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]
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. 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.
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 Left in A Number of Interpolations
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 inter-
preters 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 1933, I was chosen by the voters for a second
time as President, it was my firm intention to turn over the re-
 sponsibilities 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 consent relection.
This fact was well known to my friends, and I think was under-
stood by many citizens.

It soon became evident, however, that such a public
statement on my part would be misuse from the point of view of
shoer 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 condi-
tions, 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 govern-
ments threatened by other governments which had rejected the
principles of democracy.
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 treason.

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 come 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 men, 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 re-election 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 im-
portant private affairs, compelling 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 con-
venience, 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.

These people, who have pledged patriotism above all
deck, 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 war-
fare 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 men 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 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, deign 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 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 I'll 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 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 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 events to which the present crisis has impelled also upon the Congress, compelling them to forsake 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 conference 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 deliberations or unwitting falsifications of facts, which are sometimes made by political candidates.

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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 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 the 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.

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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 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 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 insufficiency 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 preconsuls sent out from Rome.

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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 government should pass to other hands next January — untried hands, inexperienced hands — we can surely 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-mongering. But I felt it my duty, my simple, plain, unescapable duty, to arouse my countrymen to the danger of the new forces of 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.
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 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 1938 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 the 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 efforts 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 latent 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 to. 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 man 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 ever-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 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 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 unmitting 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 these 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 co-ordination 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 man and woman 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 toll, 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, 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 those 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 true 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 landowners, the tradesmen, the mercenary 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 humane form of government it has been due more to internal causes than external. Democracy can thrive only when it unities the devotion of those whom Lincoln called the common people. It can hold that devotion only when it adequately respects their dignity by an 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 derogate 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.
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.
MEMBERS OF THE CONVENTION:

It is with a very full heart that I speak to you tonight. There are many who will seek by misinterpretation to question motives, I must speak in a somewhat personal vein and trust to the good faith of the American people to accept my good faith and do their own interpreting.

When, in 1936, I was chosen by the voters for a 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 a bleak depression and during a world crisis, would normally entitle any man to the relaxation which comes from honorable retirement.

March, 1937,

In 1937, I said that it was my hope that in January, 1941, I could turn over the executive duties 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 save 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.

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 in domestic affairs on an even keel. Furthermore, it was my obvious duty to maintain the full influence and the full weight of this great 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.

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 so 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 organization 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 rather a willingness to serve, if chosen by the electorate. Many decades ago General Sherman answered that ultimate question not by saying that if nominated he would not accept 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 to the events of today. During the past few months, with due Congressional approval, in the fulfillment of this I cannot forget that I have drafted into the service of the nation many men and women, taking them away from important private occupations, assuring them suddenly from their homes and their businesses. I have asked them to leave their occupations and to contribute their skill and experience to the cause of their nation. 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 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. They alone are armed not enough to meet the needs of the times.
Just as a 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 defense unless they are implemented by trained manpower trained to use them.

Such man power, when well-manned, consists not only of pilots and gunners and infantry and tank operators above— many for every organized-trained individual in actual combat service, it is necessary for adequate defense that we have ready at hand 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 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 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 country.

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 analysed 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.

But you who know me well -- 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 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 found the nation in the midst of a great War
Between the States, any so-called campaign is out of the
question.
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 to visit many of our national projects, to dedicate new parks from the Alleghenies to the Pacific Coast.

Events move so fast in other parts of the world that it is my duty to remain either in the Executive Offices or at some nearby point where I can reach Washington and even 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 with the administering of the many regular departments and agencies of the government, will require me to spend more time in conferences with the responsible administrative heads under me. Finally, the added task which has been imposed upon the Congress, compelling them to forego their usual adjournment, calls for the kind of cooperation to the efficiency of which I am glad to bear tribute.

I expect, of course, to make periodic reports to the country through the medium of press conferences and radio talks. I have not the physical time or the mental inclination to engage in purely political debate.
But I shall not be loath 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 lean to ask 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 has been based on these fundamental freedoms and that the accomplishment of them and the maintenance and preservation of them in each succeeding generation have 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.

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 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 the answers to aspirations which had spread across every
state and every family in the land.

We have called it social legislation, or safeguarding
legislation; we have called it legislation to end abuses of
the past; we have called it legislation for human security;
and we have called it legislation to better the condition of
life of the many millions of our fellow citizens who could
did not have and could not buy the essentials of life, let
alone enjoy the most meager of the pleasures and luxuries of
life. We 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 controlling financial power.

