

October 23, 1940

[Philadelphia, PA]

Drafts from Hopkins +
Rosenman

1321B

FDR Speech File

1st
FOURTH DRAFT

SPEECH OF OCTOBER 23, 1940.

It is pursuant to a promise that I made last July that I am here tonight. At that time I stated the obvious fact to the national convention of my party: that the pressure of national defense work and the conduct of foreign affairs would not allow me to conduct any campaign in the usual/accepted definition of that term. But I added: "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". *P* The time has come for me to do that job.

Since July, hardly a day or a night has passed when some crisis, or some possibility of crisis in world affairs, has not called for personal conference and collaboration with the Secretary of State or some ambassador or other official of the government.

With every passing day dispatches come to us from literally every nation and every region of the world [—] from our twenty-one good neighbor American republics; from the Islands of the Pacific; from New Zealand and Australia, from the Colonies of European nations in other parts of the world, from the whole Continent of Africa, from the vast domain of the Soviet Republic, extending from the Pacific to the Baltic -- from numberless places which may or may not, from one week to the other be plunged into war.

With every passing day has come some ^{urgent} problem in connection with our swift production of defense, and our mustering of the men and resources of the Nation. [—] ~~some problem~~ which requires my personal participation.



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2.

All of this compels me to remain within a reasonable distance of foreign dispatches, the Department of State, the National Defense Council and all the agencies of the Capital of the Nation.

Steadily I have pursued that course.

There have been several occasions when I have left the Capital to carry out my obvious duty to watch and to speed up the progress that the Government and ^{the} industry and the labor of the Nation have been making and are making in building up our defenses.

These trips will be continued after November fifth, as long as they are necessary and as long as I am President.

(A) >
~~This is my night off~~

This night and three other nights, I am taking off to point out to the American people what the more fantastic misstatements of this campaign have been. I emphasize the words "more fantastic" because there would not be enough nights left to discuss all of them.

All of these misstatements cannot possibly be what I called last July, "unwitting falsifications" of fact; many of them must necessarily be "deliberate falsifications" of fact.

There is, of course, a vast difference between honest argument and ^{presentation} differences of economic and social views on the one hand, and deliberate falsification of fact on the other. Truthful campaign discussion of public issues is an essential to the American form of government; but wilful misrepresentation of fact has no place in the American form of government during election time or any other time. For example, there can be no legitimate objection to any party or any candidate urging that the ^{undisputed} water power of this Nation



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should be developed by private utility companies rather than by the Government itself; or that the social security law should be repealed, or that the ^{social security} ~~national labor relations~~ act should be abrogated. Those are points of view which any party has the right to argue to the American public, ~~and to~~ ^{have to sell} fight for. But it is entirely a different thing for any party or any candidate to state, for example, that the President of the United States ^{by} phoned to Mussolini and Hitler to sell Czechoslovakia down the river; or that the unfortunate unemployed of the Nation are going to be driven into concentration camps; or that the social security funds of the Nation will no longer be in existence when the workers of today become old enough to apply for them, or that the ^{defeat of one party in this election} ~~defeat of one party in this election~~ means the end of American democracy within four years, and the installation of a ~~Fascist~~ dictator.

Certain techniques of propaganda, created and developed with great success in dictator countries have been imported into this campaign. It is the very simple technique of repeating and repeating falsehoods, no matter how blatant they may be, with the idea that by constant repetition and no contradiction, the misstatements will finally come to be believed.

(B)
Dictator propagandists have made no secret of this practice, or of their success in using it. But dictators forget that they have been successful only because they have been able to control the press and the radio, and to stifle any contradiction or any presentation of the other side.

In a democracy, however, where the radio and a part of the press have kept open to both sides, that technique will never prevail.

I make the definite charge now that these falsifications are being spread for the sole purpose of filling the minds and hearts of the American people with fear -- fear of the present and fear of the future. They seek to create fear - not fear of any armed force from without - but fear which comes from instilling in the minds of the people doubt of each other, -- doubt of their government, doubt of the objectives and of the purposes of their democracy.

