
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. 1291

1940 July 19

**Radio Message Accepting 3rd Term Nomination
[Acceptance Speech to Democratic National
Committee]**

RADIO ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT

JULY 18, 1940

(July 19, 1940)

MEMBERS OF THE CONVENTION - MY FRIENDS:

It is with a very full heart that I speak tonight.

I must confess that I do so with mixed feelings -- because I find myself, as almost everyone does sooner or later in his lifetime, in a conflict between deep personal desire for retirement on the one hand, and that quiet, invisible thing called "conscience" on the other.

Because there are self-appointed commentators and interpreters who will seek to misinterpret or question motives, I speak in a somewhat personal vein; and I must trust to the good faith and common sense of the American people to accept my own good faith -- and do their own interpreting.

When, in 1936, I was chosen by the voters for a second time as President, it was my firm intention to turn over the responsibilities of government to other hands at the end of my term. That conviction remained with me. Eight years in the Presidency, following a period of bleak depression, and covering one world crisis after another, would normally entitle any man to the relaxation which comes from honorable retirement.

During the Spring of 1939 world events made it clear to all but the blind or the partisan that a great war in Europe had become not merely a possibility but a probability, and that such a war would of necessity deeply affect the future of this nation.

When the conflict first broke out last September, it was still my intention to announce clearly and simply, at an early date, that under no conditions would I accept reelection. This fact was well known to my friends, and I think was understood by many citizens.

It soon became evident, however, that such a public statement on my part would be unwise from the point of view of sheer public ^{interest} interest. As President of the United States, it was my duty, with the aid of the Congress, to preserve our neutrality, to shape our program of defense to meet rapid changes, to keep our domestic affairs adjusted to shifting world conditions, and to sustain the policy of the Good Neighbor.

It was also my obvious duty to maintain to the utmost the influence of this mighty nation in our effort to prevent the spread of war, and to sustain by all legal means, those governments threatened by other governments which had rejected the principles of democracy.

Swiftly moving foreign events made necessary swift action at home and beyond the seas. Plans for national defense had to be expanded and adjusted to meet new forms of warfare. American citizens and their welfare had to be safeguarded in many foreign zones of danger. National unity in the United States became a crying essential, in

the face of the development of unbelievable types of espionage and international treachery.

Every day that passed called for the postponement of personal plans and partisan debate until the latest possible moment. The normal conditions under which I would have made public declaration of my personal desires were gone.

Thinking solely of the national good and of the international scene, I came to the reluctant conclusion that such declaration should not be made before the national Convention. It was accordingly made to you within an hour after the permanent organization of the Convention.

Like any other man, I am complimented by the honor you have done me. But I know you will understand the spirit in which I say that no call of Party alone would prevail upon me to accept reelection to the Presidency.

The real decision to be made in these circumstances is not the acceptance of a nomination, but rather an ultimate willingness to serve if chosen by the electorate. Many considerations enter into this decision.

During the past few months, with due Congressional approval, we have been taking steps to implement the total defense of America. I cannot forget that in carrying out this program I have drafted into the service of the nation many men and women, taking them away from important private occupations, calling them suddenly from their homes and their businesses. I have asked them to leave their own work, and to contribute their skill and experience to the cause of their nation.

I, as the head of their Government, have asked them to do this. Regardless of party, regardless of personal convenience, they came -- they answered the call. Every single one of them, with one exception, has come to Washington to serve.

These people, who have placed patriotism above all else, represent those who have made their way to the top of their professions or industries through proven skill and experience.

But they alone could not be enough to meet the needs of the times.

Just as a system of national defense based on man power alone, without the mechanized equipment of modern warfare is totally insufficient for adequate defense, so also planes and guns and tanks are wholly insufficient unless they are implemented by the power of men trained to use them.

Such man power consists not only of pilots and gunners and infantry and those who operate tanks. For every individual in actual combat service, it is necessary for adequate defense that we have ready at hand at least four or five other trained individuals organized for non-combat services.

Because of the millions of citizens involved in the conduct of defense, most right thinking persons are agreed that some form of selection by draft is as necessary and as fair today as it was in 1917 and 1918.

Nearly every American is willing to do his share or her share to defend the United States. It is neither just nor efficient to permit the task to fall upon any one section or any one group. For every section and every group depend for their existence upon the survival of the nation as a whole.

Lying awake, as I have, on many nights, I have asked myself whether I have the right, as Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy, to call on men and women to serve their country or to train themselves to serve and, at the same time, decline to serve my country in my own personal capacity, if I am called upon to do so by the people of my country.

In times like these -- in times of great tension, of great crisis -- the compass of the world narrows to a single fact. The fact which dominates our world is the fact of armed aggression, the fact of successful armed aggression, aimed at the form of government, the kind of society we in the United States have chosen and established for ourselves. It is a fact which no one any longer doubts --

which no one is any longer able to ignore.

It is not an ordinary war. It is a revolution imposed by force of arms, which threatens all men everywhere. It is a revolution which proposes not to set men free but to reduce them to slavery --- to reduce them to slavery in the interest of a dictatorship which has already shown the nature and the extent of the advantage which it hopes to obtain.

This is the fact which dominates our world and which dominates the lives of all of us. In the face of the danger which confronts our time, no individual retains or can hope to retain, the right of personal choice which free men enjoy in times of peace. He has a first obligation to serve in the defense of our institutions of freedom --- a first obligation to serve his country in whatever capacity his country finds him useful.

Like most men of my age, I had made plans for myself, plans for a private life of my own choice and for my own satisfaction to begin in January, 1941. These plans, like so many other plans, had been made in a world which now seems as distant as another planet. Today all private plans, all private lives have been repealed by an over-riding public danger. In the face of that public danger all those who can be of service to the Republic have no choice but to offer themselves for service in those capacities for which they may be fitted.

Those are the reasons why I have had to admit to myself, and now to state to you, that my conscience will not let me turn my back upon a call to service.

The right to make that call rests with the people through the American method of a free election. Only the people themselves can draft a President. If such a draft should be made upon me, I say, in the utmost simplicity, I will, with God's help, continue to serve with the best of my ability and with the fullness of my strength.

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To you, the delegates to this Convention, I express my gratitude for the selection of Henry Wallace for the high office of Vice President of the United States. His first hand knowledge of the problems of government in every sphere of life and in every part of the nation — and indeed of the whole world — qualifies him without reservation. His practical idealism will be of great service to me individually and to the nation as a whole.

And to the Chairman of the National Committee and Postmaster General — my old friend Jim Farley — I send, as I have often before, my affectionate greetings. All of us are sure that he will continue to give all the leadership and support he possibly can to the cause of American democracy.

In some respects the next few months will be different from the usual national campaigns of recent years.

Most of you know how important it is that the President in these days remain close to the seat of government. Since last Summer I have been compelled to abandon proposed journeys to inspect many of our national projects from the Alleghanies to the Pacific Coast.

Events move so fast in other parts of the world that it has become my duty to remain either in the White House or at some nearby point where I can reach Washington and even Europe and Asia by direct telephone -- where, if need be, I can be back at my desk in the space of a very few hours.

In addition, the splendid work of the new defense machinery will require me to spend vastly more time in conference with the responsible administrative heads under me. Finally, the added task which the present crisis has imposed upon the Congress, compelling them to forego their usual adjournment, calls for constant cooperation between the Executive and Legislative branches, to the efficiency of which I am glad now to pay tribute.

I do expect, of course, during the coming months to make my usual periodic reports to the country through the medium of press conferences and radio talks. I shall not have the time or the inclination to engage in purely political debate. But I shall never be loathe to call the attention of the nation to deliberate or unwitting falsifications of fact, which are sometimes made by political candidates.

I have spoken to you in a very informal and personal way. The exigencies of the day require, however, that I also talk with you about things which transcend any personality and go deeply to the roots of American civilization.

Our lives have been based on those fundamental freedoms and liberties which we have cherished for a century and a half. The establishment of them and the preservation of them in each succeeding generation have been accomplished through the processes of free elective government -- the democratic-republican form, based on the representative system and the coordination of the executive, the legislative and the judicial branches.

The task of safeguarding our institutions is twofold.

One must be accomplished, if it becomes necessary, by the armed defense forces of the nation. The other, by the united effort of the men and women of the country, to make our federal and state and local governments responsive to the growing requirements of modern democracy.

There have been occasions when reactions in the march of democracy have set in, and forward-looking progress has seemed to stop.

But such periods have been followed by liberal and progressive times which have enabled the nation to catch up with new developments in fulfilling new human needs. Such a time has been the past seven years. Because we had seemed to lag in previous years, we have had to develop, speedily and efficiently, the answers to aspirations which had come from every state and every family in the land.

We have sometimes called it social legislation; we have sometimes called it legislation to end abuses of the past; we have sometimes called it legislation for human security; and we have sometimes called it legislation to better the condition of life of the many millions of our fellow citizens, who could not have the essentials of life or hope for an American standard of living.

Some have labeled it a wider and more equitable distribution of wealth in our land. It has included among its aims, to liberalize and broaden the control of vast industries -- lodged today in the hands of a relatively small group of individuals of very great financial power.

All of these definitions and labels are essentially the expression of one consistent thought. They represent a constantly growing sense of human decency throughout our nation.

This sense of human decency is happily confined to no group or class. You find it in the humblest home. You find it among those who toil, and among the shop keepers and the farmers of the nation. You find it, to a growing degree, even among those who are listed in that top group which has so much control over the industrial and financial structure of the nation. Therefore, this urge of humanity can by no means be labeled a war of class against class. It is rather a war against poverty and suffering and ill-health and insecurity, in which all classes are joining in the interest of a sound and enduring democracy.

I do not believe for a moment that we have fully answered all of the needs of human security. But we have covered much of the road. I need not catalogue the milestones of seven years. For every individual and every family in the whole land knows that the average of their personal lives has been made safer and sounder and happier than it has ever been before. I do not think they want the gains in these directions to be repealed or even to be placed in

charge of those who would give them mere lip-service with no heart service.

Very much more remains to be done, and I think the voters want the task entrusted to those who believe that the words "human betterment" apply to poor and rich alike.

And I have a sneaking suspicion, too, that voters will smile at charges of inefficiency against a government which has boldly met the enormous problems of banking, finance and industry which the great efficient bankers and industrialists of the Republican Party left in such hopeless chaos in 1933.

But we all know that our progress at home and in the other American nations toward this realization of a better human decency --- progress along free lines --- is gravely endangered by what is happening on other continents. In Europe, many nations, through dictatorships or invasions, have been compelled to abandon normal democratic processes. They have been compelled to adopt forms of government which some call "new and efficient".

They are not new; they are only a relapse — a relapse into ancient history. The omnipotent rulers of the greater part of modern Europe have guaranteed efficiency, and work, and a type of security.

But the slaves who built the pyramids for the glory of the Pharaohs of Egypt had that kind of security, that kind of efficiency, that kind of corporative state.

So did the inhabitants of that world which extended from Britain to Persia under the undisputed rule of the proconsuls sent from Rome.

So did the henchmen, the tradesmen, the mercenaries and the slaves of the feudal system which dominated Europe a thousand years ago.

So did the people of those nations of Europe who received their kings and their government at the whim of the conquering Napoleon.

Whatever its new trappings and new slogans, tyranny is the oldest and most discredited rule known to history. And whenever tyranny has replaced a more human form of government it has been due more to internal causes than external. Democracy can thrive only when it enlists the devotion of those whom Lincoln called the common people. It can hold that devotion only when it adequately respects their dignity by so ordering society as to assure to the masses of men and women reasonable security and hope for themselves and for their children.

We in our democracy, and those who live in still unconquered democracies, will never willingly descend to any form of this so-called security of efficiency which calls for the abandonment of other securities more vital to the dignity of man. It is our credo -- unshakeable to the end -- that we must live under the liberties that were first heralded by Magna Carta and placed into glorious operation through the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution of the United States and the Bill of Rights.

The Government of the United States for the past seven years has had the courage openly to oppose by every peaceful means the spread of the dictator form of government. If our own government passes to other hands next January -- untried hands, inexperienced hands -- we can merely hope and pray that they will not substitute appeasement and compromise with those who seek to destroy all democracies everywhere.

I would not undo, if I could, the efforts I made to prevent war from the moment it was threatened and to restrict the area of carnage, down to the last minute. I do not now soften the condemnation expressed by Secretary Hull and myself from time to time for the acts of aggression that have wiped out ancient liberty-loving, peace-pursuing countries which had scrupulously maintained neutrality. I do not recant the sentiments of sympathy with all free peoples resisting such aggression, or begrudge the material aid given to them. I do not regret my consistent endeavor to awaken this country to the menace for us and for all we hold dear.

I have pursued these efforts in the face of appeaser fifth columnists who charged me with hysteria and war-mongering. But I felt it my duty to arouse my countrymen to the danger of the new forces loose in the world.

So long as I am President, I will do all I can to insure that that foreign policy remain our foreign policy.

All that I have done to maintain the peace of this country and to prepare it morally, as well as physically, for whatever contingencies may be in store, I submit to the judgment of my countrymen.

We face one of the great choices of history.

It is not alone a choice of government by the people versus dictatorship.

It is not alone a choice of freedom versus slavery.

It is not alone a choice between moving forward or falling back.

It is all of these rolled into one.

It is the continuance of civilization as we know it versus the ultimate destruction of all we have held dear -- religion against godlessness; the ideal of justice against the practice of force, moral decency versus the firing squad; courage to speak out, and to act, versus the false lullaby of appeasement.

A selfish and greedy people cannot be free.

The American people must decide whether these things are worth making sacrifices of money, of energy, of self. They will not decide by listening to mere words or by reading mere pledges, interpretations and claims. They will decide on the record -- the record as it has been made -- the record of things as they are.

The American people will sustain the progress of a representative democracy, asking the Divine Blessing as they face the future with courage and with faith.

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*Original Reading copy - I put in
a number of interpolations*

7/12/91

ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT, BROADCAST FROM
THE WHITE HOUSE, TO THE DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL
CONVENTION IN CHICAGO, JULY 19, 1940, 12:25 A.M.

MEMBERS OF THE CONVENTION - MY FRIENDS:

It is very late tonight but I have felt that you would rather that I speak to you now than wait until tomorrow.

It is with a very full heart that I speak tonight. I must confess that I do so with mixed feelings -- because I find myself, as almost everyone does sooner or later in his lifetime, in a conflict between deep personal desire for retirement on the one hand, and that quiet, invisible thing called "conscience" on the other.

Because there are self-appointed commentators and interpreters who will seek to misinterpret or question motives, I speak in a somewhat personal vein; and I must trust to the good faith and common sense of the American people to accept my own good faith -- and to do their own interpreting.

When, in 1936, I was chosen by the voters for a second term as President, it was my firm intention to turn over the responsibilities of government to other hands at the end of my term. That conviction remained with me. Eight years in the Presidency, following a period of bleak depression, and covering one world crisis after another, which would normally entitle any man to the relaxation that comes from honorable retirement.

During the Spring of 1939 world events made it clear to all but the blind or the partisan that a great war in Europe had become not merely a possibility but a probability, and that such a war would of necessity deeply affect the future of this nation.

When the conflict first broke out last September, it was still my intention to announce clearly and simply, at an early date, that under no conditions would I accept re-election. This fact was well known to my friends, and I think was understood by many citizens.