All of these definitions are essentially the expression
of a unified thought, and they represent what I would call
a constantly growing sense of human decency throughout our
nation. This sense of human decency is confined to no group
or class; you find it in the humblest home; you find it
among those who work and among those who conduct small enter-
prises; 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 dis-
turbance, to stop riots or to kill any fellow citizen."
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 con-
sideration, remembering always that mental 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.
But we all know that our progress at home and in the
other American nations toward this aspiration of a better
human decency -- 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 com-
pelled to abandon normal democratic processes. They have
been compelled to adopt new forms of government which are
called reactionary. They are not new; they are only a relapse into a
state of slavery which, 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
who received their Kings and their government at the whim
of the conquering Napoleon.

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 of efficiency which calls for the abandonment of other more vital securities. It is our credo that we must continue in all our actions to live under the securities 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 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.

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. Our sympathies and our interests lie with those free nations which resist attack, or remain ready
to defend themselves if attacked.

We propose to maintain the clear-out, 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 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 if necessary to act, versus the cowardism of appeasement.

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 interpretations and claims. They will, 

I believe, decide on the record — the record as it has 
been made: the record, which has done things and proposed 
to do more.

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

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not merely in the abstract, but as it has been 
written in things actually done and thought.
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 on the one hand, and that quiet, invisible thing called "conscience" on the other.

Because there are those 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 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.

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..."
During the Spring of 1939 world events made it clear to all 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 friends, and I think was believed 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 our armed forces adjusted to the world situation. 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.
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.

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.

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
The same question in these circumstances is not acceptance of a nomination but rather 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 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 re-election to the Presidency.

The final test in 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
businesses. I have asked them to leave their occupations and to contribute their skill and experience to the cause of their nation.

As the head of their Government, I 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 useless, planes and guns and tanks are wholly 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.
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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 process 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.

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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 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.
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.

In some respects the next few months will be different from the usual national campaigns of recent years.
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 telephones — 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 government, 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 Judicial branches, to the efficiency of which I am glad now to pay tribute.

I expect, of course, during the next few 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 un-
witting 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
representation and the coordination of the executive, the legis-
lative and the judicial branches.

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 pro-
gressive times which have enabled the nation to catch up with new
developments in fulfilling new human needs.
The task of safeguarding our institutions is twofold. It becomes necessary to accomplish, 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 continue to exist; we must have a democracy worthy of surviving.

To continue to make our federal and state and local governments efficient is the growing requirement of modern democracy.
Such a 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 individuals of 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.

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 world's "human betterment" apply to
But we have covered much of the road. Indeed not catalogue
the milestones of seven years. For
every individual and every
family in the whole land
knows that the personal lives
have been made safer and
healthier, wealthier and happier
than they have been before.
I do not think they want the
principle of gains in these
gain directions to be repealed
or even to be placed in charge
of those who would give them
more rep. service than no
hearth service.
poor and rich alike

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 severely 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 they 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, 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
Persia 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 most of the nations of Europe who received their Kings and their government at the whim of the conquering Napoleon.

INSERT D

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 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 eighty 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—untired 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 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 rule by an attempt candidly avowed and now actually sought to be achieved.

I have pursued these efforts against the obstruction of powerful newspapers 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 they pose for us.

That foreign policy will remain 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. In my campaign I was mindful
of the fact that the Constitution makes the President also the
Commander-in-Chief of the nation. In all that 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 interest lie 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.

As 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 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 
to act, versus the evacuation of appeasement.

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
as things are, but as it has been written in things
actually done.

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.
MEMBERS OF THE CONVENTION — MY FRIENDS

It is with a very full heart that I speak 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 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 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 interest. As President of the United States, it was my duty, with the aid of the Congress, 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.

It was also my obvious duty to maintain to the utmost the influence of this mighty Nation in an 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 unprecedented 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, even though instructed; in spite of the fact that I have 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 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 true 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 enter into this.

During the past few months, with due Congressional approval, we have been taking steps to implement to 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 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 inadequate 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 one section or any one group. For every section and every group depends for 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 war, of imperialism which threatens all men everywhere. It is a revolution imposed by force of arms, not seen within but seen 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 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.

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
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.
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 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; 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 have become lodged 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.
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 1923.
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 proconsul 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 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 hold 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 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 -- 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 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 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 recall the 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-subjugation.

I have pursued these efforts in the face of appeasement 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 which involves them. Do all men know that foreign policy remain our 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. 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.

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.

************
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)
ACCEPTANCE ADDRESS

BY

PRESIDENT FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT

July 19, 1940

Mr. BYRNES. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD 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 RECORD, 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 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.