This type of campaign has been tried before ~~within our~~ recent memories. *in our American history;*

It ~~is~~ has a familiar ring. It reminds us a little of the warning of 1936, that the social security funds were going to be diverted from the pockets of the American working man. It reminds us a little of the warning of 1932 that if the Democratic candidate were elected, "grass would grow in the streets of a hundred cities", etc. *E* The campaign of fear has failed before. It will fail again. The American people will not be stampeded into panic.

I make this further definite charge now, - that these deliberate misstatements of fact have been made on the assumption that I would not take time off from my official duties to answer them. My silence during the past month has apparently encouraged these men to make, in desperation, statements which become daily more reckless, more extravagant and more fantastic.

I know that the American people will not be scared by this nightly blitzkrieg of verbal incendiary bombs. The American people are now calmly and imperturbably aware that "the only thing we have to fear is fear itself". Distortions, or half-truths, or untruths will never mislead them; partisanship, sectional appeal, misrepresentation will never prevail.



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D.

I consider it, therefore, a public duty to answer falsifications with facts. I will not pretend that I find this an unpleasant duty. I am an old campaigner, and I love a good fight. But some of the things I must say tonight, and on later nights, I shall say regretfully.

The worst bombshell of fear which Republican leaders have let loose on this people is the accusation that, in some way, this Government, without the knowledge of Congress or of the people, has in secret committed the United States to some foreign war. It seems almost unnecessary to deny such a statement. But so long as the fantastic misstatement has been made, deliberately and with the malicious purpose of creating terror in the minds of some of the people, I must brand it for what it is.

I give you this most solemn assurance: there is no secret treaty, no secret obligation, no secret commitment, no secret understanding of any shape or form, direct or indirect, with any other government, or any other nation in any part of the world, to involve this Nation in any war.

Such reckless, dangerous misstatements coming at this time from people aspiring to places of high responsibility in government, might well sabotage the handling of our relations with all other nations. Let those who make such statements bear in mind - for their own sake if that is their only concern - the important fact that our foreign affairs will have to continue to be handled after November 5, regardless of the outcome of this election.

The desperation of partisans who can concoct such a falsification drives them to attempts to deceive our people in other ways. Consider, for example, the dismal picture they paint of the business and economic condition of the United States of 1940.



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That picture, mind you, - or rather that ^{initial} cartoon - has come from the brush of the leaders of the party who left the United States in the plight of 1932!

The American people have not forgotten the condition of the United States in 1932. [I do not have to speak of the failures of banks, the bread lines of starving men and women, the youth of the country riding around in railroad box cars, the farm foreclosures, the home foreclosures, the bankruptcy and the panic. Those things have seared themselves into the memory of the American people. But I do want to recall the attitude of the Republican leaders of 1932 - the executive and legislative leaders, the leaders in office and out of office - toward the catastrophe of those days.

In the face of all the human suffering, in the face of the economic collapse, government leadership of those days was content to rest easy on one simple statement. They shrugged their shoulders and said that the whole thing was merely the inevitable working of economic laws and of the system of free enterprise. Their only answer was to counsel patience until the depression, in its own good time, would have run its disastrous course.

A few swift, bold measures could have halted the depression before it gathered momentum. But a paralyzed administration, frozen with fear, merely bowed before the wild forces which its own folly and cupidity had unleashed.

At the very hour of complete collapse, the American people called upon the Democratic party for leadership. That leadership the Democratic party supplied.

Government, no longer callous to suffering, moved swiftly to end distress.



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Government, no longer impotent, moved vigorously to halt depression.

Government, no longer the captive of the forces of greed, discharged the fundamental responsibility of free government, to promote the general welfare and to secure social and economic justice for all.

The very same men who must bear the responsibility for the inaction of those days, are the very ones who now have the nerve to say that not enough has been done to restore the prosperity of the Country.