It soon became evident, however, that such a public statement on my part would be unwise from the point of view of sheer public duty. As President of the United States, it was my clear duty, with the aid of the Congress, to preserve our neutrality, to shape our program of defense to meet rapid changes, to keep our domestic affairs adjusted to shifting world conditions, and to sustain the policy of the Good Neighbor.

It was also my obvious duty to maintain to the utmost the influence of this mighty nation in our effort to prevent the spread of war, and to sustain by all legal means, those governments threatened by other governments which had rejected the principles of democracy.

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.

Swiftly moving foreign events made necessary swift action at home and beyond the seas. Plans for national defense had to be expanded and adjusted to meet new forms of warfare. American citizens and their welfare had to be safeguarded in many foreign zones of danger. National unity in the United States became a crying essential in the face of the development of unbelievable types of espionage and international treachery.

Every day that passed called for the postponement of personal plans and partisan debate until the latest possible moment. The normal conditions under which I would have made public declaration of my personal desires were wholly gone.

And so, thinking solely of the national good and of the international scene, I came to the reluctant conclusion that such declaration should not be made before the national Convention. It was accordingly made to you within an hour after the permanent organization of this Convention.

Like any other man, I am complimented by the honor you have done me. But I know you will understand the spirit in which I say that no call of Party alone would prevail upon me to accept reelection to the Presidency.

The real decision to be made in these circumstances is not the acceptance of a nomination, but rather an ultimate willingness to serve if chosen by the electorate of the United States. Many considerations enter into this decision.

During the past few months, with due Congressional approval, we in the United States have been taking steps to implement the total defense of America. I cannot forget that in carrying out this program I have drafted into the service of the nation many men and women, taking them away from important private affairs, calling them suddenly from their homes and their businesses. I have asked them to leave their own work, and to contribute their skill and experience to the cause of their nation.

I, as the head of their Government, have asked them to do this. Regardless of party, regardless of personal convenience, they come -- they answered the call. Every single one of them, with one exception, has come to the nation's Capital to serve the nation.

These people, who have placed patriotism above all else, represent those who have made their way to what might be called the top of their professions or industries through their proven skill and experience.

But they alone could not be enough to meet the needs of the times.

Just as a system of national defense based on men power alone, without the mechanized equipment of modern warfare is totally insufficient for adequate national defense, so also planes and guns and tanks are wholly insufficient unless they are implemented by the power of men trained to use them.

Such man power consists not only of pilots and gunners and infantry and those who operate tanks. For every individual in actual combat service, it is necessary for adequate defense that we have ready at hand at least four or five other trained individuals organized for non-combat services.

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Lying awake, as I have, on many nights, I have asked myself whether I have the right, as Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy, to call on men and women to serve their country or to train themselves to serve and, at the same time, decline to serve my country in my own personal capacity, if I am called upon to do so by the people of my country.

In times like these -- in times of great tension, of great crisis -- the compass of the world narrows to a single fact. The fact which dominates our world is the fact of armed aggression, the fact of successful armed aggression, aimed at the form of government, the kind of society that we in the United States have chosen and established for ourselves. It is a fact which no one longer doubts -- which no one is longer able to ignore.

It is not an ordinary war. It is a revolution imposed by force of arms, which threatens all men everywhere. It is a revolution which proposes not to set men free but to reduce them to slavery -- to reduce them to slavery in the interest of a dictatorship which has already shown the nature and the extent of the advantage which it hopes to obtain.

That is the fact which dominates our world and which dominates the lives of all of us, each and every one of us. In the face of the danger which confronts our time, no individual retains or can hope to retain, the right of personal choice which free men enjoy in times of peace. He has a first obligation to serve in the defense of our institutions of freedom -- a first obligation to serve his country in whatever capacity his country finds him useful.

Like most men of my age, I had made plans for myself, plans for a private life of my own choice and for my own satisfaction, a life of that kind to begin in January, 1941. These plans, like so many other plans, had been made in a world which now seems as distant as another planet. Today all private plans, all private lives have been in a sense repudiated by an over-riding public danger. In the face of that public danger all those who can be of service to the Republic have no choice but to offer themselves for service in these capacities for which they may be fitted.

These my friends are the reasons why I have had to admit to myself, and now to state to you, that my conscience will not let me turn my back upon a call to service.

The right to make that call rests with the people through the American method of a free election. Only the people themselves can draft a President. If such a draft should be made upon me, I say to you, in the utmost simplicity, I will, with God's help, continue to serve with the best of my ability and with the fullness of my strength.

To you, the delegates to this Convention, I express my gratitude for the selection of Henry Wallace for the high office of Vice President of the United States. His first hand knowledge of the problems of government in every sphere of life and in every single part of the nation -- and indeed of the whole world -- qualifies him without reservation. His practical idealism will be of great service to me individually and to the nation as a whole.

And to the Chairman of the National Committee, the Postmaster General of the United States -- my old friend Jim Farley -- I send, as I have often before and will many times again, my most affectionate greetings. All of us are sure that he will continue to give all the leadership and support that he possibly can to the cause of American democracy.

In some respects, as I think my good wife suggested an hour or so ago -- in some respects the next few months will be different, different from the usual national campaigns of recent years.

Most of you know how important it is that the President of the United States in these days remain close to the seat of government. Since last Summer I have been compelled to abandon proposed journeys to inspect many of our great national projects from the Alleghanies to the Pacific Coast.

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But such periods have been followed by liberal and progressive times which have enabled the nation to catch up with new developments in fulfilling new human needs. Such a time has been the past seven years. Because we had seemed to lag in previous years, we have had to develop, speedily and efficiently, the answers to aspirations which had come from every state and every family in the land.

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I do not believe for a moment, and I know that you do not believe either, that we have fully answered all of the needs of human security. But we have covered much of the road. I need not catalogue the milestones of seven years. For every individual and every family in the whole land knows that the average of their personal lives has been made safer and sounder and happier than it has ever been before. I do not think they want the gains in these directions to be repealed or even to be placed in the charge of those who would give them mere lip-service with no heart service.

Yes, very much more remains to be done, and I think the voters want the task entrusted to those who believe that the words "human betterment" apply to poor and rich alike.

And I have a sneaking suspicion, too, that voters will smile at charges of inefficiency against a government which has boldly met the enormous problems of banking, and finance and industry which the great efficient bankers and industrialists of the Republican Party left in such hopeless chace in the famous year 1933.

But we all know that our progress at home and in the other American nations toward this realization of a better human decency — progress along free lines — is gravely endangered by what is happening on other continents. In Europe, many nations, through dictatorships or invasions, have been compelled to abandon normal democratic processes. They have been compelled to adopt forms of government which some call "new and efficient".

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The Government of the United States for the past seven years has had the courage openly to oppose by every peaceful means the spread of the dictator form of government. If our government should pass to other hands next January — untried hands, inexperienced hands — we can merely hope and pray that they will not substitute appeasement and compromise with those who seek to destroy all democracies everywhere, including here.

I would not undo, if I could, the efforts I made to prevent war from the moment it was threatened and to restrict the area of carnage, down to the last minute. I do not now soften the condemnation expressed by Secretary Hull and myself from time to time for the acts of aggression that have wiped out ancient liberty-loving, peace-pursuing countries which had scrupulously maintained neutrality. I do not recant the sentiments of sympathy with all free peoples resisting such aggression, or begrudge the material aid that we have given to them. I do not regret my consistent endeavor to awaken this country to the menace for us and for all we hold dear.

I have pursued these efforts in the face of appeaser fifth columnists who charged me with hysteria and war-waging. But I felt it my duty, my simple, plain, unescapable duty, to arouse my countrymen to the danger of the new forces let loose in the world.

So long as I am President, I will do all I can to insure that that foreign policy remain our foreign policy.

All that I have done to maintain the peace of this country and to prepare it morally, as well as physically, for whatever contingencies may be in store, I submit to the judgment of my countrymen.

We face one of the great choices of history.

It is not alone a choice of government by the people versus dictatorship.

It is not alone a choice of freedom versus slavery.

It is not alone a choice between moving forward or falling back.

It is all of these rolled into one.

It is the continuance of civilization as we know it versus the ultimate destruction of all that we have held dear — religion against godlessness; the ideal of justice against the practice of force, moral decency versus the firing squad; courage to speak out, and to act, versus the false lullaby of appeasement.

But it has been well said that a selfish and greedy people cannot be free.

The American people must decide whether these things are worth making sacrifices of money, of energy, and of self. They will not decide by listening to mere words or by reading mere pledges, interpretations and claims. They will decide on the record — the record as it has been made — the record of things as they are.

The American people will sustain the progress of a representative democracy, asking the Divine Blessing as they face the future with courage and with faith.

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HOLD FOR RELEASE

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The following address of the President, to be broadcast from the White House to the Democratic National Convention in Chicago, MUST BE HELD IN CONFIDENCE UNTIL RELEASED.

NOTE: RELEASE ONLY WHEN DELIVERY HAS ACTUALLY COMMENCED.
The same release of the text of the address also applies to radio announcers and news commentators.

CARE MUST BE EXERCISED TO PREVENT PREMATURE PUBLICATION.

STEPHEN EARLY
Secretary to the President

MEMBERS OF THE CONVENTION - MY FRIENDS:

It is with a very full heart that I speak tonight. I must confess that I do so with mixed feelings -- because I find myself, as almost everyone does sooner or later in his lifetime, in a conflict between deep personal desire for retirement on the one hand, and that quiet, invisible thing called "conscience" on the other.

Because there are self-appointed commentators and interpreters who will seek to misinterpret or question natives, I speak in a somewhat personal vein; and I must trust to the good faith and common sense of the American people to accept my own good faith -- and do their own interpreting.

When, in 1936, I was chosen by the voters for a second time as President, it was my firm intention to turn over the responsibilities of government to other hands at the end of my term. That conviction remained with me. Eight years in the Presidency, following a period of bleak depression, and covering one world crisis after another, would normally entitle any man to the relaxation which comes from honorable retirement.

During the Spring of 1939 world events made it clear to all but the blind or the partisan that a great war in Europe had become not merely a possibility but a probability, and that such a war would of necessity deeply affect the future of this nation.

When the conflict first broke out last September, it was still my intention to announce clearly and simply, at an early date, that under no conditions would I accept reelection. This fact was well known to my friends, and I think was understood by many citizens.

It soon became evident, however, that such a public statement on my part would be unwise from the point of view of sheer public interest. As President of the United States, it was my duty, with the aid of the Congress, to preserve our neutrality, to shape our program of defense to meet rapid changes, to keep our domestic affairs adjusted to shifting world conditions, and to sustain the policy of the Good Neighbor.

It was also my obvious duty to maintain to the utmost the influence of this mighty nation in our effort to prevent the spread of war, and to sustain by all legal means, those governments threatened by other governments which had rejected the principles of democracy.

Swiftly moving foreign events made necessary swift action at home and beyond the seas. Plans for national defense had to be expanded and adjusted to meet new forms of warfare. American citizens and their welfare had to be safeguarded in many foreign zones of danger. National unity in the United States became a crying essential in the face of the development of unbelievable types of espionage and international treachery.

Every day that passed called for the postponement of personal plans and partisan debate until the latest possible moment. The normal conditions under which I would have made public declaration of my personal desires were gone.

Thinking solely of the national good and of the international scene, I came to the reluctant conclusion that such declaration should not be made before the national Convention. It was accordingly made to you within an hour after the permanent organization of the Convention.

Like any other man, I am complimented by the honor you have done me. But I know you will understand the spirit in which I say that no call of Party alone would prevail upon me to accept reelection to the Presidency.

The real decision to be made in these circumstances is not the acceptance of a nomination, but rather an ultimate willingness to serve if chosen by the electorate. Many considerations enter into this decision.

During the past few months, with due Congressional approval, we have been taking steps to implement the total defense of America. I cannot forget that in carrying out this program I have drafted into the service of the nation many men and women, taking them away from important private occupations, calling them suddenly from their homes and their businesses. I have asked them to leave their own work, and to contribute their skill and experience to the cause of their nation.

I, as the head of their Government, have asked them to do this. Regardless of party, regardless of personal convenience, they came -- they answered the call. Every single one of them, with one exception, has come to Washington to serve.

These people, who have placed patriotism above all else, represent those who have made their way to the top of their professions or industries through proven skill and experience.

But they alone could not be enough to meet the needs of the times.

Just as a system of national defense based on man power alone, without the mechanized equipment of modern warfare is totally insufficient for adequate defense, so also planes and guns and tanks are wholly insufficient unless they are implemented by the power of men trained to use them.

Such man power consists not only of pilots and gunners and infantry and those who operate tanks. For every individual in actual combat service, it is necessary for adequate defense that we have ready at hand at least four or five other trained individuals organized for non-combat services.

Because of the millions of citizens involved in the conduct of defense, most right thinking persons are agreed that some form of selection by draft is as necessary and as fair today as it was in 1917 and 1918.

Nearly every American is willing to do his share or her share to defend the United States. It is neither just nor efficient to permit the task to fall upon any one section or any one group. For every section and every group depend for their existence upon the survival of the nation as a whole.

Lying awake, as I have, on many nights, I have asked myself whether I have the right, as Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy, to call on men and women to serve their country or to train themselves to serve and, at the same time, decline to serve my country in my own personal capacity, if I am called upon to do so by the people of my country.

In times like these -- in times of great tension, of great crisis -- the compass of the world narrows to a single fact. The fact which dominates our world is the fact of armed aggression, the fact of successful armed aggression, aimed at the form of government, the kind of society we in the United States have chosen and established for ourselves. It is a fact which no one any longer doubts -- which no one is any longer able to ignore.

It is not an ordinary war. It is a revolution imposed by force of arms, which threatens all men everywhere. It is a revolution which proposes not to set men free but to reduce them to slavery -- to reduce them to slavery in the interest of a dictatorship which has already shown the nature and the extent of the advantage which it hopes to obtain.

This is the fact which dominates our world and which dominates the lives of all of us. In the face of the danger which confronts our time, no individual retains or can hope to retain, the right of personal choice which free men enjoy in times of peace. He has a first obligation to serve in the defense of our institutions of freedom -- a first obligation to serve his country in whatever capacity his country finds him useful.

Like most men of my age, I had made plans for myself, plans for a private life of my own choice and for my own satisfaction to begin in January, 1941. These plans, like so many other plans, had been made in a world which now seems as distant as another planet. Today all private plans, all private lives have been repealed by an over-riding public danger. In the face of that public danger all those who can be of service to the Republic have no choice but to offer themselves for service in those capacities for which they may be fitted.

These are the reasons why I have had to admit to myself, and now to state to you, that my conscience will not let me turn my back upon a call to service.

The right to make that call rests with the people through the American method of a free election. Only the people themselves can draft a President. If such a draft should be made upon me, I say, in the utmost simplicity, I will, with God's help, continue to serve with the best of my ability and with the fullness of my strength.

In some respects the next few months will be different from the usual national campaigns of recent years.

Most of you know how important it is that the President in these days remain close to the seat of government. Since last Summer I have been compelled to abandon proposed journeys to inspect many of our national projects from the Alleghanies to the Pacific Coast.

Events move so fast in other parts of the world that it has become my duty to remain either in the White House or at some nearby point where I can reach Washington and even Europe and Asia by direct telephone -- where, if need be, I can be back at my desk in the space of a very few hours. In addition, the splendid work of the new defense machinery will require me to spend vastly more time in conference with the responsible administrative heads under me. Finally, the added task which the present crisis has imposed upon the Congress, compelling them to forego their usual adjournment, calls for constant cooperation between the Executive and Legislative branches, to the efficiency of which I am glad now to pay tribute.