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-

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 re-election 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 conveniences, 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.
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 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 fact 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 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
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 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 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 lose 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 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 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 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 toil 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 1923.

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 greatly 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.

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 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.
But it has been well said that a selfish and greedy people
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The American people must decide whether these things
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The American people will sustain the progress of a repre-
sentative democracy, asking the divine blessing as they face
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20704—19335
Members of the Convention —

In the century in which we live, the Democratic Party has been a candidate for the support of the trustees only, when the bulk of the people have been satisfied with the State and Federal governments. This Party has been a 

the liberal Jupiter of the 

the champion of progressive and 

and principles of government. 

The Party has failed 

consistently unscrupulously.
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

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The Republican Party
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The Democratic Party
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events of today, in
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

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, it will not continue its march of victory.

It is without question that certain influences of conservatism have been actively engaged in
the formation of discord since this Convention convened.

That being the fact and the case, I commit in all honor, conduct, in go along with the fact of that party dissolution.

It would be best not to stand on ideals.

It would be best for America to have the right unit.
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 do.
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 Party champion of progressive and liberal policies and principles of government.

The Party has failed consistently when, by political trade, 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 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.

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July 18, 1940.

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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, by 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 ahead of human values, progress.

The Democratic Party, as appears clear from the events of today, is divided on this fundamental issue. Until the Democratic Party makes clear it overwhelmingly, clear its 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 pledged to the promotion of domestic affairs and to the prevention of conservatism in reaction and to appeasement in foreign affairs have been busily engaged in the promotion of
In these days of danger, when democracy must be more than vigilant, there can be no concurrence with the kind of politics which has internally weakened Nations abroad, and thereby before the enemy has struck from without.
disorder since this Convention convened.

Under those circumstances, I

[Therefore, I give the Democratic Party the opportunity]

to make that 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.

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It is best not to straddle ideals.

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

now.

[Therefore, I, in all honor, cannot and will not condone or go along with the fact of cheap bargaining and political maneuvering which has brought about that party dissension in this Convention.
July 16, 1940.

SENIOR BARKLEY TO SAY AT THE END OF HIS TUESDAY 
EVENING SPEECH, THE SENIOR 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. 

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 authori-
Jzation 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 written by Senator 
Franklin D. 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 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 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."
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 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 or purpose to remain in the office of President, or to be a candidate for that office.

He 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.]"
From Chicago in person but in these difficult days I must not in the public interest go or stay away. I send my warm and affectionate greetings to the Democratic party which appreciates to the full the permanent value of our American institutions and our determination to preserve them for future yet unborn.

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13  Joseph
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Mass. Div. - Team

M. Crane

M. Hayne

J. Conn.

D. Pool

J. Ruiz

R. Pat Dairy

D. Dreib

3rd.

C. D.

D. Nolan

P. Lynch

M. Mann
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
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

The first President and many of his successors have pleaded for national unity in times of crisis. Once again we face definite, potential dangers to freedom of our cherished and historic institutions and liberties. Therefore we must political partisan attacks on our senators in this platform form fundamentals.

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

Great changes have come over the world. Certain alarms of the past have had to be endured, and certain minds have called for answers. Human security based on human nature has come to the front as a reform objective.

That is why the government of the nation, acting through Executive, Legislative and Judicial divisions has moved with bold to protect land deposits to curb raw speculation to prevent the erosion of trust and the concentration of wealth control.

That is why the government has given work to the needy, employment, has encouraged useful public works, has been wholly responsible for cheaper electricity, has protected and developed our
The war was a failure, and of protest. The
entire force that participated in the campaign
was killed or captured. The final result
was disastrous. After the war, the government
announced that they had learned from their
mistakes and that they would not make the same
mistakes again. They also stated that they would
work towards a better future.

This is the beginning of a new era in the
country's history. The government promised
to work towards the betterment of the
people and to ensure the safety of the
nation. They also stated that they would
respect the rights of all citizens and that no
one would be allowed to discriminate against
any person based on their race, religion, or
gender. The government also promised to
work towards the development of the
country and to ensure that every person
would have access to education and
healthcare.

In conclusion, the war was a failure,
and the government promised to work
towards a better future for all citizens.
Foreign Policy

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 sympathy lies 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 if and when it becomes clear that they are able to set up new governments wholly free from the control of dictators.

2. We oppose* American participation in any war in Europe or Asia.

3. We support* the Monroe Doctrine to the effect of the American atmosphere against attack or control by any non-American nation.

4. We support* the Good Neighbor Policy and will encourage extension of cultural and trade relations which are an 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 and techniques of the threat of them that have been security to 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.