
Franklin D. Roosevelt — “The Great Communicator”
The Master Speech Files, 1898, 1910-1945

**Series 2: “ You have nothing to fear but fear itself:” FDR
and the New Deal**

File No. 1185

1938 December 5

**Chapel Hill, NC –
Address at University of North Carolina**

Just Draft

SPEECH OF THE PRESIDENT
UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA
CHAPEL HILL, N. C.
DECEMBER 6, 1938.

The late Justice Cardozo of the Supreme Court wrote a few years ago:

"We live in a world of change. If a body of law were in existence adequate for the civilization of today, it could not meet the demands of tomorrow. Society is inconstant. So long as it is inconstant....there can be no constancy in law.....Law defines a relation not always between fixed points, but often between points of varying position....There is change whether we will it or not".

It is recognition of this philosophy that has made the University of North Carolina representative of liberal teaching. And it is my recognition of your recognition of that philosophy that brings me so willingly to Chapel Hill today.

It is a far cry from the days of my first visit to the University, nearly a quarter of a century ago. I came then because my old Chief -- that great North Carolina liberal, Josephus Daniels -- told me I should see for myself

a great institution of learning which was thinking and acting in terms of today and tomorrow and not in the tradition of yesterday.

In those days the leadership of the Nation was in the hands of a great President who was seeking to recover for our social system ground which had been lost under his conservative predecessor, and to restore something of the fighting liberal spirit which the Nation had gained under Theodore Roosevelt. It seemed one of our national tragedies that just when Woodrow Wilson was beginning to accomplish definite improvements in the living standards of America, the World War not only interrupted his course, but laid the foundations for twelve years of retrogression. I say this advisedly because it is not progress, but the reverse, when a Nation goes through the madness of the twenties, piling up paper profits, hatching all manner of speculations and coming inevitably to the day when the bubble bursts.

It is only the unthinking liberals in this world who see nothing but tragedy in the slowing up or temporary stopping of liberal progress.

It is only the unthinking conservatives who rejoice when a social or economic reform fails to be 100% successful.

It is only the "headline" mentality that exaggerates or distorts the true objectives of those in this Nation whether they be the President of the University of North Carolina or the President of the United States, who, with Mr. Justice Cardozo, admit the fact of change and seek to guide change into the right channels to the greater glory of God and the greater good of mankind.

You undergraduates who see me for the first time have read your newspapers and heard on the air that I am, at the very least, an agitator -- a consorter with Communists, a destroyer of the rich, a breaker of our ancient traditions. You think of me as the inventor of the economic royalist, of the wicked utilities, of the ^{murky} ~~thuggery~~ ^D ~~of the~~ ^{of the} ~~Tangle~~ ^{of the} ~~Southern~~ ^{of the} ~~Faudalist~~ ^{of the} ~~Scandal~~ utilities! You have heard for six years that I was about to plunge the Nation into war; that you and your little brothers would be sent to the bloody fields of battle in Europe; that I was driving the Nation into bankruptcy, and that I breakfasted every morning on a dish of "grilled millionaire". Actually, ~~as you see me in the picture,~~ ~~you will realize, with a good many million other Americans,~~

~~who have seen me in the flesh--~~ that I am an exceedingly mild mannered person -- a practitioner of peace, both domestic and foreign, a believer in the capitalistic system, and for my breakfast a devotee of scrambled eggs.

last
You have read that as a result of balloting ~~on~~ November ~~1912~~, the liberal forces in the United States are on their way to the cemetery -- yet I ask you to remember that liberal forces in the United States have often been killed and buried ~~in~~ -- with the inevitable result that in short order they have come to life again with more strength than they had before.

that
It is also true when other men in public life have protested against certain forms of economic control, ~~and certain~~ *and rich men*, that epithets far stronger than any I have used have been employed even by Presidents of the United States. Those of us who knew Woodrow Wilson and Theodore Roosevelt and Grover Cleveland could hardly call them mollycoddles.

I was reading a letter of Theodore Roosevelt the other day, written to a friend in the Spring of 1906, and it will *fascinate* I think interest and amuse you if I quote. ~~anyway~~
He was writing to a man who was fighting for social and political decency on the Pacific Coast. He said:

"Now and then you must feel downhearted when you see men guilty of the most atrocious crimes who, from some cause or other, succeed in escaping punishment, and especially when you see... ~~the~~ men of wealth, of high business, and in a sense of high social standing, banded together against you. My dear sir, I want you to feel that your experience is simply the experience of all of us who are engaged in this fight. There is no form of slander and wicked falsehood in which the New York papers, not only those representing the lowest type of demagogery, but those representing the interests that call themselves preeminently conservative, preeminently cultured, have not indulged in as regards myself. From all I can gather the feeling against me, not only in Wall Street, not only in the business houses of the greatest financiers of New York, but also in most of the uptown clubs ~~and~~ ~~affairs~~ -- it is just in these places that the feeling against me has been most bitter. As a matter of fact I do not care a snap of my finger about it. I do not care whether they think well of me or think ill of me. But I do care a very great deal to do this work without flinching, on the one hand, and on the other hand without becoming angered and irritated to a degree that will in any way cause me to lose my head.

Now, so it is with you and your associates. You must keep reasonably goodnatured; but above all things you must not lose heart; and you must battle on valiantly, no matter what the biggest business men may say, no matter what the mob may say, no matter what may be said by that element which chooses to regard itself as socially the highest element. You are in a fight for plain decency, for the plain democracy of the plain people who believe in honesty and in fair dealing between man and man. Do not get disheartened; and keep up the ~~greatest~~ fight".

Theodore Roosevelt, born of an old New York family, Southern on his Mother's side, trained as a young man on our Western frontiers, was perhaps the first American President in modern times who knew ~~(and represented)~~ the whole Nation. In the letter which I have read, and with this ~~(definite)~~ national background, it seems to me what he said in effect was, first, that the American people have, and must have, a definite objective for the improvement of government, for the improvement of social and economic conditions; second, that these objectives must be carried out by definite action and, third, that in the attaining of them, the President and the Government and the people as a whole must have two essential qualities -- first, a sense of proportion and perspective, and, second, good-will and a sense of humor.

Almost every crisis of our history since 1789 has become a crisis because of a lack on the part of leaders or on the part of the people themselves, or both, of some of these essentials, ~~which~~ ~~are~~ ~~the~~.

The very birth of the Democratic Party, at a time when President Washington publicly expressed the hope that the Nation could be run without Parties, was due to the simple fact that the Government itself was dominated by the great commercial and shipping interests of the seaboard, and failed to give recognition to the needs and the desires of the masses of the ~~western~~^{Inhabitants} of the original Thirteen States who did not subscribe to the theory that birth, wealth or political position could give to the possessors of these qualifications the sole right to govern. Hence the Democratic Party.

A generation later a Government dominated by the other extreme -- the plainer people from the back country, from the piedmont and the slopes of the Alleghanies, paying scant attention to the ship owners of the seaboard, drove our Nation into the second war against Great Britain. And here in the South it is worth remembering that the first ~~beginnings of~~^{and} ~~effort toward~~ secession from the Union was proposed by delegates from the New England States in the Hartford Convention in 1814.