I do expect, of course, during the coming months to make my usual periodic reports to the country through the medium of press conferences and radio talks. I shall not have the time or the inclination to engage in purely political debate. But I shall never be loathe to call the attention of the nation to deliberate or unwitting falsifications of fact, which are sometimes made by political candidates.

I have spoken to you in a very informal and personal way. The exigencies of the day require, however, that I also talk with you about things which transcend any personality and go deeply to the roots of American civilization.

Our lives have been based on those fundamental freedoms and liberties which we have cherished for a century and a half. The establishment of them and the preservation of them in each succeeding generation have been accomplished through the processes of free elective government -- the democratic-republican form, based on the representative system and the coordination of the executive, the legislative and the judicial branches.

The task of safeguarding our institutions is twofold. One must be accomplished, if it becomes necessary, by the armed defense forces of the nation. The other, by the united effort of the men and women of the country, to make our federal and state and local governments responsive to the growing requirements of modern democracy.

There have been occasions when reactions in the march of democracy have set in, and forward-looking progress has seemed to stop.

But such periods have been followed by liberal and progressive times which have enabled the nation to catch up with new developments in fulfilling new human needs. Such a time has been the past seven years. Because we had seemed to lag in previous years, we have had to develop, speedily and efficiently, the answers to aspirations which had come from every state and every family in the land.

We have sometimes called it social legislation; we have sometimes called it legislation to end abuses of the past; we have sometimes called it legislation for human security; and we have sometimes called it legislation to better the condition of life of the many millions of our fellow citizens, who could not have the essentials of life or hope for an American standard of living.

Some have labeled it a wider and more equitable distribution of wealth in our land. It has included among its aims, to liberalize and broaden the control of vast industries -- lodged today in the hands of a relatively small group of individuals of very great financial power.

All of these definitions and labels are essentially the expression of one consistent thought. They represent a constantly growing sense of human decency throughout our nation.

This sense of human decency is happily confined to no group or class. You find it in the humblest home. You find it among those who toil, and among the shop keepers and the farmers of the nation. You find it, to a growing degree, even among those who are listed in that top group which has so much control over the industrial and financial structure of the nation. Therefore, this urge of humanity can by no means be labeled a war of class against class. It is rather a war against poverty and suffering and ill-health and insecurity, in which all classes are joining in the interest of a sound and enduring democracy.

I do not believe for a moment that we have fully answered all of the needs of human security. But we have covered much of the road. I need not catalogue the milestones of seven years. For every individual and every family in the whole land knows that the average of their personal lives has been made safer and sounder and happier than it has ever been before. I do not think they want the gains in these directions to be repealed or even to be placed in charge of those who would give them mere lip-service with no heart service.

Very much more remains to be done, and I think the voters want the task entrusted to those who believe that the words "human betterment" apply to poor and rich alike.

And I have a sneaking suspicion, too, that voters will smile at charges of inefficiency against a government which has boldly met the enormous problems of banking, finance and industry which the great efficient bankers and industrialists of the Republican Party left in such hopeless chaos in 1933.

But we all know that our progress at home and in the other American nations toward this realization of a better human decency -- progress along free lines -- is gravely endangered by what is happening on other continents. In Europe, many nations, through dictatorships or invasions, have been compelled to abandon normal democratic processes. They have been compelled to adopt forms of government which some call "new and efficient".

They are not new; they are only a relapse -- a relapse into ancient history. The omnipotent rulers of the greater part of modern Europe have guaranteed efficiency, and work, and a type of security.

But the slaves who built the pyramids for the glory of the Pharaohs of Egypt had that kind of security, that kind of efficiency, that kind of corporative state.

So did the inhabitants of that world which extended from Britain to Persia under the undisputed rule of the proconsuls sent from Rome.

So did the henchmen, the tradesmen, the mercenaries and the slaves of the feudal system which dominated Europe a thousand years ago.

So did the people of those nations of Europe who received their kings and their government at the whim of the conquering Napoleon.

Whatever its new trappings and new slogans, tyranny is the oldest and most discredited rule known to history. And whenever tyranny has replaced a more human form of government it has been due more to internal causes than external. Democracy can thrive only when it enlists the devotion of those whom Lincoln called the common people. It can hold that devotion only when it adequately respects their dignity by so ordering society as to assure to the masses of men and women reasonable security and hope for themselves and for their children.

We in our democracy, and those who live in still unconquered democracies, will never willingly descend to any form of this so-called security of efficiency which calls for the abandonment of other securities more vital to the dignity of man. It is our credo -- unshakable to the end -- that we must live under the liberties that were first heralded by Magna Carta and placed into glorious operation through the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution of the United States and the Bill of Rights.

The Government of the United States for the past seven years has had the courage openly to oppose by every peaceful means the spread of the dictator form of government. If our own government passes to other hands next January -- untried hands, inexperienced hands -- we can merely hope and pray that they will not substitute appeasement and compromise with those who seek to destroy all democracies everywhere.

I would not undo, if I could, the efforts I made to prevent war from the moment it was threatened and to restrict the area of carnage, down to the last minute. I do not now soften the condemnation expressed by Secretary Hull and myself from time to time for the acts of aggression that have wiped out ancient liberty-loving, peace-pursuing countries which had scrupulously maintained neutrality. I do not recent the sentiments of sympathy with all free peoples resisting such aggression, or begrudge the material aid given to them. I do not regret my consistent endeavor to awaken this country to the menace for us and for all we hold dear.

I have pursued these efforts in the face of appeaser fifth columnists who charged me with hysteria and war-nongering. But I felt it my duty to arouse my countrymen to the danger of the new forces loose in the world.

So long as I am President, I will do all I can to insure that that foreign policy remain our foreign policy.

All that I have done to maintain the peace of this country and to prepare it morally, as well as physically, for whatever contingencies may be in store, I submit to the judgment of my countrymen.

We face one of the great choices of history.

It is not alone a choice of government by the people versus dictatorship.

It is not alone a choice of freedom versus slavery.

It is not alone a choice between moving forward or falling back.

It is all of these rolled into one.

It is the continuance of civilization as we know it versus the ultimate destruction of all we have held dear -- religion against godlessness; the ideal of justice against the practice of force, moral decency versus the firing squad; courage to speak out, and to act, versus the false lullaby of appeasement.

A selfish and greedy people cannot be free.

The American people must decide whether these things are worth making sacrifices of money, of energy, of self. They will not decide by listening to mere words or by reading mere pledges, interpretations and claims. They will decide on the record -- the record as it has been made -- the record of things as they are.

The American people will sustain the progress of a representative democracy, asking the Divine Blessing as they face the future with courage and with faith.

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To you, the delegates to this Convention, I express my gratitude for the selection of Henry Wallace for the high office of Vice President of the United States. His first hand knowledge of the problems of government in every sphere of life and in every part of the nation -- and indeed of the whole world -- qualifies him without reservation. His practical idealism will be of great service to me individually and to the nation as a whole.

And to the Chairman of the National Committee and Postmaster General -- my old friend Jim Farley -- I send, as I have often before, my affectionate greetings. All of us are sure that he will continue to give all the leadership and support he possibly can to the cause of American democracy.

1st Draft

MEMBERS OF THE CONVENTION:

It is with a very full heart that I speak to you tonight. [Of necessity] I must confess to you that I do so with mixed feelings — because I find myself, as almost everyone does sooner or later, in ^{in his position} the midst of a conflict between personal hopes and personal desires on the one hand and that quiet, invisible thing called "conscience" on the other.

Because there are many who will seek ^{to misinterpret} by misinterpre-
tation to question motives, I must speak in a somewhat
personal vein, and trust to the good faith of the American
people to accept my ^{own} good faith and do their own interpreting.

When, in 1936, I was chosen by the voters for a ^{time} second term as President, there was no intention in my mind other than to turn over the responsibilities of government to other hands at the end of my term. That conviction remained with me. Eight years in the Presidency, following ^{first of} ^{coming one after another,} a bleak depression and ^{during} a world crisis, would normally entitle any man to the relaxation which comes from honorable retirement.

March, 1937,
In Jessup, Conn., I said that it was my hope that
in January, 1941, I could turn over the executive duties ^{of the White}
House to my successor with the knowledge that the country was

at peace with the world --] "a Nation intact, a Nation at peace, a Nation prosperous, a Nation clear in its knowledge of what powers it has to ^{serve} its own citizens, a Nation that is in a position to use those powers to the full in order to move forward steadily to meet the modern needs of humanity".

During the Spring of 1939 world events were so shaped that it became clear to all but the blind that a great war in Europe was not merely a possibility but a probability, and that such a war would of necessity greatly affect the future of this nation. When this spreading conflict first broke out last September, it was still my intention, at an early date, to announce clearly and simply that under no conditions would I accept reelection to the Presidency.

This fact was well known to my friends, and I think to almost every citizen. ^{was blind by} many citizens

It soon became evident, however, that such a public statement on my part would be unwise from the point of view of sheer public duty. As President of the United States,

it was my duty, with the aid of the Congress of the United States, to maintain our neutrality, to shape our program of defense to meet rapid changes, and to keep [the Ship of State] ^{our democracy equipped} to meet the domestic demands upon it. ⁱⁿ ~~in~~ ^{also} in domestic affairs on an even keel. ~~Encourage~~, it was my obvious duty to maintain the full influence [and the full weight] of this [great] ^{Mighty} nation in the effort to prevent the spread of war [anywhere] and to sustain, by all legal means, those governments [which were being] threatened by other governments [not maintained on democratic principles of democracy].

Swiftly moving foreign events made necessary swift action at home and beyond the seas. Plans for national defense had to be expanded to meet new forms of warfare. National unity in the United States became even more important with the development of unfamiliar types of espionage and international treachery.

std. called for
Every day that passed urged the postponement of personal plans and partisan debate until the latest possible moment. The normal conditions under which I would have made public declaration of my personal desire were gone.

Such a declaration might well have harmed our efforts toward peace in the world and weakened the policy

of the Good Neighbor which ~~is~~ ^{has} happily united the nations of the Western Hemisphere.

Thinking solely of the national good, I came to the reluctant conclusion that such declaration should not be made before the Convention; and it was made to you within an hour of the permanent organisation of the Convention.

Some will say that I was wrong in that conclusion; the only answer is that it was taken solely in what I believed to be the national interest.

In spite of the fact that I have in no shape, manner or form influenced the selection of any delegates; and in spite of the fact that I have made it abundantly clear that no delegate was under any obligation to vote for me, even though instructed; in spite of the fact that I have made my sincere personal desire clear, you have again generously honored me.

When I tell you that I, like any other man, am complimented by such an honor, I know that you will understand the spirit in which I say that no call of Party alone would prevail upon me to accept reelection to the Presidency.

The final [criterion in the heart of anyone] in similar
circumstances [must be not acceptance of] a nomination but ^{test}
rather a willingness to serve, if chosen by the electorate.
Many decades ago General Sherman answered [that ultimate] ^{merely} ~~the former~~
question not by saying ^{merely} that if nominated he would not accept
^{but} but by announcing publicly that if elected he would not
serve.

At that time, in 1884, the nation and the world
were at peace; no grave perils confronted us; he was an
elderly man, and no authoritative call to serve had been
made upon him.

There is another [angle] ^{object} to the events of today.
During the past few months, with due Congressional approval,
we have been taking steps to implement the ^{total} defense of America.
In the fulfillment of this ^{in carrying out this program} I cannot forget that I have
drafted into the service of the nation many men and women,
taking them away from important private occupations, ^{calling}
~~removing~~ them suddenly from their homes and their businesses.
I have asked them to leave their occupations and to con-
tribute their skill and experience to the cause of their
nation. ^A ^I ^{as} the head of their Government, have asked ^I

them to do this.

Regardless of party, regardless of personal convenience, they came — they answered the call. Every single one of them, with one outstanding exception, has come to serve.

These people, who have placed patriotism above all else, represent those who have made their way to the top through proven skill and experience. ^{B.I.T} They alone are ^{wanted} not enough to meet the needs of the times.

Just as a ~~system of~~ national defense based on man power alone, without the mechanized equipment of modern warfare is totally inefficient, so also planes and guns and tanks are wholly inefficient ~~for~~ for adequate defense unless they are implemented by ~~trained men~~, the power of men trained to use them.

Such man power ~~has to be~~, ~~is needed~~, consists not only of pilots and gunners and infantry and ~~and tank operators~~ those who operate tanks alone. ~~But~~ For every organized-trained individual in actual combat service, it is necessary for adequate defense that we have ~~right~~ ready ~~at~~ at least four or five other ~~organized~~, trained individuals for non-combat services.

It is generally recognized that because of the millions of citizens involved in the conduct of defense, ~~most~~ right thinking persons are agreed that some form of selection by draft is as necessary and as fair as it was in 1917 and 1918.

Nearly every American is willing to do his share or her share to defend the United States. We do not want efficient to permit the task to fall upon any one section or any one group, for every section and every group is equally interested in the survival of the nation.

Lying awake, as I have, on many nights, I have asked myself whether I have, as Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy, to carry ~~through~~ ^{the right} the administrative processes

of calling on men and women to serve their country or to train themselves to serve their country and, at the same time, in my own personal capacity, decline to serve my country if I am called upon to do so by the people of the ~~my~~ country.

Inset A (in three parts)

~~These are the~~
~~That is another~~
That is another reason why I have had to admit to myself, and now to state to you, that my conscience will not let me say what General Sherman said. ~~That is why I~~ say, in the utmost simplicity, ~~if I am elected President~~
I will, with God's help, continue to serve with the best of my ability and with the fullness of my strength.

[Many people in the past few years, some of them honestly and some of them for partisan reasons, have harped upon what they call "the tradition against a third term". Not wishing a third term, I have analyzed the type which has proceeded on the subject. It has seemed to me that those who quote past history one way and those who quote past history the opposite way, all miss the real point of the issue.

It seems to me that the one and only objection to the election of a President for a third term is the objection that such selection might lead to a dictatorship

in the United States. Two points are worth noting on this. The first relates to the personality of the individual concerned. If the United States happened to have in the White House a President who was inclined to dictatorship, a President who loved personal power, a President who had a desire to stay permanently in the White House, it is my thought that it would be highly inadvisable to retain him as President.

well
But you who know me ~~still~~ -- and that includes the large majority of men, women and children in the country -- can hardly imagine that those attributes which I have mentioned could possibly apply to the present President of the United States in any way.

The second thought is that there is no possible danger of any dictatorship just so long as we maintain the system of free and untrammeled elections in the country -- and at the same time maintain complete freedom of thought, freedom of expression and freedom of the press. Certainly no one can say that any one of these three freedoms is lacking in any part of the United States at this time. If I may be permitted to interject a bit of humor into a serious subject, I might say that freedom of the press for the past eight years might have tempted any dictator-inclined person to try to straighten out certain misstatements and distortions

of fact which unfortunately have appeared in the interpretations
and comments in many newspapers --- but that on the other hand,
the license of the press to print by way of comment any thought
which happened to come into their heads is outstanding proof
that this Administration leans over backwards to enforce the
Bill of Rights.]