They deliberately and falsely try to give the impression that ~~the farmer is still neglected;~~ ^{in all} that labor cannot get a job and that it works for inadequate pay; and that business ~~is still in the slough of depression.~~ ^{is still in the slough of depression} They falsely state that this Administration has no faith or confidence in the future of this Nation, ~~that it is defeatist.~~ ^{with such and}

The American people know that that just is not so.

For example, anyone interested in stating facts instead of merely seeking votes would learn from the record what the state of American agriculture is today.

This year the six million farmers of the Country will receive about 90% more money for the sale of their crops than they got in 1932.

Instead of getting 4½¢ for cotton, the American farmer is getting, including benefit payments _____ cents; instead of selling 37 cent wheat, he is selling _____ cent wheat; instead of 29 cent corn, he is selling _____ cent corn; instead of 8 cent tobacco, he is selling _____ cent tobacco.

But rise in farm prices and in cash income is only the beginning of the story of the farmer during the last eight



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Back in 1932, these leaders were willing to let the workers starve if they could not get a job.

Back in 1932, they were not willing to provide relief through public works or even through a dole.

Back in 1932, they were not willing to guarantee a worker the right to join a union, and to bargain collectively with his employer.

Back in 1932, they met the demands of unemployed veterans with fire and troops.

Back in 1932, they raised their hands in horror at the thought of fixing a minimum wage or maximum hours for labor.

Back in 1932, they never gave a thought to such things as pensions for old age or insurance for the unemployed.

In those days they were interested only in economic abstractions: theories which said that each employee had to make the best deal he could with an employer; theories which said that hours and wages and working conditions should be fixed by supply and demand, and not through humanitarian ideas or social vision; theories which left working men to the tender mercy of an age of technology, where one machine could replace a hundred men.

In 1940, eight years later, what a different tune is played! It is a ^{new} tune played against a sounding board of election day. It is a tune with ~~overtones~~ ^{only} which murmur: "votes, votes, votes."

These same Republican leaders are for all these progressive changes now; they believe in them. They believe in them so much that they will never be happy until they can clasp them to their own chest and put their own brand upon them. If they could ^{only} get control of them, they plead,



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they would take so much better care of them, honest-to-goodness they would.

This tune is, of course, only a rehash of the tune of 1936. That, you will remember, was also an election year. In that year the affection of these Republican leaders for the laboring man also rose to a high pitch. But after the election day of 1936, they and their friends, their political supporters and, above all, their political contributors, did all that they could in the legislature, before administrative bodies, and in the courts, to beat these measures down into the ground and to return to the good old days of the economic abstractions which they loved so much.

What are the plain facts?

The plain fact is that there are _____ million more men employed in purely private industry now than were in 1932. That was 1932, the worst year of the depression. Look at 1929 the boom year of false prosperity and compare it with today.

Our steel mills are now employing 77,000 more men than in 1929 -- ~~more of 1937~~ higher. Our chemical plants have 18,000 more men; our machine tool plants 20,000 more; our rayon mills 10,000 more. Airplane plants have nearly six times as many employees as in 1929; our shipyards nearly twice as many. Our clothing factories, our hosiery mills, our woolen mills, our meat-packing plants -- all have more people at work today than at the end of the twenties.



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In August of this year alone over 400,000 were added to private payrolls, the greatest gain recorded for any August except in the summer of 1933, as we pulled out of the depths of depression. Again in September, another half a million workers went to work in our industries.

I have just been checking the Army and Navy contracts cleared by the Defense Commission. A careful analysis of these contracts shows that from four to five million more people will find jobs in private industry during the next year.

In the light of these plain, well-known facts, it almost takes your breath away to hear the brazen statement made in this campaign, that this Administration has not added one private job since 1933! I leave it to you: Is this evidence of defeatism? Is this a sign of lack of confidence? Is this a policy of despair?