In both cases tolerance ~~at~~^{and} the national point of view were absent. Another generation went by and it was the same lack of tolerance, the same lack of a national

point of view which brought about a war which was not inevitable -- the War Between the States.

The scene changed and the Nation was confronted not by a sectional difference but by a struggle for economic and social control -- a period which saw the control of your national government and mine by groups of individuals, ^{Through} who, owning their Government ~~and~~ owning vast financial power, used the plea of development of our national resources ^{feather} that they might ~~maxim~~ their own nests.

In the lifetime of people who are still with us ^{there were} ~~men~~, men whom we must admit had courage and vision, ^{who} pushed railroads across the plains, opened mines, dammed rivers, ^{and} created vast aggregations of capital; and in ^{the} ^A their wake vast aggregations of national and state and local political power.

In a sense those were glorious days because the wide-open spaces were open to those native Americans and those who were flocking hither from the centers of Europe to find work in new fields.

We thought of those times, half a century ago, as glamorous days, and certain elements in our society today are apt to emphasize the liberties of those days -- the

{ liberties that men could take with their own lives and the
liberties that men could take with the lives of their fellow
citizens.

A current author emphasizes the perfection of life that surrounded our population half a century ago. He draws a picture of the complete lack of any restraints on any individual and infers that every American of those days, no matter what part of the country he or she lived in, lived in a Utopia of work and play to which we should seek an immediate return.

A few days ago in Georgia I talked with an old friend whom I ~~had~~ known for ten years. He was what might be called an old-fashioned Southern conservative. We got to reminiscing about the old days when I first lived in Georgia. He reminded me of the days when cotton was selling at five cents a pound, and, while he admitted that the ramifications of our Federal legislation, and especially of Court decisions during the past six years ~~were~~ were somewhat beyond him, he allowed that some principle of crop control -- cotton and tobacco -- decided on by a majority of the farmers themselves, was the most democratic way ~~if~~ to prevent the return of five cent cotton.

He reminded me of two little banks in Warm Springs, Georgia -- banks in which many thousands of dollars of local savings had been deposited -- of the failure of both of these banks and the loss of the savings -- and of the fact today that deposits in the banks of the United States are safe, and, ⁴ he remarked, I hope that that type of liberal legislation will not be repealed.

~~He reminded me of some of the sections in Western Georgia - the way they looked and the education they provided ten years ago - and he asked me to think back to an episode we both knew -- a young man who invited me to come over to a neighboring town to present the diplomas in March, after a school year of four months - a young man whom I took to be the President of the Graduating Class but who turned out to be the Principal of a school of 250 children -- a splendid youngster who had had one year at the University - freshman year - and had become the Principal of the school, at a salary of \$300 a year, in order that he might return to his University course.~~

He reminded me of the white men and negroes who never saw, as the heads of families, \$100 in cash the whole year round. He reminded me of the days when the States of the Union

^{in 1932}

were going broke and losing their credit because the whole burden of the relief of the starving was placed on their shoulders without the contribution of one dollar from the Federal Government. He reminded me of the complete lack of any social security program -- of the days when a home-builder was charged fifteen and twenty per cent to borrow the money to build his house -- of the days when slum clearance was a beautiful ideal on paper and nowhere else.

And when he left he said - "Young man, I don't know the United States the way you do but I know this section of the Nation pretty well. I don't understand the actual working out of all these new-fangled things that ~~(you and)~~ the Government ^{A1} has been starting in these past six years. But I know this section of the country and I want to tell you that there is a new spirit abroad in the land. I am not talking just about the fact that there is more buying power, that houses are painted that were never painted before, that our banks are safe, that our roads and schools are better. What I am talking about is that all of our young people in my section of the country think that we are ^{1/2} "going places".

Those two words "going places" seem to be an essential
in modern civilization.

(A) In other lands the primary cause of the success of
forms of government with which we do not agree -- forms of
government which are (perhaps) abhorrent to the majority of
Americans -- their success in large part is based on the
fact that those governments are "going places". These new
forms of government have succeeded conditions which resembled
the life of a squirrel in a cage, going round and round and
getting nowhere. Older people in those land were accustomed
to the circular motion. That had been the custom and they
were used to lots of noise, lots of argument, monthly changes
of leadership and no progress. Younger people wanted some-
thing new -- somewhere to go -- action, employment, and,
above all, interest.

Because these young people did not have the inherent
love of democracy, which is so deeply inculcated in us in
the United States, they were willing to forego most of their
personal liberties in order to have the satisfaction of
"going places".

It is idle for us to assume that any large majority of these people, old and young, who have given up democratic methods, are ready to return to democracy if they can but be given the chance. The fact remains that under their new-fangled forms of government they have employment, they have social security, they have food and clothes and work and seem willing, for the moment at least, to carry on by regimentation rather than by democracy.

That for the moment they are in a position of increasing dominance is a simple fact of current history. That their theories will dominate the whole world is, I believe, not a fact of future history.

The ~~same~~ ^{however} future rests not on chance alone, nor on mere conservatism, mere smugness, mere fatalism, but ^{on the affirmative} ~~on the negative~~ action which we take part in America. What America does or fails to do in the has next few years is a far greater bearing and influence ^{on} on the history of the human race for centuries to come than most of us who are here today ^{concerned} ~~are~~ conceive.

We are not only the largest and most powerful democracy in the whole world, but many other democracies look to us for leadership that world democracy may survive, ~~against~~ ^{to} ~~the~~ ~~present~~ ~~threat~~.

I am speaking not of the external policies of the United States. They are exerted on the side of peace and they are exerted more strongly than ever before toward the objective of consolidation of democracies, first, for self-preservation, and second, for the preservation of peace.

What I would emphasize most greatly is the maintenance of successful democracy at home. (automatically and) Necessarily democratic methods within a nation's life entail change -- the kind of change through local processes described by Mr. Justice Cardozo -- the kind of change to meet new social and economic needs through the processes of government which are essential if we are to keep pace with the challenges dangled before our eyes by other forms of government.)

SPEECH OF THE PRESIDENT
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I was reading a letter of Theodore Roosevelt the other day, written to a friend in the Spring of 1908, and it will, I think, interest and amuse you if I quote from it. He was writing to a man who was fighting for social and political decency on the Pacific Coast. He said:

"Now and then you must feel downhearted when you see men guilty of the most atrocious crimes who, from some cause or other, succeed in escaping punishment, and especially when you seemen of wealth, of high business, and in a sense of high social standing, banded together against you. My dear sir, I want you to feel that your experience is simply the experience of all of us who are engaged in this fight.

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must have two essential qualities -- first, a sense of
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a sense of humor.

Almost every crisis of our history since 1789 has become a crisis because of a lack on the part of leaders or on the part of the people themselves, or both, of some of these essentials.

The very birth of the Democratic Party, at a time when President Washington publicly expressed the hope that the Nation could be run without Parties, was due to the simple fact that the Government itself was dominated by the great commercial and shipping interests of the seaboard, and failed to give recognition to the needs and the desires of the masses of the inhabitants of the original Thirteen States who did not subscribe to the theory that birth, wealth or political position could give to the possessors of these qualifications the sole right to govern. Hence the Democratic Party.