Never will I ask the men and women of America to abandon
their normal lives and make personal sacrifices for their
country and, at the same time, refuse to serve myself if the
nation calls. The right to make that call rests with the
people through the methods of a free election. Only the people
themselves can draft a President. If such a draft should be
made upon me, it would be accepted by me. You are entitled
to know that.

In some respects the next four months will be different
~~from~~ ^{than usual} ~~natural~~ from campaigns of recent years. [The procedure will of necessity
go back to those elections of the past when the country's
safety was in jeopardy.]

As in the election of 1864, when the President of the
United States ^{was to be elected} ~~found the nation~~ in the midst of ^{the} great War
Between the States, any so-called campaign is out of the
question.

know how important it is that
Most of you [are fully aware of the duty of] the President
in these days to remain close to the seat of government. Since
last Summer I have been compelled to abandon proposed journeys
~~inspect~~
to visit many of our national projects [to dedicate new parks -]
from the Alleghanies to the Pacific Coast.

Events move so fast in other parts of the world that it ~~has~~
~~become~~
is my duty to remain either in the Executive Offices or at
some nearby point where I can reach Washington and even
~~and Asia~~
Europe by direct telephone -- where, if need, I can be back
at the seat of government in the space of a very few hours.

In addition, the splendid work of the new defense machinery, ^{together}
~~administration~~
with the ~~administration~~ of the many regular departments and
~~will require me to spend~~
agencies of the government, ~~compelling the spending of~~ vastly
more time in conferences with the responsible administrative
^{The Second Crisis}
heads under me. Finally, the added task which has ~~been~~
imposed upon the Congress, compelling them to forego their
^{constant} ~~between the legislative and~~
usual adjournment, calls for ~~the kind of~~ cooperation to the ^{President}
~~now to pay~~
efficiency of which I am glad to bear tribute.

^{during the next four months}
I expect, of course, to make ~~periodic~~, ^{to} ~~periodic~~ my usual
periodic reports to the country through the medium of press conferences
and radio talks. I have not ^{shall} ~~the~~ physical time or the mental
inclination to engage in purely political debate. ~~most~~

Never
But I shall ~~not~~ be loathe to call the attention of the nation
to deliberate or unwitting falsifications of fact which are
sometimes made by political candidates.

I have spoken to you in a very informal and personal way. ~~The exigencies of the day require that I~~
~~and before I leave Washington, D.C.,~~ talk with you about one or two
things which transcend any personality and go deeply to the
roots of [what we and our fathers have thought of as] American
civilization.

[You and I need not make a long list of the historic
institutions and liberties which we have cherished for a
century and a half.]

We know this: That the living of ~~Our lives have been~~
based on these fundamental freedoms, ~~and that the accomplishment~~
~~The establishment of them and the~~
~~ment and preservation of them in each succeeding generation have~~
~~been accomplished~~
has been maintained through the processes of free elective
government — the republican form based on a freedom of
representation and the coordination of the executive, the
legislative and the judicial branches.

Short B *in the government mark of democracy*
There have been occasions when reactions have set in
and forward-looking progress has seemed to stop. But such
periods have been followed by liberal and progressive times
which have enabled the nation to catch up with new developments
in fulfilling new human needs.

Such a ~~beginning~~ time has been and is for the past eight years, and because we had seemed to lag in previous years, we have had to develop ~~speedily and efficiently~~ come from the answers to aspirations which had spread wide every state and every family in the land.

We have ~~sometimes~~ called it social legislation, or safeguarding legislation; we have ~~sometimes~~ called it legislation to end abuses of the past; we have ~~sometimes~~ called it legislation for human security; and we have ~~sometimes~~ called it legislation to better the condition of life of the many ~~many~~ millions of our fellow citizens who could not have, and could not buy, the essentials of life, let alone enjoy the most meagre of the pleasure and luxuries of life, or hope for an American standard of living.

Some among us have labeled it a wider distribution of wealth in our land, and some have worked to liberalize and broaden the control of vast industries which we must admit, is lodged today in the hands of a relatively small group of individuals of enormous financial power.

All of these definitions are essentially the expression of ~~a unified~~ ^{one consistent} thought, and they represent what I would call a constantly growing sense of human decency throughout our nation. This sense of human decency is ^{happily} confined to no group or class; you find it in the humblest home; you find it

This wage of humanity

-14-

the shopkeepers and the farmers among those who work and among those who conduct small enterprises; and you find it, to a growing degree, even among those who are listed in that top group which has so much control over the industrial and financial structure of the nation. Therefore, the wage can by no means be labeled a war of class

against class; it is rather a war against poverty and suffering and ill-health and insecurity, in which all classes are joining in the interest of a sound and enduring democracy.

A friend said to me the other day - "Mr. President, what

are you most proud of in your public life?" And I said to him "I think that I am most greatly proud of the fact that in my four years as Governor of New York, and in nearly eight years as President of the United States, I have never yet ordered out a single soldier or sailor to put down domestic disturbance, to stop riots or to kill any fellow citizen".

Q
I hope that that record can be maintained, and it is based on my belief that the American people in all of their domestic affairs will continue to use the rule of reason and of conference, remembering always that socially and economically we have to move forward and not stand still.

I do not believe for a minute that we have fully answered all of the needs of human security. Very much more remains to be done, and I think the voters want the task entrusted to those who believe that the words "human betterment" apply to poor and rich alike.

Inset C.

But we all know that our progress at home and in the other American nations toward this ~~appreciation~~ ^{realization} of a better human decency -- ~~the~~ progress along free lines -- is without any question whatsoever severely endangered by what is happening on other continents. In Europe, for example, many nations, through dictatorships or invasions, have been compelled to abandon normal democratic processes. They have been compelled to adopt ~~new~~ ^{they call new and efficient.} forms of government which were not new; they are only a relapse; a relapse ~~strictly speaking,~~ go back into ancient history. The omnipotent rulers of the greater part of modern Europe have guaranteed efficiency and work and a type of security. But, as I remember it, the slaves who built the pyramids for the glory of the Pharaohs of Egypt had that kind of security, that kind of efficiency, that kind of corporative state.

So did the inhabitants of that world which extended from Ireland to Persia under the undisputed rule of the proconsuls sent from Rome.

So did the henchmen, the tradesmen, the mercenaries and the slaves of the ~~feudal~~ system which dominated Europe one thousand years ago.

So did the people of most of the nations of Europe
V
who received their Kings and their government at the whim

of the conquering Napoleon.

Mark D

more vital to the
dignity of man.

We in our own democracy, and those who live in still unconquered democracies, believe that we will never willingly descend to any form of so-called security or efficiency which calls for the abandonment of other more vital securities. It — unshakable to the end — is our credo that we must ~~continue in all our nations~~
¹ live under the ~~securities~~^{liberties} that were first heralded by Magna Carta and placed into glorious operation through the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution of the United States and the Bill of Rights. *Insert E*

The Government of the United States for the past eight years has had the courage openly to oppose by every peaceful means the spread of the dictator form of government. If our own government passes to other hands next January — untried hands, inexperienced hands — we can merely hope and pray that such a new government will not substitute appeasement and compromise with those who seek to destroy all democracies everywhere. *Insert E*

The total defense of our free nation is ~~closely bound~~
^{up with} the continued existence of other free nations with which ^{Not only} ~~and~~ ^{but} we can live in peace. Our sympathies and our interests lie ¹ with those free nations which resist attack, or remain ready

to defend themselves if attacked.

We propose to maintain the clear-cut, courageous foreign policy of the present and to continue it in the future.

We believe that the surest guarantee of external and internal peace is a decent respect for the rights of fellow nations and of our fellow men.

What we face is one of the great choices of history.

It is not alone a choice of government by the people versus dictatorship.

It is not alone a choice of freedom versus slavery.

It is not along a choice between moving forward and standing still.

It is all of these rolled into one. It is the continuance of civilization as we know it versus the ultimate destruction of all we have held dear — religion against Godlessness; the ideal of justice against the practice of force; moral decency versus the firing squad; courage to speak out, and if necessary to act, versus the cowardism of appeasement.

The American people must decide ~~whether~~ whether these things are worth making sacrifices of money, of energy, of self. They will not decide by listening to mere words

or by reading mere interpretations and claims. They will,
pledge
~~T~~heirs, decide on the record -- the record as it has
been made, ~~the record which has done things and proposed~~
~~to do~~.

The American people will ~~saint~~, sustain
the progress of a representative democracy.

not merely in the
abstract but as it has been
~~is~~ written in things actually
done ~~and they~~

MEMBERS OF THE CONVENTION — my friends.

It is with a very full heart that I speak to you tonight.

I must confess to you that I do so with mixed feelings — because I find myself, as almost everyone does sooner or later in his lifetime, in a conflict between deep personal hopes and desires, ^{for the benefit} on the one hand, and that quiet, invisible thing called "conscience" on the other.

~~of the appointed committee and its report.~~
Because there are ~~some~~ who will seek to misinterpret motives,

I speak in a somewhat personal vein; and must trust to the good faith ~~and common sense~~ of the American people to accept my own good faith and ~~do~~ do their own interpreting.

When, in 1936, I was chosen by the voters for a second time as President, there was no intention in my mind other than to turn over the responsibilities of government to other hands at the end of my term. That conviction remained with me. Eight years in the Presidency, following a period of bleak depression and covering one world crisis after another, would normally entitle any man to the relaxation which comes from honorable retirement.

2
In March, 1937, I said that it was my hope that in January, 1941, I could turn over the executive duties of the White House to my successor with the knowledge that the country was "a Nation intact, a Nation at peace, a Nation prosperous, a Nation clear in its knowledge of what powers it has to serve its own citizens, a Nation that is in a position to use those powers to the full in order to move forward

-2-

readily to meet the modern needs of humanity."

During the Spring of 1939 world events made it clear to all
~~or the partisans~~
but the blind that a great war in Europe had become not merely a
possibility but a probability, and that such a war would of necessity
deeply affect the future of this nation. When the conflict first
broke out last September, it was still my intention at an early date
to announce clearly and simply that under no conditions would I
accept reelection to the Presidency. This fact was well known to my
~~understand~~
friends, and I think was ~~believed~~ by many citizens.

It soon became evident, however, that such a public state-
ment on my part would be unwise from the point of view of sheer public
~~service~~.
duty. As President of the United States, it was my duty, with the
aid of the Congress of the United States, to maintain our neutrality,
to shape our program of defense to meet rapid changes, and to keep
~~domestic affairs adjusted to shifting world conditions. It~~
our ~~effort~~ to meet the domestic demands upon it. It was
~~also my obvious duty to maintain the full influence of this mighty~~
Nation in the effort to prevent the spread of war and to sustain, by
all legal means, those governments threatened by other governments
which had rejected the principles of democracy.

-3-

Swiftly moving foreign events made necessary swift action at home and beyond the seas. Plans for national defense had to be expanded to meet new forms of warfare. National unity in the United States became ~~even more important~~ ^{a crying essential in the face of} the development of unfamiliar types of espionage and international treachery.

Every day that passed called for the postponement of personal plans and partisan debate until the latest possible moment. The normal conditions under which I would have made public declaration of my personal desire were gone.

Such a declaration might well have harmed our efforts toward peace in the world and weakened the policy of the Good Neighbor which has happily united the nations of the Western Hemisphere.

Thinking solely of the national good and of the international scene, I came to the reluctant conclusion that such declaration should not be made before the national Convention. It was accordingly made to you within an hour after the permanent organization of the Convention.

Some will say that I was wrong in that conclusion. The only answer is that my course was taken solely in what I sincerely believed to be the national interest.

(and now)
In spite of the fact that I have in no way, manner or form influenced the selection of any delegates; in spite of the fact that

A f 4

The true question in
these circumstances
is not acceptance of a
nomination but rather
an ultimate willingness to
serve if chosen by the
electorate. Many
considerations enter into
this.

I have made it abundantly clear that no delegate was under any obligation to vote for me, even though instructed; in spite of the fact that I have unequivocally expressed my sincere personal desire, you have again generously honored me.

Like any other man, I am complimented by such an honor. But I know that you will understand the spirit in which I say that no call of Party alone would prevail upon me to accept reelection to the Presidency.

(A) → ~~The final test in these similar circumstances is not merely a willingness to accept a nomination but rather a willingness to serve if chosen by the electorate. Many decades ago General Sherman answered the same question not by saying merely that if nominated he would not accept but also by announcing publicly that if elected he would not serve.~~

~~At that time, in 1884, the nation and the world were at peace; no grave perils confronted us; he was an elderly man, and no authoritative call to serve had been made upon him.~~

~~There is another aspect to the events of today. During the past few months, with due Congressional approval, we have been taking steps to implement the total defense of America. I cannot forget that in carrying out this program I have drafted into the service of the nation many men and women, taking them away from important private occupations, calling them suddenly from their homes and their~~

-5-

After work
businesses. I have asked them to leave their ~~occupations~~ and to contribute their skill and experience to the cause of their nation.

I, as the head of their Government, ~~had~~ have asked them to do this. Regardless of party, regardless of personal convenience, they came -- they answered the call. Every single one of them, with one outstanding exception, has come to serve.

These people, who have placed patriotism above all else, represent those who have made their way to the top of their professions or industries through proven skill and experience. But they alone could not be enough to meet the needs of the times.

Just as a system of national defense based on man power alone, without the mechanized equipment of modern warfare is totally inefficient for adequate defense unless they are implemented by the power of men trained to use them.

Such man power consists not only of pilots and gunners and infantry and those who operate tanks. For every individual in actual combat service, it is necessary for adequate defense that we have ready at hand at least four or five other trained individuals organized for non-combat services.

Because of the millions of citizens involved in the conduct of defense, most right thinking persons are agreed that some form of selection by draft is as necessary and as fair today as it was in 1917 and 1918.

-6-

Nearly every American is willing to do his share or her share to defend the United States. It is neither just nor efficient to permit the task to fall upon any one section or any one group. For every section and every group depends for its existence upon the survival of the nation ~~as a whole~~.

Lying awake, as I have, on many nights, I have asked myself whether I have the right, as Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy, to carry on the administrative processes of calling on men and women to serve their country or to train themselves to serve [their country] and, at the same time decline to serve my country in my own personal capacity if I am called upon to do so by the people of my country.

INSERT, **B**

B

In times like these -- in times of great tension, of great crisis -- the compass of the world narrows to a single fact. The fact which dominates our world is the fact of armed aggression, the fact of successful armed aggression, aimed at the form of government, the kind of society we in the United States have chosen and established for ourselves. It is a fact which no one any longer doubts -- which no one is any longer able to ignore.

It is not a war of imperialism which threatens all men everywhere. It is a revolution imposed by force of arms, not from within but from without. It is a revolution which proposes not to set men free but to reduce them to slavery -- and to reduce them to slavery in the interest ~~and to the advantage~~ of a dictatorship ^{shown} which has already demonstrated the nature and the extent of the advantage which it hopes to obtain.

This is the fact which dominates our world and which dominates the lives of all of us. In the face of the danger which confronts our time, no individual retains or can hope to retain the right of personal choice which free men enjoy in times of peace. He has a first obligation to serve in the defense of our institutions of freedom -- a first obligation to serve his country in whatever capacity his country finds him useful -- which must override all personal preference, whether it be the preference he would establish

for himself or the preference custom and tradition would establish for him.

