them over to us. We will do all of them -- we will do more of them -- we will do them better; and, most important of all, the doing of them will not cost anybody anything."

But when democracy struggles for its very life, these same people obstruct our efforts to maintain it, while they fail to offer proof of their own will and their own plans to preserve it. They try to stop the only fire engine we have from rushing to the fire because they are sales agents for a different make of fire engine.

New ideas cannot be administered successfully by men with old ideas, for the first essential of doing a job well is the wish to see the job done at all.

Judge perjuring and sentencing, not merely by what they promise, but by what they have done by their records in officiating the kind of people they travel with, the type of people who finance and promote their campaigns. By their promoters you shall know them.

No national administration, however much it may represent the genuine popular will of the people, can in the long run prevent an enduringly objective if that administration can be cut off from the people by state and local political machinery controlled by men who are hostile.

My own State of New York is the most complex State in the Union -- thirteen million population, great trading areas, hundreds of small communities, one fourth of seven million people, and many other cities, towns and municipalities from Long Island up north in public affairs.

In 1918 when I was thirty-five years old, I was invited to run for the Governorship of this State. I was then Assistant Secretary of the Navy. I declined the offer, because my job required me at that time to sail on a destroyership overseas service. I am glad I did, for, looking back on that time, I do not think that I had experience and knowledge of public affairs wide enough to qualify as Governor. Besides I did not think it quite right to abandon in mid-stream an important public job that I had undertaken.

Covering the State of New York is more than being an Assistant Secretary of the Navy or a District Attorney. The Governor of this State is called upon to administer eighteen great departments of Government and to supervise state institutions that insure over one hundred thousand wards of the state. He must be able to understand and handle the vast and intricate problems of agriculture. He is charged with the supervision of State prisons and the maintenance of state credits. He is responsible for the widespread system of roads, markets, canals, bridges and schools. He has to maintain, preserve and improve the great body of social legislation already on the statute books of the State -- unemployment insurance, workers' compensation, social security, help for the aged and the underprivileged and he must see to it that these recent reforms are made to keep pace with the broadening conception of social justice.

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