What is more important, employment is growing every month, every week. Furthermore, estimates submitted to me show that the defense program will raise employment by six million before the end of next year.

Call the roll of some of the specific improvements in the lot of the working men and women that have come about during the past eight years.

Nearly 45 million employees are now under the old age pension system, able to look forward with some assurance of a decent living in their old age.

Twenty-eight million employees have been brought under the protection of unemployment insurance and an additional million and a half under the railroad unemployment insurance program.



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A minimum wage of at least 30 cents per hour has been established for workers, and in certain industries, much higher minimum wages.

A maximum work week of forty hours has been established for these workers, with provision for time and a half for overtime.

Child labor has been outlawed.

The average hourly earnings of factory workers were 56½ cents in 1929. Under the defeatist philosophy of deflation, wages fell to 45½ cents by 1933. Average hourly earnings today are 67 cents, - not only higher than 1933, but, mark you, nearly 11 cents higher than in the so-called prosperous year, the millennial year, 1929.

After three years of depression the pay envelopes of our factory workers had fallen to less than one-half of their 1929 level. They had fallen to 5 billion dollars. In 1940 factory payrolls are running at the rate of about 10 billion dollars. Is this an evidence of defeatism?

And let us not forget that the cost of living is today 32 per cent lower than it was in 1929. This means that every one of the dollars that goes into the pay envelope buys as much goods as \$1.28 bought in 1929.

The worst falsification about our economy, is done when the Republican leaders talk about American business -- how it is hemstrung, how it cannot make a profit, how little confidence it has.

The same business leaders who came to Washington in 1933 to get Government to do something, to do anything to save American business from complete ruin, are in the



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forefront of those who now proclaim that monstrous misstatement of fact.

Our Government did act in 1933. This Administration is what saved the system of American business, of American enterprise and profit -- saved it in 1933 and nourished it back to where it is in 1940. And those very business leaders down deep in their hearts, know it.

What the Government did not do in 1933, and what it has refused to do ever since, has been to permit a return to the abuses of 1929; to permit to go on, unnoticed, the great industrial monopolies and the vast concentration of financial and economic control in the hands of a small autocracy; to permit the unregulated, unsupervised exploitation of labor. That is what these orators really feel to be their grievance.

The hands of monopoly which during the 20's were on the throat of small business, the fingers of financial manipulation which were in the pockets of small investors and depositors -- they are just itching to get back.

We know, if we but look at the record, that American business, big and small business, is way up above the level of 1933 and on a much sounder footing than it was even in the 20's.

Do you need figures to prove it?

Our national income has come up over 80 per cent above 1932, from \$ billion to \$ billion. If you consider the lower cost of living today, the national income is even higher than in the great boom year of 1929.

In the ten years before the crash of 1929, the years of the so-called prosperity boom, bank failures averaged



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over 600 a year. The number of bank failures last year were only thirty. *Sept 1933*

Corporations reported losses of five billion dollars in 1932. In 1930 the deficit had been wiped out, and more than three and a half billion dollars of profit were added. And yet they say this Administration prevents profits.

Retail sales have shown an increase of 58 per cent.

Look at our industrial economy as a whole. The output of American industry under the administration of those who now talk "lack of confidence" was cut in half between 1929 and 1932. In the past seven years industrial production has more than doubled. [In spite of the disastrous setback to our industrial development caused by the collapse of 1929, the output of our factories and mines is already almost 10 per cent greater than at the peak of 1929 - 1929, mind you, not 1932. It is at the highest level ever recorded.

Does this show lack of confidence? Is this defeatism? Does this show that business has suffered under the New Deal?

We have passed the time when the prosperity of the Nation is measured in terms of the stock ticker. We know that the well-being of a people is measured by the manner in which they live, by the security which they feel in the future.

Can anyone doubt that the standard of living of the American people has improved since 1932? But 1932 would really be too easy for contrast with the present. Let us take 1929, the year that still seems to some in retrospect to be the golden age of American prosperity. For the American people as a whole - the great body of its citizens - the standard of living has increased even



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above that of 1929.