Like most men of my age -- most men who have occupied positions of great responsibility -- I had made plans for myself, plans for a private life of my own choice and for my own satisfaction to begin in January, 1941. These plans, like so many other plans, had been made in a world which now seems as distant as a different planet. Today all private plans, all private lives have been repealed by an over-riding public danger. In the face of that public danger all those who can be of service to the Republic have no choice but to offer themselves for service in those capacities for which they may be fitted.

647-v

Those are the reasons why I have had to admit to myself,

and now to state to you, that my conscience will not let me ~~say~~

Turn my back upon a call to service
what General Sherman said

The right to make that call rests with the people through the American method of a free election. Only the people themselves can draft a President. If such a draft should be made upon me, I say, in the utmost simplicity, I will, with God's help, continue to serve with the best of my ability and with the fullness of my strength.

In some respects the next ~~few~~ months will be different from the usual national campaigns of recent years.

-7-

~~As in the election of 1864, when the President of the United States was to be elected in the midst of the great War between the States, the ordinary type of campaign is out of the question.~~

Most of you know how important it is that the President in these days remain close to the seat of government. Since last Summer I have been compelled to abandon proposed journeys to inspect many of our national projects from the Alleghanies to the Pacific Coast.

Events move so fast in other parts of the world that it has become my duty to remain either in the ~~Executive Offices~~ or at some nearby point where I can reach Washington and even Europe and Asia by direct telephone -- where, if need, I can be back at ~~the seat of government~~ in the space of a very few hours. In addition, the splendid work of the new defense machinery, ~~together with the administration of the many regular departments and agencies of the~~, will require me to spend vastly more time in conference with the responsible administrative heads under me. Finally, the added task which the present crisis has imposed upon the Congress, compelling them to forego their usual adjournment, calls for constant cooperation between the Legislative ~~and~~ ^{Artistic and} Judicial branches, to the efficiency of which I am glad now to pay tribute.

I expect, of course, during the ~~next two~~ months to make ^{coming} _{do} my usual periodic reports to the country through the medium of press

-8-

conferences and radio talks. I shall not have the time or the inclination to engage in purely political debate. But I shall never be loathe to call the attention of the nation to deliberate or unwitting falsifications of fact which are sometimes made by political candidates.

I have spoken to you in a very informal and personal way.
The exigencies of the day require that I talk with you about one or two things which transcend any personality and go deeply to the roots of American civilization. Our lives

Our lives have been based on those fundamental freedoms and liberties which we have cherished for a century and a half. The establishment of them and the preservation of them in each succeeding generation have been accomplished through the processes of free elective government -- the republican form based on ~~democracy~~ ^{democratic} representation and the coordination of the executive, the legislative and the judicial branches.

INSERT ~~C~~ C

There have been occasions when reactions in the ~~progressive~~ march of democracy have set in and forward-looking progress has seemed to stop. ^A But such periods have been followed by liberal and progressive times which have enabled the nation to catch up with new developments in fulfilling new human needs.

0
INSERT C.

The task of safeguarding our institutions is twofold.

One must be accomplished, if necessary, ~~by guns, and bombs, and tanks,~~
~~by ships and planes, on land, on sea and in the air,~~ by the armed
forces of the nation. The other, by the united but diversified
effort of the men and women of the country ~~in that common effort~~
~~of all the people which is the Government.~~ For we must continue to
pursue our two great aims at the same time. We must be ready to
defend the right of our democracy to ~~survive~~ ^{previve}; we must have
a democracy worthy of surviving.

To continue making our federal and state
and local governments responsive to
the growing requirements of modern
democracy

no fit
-9-

Such a ~~progressive~~ time has been the past eight years.

Because we had seemed to lag in previous years, we have had to develop speedily and efficiently the answers to aspirations which had come from every state and every family in the land.

We have sometimes called it social legislation, or safeguarding legislation; we have sometimes called it legislation to end abuses of the past; we have sometimes called it legislation for human security; and we have sometimes called it legislation to better the condition of life of the many millions of our fellow citizens who could not have the essentials of life or hope for an American standard of living.

Some among us have labeled it a wider and more equitable distribution of wealth in our land. It has included among its aims, to liberalize and broaden the control of vast industries which has today become lodged in the hands of a relatively small group of *very great* individuals of ~~enormous~~ financial power.

All of these definitions and labels are essentially the expression of one consistent thought. They represent a constantly growing sense of human decency throughout our nation. This sense of human decency is happily confined to no group or class. You find it in the humblest home. You find it among those who toil, and among the shop keepers and the farmers of the nation. You find

it, to a growing degree even among those who are listed in that top group which has so much control over the industrial _____ and financial structure of the nation. Therefore, this urge of humanity can by no means be labeled a war of class against class. It is rather a war against poverty and suffering and ill-health and insecurity, in which all classes are joining in the interest of a sound and enduring democracy.

A friend said to me the other day - "Mr. President, what are you most proud of in your long public life?" And I said to him "I think that I am proud of the fact that in my four years as Governor of New York, and in nearly eight years as President of the United States, I have never yet ordered out a single soldier or sailor to put down domestic disturbance, to stop riots or to kill any fellow citizen". I hope that record can be maintained, and it is based on my belief that the American people in all of their domestic affairs will continue to use the rule of reason and of conference, remembering always that socially and economically we have to move forward and not stand still.

Am P.M. 1/7

, I do not believe for a minute that we have fully answered all of the needs of human security. (Signed C) Very much more remains to be done, and I think the voters want the task entrusted to those who believe that the world's "human betterment" apply to

hsut c p¹⁰

But we have covered much of the road. I need not catalogue the milestones of seven years. For every individual and every family in the whole land knows that the ^{welfare of their} personal lives has been made safer and ~~more~~ ^{more} comfortable and happier than ~~they~~ ^{it has} ever been before. I do not think they want the ~~form~~ ^{form} of gains in these ~~gains~~ directions to be repealed or even take placed in charge of those who would give them mere lip-service with ~~—~~ no heart service.

poor and rich alike

But we all know what our progress at home and in the other American nations toward this realization of a better human decency -- progress along free lines -- is ~~gradually~~ ^{gradually} endangered by what is happening on other continents. In Europe, many nations, through dictatorships or invasions, have been compelled to abandon normal democratic processes. They have been compelled to adopt forms of government which ~~were~~ call new and efficient. ^{! P} They are not new; they are only a relapse, a relapse into ancient history. The omnipotent rulers of the greater part of modern Europe have guaranteed efficiency, and work, and a type of security. ^P But, as I remember it, the slaves who built the pyramids for the glory of the Pharaohs of Egypt had that kind of security, that kind of efficiency, that kind of corporative state.

So did the inhabitants of that world which extended from ~~Britain~~ ^{Spain} to Persia under the undisputed rule of the proconsuls sent from Rome.

So did the henchmen, the tradesmen, the mercenaries and the slaves of the feudal system which dominated Europe ~~one~~ ⁴ thousand years ago.

So did the people of most of the nations of Europe who received their Kihgs and their government at the whim of the concurring Napoleon.

DEPART R

We in our own democracy, and those who live in still unconquered democracies, [believe that we] will never willingly descend to any form of ^{the} so-called security of efficiency which calls for the abandonment of other securities more vital to the dignity of men. It is our credo - unshakeable to the end - that we must live under the liberties that were first heralded by Magna Carta and placed into glorious operation through the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution of the United States and the Bill of Rights.

The Government of the United States for the past
seventy years has had the courage openly to oppose by every
peaceful means the spread of the dictator form of government.
If our own government passes to other hands next January --
untried hands, inexperienced hands -- we can merely hope and
pray that such a new government will not substitute appeasement
and compromise with those who seek to destroy all democracies
everywhere.

INSERT E

Whatever its new trappings and new slogans, tyranny is the oldest and most discredited rule known to history. And whenever tyranny has supplemented a more human form of government it has been due more to internal causes than external. Democracy can thrive only when it enlists the devotion of those whom Lincoln called the common people. It can hold that devotion only when it adequately respects their dignity by so ordering society as to assure to the masses of men and women reasonable security and to store in them confident hope for themselves and for their children. If democracy becomes merely a set of negations, or degenerates into empty political forms in which insecurity and hopelessness become the lot of too many, the road is open for the so-called "strong man" with all his ^{To the people,} meretricious promises. We have learned only too well what happens to these promises once the "strong man" comes into power.

I would not undo, if I could, the efforts I made to prevent war from the moment it was threatened and to restrict the area of carnage, down to the last minute before Italy entered it. I do not now soften the condemnation expressed by Secretary Hull and myself from time to time for the acts of aggression that have wiped out ancient liberty-loving, peace-pursuing countries which had scrupulously maintained neutrality. I do not recast sentiments of sympathy with all free peoples resisting such aggression. I do not regret my consistent endeavor to awaken this country to the menace for us and for all we hold dear, of this new attempt at world ~~war~~ ^{disruption} ~~an attempt~~ ~~casitidly avowed and now actually sought to be achieved.~~

in the face of
~~I have pursued these efforts against the combination~~
~~of powerful newspaper-men and men who charged me with hysteria and~~
~~war-mongering. But I felt it my duty to arouse my countrymen~~
~~to the new forces loose in the world and the grave danger ~~there~~~~
~~of them.~~

~~Please see for us~~

b7c
That foreign policy will remain ~~my~~ foreign policy in the future.

In this conduct of our foreign relations, I follow

the principles of the statesmen who founded this nation and
of those who brought it to its present greatness. For we have
no deeper tradition in our history than resistance to tyranny
and devotion to freedom. ~~and in my judgment I was right~~
~~on the fact that the Constitution makes the President ~~and~~ the~~
~~Commander-in-Chief of the nation. It is what I have attempted~~
~~to maintain the peace of the world. In all that I have done to~~
maintain the peace of this country and to prepare it morally,
as well as physically, for whatever contingencies may be in store,
I submit to the judgment of my countrymen.

The total defense of our free nation is closely bound up with the continued existence of other free nations with which we can live in peace. Not only our sympathies but our ^{independent and democratic} interests lie with those ~~free~~ nations which resist attack, or remain ready to defend themselves if attacked.

We propose to maintain the ^{our} clear-cut courageous foreign policy of the present and to continue it in the future.

We believe that the surest guarantee of external and internal peace is a decent respect for the rights of fellow nations and of our fellow men.

~~that~~ [✓] face ~~a~~ one of the great choices of history.

It is not alone a choice of government by the people versus dictatorship.

It is not alone a choice of freedom versus slavery.

It is not alone a choice between moving forward and standing still.

It is all of these rolled into one. It is the continuance of civilization as we know it versus the ultimate destruction of all we have held dear -- religion against godlessness;

the ideal of justice against the practice of force; moral
decency versus the firing squad; courage to speak out, and ~~not~~
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The American people must decide whether these things
are worth making sacrifices of money, of energy, of self. They
will not decide by listening to mere words or by reading mere
pledges, interpretations and claims. They will decide on the
record -- the record as it has been made -- the record ~~not~~
~~of things as they are,~~
~~merely in the abstract but as it has been written in things~~
~~actually done.~~

The American people will sustain the progress of
a representative democracy ~~not~~ asking the
Divine Blessing as they face
the future with courage and
with faith.

MEMBERS OF THE CONVENTION - MY FRIENDS

It is with a very full heart that I speak ~~to you~~ tonight. I must confess to you that I do so with mixed feelings -- because I find myself, as almost everyone does sooner or later in his lifetime, in a conflict between deep personal desire for retirement on the one hand, and that quiet, invisible thing called "conscience" on the other.

Because there are self-appointed commentators and interpreters who will seek to misinterpret or question motives, I speak in a somewhat personal vein; and ⁹
₄ must trust to the good faith and common sense of the American people to accept my own good faith -- and do their own interpreting.

When, in 1936, I was chosen by the voters for a second time as President, there was no intention in my
it was my firm intention
mind other than to turn over the responsibilities of government to other hands at the end of my term. That conviction remained with me. Eight years in the Presidency, following a period of bleak depression, and covering one world crisis after another, would normally entitle any man to the relaxation which comes from honorable retirement.

During the Spring of 1939 world events made it clear to all but the blind or the partisan that a great war in Europe had become not merely a possibility but a probability, and that such a war would of necessity deeply affect the future of this nation. When the conflict first broke out last September, it was still my intention to announce clearly and simply, at an early date, that under no conditions would I accept reelection, ~~to the Presidency~~. This fact was well known to my friends, and I think was understood by many citizens.

It soon became evident, however, that such a public statement on my part would be unwise from the point of view of sheer public ~~security~~. As President of the United States, it was my duty, with the aid of the Congress ~~of the United~~ ~~██████████~~, to ~~maintain~~ our neutrality, to shape our program of defense to meet rapid changes, ~~and~~ to keep our domestic affairs adjusted to shifting world conditions, ~~and to sustain~~ ~~the policy of the Good Neighbor~~. It was also my obvious duty to maintain to the utmost the influence of this mighty Nation in ~~our~~ effort to prevent the spread of war and to sustain, by all legal means, those governments threatened by other governments which had rejected the principles of democracy.

Swiftly moving foreign events made necessary swift action at home and beyond the seas. Plans for national defense had to be expanded to meet new forms of warfare. American citizens and their welfare had to be safeguarded in many foreign zones of danger. National unity in the United States became a crying essential in the face of the development of ~~unbelievable~~ ^{and adjust} ~~unfamiliar~~ types of espionage and international treachery.

Every day that passed called for the postponement of personal plans and partisan debate until the latest possible moment. The normal conditions under which I would have made public declaration of my personal desire were gone.

Such a declaration might well have harmed our efforts toward peace in the world and weakened the policy of the Good Neighbor which has happily united the nations of the Western Hemisphere.

Thinking solely of the national good and of the international scene, I came to the reluctant conclusion that such declaration should not be made before the national Convention. It was accordingly made to you within an hour after the permanent organization of the Convention.

Some will say that I was wrong in that conclusion.
The only answer is that my course was taken solely in what
I sincerely believed to be the national interest..

And now, in spite of the fact that I have in no way,
manner or form influenced the selection of any delegates;
in spite of the fact that I have made it abundantly clear
that no delegate was under any obligation to vote for me,
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unequivocally expressed my sincere personal desires, you
have again generously honored me.

Like any other man, I am complimented by such an honor,
But I know that you will understand the spirit in
which I say that no call of Party alone would prevail upon
me to accept reelection to the Presidency.

The [] question in these circumstances is not the
acceptance of a nomination but rather an ultimate willingness
to serve if chosen by the electorate. Many considerations
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During the past few months, with due Congressional
approval, we have been taking steps to implement the total
defense of America. I cannot forget that in carrying out
this program I have drafted into the service of the nation

many men and women, taking them away from important private occupations, calling them suddenly from their homes and their businesses. I have asked them to leave their own work, and to contribute their skill and experience to the cause of their nation.

I, as the head of their Government, have asked them to do this. Regardless of party, regardless of personal convenience, they came -- they answered the call. Every single one of them, with one ~~outstanding~~ exception, has ^{Washington to} come to serve.

These people, who have placed patriotism above all else, represent those who have made their way to the top of their professions or industries through proven skill and experience.

But they alone could not be enough to meet the needs of the times.

Just as a system of national defense based on man power alone, without the mechanized equipment of modern warfare is totally ^{insufficient} ~~inadequate~~ for adequate defense, so also planes and guns and tanks are wholly ^{insufficient} ~~inefficient~~ unless they are implemented by the power of men trained to use them.