A generation later a Government dominated by the other extreme -- the plainer people from the back country, from the piedmont and the slopes of the Alleghanies, paying scant attention to the ship owners of the seaboard, drove our Nation into the second war against Great Britain. And here in the South it is worth remembering that the first suggestion of secession from the Union was proposed by delegates from the New England States in the Hartford Convention in 1814.

In both cases tolerance and the national point of view were absent. Another generation went by and it was the same lack of tolerance, the same lack of a national point of view which brought about a war which was not inevitable -- the War Between the States.

The scene changed and the Nation was confronted not by a sectional difference but by a struggle for economic and social control -- a period which saw the control of ~~yourself~~ national government ~~by~~ by groups of individuals, who, owning their government, through owning vast financial power, used the plea of development of our national resources that they might feather their own nests.

In the lifetime of people who are still with us, there were men whom we must admit had courage and vision, who pushed railroads across the plains, opened mines, dammed rivers, created vast aggregations of capital; and left in their wake vast aggregations of national and state and local political power.

In a sense those were glorious days because the wide-open spaces were open to those native Americans and those who were flocking hither from the centers of Europe to find work in new fields.

A current author emphasizes the perfection of life that surrounded our population half a century ago. He draws a picture of the complete lack of any restraints on any individual and infers that every American of those days, no matter what part of the country he or she lived in, lived in a Utopia of work and play to which we should seek an immediate return.

A few days ago in Georgia I talked with an old friend whom I have known for ten years. He was what might be called an old-fashioned Southern conservative. We got to reminiscing about the old days when I first lived in Georgia. He reminded me of the days when cotton was selling at five cents a pound, and, while he admitted that the ramifications of our Federal legislation, and especially of Court decisions during the past six years were somewhat beyond him, he allowed that some principle of crop control -- cotton and tobacco -- decided on by a majority of the farmers themselves, was the most democratic way to prevent the return of five cent cotton.

He reminded me of two little banks in Warm Springs, Georgia -- banks in which many thousands of dollars of local savings had been deposited -- of the failure of both of these banks and the loss of the savings -- and of the fact today that deposits in the banks of the United States are safe, and, he remarked, "I hope that that type of liberal legislation will not be repealed".

He reminded me of the white men and negroes who never saw, as the heads of families, \$100 in cash the whole year round. He reminded me of the days in 1932 when the States of the Union were going broke and losing their credit because the whole burden of the relief of the starving was placed on their shoulders without the contribution of one dollar from the Federal Government. He reminded me of the complete lack of any social security program -- of the days when a home-builder was charged fifteen and twenty per cent to borrow the money to build his house -- of the days when slum clearance was a beautiful ideal on paper and nowhere else.

And when he left he said - "Young man, I don't know the United States the way you do but I know this section of the Nation pretty well. I don't understand the actual working out of all these new-fangleds thing that the Government has been starting in these past six years. But I know this section of the country and I want to tell you that there is a new spirit abroad in the land. I am not talking just about the fact that there is more buying

power, that houses are painted that were never painted before, that our banks are safe, that our roads and schools are better. What I am talking about is that all of our young people in my section of the country think that we are "going places".

Those two words "going places" seem to be an essential in modern civilization.

They represent the conviction on the part of the young people of America that life never remains static; that there are better days ahead than ever before; that an opportunity to find a way of life, to earn a living, to raise a family in comfort and security are better today and will be better tomorrow. There may be those in the world who believe that a regimentated people, whose every thought and action is directed by one man, may give some people a type of security which is pleasing to them. But whatever convictions I have, none is stronger than my abiding belief that the security and well-being of the American people can best be served by the democratic processes which have made this country strong and great.

The future, however, rests not on chance alone, not on mere conservatism, mere smugness, mere fatalism, but on the affirmative action which we take in America. What America does or fails to do in the next few years has a far greater bearing and influence on the history of the human race for centuries to come than most of us who are here today can ever conceive.

We are not only the largest and most powerful democracy in the whole world, but many other democracies look to us for leadership that world democracy may survive.

I am speaking not of the external policies of the United States. They are exerted on the side of peace and they are exerted more strongly than ever before toward the self-preservation of democracies through the assurance of peace.

What I would emphasize is the maintenance of successful democracy at home. Necessarily democratic methods within a nation's life entail change -- the kind of change through local processes described by Mr. Justice Cardozo -- the kind of change to meet new social and

economic needs through recognized processes of government.

Because we live in an era of acceleration, we can no longer trust to the evolution of future decades to meet these new problems. They rise before us today and they must be met today.

That is why the younger generation means so much in our current affairs. They are part of the picture in their ^{blossed} twenties without having to wait until they have ~~but~~ middle age.

That is why I myself associate myself so greatly with the younger generation.

That is why I am happy and proud to become an alumnus of the University of North Carolina, typifying as it does American liberal thought through American action.

Franklin Roosevelt

Original reading copy.

ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT
At the University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, N.C.
Monday, December 5, 1938, 4:30 P.M.

GOVERNOR BOEY, PRESIDENT GRAHAM, MINE HOSTS OF THE CAROLINA POLITICAL UNION, MY NEW FOUND ALUMNI OF THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA: (Applause)

From the bottom of my heart I am grateful to all of you today, very happy to be a part of this great University. (Applause)

A very old friend of mine, the late Mr. Justice Cardozo of the Supreme Court of the United States (wrote a few years ago) said this the other day:

"We live in a world of change. If a body of law were in existence adequate for the civilization of today, it could not meet the demands of tomorrow. Society is inconstant. So long as it is inconstant ... there can be no constancy in law Law defines a relation not always between fixed points, but often between points of varying position There is change whether we will it or not."

And it is recognition of (this) that philosophy that has made the University of North Carolina representative of liberal teaching and liberal thought. And it is my recognition of your recognition of that philosophy that brings me so willingly to Chapel Hill today. (Applause)

It is a far cry from the days of my first visit to the University, nearly a quarter of a century ago, and the splendid new buildings that I saw in the last five minutes of my drive prove it. I came here then because my old Chief -- that (great) consistent North Carolina liberal, Josephus Daniels (applause) -- told me that I should see for myself a great institution of learning (which) that was thinking and acting in terms of today and tomorrow and not merely in the tradition of yesterday.

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.

(emphasis) . . . returning from my trip to Japan we are now ready to proceed westward, and to travel into Asia. (On our way west we come) before把手 and to find ourselves in such radio and air lines

well to good will, especially to cities and areas where
we have to make available and not interfere with the
activities of government to administer aid from the other areas
and regions ... instead of which we are given up . . . government
activities are carried on . . . well in accordance with
existing needs and existing health services for
our radiations against all enemy . . . making analysis to
"for us all" (emphasis)

and such engineering work (radio) to maintain our air lines
is itself to maintain our millions of dollars to maintain our ships
over to maintain our air lines, (emphasis) which has been
legends of flightless or an inspired radio engineering work to maintain
(emphasis) . . . radio (emphasis)
and of radio work we to such aid work we take a lot of it
and otherwise aid has, our purpose is to return a vision, returning
. . . work work work to return our radio aid we I have established
independence (radio) radio -- radio also you can see now what more I
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It is only the unthinking liberals (in) of this world who see nothing but tragedy in the slowing up or temporary stopping of liberal progress.

It is only the unthinking conservatives who rejoice down in their hearts when a social or economic reform fails to be 100% successful.