While we have not yet placed "a chicken in every pot" or "two cars in every garage", it is true that last year the American people bought more pairs of shoes, more suits of clothes, more washing machines, more automobiles than in 1929.

Last year more marriages took place than in 1929; more life insurance was bought; more electric current was purchased.

Last year there were placed on the tables of America more butter, more cheese, more meat, more oranges and more food in general than in 1929.

Those are the things that really tell the well-being of a people and show the soundness of our prosperity.

Even though the population between 1929 and 1939 has increased 8 per cent, the fact is that, ^{all of} these increases in the purchases which make up the standard of living are proportionately greater.

Some one showed me a copy of the Wall Street Journal yesterday. Now you know that the Wall Street Journal cannot be very friendly to me. It certainly is not a mouthpiece for the New Deal.

But see what I read there:

"Washington - The wheels of American industry are turning faster and faster.

"Cleveland - For the second successive month the Great Lakes ore fleet operated at 100 per cent of capacity.

"New York - Retail demand for new cars and trucks in the national market is showing a substantially better than seasonal improvement. Volume this month probably will be at the highest level of any October in the industry's history.

"Detroit - Chevrolet dealers report sales of 33,056 new passenger and commercial cars in the first 10 days of October, an increase of 22,699 units over the like period last year.

"Washington - Federal Reserve Board September production index figure was 125. This is a gain of three points over the August level. The swelling volume of business continued thru the first half of October and a further extension of the index upswing is expected."



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In this vast recovery, every section of the Country, every occupation, has shared. The gains of farmers have not been made at the cost of workers; the gains of workers have not been made at the cost of farmers; the gains of farmers and workers have not been made at the expense of business.

Every single man, woman and child has a vital interest in this recovery. But if it can be said to affect any single group more than any other, that group would be the young men and women of America who are about to embark upon their individual careers.

It may be hard for some of you younger people to remember the kind of world which the youth of America faced in 1932. There were no jobs. There was no chance to work on a relief project. There was no government assistance. For many there was no food except on the bread line.

There was no more tragic part of the depression of those days than the plight of people coming of age with nothing to do, except to stand around on street corners or travel around in freight trains. Continued unemployment, the doors which always remained closed, led to discouragement, and then to apathy, and finally in some quarters to cynicism.

The tragedy of those days has passed. There is today in the youth of the Nation a new spirit, a new energy, a new conviction that a sounder and more stable economy is being built for them, and that their Government will continue to work ⁱⁿ the solution of their problems and the fulfillment of their hopes. Armed by this conviction, this generation of American youth can be as tough minded



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as other generations at crucial points in our history. For in 1940 they truly feel that they have a stake in the society which they are called upon to defend.

The beginnings of the approach to solution of the youth problem have been made through the CCC and the NYA, through which millions of youths have benefited by training and by education. We propose in the interests of justice and also in the interests of national defense to broaden the work and extend the benefits of both these agencies. For these agencies form a line of defense behind the first lines -- training men for essential defense industries and for other industries; physically developing healthy young people to build the present and the future of their democracy; educating them to ~~self-reliance~~ self-reliance and to moral resistance against that way of life which ignores the individual and denies his own capacity for happiness. But we have gone further than that. We shall go further.

There is no doubt that the one thing which must be done if we would save the young men of the Nation for the future welfare of the Nation is to give them the opportunity to work. Above all they want to work and to earn money.

We have been seeking to restore to every American the opportunity to work.

We have recognized that the right to work is as basic to democracy as the right to vote, to learn, to speak, to worship.

We have recognized it as part and parcel of the right to the pursuit of happiness.

We have recognized that in every modern industrial nation this right requires, not mere promises, but positive



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action on the part of government to underwrite that opportunity, to guarantee that right.

We cannot have a partial or hesitant handling of the needs of youth. We have a definite goal, a definite objective toward which we are aiming. It is a goal which we hope to achieve within the next four years. It is a goal which was never expressed or even thought of in the days before 1933.