Such man power consists not only of pilots and gunners and infantry and those who operate tanks. For every individual in actual combat service, it is necessary for adequate defense that we have ready at hand at least four or five other trained individuals organized for non-combat services.

Because of the millions of citizens involved in the conduct of defense, most right-thinking persons are agreed that some form of selection by draft is as necessary and as fair today as it was in 1917 and 1918.

Nearly every American is willing to do his share or her share to defend the United States. It is neither just nor efficient to permit the task to fall upon ~~one~~ any one section or any one group. For every section and every group depends for ~~the~~ the existence upon the survival of the nation as a whole.

Lying awake, as I have, on many nights, I have asked myself whether I have the right, as Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy, to call on men and women to serve their country or to train themselves to serve and, at the same time, decline to serve my country in my own personal capacity if I am called upon to do so by the people of my country.

In times like these -- in times of great tension, of great crisis -- the compass of the world narrows to a single fact. The fact which dominates our world is the fact of armed aggression, the fact of successful armed aggression, aimed at the form of government, the kind of society we in the United States have chosen and established for ourselves. It is a fact which no one any longer doubts -- which no one is any longer able to ignore.

^{an ordinary}
It is not ~~a war of imperialism which threatens all men everywhere~~
~~over-exposed~~. It is a revolution imposed by force of arms, ~~not from within but from without~~. It is a revolution which proposes not to set men free but to reduce them to slavery -- ~~and~~ to reduce them to slavery in the interest of a dictatorship which has already shown the nature and the extent of the advantage which it hopes to obtain.

This is the fact which dominates our world and which dominates the lives of all of us. In the face of the danger which confronts our time, no individual retains or can hope to retain the right of personal choice which free men enjoy in times of peace. He has a first obligation to serve in the defense of our institutions of freedom --

a first obligation to serve his country in whatever capacity his country finds him useful, — which ~~must~~ override all personal preference, whether it be the preference he would establish for himself or the preference custom and tradition would establish for him.

Like most men of my age -- ~~most men who have occupied~~ ~~positions of great responsibility~~ -- I had made plans for myself, plans for a private life of my own choice and for my own satisfaction to begin in January, 1941. These plans, like so many other plans, had been made in a world which now seems as distant as ~~another~~ ^{Another} ~~different~~ planet. Today all private plans, all private lives have been repealed by an over-riding public danger. In the face of that public danger all those who can be of service to the Republic have no choice but to offer themselves for service in those capacities for which they may be fitted.

Those are the reasons why I have had to admit to myself, and now to state to you, that my conscience will not let me turn my back upon a call to service.

The right to make that call rests with the people through the American method of a free election. Only the people themselves can draft a President. If such a draft should be made upon me, I say, in the utmost simplicity, I will, with God's help, continue to serve with the best of my ability and with the fullness of my strength.

Insc TX In some respects the next few months will be different from the usual national campaigns of recent years.

Most of you know how important it is that the President in these days remain close to the seat of government. Since last Summer I have been compelled to abandon proposed journeys to inspect many of our national projects from the Alleghanies to the Pacific Coast.

Events move so fast in other parts of the world that it has become my duty to remain either in the White House or at some nearby point where I can reach Washington and even Europe and Asia by direct telephone -- where, if need, I can be back at my desk in the space of a very few hours. In addition, the splendid work of the new defense machinery will require me to spend vastly more time in

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To you, the delegates to this Convention, I express my gratitude for the selection of Henry Wallace for the high office of Vice President of the United States. His first hand knowledge of the problems of government in every sphere of life and in every part of the nation — and indeed of the whole world — qualifies him without reservation. His practical idealism will be of great service to me individually and to the nation as a whole.

And to the Chairman of the National Committee and Postmaster General — my old friend Jim Farley — I send, as I have often before, my affectionate greetings. ~~and thanks~~. All of us are sure that he will continue to give all the leadership and support he possibly can to the cause of American democracy.

Grace; ^{write} On separate page for reading —
but do not mimeograph

conference with the responsible administrative heads under me. Finally, the added task which the present crisis has imposed upon the Congress, compelling them to forego their usual adjournment, calls for constant cooperation between the Executive and Legislative branches, to the efficiency of which I am glad now to pay tribute.

I do expect, of course, during the coming months to make my usual periodic reports to the country through the medium of press conferences and radio talks. I shall not have the time or the inclination to engage in purely political debate. But I shall never be loathe to call the attention of the nation to deliberate or unwitting ~~X~~ falseifications of fact, which are sometimes made by political candidates.

I have spoken to you in a very informal and personal way. The exigencies of the day require, however, that I also talk with you about ~~one or two~~ things which transcend any personality and go deeply to the roots of American civilization.

Our lives have been based on those fundamental freedoms and liberties which we have cherished for a century and a half. The establishment of them and the

preservation of them in each succeeding generation have been accomplished through the processes of free elective government — the democratic-republican form based on the representative system and the coordination of the executive, the legislative and the judicial branches.

The task of safeguarding our institutions is twofold. One must be accomplished, if it becomes necessary, by the armed defense forces of the nation. The other, by the united ~~bent~~ ^{united} effort of the men and women of the country, to make our federal and state and local governments responsive to the growing requirements of modern democracy.

X There have been occasions when reactions in the march of democracy have set in, and forward-looking progress has seemed to stop.

But such periods have been followed by liberal and progressive times which have enabled the nation to catch up with new developments in fulfilling new human needs. Such a time has been the past ~~eight~~ ^{four} years. Because we had seemed to lag in previous years, we have had to develop speedily and efficiently the answers to aspirations which had come from every state and every family in the land.

We have sometimes called it social legislation; ~~safeguarding legislation~~; we have sometimes called it legislation to end abuses of the past; we have sometimes called it legislation for human security; and we have sometimes called it legislation to better the condition of life of the many millions of our fellow citizens who could not have the essentials of life or hope for an American standard of living.

Some ~~among us~~ have labeled it a wider and more equitable distribution of wealth in our land. It has included among its aims, to liberalize and broaden the control of vast industries ~~which has today become~~ lodged ^{Today} in the hands of a relatively small group of individuals of very great financial power.

All of these definitions and labels are essentially the expression of one consistent thought. They represent a constantly growing sense of human decency throughout our nation. [✓] This sense of human decency is happily confined to no group or class. You find it in the humblest home. You find it among those who toil, and among the shop keepers and the farmers of the nation. You find

it, to a growing degree, even among those who are listed in that top group which has so much control over the industrial and financial structure of the nation. Therefore, this urge of humanity can by no means be labeled a war of class against class. It is rather a war against poverty and suffering and ill-health and insecurity, in which all classes are joining in the interest of a sound and enduring democracy.

I do not believe for a moment that we have fully answered all of the needs of human security. But we have covered much of the road. I need not catalogue the milestones of seven years. For every individual and every family in the whole land knows that the average of their personal lives has been made safer and sounder and happier than it has ever been before. I do not think they want the gains in these directions to be repealed or even to be placed in charge of those who would give them mere lip-service, with no heart service.

Very much more remains to be done, and I think the voters want the task entrusted to those who believe that the words "human betterment" apply to poor and rich alike.

(Z)

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON



And I have a sneaking suspicion, too,
that voters will smile at charges of
inefficiency against a government which
has boldly met the enormous problems of
banking, finance and industry which the
great efficient bankers and industrialists
of the Republican Party left in such
hopeless chaos in 1933.

But we all know that our progress at home and in the other American nations toward this realization of a better human decency -- progress along free lines -- is gravely endangered by what is happening on other continents. In Europe, many nations, through dictatorships or invasions, have been compelled to abandon normal democratic processes. They have been compelled to adopt forms of government which some call "new and efficient".

They are not new; they are only a relapse -- a relapse into ancient history. The omnipotent rulers of the greater part of modern Europe have guaranteed efficiency, and work, and a type of security.

But the slaves who built the pyramids for the glory of the Pharaohs of Egypt had that kind of security, that kind of efficiency, that kind of corporative state.

So did the inhabitants of that world which extended from Britain to Persia under the undisputed rule of the proconsuls sent from Rome.

So did the henchmen, the tradesmen, the mercenaries and the slaves of the feudal system which dominated Europe a thousand years ago.

So did the people of those nations of Europe who received their Kings and their government at the whim of the conquering Napoleon.

Whatever its new trappings and new slogans, tyranny is the oldest and most discredited rule known to history. *Tyranny*
And whenever tyranny has supplanted a more human form of government it has been due more to internal causes than external. Democracy can thrive only when it enlists the devotion of those whom Lincoln called the common people. It can hold that devotion only when it adequately respects their dignity by so ordering society as to assure to the masses of men and women reasonable security and ~~to-stem~~
~~in-them-confide~~ hope for themselves and for their children.

~~If democracy becomes merely a set of negations, or degenerates into empty political forms in which insecurity and hopelessness become the lot of too many, the road is open for the so-called "strong man" with all his meretricious promises. To our sorrow, we have learned only too well what happens to these promises once the "strong man" comes into power.~~

We in our democracy, and those who live in still unconquered democracies, will never willingly descend to any form of this so-called security of efficiency which calls for the abandonment of other securities more vital to the dignity of man. It is our credo -- unshakable to the end -- ~~and~~ we must live under the liberties that were first heralded by Magna Carta and placed into glorious operation through the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution of the United States and the Bill of Rights.

The Government of the United States for the past seven years has had the courage openly to oppose by every peaceful means the spread of the dictator form of government. If our own government passes to other hands next January -- untried hands, inexperienced hands -- we can merely hope ^{they} and pray that ~~such a new government~~ will not substitute appeasement and compromise with those who seek to destroy all democracies everywhere.

I would not undo, if I could, the efforts I made to prevent war from the moment it was threatened and to restrict the area of carnage, down to the last minute. ~~I do not now soften the~~ I do not now soften the condemnation expressed by Secretary Hull and myself

from time to time for the acts of aggression that have wiped out ancient liberty-loving, peace-pursuing countries which had scrupulously maintained neutrality. I do not recast ^N the sentiments of sympathy with all free peoples resisting such aggression, ^{or begrudge the material aid given to them,} I do not regret my consistent endeavor to awaken this country to the menace for us and for all we hold dear, ~~of this new attempt at world subjugation.~~

I have pursued these efforts in the face of appeaser ~~s~~ and fifth columnists who charged me with hysteria and war-mongering. But I felt it my duty to arouse my countrymen to the new forces loose in the world, and the grave danger ^{danger of the} ~~which threatened them.~~ ^{do all I can to insure} ~~of them.~~ ~~So long as I am President, I will offend Britain~~ ~~that foreign policy ~~will~~ remain our foreign policy,~~

in the future

~~Present~~ In the conduct of our foreign relations, I follow the principles of the statesmen who founded this nation and of those who brought it to its present greatness. For we have no deeper tradition in our history than resistance to tyranny and devotion to freedom. All that I have done to maintain the peace of this country and to prepare it morally, as well as physically, for whatever contingencies may be in store, I submit to the judgment of my countrymen.

We believe that the surest guarantee of external and internal peace is a decent respect for the rights of fellow nations and of our fellow men.

We face one of the great choices of history.

It is not alone a choice of government by the people versus dictatorship.

It is not alone a choice of freedom versus slavery.

It is not alone a choice between moving forward or ~~and standing still~~. falling back.

It is all of these rolled into one. It is the continuance of civilization as we know it versus the ultimate destruction of all we have held dear — religion against godlessness; the ideal of justice against the practice of force; moral decency versus the firing squad; courage to speak out, and to act, versus the false lullaby of appeasement.

A selfish and farsighted fight cannot be free.
The American people must decide whether these things are worth making sacrifices of money, of energy, of self. They will not decide by listening to mere words or by reading mere pledges, interpretations and claims. They will decide on the record — the record as it has been made — the record of things as they are.

The American people will sustain the progress of a representative democracy, asking the Divine Blessing as they face the future with courage and with faith.

Acceptance Address
by
President Franklin D. Roosevelt

Broadcast
from the White House
on July 19, 1940

*** Like most men of my age, I had made plans for myself, plans for a private life of my own choice and for my own satisfaction, a life of that kind to begin in January 1941. These plans, like so many other plans, had been made in a world which now seems as distant as another planet. Today all private plans, all private lives, have been in a sense repealed by an overriding public danger. In the face of that public danger all those who can be of service to the Republic have no choice but to offer themselves for service in those capacities for which they may be fitted.

These, my friends, are the reasons why I have had to admit to myself, and now to state to you, that my conscience will not let me turn my back upon a call to service. ***

(Not printed at Government expense)

United States
Government Printing Office
Washington : 1940
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ACCEPTANCE ADDRESS

NY

PRESIDENT FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT

July 19, 1940

Mr. BYRNES. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Records the address to the Democratic National Convention delivered by the President of the United States and broadcast from the White House on July 19, 1940.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the Records, as follows:

The PRESIDENT. Members of the convention, my friends: It is very late tonight, but I have felt that you would rather that I speak to you now than wait until tomorrow.

It is with a very full heart that I speak tonight. I must confess that I do so with mixed feelings—because I find myself, as almost everyone does sooner or later in his lifetime, in a conflict between deep personal desire for retirement on the one hand and that quiet, invisible thing called conscience on the other.

Because there are self-appointed commentators and interpreters who will seek to misinterpret or question motives, I speak in a somewhat personal vein; and I must trust to the good faith and common sense of the American people to accept my own good faith—and to do their own interpreting.

When, in 1936, I was chosen by the voters for a second time as President, it was my firm intention to turn over the responsibilities of government to other hands at the end of my term. That conviction remained with me. Eight years in

the Presidency, following a period of bleak depression, and covering one world crisis after another, would normally entitle any man to the relaxation that comes from honorable retirement.

During the spring of 1939 world events made it clear to all but the blind or the partisan that a great war in Europe had become not merely a possibility but a probability, and that such a war would of necessity deeply affect the future of this Nation.

When the conflict first broke out last September it was still my intention to announce clearly and simply, at an early date, that under no conditions would I accept reelection. This fact was well known to my friends, and I think was understood by many citizens.

It soon became evident, however, that such a public statement on my part would be unwise from the point of view of sheer public duty. As President of the United States, it was my clear duty, with the aid of the Congress, to preserve our neutrality, to shape our program of defense to meet rapid changes, to keep our domestic affairs adjusted to shifting world conditions, and to sustain the policy of the good neighbor.

It was also my obvious duty to maintain to the utmost the influence of this mighty Nation in our effort to prevent the spread of war, and to sustain by all legal means those governments threatened by other governments which had rejected the principles of democracy.

Swiftly moving foreign events made necessary swift action at home and beyond the seas. Plans for national defense had to be expanded and adjusted to meet new forms of warfare. American citizens and their welfare had to be safeguarded in many foreign zones of danger. National unity in the United States became a crying essential in the face of the develop-

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ment of unbelievable types of espionage and international treachery.

Every day that passed called for the postponement of personal plans and partisan debate until the latest possible moment. The normal conditions under which I would have made public declaration of my personal desires were wholly gone.

And so, thinking solely of the national good and of the international scene, I came to the reluctant conclusion that such declaration should not be made before the national convention. It was accordingly made to you within an hour after the permanent organization of this convention.

Like any other man, I am complimented by the honor you have done me. But I know you will understand the spirit in which I say that no call of party alone would prevail upon me to accept reelection to the Presidency.