It is only -- what shall I call them? -- the possessors of "headline" mentality that exaggerate(s) or distort(s) the true objectives of those in this Nation whether they be the president of the University of North Carolina or the President of the United States, who, with Mr. Justice Cardozo, admit the fact of change and seek to guide, (change into the) seek to guide into right channels that change to the greater glory of God and the greater good of mankind.

You undergraduates, and possibly some of you who are graduates, who see me for the first time have read your newspapers and heard on the air that I (am) was, at the very least, an ogre (laughter)-- a consorter with Communists, a destroyer of the rich, a breaker of our ancient traditions. (Laughter - applause) Some of you may think of me perhaps as the original inventor of the economic royalist, (laughter) of the wicked utilitists, of the money changers (of) in the Temple. You have heard for six years that I was about to plunge the Nation into war; that you and your little brothers would be sent to the bloody fields of battle in Europe; that I was driving the Nation into bankruptcy, and that I breakfasted every morning on a dish of "grilled millionaire." (Laughter - applause)

Actually I am an exceedingly mild mannered person -- a practitioner of peace, both domestic and foreign, (laughter) a believer in the capitalistic system, and for my breakfast a devotee of scrambled eggs. (Laughter)

You have read that as a result of the balloting last November, the liberal forces in the United States are on their way to the cemetery -- yet I ask you to remember that liberal forces in the United States have often been killed and buried -- with the inevitable result that in short order they have come to life again with more strength than they had before. (Applause)

It is also true that other men in public life have protested in the past against certain forms of economic control and that epithets far stronger than any I have ever used have been employed even by Presidents of the United States. Those of us who knew Woodrow Wilson and Theodore Roosevelt and Grover Cleveland could hardly call any of them

mollycoddles.

I was reading a letter of Theodore Roosevelt the other day, written to a friend in the spring of 1908, and it will, I think, interest and amuse you if I quote from it. He was writing to a man who was fighting (for) in the cause of social and political decency out on the Pacific Coast. And here is what he said:

"Now and then you must feel downhearted when you see men guilty of the most atrocious crimes who, (from) for some cause or other, succeed in escaping punishment, and especially when you see men of wealth, of high business, and in a sense of high social standing, banded together against you. My dear sir, I want you to feel that your experience is simply the experience of all of us who are engaged in this fight. There is no form of slander and wicked falsehood in which the New York papers, not only those representing the lowest type of demagogic, but those representing the interests that call themselves preeminently conservative, preeminently cultured, have not indulged in as regards myself. From all that I can gather the feeling against me, not only in Wall Street, not only in the business houses of the greatest financiers of New York, but also in most of the uptown clubs it is just in these places that the feeling against me has been most bitter. As a matter of fact, I do not care a snap of my fingers about it. (Applause) I do not care whether they think well of me or think ill of me. But I do care a very great deal to do this work without flinching, on the one hand, and on the other (hand) without becoming angered and irritated to a degree that will in any way cause me to lose my head.

"Now, so it is with you and your associates. You must keep reasonably goodnatured; but above all things you must not lose heart; and you must battle on valiantly, no matter what the biggest business men may say, no matter what the mob may say, no matter what may be said by that element which chooses to regard itself as socially the highest element. You are in a fight for plain decency, for the plain democracy of the plain people who believe in honesty and in fair dealing between man and man. Do not get disheartened; and keep up the fight.")

Sincerely yours,

THEODORE ROOSEVELT"

Theodore Roosevelt, born of an old New York family,

Southern on his mother's side, trained as a young man on our Western frontiers, was perhaps the first American President in modern times who knew the whole Nation. In the letter which I have read, and with this national background, it seems to me what he said in effect was, first, that the American people have, and must have, a definite objective for the improvement of government, for the improvement of social and economic conditions; (second) secondly, that these objectives must be carried out by definite action, and, third, that in the attaining of them, the President and the Government and the people as a whole must have (two) essential qualities -- (first) a sense of proportion, (and) a sense of perspective, (and, second,) good will and, last but not least, a sense of humor.

Almost every crisis (of our) in the history of our Nation since 1789 has become a crisis because of a lack on the part of leaders or on the part of the people themselves, or both, a lack of some of these essentials.

The very birth of the Democratic Party, at a time when President Washington publicly expressed the hope that the Nation could be run without Parties, was due to the simple fact that the Government itself was dominated by the great commercial and shipping interests of the seaboard, (and) that it failed to give recognition to the needs (and) to the desires of the masses of the inhabitants of the original Thirteen States who did not subscribe to (the) their theory that birth, wealth or political position could give to the possessors of these qualifications the sole right to govern. Hence the Democratic Party. (Applause)

And a generation later a Government dominated by the other

extreme -- the plainer people from the back country, from the Piedmont and the slopes of the Alleghenies, the Upper Hudson, the backwoods of New England, paying scant attention to the ship owners of the seaboard, drove our Nation into the second war against Great Britain. And here in the South it is worth remembering that the first suggestion of secession from the Union was proposed by the delegates from the New England States in the Hartford Convention (in) of 1814.

In both cases tolerance and the national point of view were absent. Another generation went by and it was the same lack of tolerance, the same lack of a national point of view which brought about a war which was not inevitable -- the War Between the States.

The scene changed and the Nation was confronted not by a sectional difference but by a struggle for economic and social control -- a period which saw the control of our National Government by groups of individuals, individuals who, owning their Government, through owning vast financial power, used the plea of development of our national resources that they might feather their own nests.

In the lifetime of people who are still with us, there were men whom we must admit had courage and vision, who pushed railroads across the plains, opened mines, dammed rivers, created vast aggregations of capital; and left in their wake vast aggregations of national and state and local political power.

In a sense those were glorious days because the wide-open spaces were open to those native Americans and those who were flocking hither from the centers of Europe to find work in new fields.

A current author has recently emphasized (emphasizes) the

perfection of life that surrounded our population half a century ago. He draws a picture of the complete lack of any restraints on any individual and infers that every American of (those days) half a century ago, no matter what part of the country he or she lived in, lived in a Utopia of work and play to which we should seek an immediate return.

I do not believe it. (Applause)

A few days ago in Georgia I talked with an old friend whom I have known for ten years. He was what might be called an old-fashioned Southern conservative. We got to "reminiscing" about the old days when I first lived in Georgia. And he reminded me of the days when cotton was selling at five cents a pound, and, while he admitted that the ramifications of our Federal legislation, and especially of Court decisions during the past six years were somewhat beyond him, nevertheless he allowed that some principle of crop control -- cotton and tobacco, for example -- decided on by a majority of the farmers themselves, was the most democratic way to prevent the return of five-cent cotton in a few years.

He reminded me to two little banks in Warm Springs, Georgia -- banks in which many thousand of dollars of local savings had been deposited -- of the failure of both of these banks and the loss of the savings -- and of the fact today that deposits in the banks of the United States are safe, and, he remarked, "I hope that that type of liberal legislation will not be repealed." (Applause)

He reminded me of the white men and negroes who never saw, as the heads of families, \$100. in cash (the whole year round) from the beginning of the year to the end of the year. He reminded me of

the days in 1932 when the States of the Union were going broke, (and) losing their credit because the whole burden of the relief of the starving was placed on their shoulders without the contribution of one dollar from the Federal Government. He reminded me of the complete lack of any social security program -- of the days when a home-builder was charged fifteen and twenty per cent to borrow the money to build his house -- of the days when slum clearance was a beautiful ideal on paper and nowhere else.