We believe that if any boy or girl in reaching employment age has been unable to get a job in private industry, the Government owes that boy ^{and} girl the duty of furnishing them with the necessary training to equip them for employment. That training should be given in the fields where the Government knows there are jobs available for those who are specially trained to fill them. It is the job of Government to help every young man and woman find a job. That goal we seek to accomplish within the next four years.

As a corollary to that, we have already set up, and we propose to increase and expand, employment exchanges with information about the kind of jobs which are available in the different communities. We look forward to a nationwide system of vocational guidance where young people may obtain accurate information of overcrowding in certain professions and industries, of overcrowding in certain cities or rural sections, and of availability of certain types of work in other cities and other sections.

Training, education, recreation and jobs -- there lies the possibility for young men to participate in the reasonable happiness and security that we have come to regard as the normal possession of American life. ~~that we~~



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take work out of the lives of young people, we take from them the roots by which they may live and grow into manhood and womanhood. Nothing has changed this basic fact of American life - that work has been the means by which a nation progresses. It should be not only a right to work, but a choice of work according to the individual's inclination, his ability and his aptitude.

We have put people to work; but we have done more than that. We have put people back into the life of the Country. We have given the jobless more than jobs; we have given them the sense of usefulness, the sense of accomplishment, to which a living man is entitled.

The great dams, the broad roads, the school-houses, the court houses, the bridges built with public funds by those whom the private industry of 1929 and 1930 and 1931 and 1932 had cast aside as useless, are not only monuments to the vitality of this nation but visible and tangible proofs to many hundreds of thousands of human beings that their work was wanted and that their work was good.

Nothing we have done will be longer remembered than the fact that we restored to many men a belief in themselves and in the dignity and value of their labor. [And of none is this more true than of the young -- the generation which came to manhood and womanhood in the difficult years which greed and waste and folly had prepared for us.

[When we took over the administration of this Government more had been destroyed than banks and industries and markets and the savings of men's lives. The sense of work, the meaning of work, the reality of work had been destroyed. It was the sense of the meaning and the dignity of work which we restored to men and women in



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America.

I have given you facts and figures, chapter and verse, which brand as false that which is false -- this 1940 Republican campaign to destroy American confidence in its economic strength of today and in its equipment for tomorrow. I shall continue to do the same with the other falsifications which have been made. The American people are not deceived by this systematic propaganda of fear which is being directed against them.

"Great is truth and mighty above all things" - yes mighty even against this barrage of falsehood and fear. The American people, who have watched this Nation lift itself to its feet since the stupor of 1932, have no doubt where the truth lies, and on November 5 next, they will prove it by their votes.

And give your vote for Roosevelt for clearing



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SECOND DRAFT

SPEECH OF OCTOBER 25, 1940

Last July I stated the obvious fact to the national convention of my party: that the pressure of national defense work and the conduct of foreign affairs would not allow me to conduct any campaign in the usually accepted definition of that term.

Since July, hardly a day or a night has passed when some crisis, or some possibility of crisis in world affairs, has not called for my personal conference with the Secretary of State or other officials of the Government.

With every passing day dispatches come to us from literally every nation and every region of the world.

With every passing day has come some urgent problem in connection with our swift production for defense, and our mustering of the resources of the Nation.



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General T. Roosevelt

SECOND DRAFT

SPEECH OF OCTOBER 23, 1940

Last July I stated the obvious fact to the national convention of my party: that the pressure of national defense work and the conduct of foreign affairs would not allow me to conduct any campaign in the usually accepted definition of that term.

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From the Papers of

Samuel I. Rosenman

During these three months I would have been glad to campaign as I did in 1936, throughout the United States. But I have had to devote almost all of my time -- incidentally a day never limited to an eight hour maximum - to the affairs of your Government.

But last July I also said to the Chicago Convention: "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".