The real decision to be made in these circumstances is not the acceptance of a nomination, but rather an ultimate willingness to serve if chosen by the electorate of the United States. Many considerations enter into this decision.

During the past few months, with due congressional approval we, in the United States, have been taking steps to implement the total defense of America. I cannot forget that in carrying out this program I have drafted into the service of the Nation many men and women, taking them away from important private affairs, calling them suddenly from their homes and their businesses. I have asked them to leave their own work, and to contribute their skill and experience to the cause of their Nation.

I, as the head of their Government, have asked them to do this. Regardless of party, regardless of personal convenience, they came—they answered the call. Every single one of them, with one exception, has come to the Nation's Capital to serve the Nation.

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These people, who have placed patriotism above all else, represent those who have made their way to what might be called the top of their professions or industries through their proven skill and experience.

But they alone could not be enough to meet the needs of the times.

Just as a system of national defense based on manpower alone, without the mechanized equipment of modern warfare, is totally insufficient for adequate national defense, so also planes and guns and tanks are wholly insufficient unless they are implemented by the power of men trained to use them.

Such manpower consists not only of pilots and gunners and infantry and those who operate tanks. For every individual in actual combat service, it is necessary for adequate defense that we have ready at hand at least four or five other trained individuals organized for noncombat services.

Because of the millions of citizens involved in the conduct of defense, most right-thinking persons are agreed that some form of selection by draft is as necessary and fair today as it was in 1917 and 1918.

Nearly every American is willing to do his share or her share to defend the United States. It is neither just nor efficient to permit that task to fall upon any one section or any one group. For every section and every group depend for their existence upon the survival of the Nation as a whole.

Lying awake, as I have, on many nights, I have asked myself whether I have the right, as Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy, to call on men and women to serve their country or to train themselves to serve and, at the same time, decline to serve my country in my own personal capacity, if I am called upon to do so by the people of my country.

In times like these—in times of great tension, of great crisis—the compass of the world narrows to a single fact. The fact which dominates our world is the fact of armed

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aggression, the fact of successful armed aggression, aimed at the form of government, the kind of society that we in the United States have chosen and established for ourselves. It is a fact which no one longer doubts—which no one is longer able to ignore.

It is not an ordinary war. It is a revolution imposed by force of arms, which threatens all men everywhere. It is a revolution which proposes not to set men free but to reduce them to slavery—to reduce them to slavery in the interest of a dictatorship which has already shown the nature and the extent of the advantage which it hopes to obtain.

That is the fact which dominates our world and which dominates the lives of all of us, each and every one of us. In the face of the danger which confronts our time, no individual resists, or can hope to retain, the right of personal choice which free men enjoy in times of peace. He has a first obligation to serve in the defense of our institutions of freedom—a first obligation to serve his country in whatever capacity his country finds him useful.

Like most men of my age, I had made plans for myself, plans for a private life of my own choice and for my own satisfaction, a life of that kind to begin in January 1941. These plans, like so many other plans, had been made in a world which now seems as distant as another planet. Today all private plans, all private lives, have been in a sense repealed by an overriding public danger. In the face of that public danger all those who can be of service to the Republic have no choice but to offer themselves for service in those capacities for which they may be fitted.

These, my friends, are the reasons why I have had to admit to myself, and now to state to you, that my conscience will not let me turn my back upon a call to service.

The right to make that call rests with the people through the American method of a free election. Only the people

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themselves can draft a President. If such a draft should be made upon me, I say to you, in the utmost simplicity, I will, with God's help, continue to serve with the best of my ability and with the fullness of my strength.

To you, the delegates to this convention, I express my gratitude for the selection of Henry Wallace for the high office of Vice President of the United States. His first-hand knowledge of the problems of government in every sphere of life and in every simple part of the Nation—and indeed of the whole world—qualifies him without reservation. His practical idealism will be of great service to me individually and to the Nation as a whole.

And to the Chairman of the National Committee, the Postmaster General of the United States—my old friend, Jim Farley—I send, as I have often before and will many times again, my most affectionate greetings. All of us are sure that he will continue to give all the leadership and support that he possibly can to the cause of American democracy.

In some respects, as I think my good wife suggested an hour or so ago—in some respects the next few months will be different, different from the usual national campaigns of recent years.

Most of you know how important it is that the President of the United States in these days remain close to the seat of Government. Since last summer I have been compelled to abandon proposed journeys to inspect many of our great national projects from the Alleghenies to the Pacific coast.

Events move so fast in other parts of the world that it has become my duty to remain either in the White House itself or at some nearby point where I can reach Washington and even Europe and Asia by direct telephone—where, if need be, I can be back at my desk in the space of a very few hours. And in addition, the splendid work of the new defense machinery will require me to spend vastly more time in conference with the responsible administrative heads under me. Finally, the

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added task which the present crisis has imposed also upon the Congress, compelling them to forego their usual adjournment, calls for constant cooperation between the executive and legislative branches, to the efficiency of which I am glad indeed now to pay tribute.

I do expect, of course, during the coming months to make my usual periodic reports to the country through the medium of press conferences and radio talks. I shall not have the time or the inclination to engage in purely political debate. But I shall never be loathe to call the attention of the Nation to deliberate or unwitting falsifications of fact, which are sometimes made by political candidates.

I have spoken to you in a very informal and personal way. The exigencies of the day require, however, that I also talk with you about things which transcend any personality and go very deeply to the roots of American civilization.

Our lives have been based on those fundamental freedoms and liberties which we Americans have cherished for a century and a half. The establishment of them and the preservation of them in each succeeding generation have been accomplished through the processes of free elective government—the Democratic-Republican form, based on the representative system and the coordination of the Executive, the Legislative, and the Judicial branches.

The task of safeguarding our institutions seems to me to be twofold. One must be accomplished, if it becomes necessary, by the armed defense forces of the Nation; the other, by the united effort of the men and women of the country, to make our Federal and State and local governments responsive to the growing requirements of modern democracy.

There have been occasions as we remember when resiliency in the march of democracy have set in, and forward-looking progress has seemed to stop.

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But such periods have been followed by liberal and progressive times which have enabled the Nation to catch up with new developments in fulfilling new human needs. Such a time has been the past seven years. Because we had seemed to lag in previous years, we have had to develop, speedily and efficiently, the answers to aspirations which had come from every State and every family in the land.

We have sometimes called it social legislation; we have sometimes called it legislation to end the abuses of the past; we have sometimes called it legislation for human security; we have sometimes called it legislation to better the condition of life of the many millions of our fellow citizens, who could not have the essentials of life or hope for an American standard of living.

Some of us have labeled it a wider and more equitable distribution of wealth in our land. It has included among its aims, to liberalize and broaden the control of vast industries—lodged today in the hands of a relatively small group of individuals of very great financial power.

But all of these definitions and labels are essentially the expression of one consistent thought. They represent a constantly growing sense of human decency, human decency throughout our Nation.

This sense of human decency is happily confined to no group or class. You find it in the humblest home. You find it among those who till and among the shopkeepers and the farmers of the Nation. You find it, to a growing degree, even among those who are listed in that top group which has so much control over the industrial and financial structure of the Nation. Therefore this urge of humanity can by no means be labeled a war of class against class. It is, rather, a war against poverty and suffering and ill health and insecurity—a war in which all classes are joining in the interest of a sound and enduring democracy.

I do not believe for a moment, and I know that you do not believe either that we have fully answered all of the needs of human security. But we have covered much of the road. I need not catalog the milestones of 7 years. For every individual and every family in the whole land knows that the average of their personal lives has been made safer and sounder and happier than it has ever been before. I do not think they want the gains in these directions to be repealed or even to be placed in the charge of those who would give them mere lip service with no heart service.

Yes; very much more remains to be done; and I think the voters want the task entrusted to those who believe that the words "human betterment" apply to poor and rich alike.

And I have a sneaking suspicion, too, that voters will smile at charges of inefficiency against a government which has boldly met the enormous problems of banking and finance and industry which the great efficient bankers and industrialists of the Republican Party left in such hopeless chaos in the famous year 1933.

But we all know that our progress at home and in the other American nations toward this realization of a better human decency—progress along free lines—is gravely endangered by what is happening on other continents. In Europe many nations, through dictatorships or invasions, have been compelled to abandon normal democratic processes. They have been compelled to adopt forms of government which some call new and efficient.

They are not new, my friends, they are only a relapse—a relapse into ancient history. The omnipotent rulers of the greater part of modern Europe have guaranteed efficiency, and work, and a type of security.

But the slaves who built the pyramids for the glory of the dictator Pharaohs of Egypt had that kind of security, that kind of efficiency, that kind of corporative state.

So did the inhabitants of that world which extended from Britain to Persia under the undisputed rule of the proconsuls sent out from Rome.

So did the henchmen, the tradesmen, the mercenaries, and the slaves of the feudal system which dominated Europe a thousand years ago.

So did the people of those nations of Europe who received their kings and their government at the whim of the conquering Napoleon.

Whatever its new trappings and new slogans, tyranny is the oldest and most discredited rule known to history. And whenever tyranny has replaced a more human form of government it has been due more to internal causes than external. Democracy can thrive only when it enlists the devotion of those whom Lincoln called the common people. Democracy can hold that devotion only when it adequately respects their dignity by so ordering society as to assure to the masses of men and women reasonable security and hope for themselves and for their children.

We in our democracy, and those who live in still unconquered democracies, will never willingly descend to any form of this so-called security of efficiency which calls for the abandonment of other securities more vital to the dignity of man. It is our credo—unshakable to the end—that we must live under the liberties that were first heralded by Magna Carta and placed into glorious operation through the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution of the United States, and the Bill of Rights.

The Government of the United States for the past 7 years has had the courage openly to oppose by every peaceful means the spread of the dictator form of government. If our Government should pass to other hands next January—untried hands, inexperienced hands—we can merely hope and pray that they will not substitute appeasement and compromise with those who seek to destroy all democracies everywhere, including here.

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I would not undo, if I could, the efforts I made to prevent war from the moment it was threatened and to restrict the area of carnage, down to the last minute. I do not now soften the condemnation expressed by Secretary Hull and myself from time to time for the acts of aggression that have wiped out ancient liberty-loving, peace-pursuing countries which had scrupulously maintained neutrality. I do not recant the sentiments of sympathy with all free peoples resisting such aggression, or degrade the material aid that we have given to them. I do not regret my consistent endeavor to awaken this country to the menace for us and for all we hold dear.

I have pursued these efforts in the face of apposé fifth columnists who charged me with hysteria and warmongering. But I felt it my duty, my simple, plain, unescapable duty, to arouse my countrymen to the danger of the new forces let loose in the world.

So long as I am President, I will do all I can to insure that that foreign policy remain our foreign policy.

All that I have done to maintain the peace of this country and to prepare it morally, as well as physically, for whatever contingencies may be in store, I submit to the judgment of my countrymen.

We face one of the great choices of history.

It is not alone a choice of government by the people versus dictatorship.

It is not alone a choice of freedom versus slavery.

It is not alone a choice between moving forward or falling back.

It is all of these rolled into one.

It is the continuance of civilization as we know it versus the ultimate destruction of all that we have held dear—religion against godlessness; the ideal of justice against the practice of force, moral decency versus the firing squad; courage to speak out, and to act, versus the false lullaby of appeasement.

257014-19335

But it has been well said that a selfish and greedy people cannot be free.

The American people must decide whether these things are worth making sacrifices of money, of energy, and of self. They will not decide by listening to mere words or by reading mere pledges, interpretations, and claims. They will decide on the record—the record as it has been made—the record of things as they are.

The American people will sustain the progress of a representative democracy, asking the divine blessing as they face the future with courage and with faith.

207014—19055



THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Number of the Convention -

In the country in which
we live the Democratic Party
~~has lost its mandate~~
receives the support of the
slaves only when the
Party ~~by no means~~^{is with absolute certainty} has ~~any~~
~~the liberal progressive~~ the
champion of ~~any~~ progressive
~~and liberal~~ policies
and principles of government.

The party has failed
consistently in this by political ^{treachery} _{treachery}

2

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

been controlled by those
interests, personal and
financial which think
in terms of dollars instead
of in terms of human
values.

The Republican Party
has ^{made} administrations dictated
as we all know by those
who represent the opposite
~~but dollars are the only~~
~~of human values.~~

The Democratic Party, as
appears clear from the
events of today, is

3

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Divided on this fundamental issue. Until the Democratic Party makes clear its overwhelming stand in favor of liberalism, and shaken off all the shackles of canting by conservatism, it will not continue its march of victory.

It is without question that western influences of conservatism ^{and segregation} have been busily engaged in

4

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

the promotion of discord
since this Convention was
over.

That being the facts/
the case, I ~~want~~ ^{cannot and will not} in
all honor ^{and} ~~want~~ go
along with the fact
of that party disunion.

It would be best not
to straddle ideals.

It would be best for
America to have the
fight out.

5

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Therefore I give the
Democratic Party the
opportunity to make
that historic decision by
declining the honor of
the nomination for the
Presidency. I do so.

July 18, 1940.

MEMBERS OF THE CONVENTION:

In the century in which we live the Democratic Party has received the support of the electors only when the Party has been, with absolute clarity, the ~~Early~~ champion of progressive and liberal policies and principles of government.

The Party has failed consistently when by political ~~ties~~ it has been controlled by those interests, personal and financial, which think in terms of dollars instead of in terms of human values.

The Republican Party has made nominations dictated as we all know by those who put dollars ahead of human values.

The Democratic Party, as appears clear from the events of today, is divided on this fundamental issue. Until the Democratic Party makes clear its overwhelming stand in favor of liberalism, and shakes off all the shackles of control by conservatism ^{and} ~~not by~~ reaction, ^{and} ~~not by~~ appeasement, will not continue its march of victory.

It is without question that certain influences of conservatism ^{and of appeasement} and reaction have been busily engaged in the promotion of discord since this Convention convened.

That being the fact and the case, I, in all honor, cannot and will not condone or go along with the fact of that Party dissension.

¹⁵
It would be best not to straddle ideals.

¹³
It would be best for America to have the fight out.

Therefore, I give the Democratic Party the opportunity
to make that historic decision by declining the honor of
the nomination for the Presidency. I so do.

July 18, 1940.

MEMBERS OF THE CONVENTION:

In the century in which we live the Democratic Party has received the support of the electors ^{of the} only when the Party ~~has made~~, with absolute clarity, the ~~Ramsey~~ champion of progressive and liberal policies and principles of government.

The Party has failed consistently when by political tricks it has been controlled by those interests, personal and financial, which think in terms of dollars instead of in terms of human values.

The Republican Party has made ^{its} nominations ~~dictated~~ ^{this year & the last} of those who ~~we all know~~, ^{place} ~~by those who put~~ dollars ahead of human values.

The Democratic Party, as appears clear from the events of today, is divided on this fundamental issue. Until the Democratic Party makes clear its overwhelming stand in favor of liberalism, and shakes off all the shackles of control by conservatism and reaction, it will not continue its march of victory.

It is without question that certain influences of conservatism and reaction have been busily engaged in the promotion of discord since this Convention convened.

That being the fact and the case, I, in all honor, cannot and will not condone or go along with the fact of that Party dissension.

It would be best not to straddle ideals.

It would be best for America to have the fight out.

Therefore, I give the Democratic Party the opportunity
to make that historic decision by declining the honor of
the nomination for the Presidency. I so do.

July 18, 1940.