And when he left me, he said -- "Young man, I don't know the United States the way you do but I know this section of the Nation pretty well. I don't understand the (actual) working out of all these new-fangled things that the Government has been starting in (these past) the last six years. (But I know this section of the country and) I want to tell you that there is a new spirit abroad in the land. I am not talking just about the fact that there is more buying power, that houses are painted that were never painted before, that our banks are safe, that our roads and schools are infinitely better. What I am talking about is that all of our young people in my section of the country and in every other section -- our young people think that (we) they are "going places." (Applause)

Yes, those two words "going places" seem to be an essential in modern civilization everywhere.

They represent the conviction on the part of the young people of America that life never remains static; that there are better days ahead than ever before; that an opportunity to find a way of life, to earn a living, to raise a family in comfort and security are better today and will be better tomorrow. (Applause) There may

be those in the world who believe that a (regimentated) regimented people, whose every thought and action is directed by one man or two men, may give some people a type of security which is pleasing to them. But whatever convictions I have, none is stronger than my abiding belief that the security and well-being of the American people can best be served by the democratic processes (which) that have made this country strong and great. (Applause)

The future, however, rests not on chance alone, not on mere conservatism, mere smugness, mere fatalism, but on the affirmative action which we take in America. What America does or fails to do in the next few years has a far greater bearing and influence on the history of the whole human race for centuries to come than most of us who are here today can ever conceive.

We are not only the largest and most powerful democracy in the whole world, but many other democracies look to us for world leadership in order that world democracy may survive.

I am speaking not of the external policies of the United States Government. They are exerted, as you know, on the side of peace and they are exerted more strongly than ever before toward the self-preservation of democracies through the assurance of peace.

What I would emphasize is the maintenance of successful democracy at home. Necessarily democratic methods within a nation's life entail change -- the kind of change through local processes within our own national borders, processes described by Mr. Justice Cardozo -- the kind of change to meet new social and economic needs through recognized processes of Government.

Because we live in an era of acceleration, we can no longer

trust to the evolution of future decades to meet these new problems.
They rise before us today and they must be met today.

That is why the younger generation means so much in our
current affairs. They are a part of the picture in their twenties
without having to wait until they (have passed) pass middle age.

That is why I myself associate myself so happily and so
greatly with the younger generation.

And that is why I am happy and proud to become an alumnus
of the University of North Carolina, typifying as it does American
liberal thought through American action. (Prolonged applause)

University News Bureau
R. W. Hadry

President Roosevelt's Speech to Dines
Three-Year Effort of Political Union
Most of the University Backed This Ambitious Student Group Announced
Last Year Its Determination to Bring Chief Executive to Campus--
Non-Partisan Organization Works to Improve Government

Release Sunday, Dec. 4

By R. W. Hadry

Chapel Hill, N.C., Dec. 3... "O, Yesh! Now tell me another one."

Such was the sense of the comment from the average student when the ambitious Carolina Political Union, hitching its wagon to the stars, announced last year a determination to bring the President of the United States to Chapel Hill under its auspices.

As it turned out, the University of North Carolina campus mind hadn't gauged the zeal and smartness of this young non-partisan organization.

Bombarded with letters from responsible folk all over the country in support of the Political Union's invitation, President Roosevelt really wanted to accept last spring, but developments at Washington interfered.

The President said he would be glad to accept a "rain check", and officials of the Union saw to it that he got frequent reminders of the deferred engagement. President Frank P. Graham, who has served on some of Mr. Roosevelt's most important committees, and Ambassador Josephus Daniels, who was the President's boss in the Navy during world war days, doubtless were among those who wielded large measure of influence in support of the Union's invitation.

There must be something remarkably distinctive about a student organization that can secure the President of the United States for its platform.

Organization is Unique

Well, there is. Any organization that can put on speech-making programs in a university town, which is usually surfeited with oratory, and draw audiences averaging more than a thousand for each meeting, is bound to be rated in a class by itself.

The three-year-old Carolina Political Union is a non-partisan organization controlled and operated by a group of 25 students in the University.

Membership is elective. Even with this limited membership, there were plenty of vacancies the first year, but students fell over each other in the scramble for the few vacancies that occurred the second year, and there were exactly 70 applicants for the four vacancies this year.

The organization brings to the University campus at frequent intervals, usually once or twice a month, outstanding representatives of varying shades of political and economic opinion.

It has remained unswervingly a non-partisan group, presenting on different occasions such speakers of contrasting viewpoints as Postmaster-General James Farley and Senator Rush Holt on the President's Supreme Court plan; Tom Girdler, Edwin S. Smith and Phillip Murray, on the Labor question; Ambassadors Troyanovsky and Dieckhoff on international relations; Senator Millard Tydings and Representative David J. Lewis on national affairs; and Senator Josiah Bailey, Earl Browder and Norman Thomas on governmental policies.

In bringing to the same platform recognized representatives of such antipodal views the Union feels that it is fulfilling its primary purpose: to stimulate the student mind in affairs of politics and government. In short, it may be described as an effort to study intelligently the processes of government.

Given National prestige

The Union has no official connection with the University administration, and no money with which to pay its speakers, but in the brief span of three years the organization has gained so much national prestige that the bigwigs now realize it provides an ideal platform from which to get themselves heard from coast to coast.

Press associations and radio stations now vie with each other in efforts to carry adequate accounts of these meetings.

The Union's programs have drawn favorable comment from editors, radio commentators, columnists, and government officials from this and foreign countries.

That it has high prestige was evidenced just before the recent November elections when letters asking for endorsement and support came from aspiring politicians who had not yet learned that the organization is non-partisan.

It was in the spring of 1936 that Frank C. P. McGlinn, of Philadelphia, was elected Chairman of the Union, to carry out ideas formulated by Floyd Fletcher, a senior from Raleigh, and a group of friends in Prof. E. J. Woodhouse's political science class. During that summer McGlinn visited both Democratic and Republican national conventions and took advantage of the pre-election generosity of leaders of both parties to secure important spokesmen for appearances on the Union platform before the November 1936 elections.

Chairman McGlinn solidified the organization and objectives of the Union that year. After a study of the Oxford, Cambridge, Harvard, and Dublin Unions was made, a constitution was adopted providing for a membership of 25 students and Professor Woodhouse as faculty member. It was resolved that all major political parties should be at all times sufficiently represented in the membership.

The first anniversary banquet, held in May 1937, drew national attention, when, before several hundred special guests, Representatives Maury Maverick and Ralph Brewster met in a debate on the Supreme Court Bill.

James Roosevelt's visit

Alexander Heard, of Savannah, was chosen McGlinn's successor, and began his chairmanship by bringing James Roosevelt, the President's son and former Secretary, to the campus during Summer School of 1937.

Toward the end of Heard's year as Chairman the first recognition of the Union as an important American open forum was gained in the larger centers like Washington, New York and Chicago. There had been two coast-to-coast and several Dixie network broadcasts of Union programs. Furthermore, the intellectual plane of the University audiences encouraged speakers to prepare serious and meaningful messages. Postmaster-General Farley came to Chapel Hill to deliver the first Administration utterance in defense of the Supreme Court plan. The speeches of both Ambassadors Troyanovsky and

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Bieckhoff were widely quoted in their publications.

Victor Gilmore, of Winston-Salem, succeeded Beard as Chairman for the present University year. During the winter he concentrated efforts on securing President Roosevelt for the Union's third anniversary next Monday, and also travelled into the Mid-West for interviews with prospective speakers, among them ex-Governor Alf Landon and William Alton White.

Balance Original Program

With the idea of encouraging more reasoning and investigation, the Union last year elaborated upon its original program by placing more emphasis on the open forums following the speeches, by arranging occasion small discussion groups either before or after the visits of speakers in order to debate the issues involved, by arranging for students to talk with visiting notables, and by cooperating with the work of allied University organizations.

A completely new sphere of the Union's work has been the introduction this fall of voting machines in North Carolina, a manifestation of the Union's hope that it can extend its work to the education of voters not only in the theory of government, but in the mechanics of it as well. The machines were used in campus elections and in straw polls.

Beginning with the gubernatorial candidates in 1936-37, the Union's speakers have included Governor Clyde R. Hoey, Sonny Graham, Ralph McDonald, John A. McRae, Thurmond Chatham, of the American Liberty League; Clark Eichelberger, of the League of Nations Association; Colonel Frank Knox, vice-presidential candidate; John Spargo, of the Republican National Committee; Thomas Dixon, the author; Bishop Paul Jones, the Socialist ~~President~~; Congressman Robert L. Doughton;

former
Senator Josiah W. Bailey, Congressman Frank Hancock, /Governor J.C.B. Ehringhaus,
Justice
~~Attorney General~~ A.A.P. Seawell, Attorney General Harry McCallan, Governor Paul V.
McNutt, Indiana; Congressman David Lewis, Maryland; Senator Millard Tydings, Maryland;
Postmaster-General James A. Farley; Senator Gerald Nye, Nebraska; ex-Governor Eugene
Talmadge, Georgia; Senator Rush Holt, West Virginia; Congressman Maury Maverick, Texas;
Congressman Ralph Brewster, Maine;

James Roosevelt; Ambassador E. E. Dodd; Judge I.M. Mockins, Honorable Yukichiro
Sano, Consul of Japanese Embassy; Hiram W. Evans, Imperial Wizard of Ku Klux Klan;
Norman Thomas, the Socialist leader; William Hard, Assistant Chairman of the Republi-
can National Committee; Tom Girdler, spokesman for the "Little Steel" group; Ambassa-
dor Troyanovsky, Russia; Ambassador Bieckhoff, Germany; Earl Browder, head of the
Communist party; Edwin S. Smith, of the National Labor Relations Board; Phillip Mur-
ray, Chairman of the Steel Workers' organizing committee; and Senator James P. Pope,
of Idaho.

Attendance from Many Places

Many people throughout North Carolina are showing interest, not only through cor-
respondence. A discussion group led by Wallace E. White in Smithfield comes every so
often--70 miles. There are groups from other colleges in the State and it has been
estimated that about 300 out-of-town people have come in for each of the last three
programmes.

Some amusing incidents have arisen at the speeches. The only real trouble the Union has ever had with autograph seekers was following Norman Thomas' address. He was besieged by requests, and the crowd was so large backstage there was difficulty in getting Thomas out of the hall. With autograph hounds all around him begging for his signature, the group was dispersed in a roar of laughter when Physics Professor Arthur E. Ruark wrote his own name on a piece of paper and handed it to Thomas in a most condescending and benevolent way.

After Tom Girdler spoke, a postcard came to him from New York City addressed only to "Chapel Hill," and on the back was written, "Ten murdered men speak louder than all you can say"—signed, "not a C.I.O. member."

No Tomato Throwing, But Boos, Laughter
The Union has never had any trouble with tomato-throwing, although the crowd has voiced its opinion with boos, laughter and applause on various occasions.

The most exciting meeting of the Union occurred when Imperial Wizard Evans of the Ku Klux Klan, in an address last year, when he spoke for an hour, attacked the Jews, Catholics, aliens, C.I.O., and all left-wing movements vigorously. This followed a full 70 minutes—longest ever held—of questioning by the audience. The meeting was only adjourned when because the Wizard had to head for home in Atlanta. Many of the audience remained for an hour or so longer to discuss the address among themselves. Both questioners and Evans were alternately booed and applauded by the audience.

Wizard Engaged To Meet Browder
After his address, Ku Klux Evans, who had been informed that Earl Browder, head of the Communist party, would speak here March 3, asserted he would pay for a national coast-to-coast hookup if the Union would arrange a debate between him and Browder in Chapel Hill. That didn't happen.

When the address of Tom Girdler, leader of the "Little Steel", was announced, a group on the campus secured still pictures of the South Chicago Memorial Day massacre at Girdler's plants and showed them in Graham Memorial several days in advance of the appearance of the steel magnate. Only about 60 students attended the showing and there was no demonstration.

Objections to Girdler
Some of the State's left-wingers, including a minister of a church in a nearby town, objected to the Union's bringing Girdler on the ground that he lacked "moral integrity" and did not deserve the dignity of the University platform.

One of the objectors to Girdler's appearance said: "Well, if you take this speech to its logical conclusion there's no telling where you'll get." This, of course, is just the argument that is always used by those who oppose the appearance of Socialists, Communists, and other extremists.

The only speaker the Union ever scheduled who failed to show up was Rev. Gerald L. Smith, successor to Huey Long's Share-the-Wealth Plan. Four days before his scheduled speech, he wired he could not appear, and despite telephone calls, telegrams, and a pointed letter to him since then no word has ever been received from him and no explanation offered for his failure to show up.

Citation of Franklin Delano Roosevelt for the degree of Doctor of Laws by President Frank P. Graham for the faculty and trustees of the University of North Carolina, on the occasion of the President's visit to Chapel Hill, December 5, 1938, under the sponsorship of the Carolina Student Political Union.

Franklin Delano Roosevelt, the University of North Carolina welcomes you, not only as the leader of the people of America boldly groping for a way out of economic depressions but also as the leader of the people of the world valiantly hoping for a way forward from democratic retreat and international despair.

Through your leadership the voice and ideals of America are counting on the side of oppressed minorities and disinherited majorities. The America for which you gallantly speak, inclusive of factions and parties, stands for the freedom of open and wide discussion of all issues and a fair hearing to all sides; for the ways of peace and democracy rather than of war and dictatorship; for a new hope to youth and a more equal educational opportunity to all children in all the states; for the right to honest work whether in private industry or on public works; for humane nation-wide minimum standards of hours, wages and conditions of fair competition in justice to workers and business men; for money as the medium of exchange rather than as master of labor and enterprise; for the saving of our soils, minerals, forests, and water-power; for the security of banks, farms, industries, and homes; for farmers as equal partners in our economic society; for the advancement of American democracy by more equality of bargaining power through the organization of workers, the cooperation of farmers and information of consumers; for social security against old age, unemployment, sickness, and the hazards of modern society; for intelligent production as a way of abundance and decent consumption as a way of life; and for a more abundant distribution of the good life for all people in the eternal adventure toward the Kingdom of God.