MEMBERS OF THE CONVENTION:

In the century in which we live, the Democratic Party has received the support of the electorate only when the Party, with absolute clarity, has been the champion of progressive and liberal policies and principles of government.

The Party has failed consistently when ~~in~~ through political ~~trading and chicanery~~ it has fallen into the control of those interests, personal and financial, which think in terms of dollars instead of in terms of human values.

The Republican Party has made its nominations this year at the dictation of those who, we all know, place ~~dollars~~ always ahead of human ~~values~~, ~~providing~~.

The Democratic ~~Party~~, as appears clear from the events of today, is divided on this fundamental issue. Until the Democratic Party makes ~~clear its~~ overwhelmingly clear its ~~social progress and~~ ^{Constitution} stand in favor of liberalism, and shakes off all the shackles of control by conservatism and reaction and, by appeasement, it will not continue its march of victory.

It is without question that certain influences ^{political} pledged to ^{in domestic affairs and to} of conservatism and of appeasement in foreign affairs have been busily engaged in the promotion of

① In these days of danger
when democracy must be
more than vigilant, there
can be no connivance with
the kind of politics which has in-
ternally weakened nations abroad
~~internally~~ before the enemy has
struck from without.

discord since this Convention convened.

Under those circumstances, I

[That being the fact and the case, I, in all honor,

in all honor, merely for political expediency,
cannot and will not [abandon or] go along with the [fact of] cheap
bargaining and political maneuvering which has brought
about [that] Party dissension in this Convention.

It is best not to straddle ideals.

(A)

It is best for America to have the fight out here and

now.

Therefore, I wish to give the Democratic Party the opportunity
to make ^{its} historic decision clearly and without equivocation.

The Party must be wholly one way or wholly the other. It
cannot [be half and half] face in both directions at the
same time.

Therefore, by declining the honor of the nomination
for the Presidency, I can restore that opportunity to the
Convention. I so do.

July 16, 1940.

SENATOR BARKLEY TO SAY AT THE END OF HIS TUESDAY EVENING SPEECH, THE SENATOR TO ADD NOTHING FURTHER AT THE END OF THIS:

"I and other close friends of the President have long known that he has no wish to be a candidate ^{again} ~~more~~. We know, too, that in no way whatsoever has he exerted any influence in the selection of delegates or upon the opinions of delegates.

Tonight, at the specific request and authorization of the President, I am making this simple fact clear to the Convention.

The President has never had, and has not today, any desire or purpose to continue in the office of President, to be a candidate for that office, or to be nominated by the Convention for that office.

He wishes in all earnestness and sincerity to make it clear that all of the delegates to this Convention are free to vote for any candidate.

That is the message I bear to you from the President of the United States."

*This was signed as follows:
Sen. A. Barkley from H. Roosevelt*

July 16, 1940.

SENATOR BARKLEY TO SAY AT THE END OF HIS TUESDAY EVENING SPEECH, THE SENATOR TO ADD NOTHING FURTHER AT THE END OF THIS:

"I and other close friend of the President have long known that he has no wish to be a candidate once more. We know, too, that in no way whatsoever has he exerted any influence in the selection of delegates or upon the opinions of delegates.

Tonight, at the specific request and authorization of the President, I am making this simple fact clear to the Convention.

The President has never had, and has not today, any desire or purpose to continue in the office of President, to be a candidate for that office, or to be nominated by the Convention for that office.

He wishes in all earnestness and sincerity to make it clear that all of the delegates to this Convention are free to vote for any candidate.

That is the message I bear to you from the President of the United States.

Draft

For the Speaker to say at the end of his Monday night speech.

" I and other close friends of the President have long known that he has no wish to be a candidate once more. We know, too, that in no way whatsoever, has he exerted any influence ^{in his} ~~or sought to influence~~ the opinions of delegates.

To-night, at the specific request and authorization of the President, I am making that simple fact clear to the convention.

The President has never had, and has not to-day, any desire ^{certain} [or purpose] to ~~remain~~ in the office of President, or to be a candidate for that office.

He ^{wishes to make it} ~~is~~ clear that all of the delegates are free to vote for any candidate.

[The President asks me to tell you that this message is sent to you with all earnestness and sincerity.]

Tel. to Herbert

Rhodes A Farley
" " Wallace
" " Byrnes
" " Barclay

Telgram to Gov. of N.S.W.
In confirmation of our Tel. from
convention, I hope that it
will be in accord with the con-
ference of the Convention
if I deliver a ^{radio} message at the
convention at 9 p.m. tonight
~~at~~ ^{the} ~~White~~ ^{House}, under normal
circumstances I want to have

four to Chicago in person but
in three difficult days I must
not in the public interest
go so far away. I send
my warm and affectionate
greetings to our Comrades at
Wethersby which appreciates
to the full the permanent
value of our American
institutions and our
determination to
preserve them for
posterity yet unborn.

FDR

	F.D.R.	Fairly	Farmer	Tydings
Alabama	22	1		1
Arizona	6			
Arkansas	18			
California	43			1
Colorado	12			
Connecticut	16			
Delaware	6			
Florida	12 $\frac{1}{2}$		1 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Georgia	24			
Idaho	8			
Illinois	58			
Indiana	28			
Iowa	22			
Kansas	18			
Kentucky	22			
Louisiana	20			
Maine	10			
Maryland	7 $\frac{1}{2}$			8 $\frac{1}{2}$
Massachusetts	2 $\frac{1}{2}$ 2 $\frac{1}{2}$	11 $\frac{2}{3}$	12 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Michigan	38			
Minnesota	22			
Mississippi	18			
Missouri	26 $\frac{1}{2}$	2	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	
	429	15 $\frac{1}{2}$	4 $\frac{1}{2}$	4 $\frac{1}{2}$

	FDR	Trotter	Gamer	Tydings	Hull
Montana	8				
Nebraska	13	1			
Nevada	2	4			
New Hampshire	8				
New Jersey	32				
New Mexico	6				
New York	64 $\frac{1}{2}$	25			1
North Carolina	26				
North Dakota	8				
Ohio	52				
Oklahoma	22				
Oregon	10				
Pennsylvania	72				
Rhode Island	8				
South Carolina	16				
South Dakota	3	5			
Tennessee	22				
Texas			46	Shift to FDR	
Utah	8				
Vermont	6				
Virginia	$5\frac{14}{15}$	$20\frac{2}{5}$	8		$4\frac{2}{3}$
Washington	15				
	407	$75\frac{2}{3}$	54		$5\frac{2}{3}$

	F.D.R.	Tarley	Gamer	
West Virginia	12	4		
Wisconsin	21		3	
Wyoming	6			
Alaska		6		
Canal Zone	1	6		
D. C.	6			
Hawaii	6			
Pennsylvania	6			
Virginia Islands	3			
Porto Rico	3	3		
	63	14	3	
	403	151	41	9 1/2
	479	15 1/2	4 1/2	
	<u>949 1/2</u>	<u>75 2/3</u>	<u>54</u>	<u>5 2/3</u>
	100 1/6	61 1/2	9 1/2	5 2/3
	64			
	9			
	2			
	178			

Tuesday

F.W.D.

10	Chandler Dolan	"
	Margaret Telford	"
	Alfred Moore	"
	Walter Grand	"
11		"
	Bernard Sullivan	"
	Felix H. -	"
	Paul K. -	"
12	Hickey	"
	Kerton	"
	Thomas J.	"
	Bonnie	"
13	Joseph	"
	Sgt. J. Ahern	"
	Gunter	"
	Dre. Smith	"
14	Wm. P. Moore	"
	Mary Murphy	"
	John G. Fitzgerald	"
	Wm. J. Lynch	"
15	Beatty	"
	Art Larson	"
	Philip	"
	Charles T. Tracy	"

	458 Wallace	264 Bradley	581 McNitt	55 Jones	Brown	11½ Adams	Pruess Tammes ditch
Alabama		22					
Arizona		6					
Arkansas	18						
California	35	6½					70½
Colorado	½					11½	
Connecticut	16						
Delaware	4		2				
Florida	8½	2½	3				
Georgia	21	24					
Idaho			8				
Illinois	55	3					
Indiana	20	8					
Iowa	22						
Kansas	18						
Kentucky	11	11					
Louisiana		20					
Maine	3	3	3½				
Maryland	3	13					
Massachusetts	25	3½	½				
Michigan	38						
Minnesota	22						
Mississippi	4	13½					
Missouri	1½	28½					

O'Malley
2

70½
2

	W.H.	Bart.	M.W.H.	Jones	Brown	Hickey	Faulkner
Montana	3	$3\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{1}{2}$				1 1/2
Nebraska	3	9	1				1 1/2
Nevada	$\frac{1}{2}$	4			1		
New Hampshire	4		4				
New Jersey	32						
New Mexico	6						
New York	47	$4\frac{1}{2}$	3	4			
North Carolina	$4\frac{2}{10}$	$17\frac{1}{10}$	$3\frac{8}{10}$	$9\frac{1}{10}$			
North Dakota	8						
Ohio							
Oklahoma				22			
Oregon	10						
Pennsylvania	68	3	1				
Rhode Island							
South Carolina	$9\frac{1}{2}$	4	$2\frac{1}{2}$				
South Dakota	8						
Tennessee			22				
Texas			46				
Utah	6	2					
Vermont	5	1					
Virginia							
Washington	$1\frac{1}{2}$	$7\frac{1}{2}$	5				
West Virginia	11	2					

	White	Black	St. Nit	farm	Brown	Others	
Wisconsin	14	4					
Wyoming	-	3	3				
Alaska	3	3					
Hawaii	2	2	1				
Philippines Islands			6				
Canal Zone	5	1					
Puerto Rico	6						
Magn Islands		2					
D.C.	6						

Mass

Dover - Farley	F.M.
McGinnach	"
M.J. Hayes	"
Kirk Jr	"
Carey	"
"	"
H.	"
L. Kirby	"
Roger Putham	"
Farley	"
W.M. Ahern	"
Hly	"
Kathleen	?
J.J. Hickey	"
John H. Po	"
2nd Pat Doyle	"
D'Prism	"
3rd Estyman	"
D'Neil	"
Judd S.	"
Phil Lynch	"
Madam	"

Montana
Nebraska
Nevada
New Hampshire
New Jersey
New Mexico
New York
North Carolina
North Dakota
Ohio
Oklahoma
Oregon
Pennsylvania
Rhode Island
South Carolina
South Dakota
Tennessee
Texas
Utah
Vermont
Virginia
Washington
West Virginia
Wisconsin
Wyoming

Failey Racine, WI

4	Byron	"
	S. Wilson	"
5	Murray	"
	J. C. Johnson	"
65	?	"
	L. S. L. ?	"
	J. J. Hobson	"
	Gaffer	"
6	Joe Smith	"
	J. W. C. Jr.	"
	J. H. Johnson	"
	J. H. Johnson	"
7	Phil A. Nitsy	"
	Flynn	"
	Mike Brown	"
	W. Harry Blasch	"
8	Lynch	"
	John C.	"
	John B.	"
	Francis Lovett	"
9	John C.	"
	Ed. H. Johnson	"
	Dora Landay	"
	Kennedy	"

Alabama
Arizona
Arkansas
California
Colorado
Connecticut
Delaware
Florida
Georgia
Idaho
Illinois
Indiana
Iowa
Kansas
Kentucky
Louisiana
Maine
Maryland
Massachusetts
Michigan
Minnesota
Mississippi
Missouri

A Platform.

[1940.]

The first President and many of his successors have pleaded for national unity in times of crisis. Once again we face definitely potential dangers to freedom of our cherished and historic institutions and liberties. Therefore we omit political partisan attacks on our opponents in the platform of fundamentality.

We omit viewing with alarm all that Republican record might warrant; and we omit pointing with pride to the Democratic achievement. The world in recent years speaks for itself.

Great changes have come over the world. Certain abuses of the past have had to be ended, and certain needs have called for measures. Human security based on human values has come to the front as a supreme objective.

That is why the government of the nation, operating through Executive, legislative and judicial divisions, has moved with speed to protect bank deposits to curb new speculation, to prevent the spread of trusts and the concentration of wealth control.

That is why the government has given work to the nearly unemployed, has encouraged useful public works, has been wholly responsible for chapter electricity, has protected and developed our

Ellen's selfless, witty, girlish humor seems to bring
nothing but happiness to everyone she meets.
Her quick wit and sharp tongue make her
a favorite among the older members of the family.
She is a true delight to be around, and it's no
surprise that she has won over so many hearts.
Her infectious laugh and kind nature make
her a true friend to all who know her.
She is a true gem, and we are lucky to have
her in our lives.

Many of these findings are consistent with previous studies.
However, there are some differences between the results of this study and those of previous studies.
The main difference is that the results of this study show that the mean number of children per family is higher than that of previous studies.
This may be due to the fact that the sample size of this study is larger than that of previous studies.
Another difference is that the mean age of the mothers in this study is lower than that of previous studies.
This may be due to the fact that the sample size of this study is smaller than that of previous studies.
The third difference is that the mean income of the families in this study is lower than that of previous studies.
This may be due to the fact that the sample size of this study is smaller than that of previous studies.
The fourth difference is that the mean education level of the mothers in this study is lower than that of previous studies.
This may be due to the fact that the sample size of this study is smaller than that of previous studies.
The fifth difference is that the mean employment rate of the mothers in this study is lower than that of previous studies.
This may be due to the fact that the sample size of this study is smaller than that of previous studies.
The sixth difference is that the mean number of children per family in this study is higher than that of previous studies.
This may be due to the fact that the sample size of this study is larger than that of previous studies.
The seventh difference is that the mean age of the mothers in this study is lower than that of previous studies.
This may be due to the fact that the sample size of this study is smaller than that of previous studies.
The eighth difference is that the mean income of the families in this study is lower than that of previous studies.
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The ninth difference is that the mean education level of the mothers in this study is lower than that of previous studies.
This may be due to the fact that the sample size of this study is smaller than that of previous studies.
The tenth difference is that the mean employment rate of the mothers in this study is lower than that of previous studies.
This may be due to the fact that the sample size of this study is smaller than that of previous studies.

Length over eye from tip of nose to tip of tail
now 10.5 cm. Dorsal fin 3.5 cm. Total length 14.5 cm.
of which 5.5 cm. in head.

Firsts un out, then extra line) then

Foreign Policy.

(148)

1. In the midst of armed attack by several nations against neighbor nations which have existed for generations under democratic forms of government based on free elections and the maintenance of personal liberties, our sympathies lie with those nations which survive the attack or remain ready to defend themselves if attacked. We propose to continue to give to them all possible aid allowed by law. We propose to aid nations which have been overrun by invaders to reconstitute themselves ^{as ~~disorganized~~} where it becomes clear that they are able to set up new governments wholly free from the control of dictatorship.
2. We oppose maximum participation in any war in ~~any~~ Europe or Asia.
3. We support the Monroe Doctrine ~~to all others~~ for the protection of the American Hemisphere against attack or control by any non-American nation.
4. We support the Good Neighbor policy, and will encourage extension of culture and trade among the Americas, and with it cultural and academic relations which are essential to defense.

Finally they have set up military power
as the criterion of international relations.

The Democratic Party has the courage to oppose these new systems with all its heart and strength because of the threat of them to our own security we accept full continuance of our necessary defense program.

Into that program every adult American fits; every citizen has a place in it and should be able to work into the total of the defense plan with efficiency where most needed.