In appreciation of the democratic faith and the humane hopes your American leadership gives to the people of the world in this time of crisis and bewilderment, the University of North Carolina, by the vote of the faculty and the trustees, confers upon ~~you~~ you the degree of Doctor of Laws. *gpm*

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ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT AT THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH
CAROLINA, CHAPEL HILL, NORTH CAROLINA, DECEMBER 6, 1936.

The late Justice Cardozo of the Supreme Court wrote a few years ago:

"We live in a world of change. If a body of law were in existence adequate for the civilization of today, it could not meet the demands of tomorrow. Society is inconstant. So long as it is inconstant... there can be no constancy in law.... Law defines a relation not always between fixed points, but often between points of varying position.... There is change whether we will it or not."

It is recognition of this philosophy that has made the University of North Carolina representative of liberal teaching. And it is my recognition of your recognition of that philosophy that brings me so willingly to Chapel Hill today.

It is a far cry from the days of my first visit to the University, nearly a quarter of a century ago. I came then because my old Chief -- that great North Carolina liberal, Josephus Daniels -- told me I should see for myself a great institution of learning which was thinking and acting, in terms of today and tomorrow and not in the tradition of yesterday.

In those days the leadership of the Nation was in the hands of a great President who was seeking to recover for our social system ground which had been lost under his conservative predecessor, and to restore something of the fighting liberal spirit which the Nation had gained under Theodore Roosevelt. It seemed one of our national tragedies that just when Woodrow Wilson was beginning to accomplish definite improvements in the living standards of America, the World War not only interrupted his course, but laid the foundation for twelve years of retrogression. I say this advisedly because it is not progress, but the reverse, when a Nation goes through the madness of the twenties, piling up paper profits, hatching all manner of speculations and coming inevitably to the day when the bubble bursts.

It is only the unthinking liberals in this world who see nothing but tragedy in the slowing up or temporary stopping of liberal progress.

It is only the unthinking conservatives who rejoices when a social or economic reform fails to be 100% successful.

It is only the "headline" mentality that exaggerates or distorts the true objectives of those in this Nation whether they be the President of the University of North Carolina or the President of the United States, who, with Mr. Justice Cardozo, admit the fact of change and seek to guide change into the right channels to the greater glory of God and the greater good of mankind.

You undergraduates who see me for the first time have read your newspapers and heard on the air that I am, at the very least, an agitator — a conspirator with Communists, a destroyer of the rich, a breaker of our ancient traditions. You think of me perhaps as the inventor of the economic royalist, of the wicked utilities, of the money changers of the Temple. You have heard for six years that I was about to plunge the Nation into war; that you and your little brothers would be sent to the bloody fields of battle in Europe; that I was driving the Nation into bankruptcy, and that I breakfasted every morning on a dish of "grilled millionaire."

actually I am an exceedingly mild mannered person -- a practitioner of peace, both domestic and foreign, a believer in the optimistic system, and for my breakfast a devotee of scrambled eggs.

You have read that as a result of balloting last November, the liberal forces in the United States are on their way to the cemetery -- yet I ask you to remember that liberal forces in the United States have often been killed and buried -- with the inevitable result that in short order they have come to life again with more strength than they had before.

It is also true that other men in public life have protested against certain forms of economic control and that epithets far stronger than any I have used have been employed even by Presidents of the United States. Those of us who know Woodrow Wilson and Theodore Roosevelt and Grover Cleveland could hardly call them mollycoddles.

I was reading a letter of Theodore Roosevelt the other day, written to a friend in the Spring of 1908, and it will, I think, interest and amuse you if I quote from it. He was writing to a man who was fighting for social and political decency on the Pacific Coast. He said:

"You and then you must feel disheartened when you see men guilty of the most atrocious crimes who, from some cause or other, succeed in escaping punishment. And especially when you see ... men of wealth, of high business, and in a sense of high social standing, banded together against you. My dear sir, I want you to feel that your experience is simply the experience of all of us who are engaged in this fight. There is no form of slander and wicked falsehood in which the New York papers, not only those representing the lowest types of damage, but those representing the interests that call themselves precently conservative, predominantly cultured, have not indulged in as regards myself. From all I can gather the feeling against me, not only in Wall Street, not only in the business houses of the greatest financiers of New York, but also in most of the up-to-date clubs ... it is just in these places that the feeling against me has been most bitter. As a matter of fact, I do not care a snap of my fingers about it. I do not care whether they think well of me or think ill of me. But I do care a very great deal to do this work without flinching, on the one hand, and on the other hand without becoming angered and irritated to a degree that will in any way cause me to lose my head.

"Now, so it is with you and your associates. You must keep reasonably goodnatured; but above all things you must not lose heart; and you must bottle on valiantly, no matter what the biggest business men may say, no matter what the mob may say, no matter what may be said by that element which chooses to regard itself as socially the highest element. You are in a fight for plain decency, for the plain democracy of the Plain People who believe in honesty and in fair dealing between man and man. Do not get disheartened; and keep up the fight."

Theodore Roosevelt, born of an old New York family, Southern on his Mother's side, trained as a young man on our Western frontiers, was perhaps the first American President in modern times who knew the whole Nation. In the letter which I have read, and with this national background, it seems to me what he said in effect was, first, that the American people have, and must have, a definite objective for the improvement of government, for the improvement of social and economic conditions; second, that these objectives must be carried out by definite action, and, third, that in the attaining of them, the President and the Government and the people as a whole must have two essential qualities -- first, a sense of proportion and perspective, and second, good-will and a sense of humor.

Almost every crisis of our history since 1789 has become a crisis because of a lack on the part of leaders or on the part of the people themselves, or both, of some of these essentials.

The very birth of the Democratic Party, at a time when President Washington publicly expressed the hope that the Nation could be run without Parties, was due to the simple fact that the Government itself was dominated by the great commercial and shipping interests of the seaboard, and failed to give recognition to the needs and the desires of the masses of the inhabitants of the original Thirteen States who did not subscribe to the theory that birth, wealth or political position could give to the possessors of these qualifications the sole right to govern. Hence the Democratic Party.

A generation later a Government dominated by the other extreme -- the plainer people from the back country, from the Piedmont and the slopes of the Alleghanies, paying scant attention to the ship owners of the seaboard, drove our Nation into the second war against Great Britain. And here in the South it is worth remembering that the first suggestion of secession from the Union was proposed by delegates from the New England States in the Hartford Convention in 1814.

In both cases tolerance and the national point of view were absent. Another generation went by and it was the same lack of tolerance, the same lack of a national point of view which brought about a war which was not inevitable -- the War Between the States.

The scene changed and the Nation was confronted not by a sectional difference but by a struggle for economic and social control -- a period which saw the control of our national government by groups of individuals, who, owning their government, through owning vast financial power, used the plea of development of our national resources that they might feather their own nests.

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And when he left he said -- "Young man, I don't know the United States the way you do but I know this section of the Nation pretty well. I don't understand the actual working out of all these new-fangled things that the Government has been starting in these past six years. But I know this section of the country and I want to tell you that there is a new spirit abroad in the land. I am not talking just about the fact that there is more buying power, that houses are painted that were never painted before, that our banks are safe, that our roads and schools are better. What I am talking about is that all of our young people in my section of the country think that we are "going places".

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STATEMENTS FILE

Shorthand By Kannan

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C A U T I O N: This address of the President, to be delivered at the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, N.C., is to be held for release upon delivery, expected about 4:30 P.M., E.S.T., Monday, December 5, 1938.
 Please guard against premature release.
 M. A. McINTIRE,
 Secretary to the President.

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The late Justice Cardozo of the Supreme Court, ~~wrote a few~~
 years ago: *16.1.*

"We live in a world of change. If a body of law were in existence adequate for the civilization of today, it could not meet the demands of tomorrow. Society is inconstant. So long as it is inconstant... there can be no constancy in law.... Law defines a relation not always between fixed points, but often between points of varying position.... There is change whether we will it or not."

It is recognition of ~~this~~ philosophy that has made the University of North Carolina representative of liberal teaching. And it is my recognition of your recognition of that philosophy that brings me so willingly to Chapel Hill today.

It is a far cry from the days of my first visit to the University, nearly a quarter of a century ago. *I came then because* my old Chief -- that ~~is~~ a North Carolina liberal, Josephus Daniels -- told me I should see for myself a great institution of learning which was thinking and acting in terms of today and tomorrow and not in the tradition of yesterday.

In those days the leadership of the Nation was in the hands of a great President who was seeking to recover for our social system ground which had been lost under his conservative predecessor, and to restore something of the fighting liberal spirit which the Nation had gained under Theodore Roosevelt. It seemed one of our-national tragedies that just when Woodrow Wilson was beginning to accomplish definite improvements in the living standards of America, the World War not only interrupted his course, but laid the foundation for twelve years of retrogression. I say this advisedly because it is not progress, but the reverse, when a Nation goes through the madness of the twenties, piling up paper profits, hatching all manner of speculations and coming inevitably to the day when the bubble bursts.

It is only the unthinking liberals in this world who see nothing but tragedy in the slowing up or temporary stopping of liberal progress.

It is only the unthinking conservatives who rejoice when a social or economic reform fails to be 100% successful.

It is only the "headline" mentality that exaggerates or distorts the true objectives of those in this Nation whether they be the President of the University of North Carolina or the President of the United States, who, with Mr. Justice Cardozo, admit the fact of change and seek to guide change into the right channels, to the greater glory of God and the greater good of mankind.

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You undergraduates who see me for the first time have read your newspapers and heard on the air that I am, at the very least, an ~~agree~~ - a concorder with Communists, a destroyer of the rich, a breaker of our ancient traditions. You think of me perhaps as the inventor of the economic royalist, of the wicked utilities, of the money changers of the Temple. You have heard for six years that I was about to plunge the Nation into war; that you and your little brothers would be sent to the bloody fields of battle in Europe; that I was driving the Nation into bankruptcy, and that I breakfasted every morning on a dish of "grilled millionaire."

Actually I am an exceedingly mild mannered person -- a practitioner of peace, both domestic and foreign, a believer in the capitalistic system, and for my breakfast a devotee of scrambled eggs.

You have read that as a result of balloting last November, the liberal forces in the United States are on their way to the cemetery -- yet I ask you to remember that liberal forces in the United States have often been killed and buried -- with the inevitable result that in short order they have come to life again with more strength than they had before.

It is also true that other men in public life have protested against certain forms of economic control and that epithets far stronger than any I have used have been employed even by Presidents of the United States. Those of us who knew Woodrow Wilson and Theodore Roosevelt and Grover Cleveland could hardly call them mollycoddles.

I was reading a letter of Theodore Roosevelt the other day, written to a friend in the Spring of 1905, and it will, I think, interest and amuse you if I quote from it. He was writing to a man who was fighting for social and political decency on the Pacific Coast. He said:

"Now and then you must feel downhearted when you see men guilty of the most atrocious crimes who, ~~from~~, some cause or other, succeed in escaping punishment, and especially when you see men of wealth, of high business, and in a sense of high social standing, bandied together against you. My dear sir, I want you to feel that your experience is simply the experience of all of us who are engaged in this fight.

There is no form of slander and wicked falsehood in which the New York papers, not only those representing the lowest type of demagogic, but those representing the interests that call themselves preeminently conservative, preeminently cultured, have not indulged in as regards myself. From all I can gather the feeling against me, not only in Wall Street, not only in the business houses of the greatest financiers of New York, but also in most of the uptown clubs ... it is just in these places that the feeling against me has been most bitter. As a matter of fact, I do not care a snap of my fingers about it. I do not care whether they think well of me or think ill of me. But I do care a very great deal to do this work without flinching, on the one hand, and on the other hand without becoming angered and irritated to a degree that will in any way cause me to lose my head.

"Now, so it is with you and your associates. You must keep reasonably goodnatured; but above all things you must not lose heart; and you must battle on valiantly, no matter what the biggest business men may say, no matter what the mob may say, no matter what may be said by that element which chooses to regard itself as socially the highest element. You are in a fight for plain decency, for the plain democracy of the plain people who believe in honesty and in fair dealing between man and man. Do not get disheartened; and keep up the fight."

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Theodore Roosevelt, born of an old New York family, Southern on his Mother's side, trained as a young man on our Western frontiers, was perhaps the first American President in modern times who knew the whole Nation. In the letter which I have read, and with this national background, it seems to me what he said in effect was, first, that the American people have, and must have, a definite objective for the improvement of government, for the improvement of social and economic conditions; second, that these objectives must be carried out by definite action; and, third, that in the attaining of them, the President and the Government and the people as a whole must have two essential qualities — ~~first~~, a sense of proportion and perspective, ~~and~~, ~~second~~, good-will and a sense of humor.

Almost every crisis of our history since 1789 has become a crisis because of a lack on the part of leaders or on the part of the people themselves, or both, of some of these essentials.

The very birth of the Democratic Party, at a time when President Washington publicly expressed the hope that the Nation could be run without Parties, was due to the simple fact that the Government itself was dominated by the great commercial and shipping interests of the seaboard, ~~and~~ failed to give recognition to the needs and the desires of the masses of the inhabitants of the original Thirteen States who did not subscribe to the theory that birth, wealth or political position could give to the possessors of those qualifications the sole right to govern. Hence the Democratic Party.

A generation later a Government dominated by the other extreme — the planter people from the back country, from the Piedmont and slopes of the Alleghenies, paying scant attention to the ship owners of the seaboard, drove our Nation into the second war against Great Britain. And here in the South it is worth remembering that the first suggestion of secession from the Union was proposed by delegates from the New England States in the Hartford Convention in 1814.

In both cases tolerance and the national point of view were absent. Another generation went by and it was the same lack of tolerance, the same lack of a national point of view which brought about a war which was not inevitable — the War Between the States.

The scene changed and the Nation was confronted not by a sectional difference but by a struggle for economic and social control — a period which saw the control of national government by groups of individuals, ~~no~~, owning their government through owning vast financial power, used the plea of development of our national resources that they might feather their own nests.

In the lifetime of people who are still with us, there were men whom we must admit had courage and vision, who pushed railroads across the plains, opened mines, dammed rivers, created vast aggregations of capital; and left in their wake vast aggregations of national and state and local political power.

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