The time has come for me to do that job.

This night and four other nights, I am taking time to point out to the American people what the more fantastic misstatements of this campaign have been. I emphasize the words "more fantastic"



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SAMUEL I. ROSENTHAL

because it would take 355 nights to discuss all of them.

All of these misstatements cannot possibly be what I called last July, "unwitting falsifications" of fact; many of them must necessarily be what I called "deliberate falsifications" of fact.

There is, of course, a vast difference between honest argument and presentation of economic and social views on the one hand, and deliberate falsifications of fact on the other. Truthful campaign discussion of public issues is an essential to the American form of government; but wilful misrepresentation of fact has no place in the American form of government, during election time or any other time. For example, there can be no legitimate objection to any party or any candidate urging that the undeveloped water power of this Nation should be harnessed by private utility companies rather than by the Government itself; or that the social security law should be repealed, or that the truth-in-securities act should be abrogated. These are points of view which any party has the right to present to the American public.

But it is entirely a different thing for any party or any candidate to state, for example, that the President of the United States



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telephoned to Mussolini and Hitler to sell Czechoslovakia down the river; or that the unfortunate unemployed of the Nation are going to be driven into concentration camps; or that the social security funds of the Nation will no longer be in existence when the workers of today become old enough to apply for them, or that the election of the present government means the end of American democracy within four years, and the resultant installation of a dictator - knowing that all of these statements are false.

Certain techniques of propaganda, created and developed with great success in dictator countries have been imported into this campaign. It is the very simple technique of repeating and repeating falsehoods, no matter how blatant they may be, with the idea that by constant repetition and with no contradiction, the misstatements will finally come to be believed.

Dictators have made no secret of this practice in their own lands or in neighboring lands marked out for conquest. They have had success in using it; but only because they were able to control the press and the radio and stifle all opposition. That is why I cannot bring myself to believe that in a democracy like ours, where the radio and a part of the press



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remain open to both sides, repetition of deliberate misstatements will ever prevail.

I make the definite charge now that these falsifications are being spread for the sole purpose of filling the minds and hearts of the American people with fear — fear of the present and fear of the future. They seek to create fear by instilling in the minds of the people doubt of each other, doubt of their government and doubt of the objectives and purposes of their democracy.

This type of campaign has been tried in a small way on previous occasions. It has a familiar ring. It reminds us a little of the warning of 1936, that the social security funds were going to be diverted from the pockets of the American working man.

It reminds us a little of the warning of 1932 that if I were elected, "grass would grow in the streets of a hundred cities".

The campaign of fear has failed before. Conducted this year on a greater scale, it will fail again.

The American people will not be stampeded into panic. They will not be scared by this blitzkrieg of verbal incendiary bombs. They are now sadly aware that "the only thing we have to fear is fear itself". Distortions will never mislead; misrepresentation will never prevail.



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The misrepresentations are so flagrant and so widespread, that if they were to go unanswered, there is grave danger that they might seriously affect the national unity which is so essential in these critical times. I consider it, therefore, a public duty to answer falsifications with facts. I will not pretend that I find this an unpleasant duty. I am an old campaigner, and I love a good fight. But some of the things I must say tonight, and on later nights, I shall say regretfully.

The Presidency is not a prize to be won by the gaudiest promises. It is not a commodity to be put over by high pressure salesmanship and a national advertising campaign of falsehood. The Presidency is a most sacred trust. It represents the reasoned purposes of a free people. It ought not to be dealt with on any level other than an appeal to reason.

The worst bombshell of fear which Republican leaders have let loose on this people is the accusation that, in some way, this Government, without the knowledge of the Congress or of the people, has secretly entered into agreements with foreign nations and through such commitments has endangered the security of the United States or even pledged the participation of the United States in some foreign war. It seems almost unnecessary to deny such a statement. But so long as the fantastic misstatement has been made, deliberately and with



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the malicious purpose of creating terror in the minds of some of the people, I must brand it for what it is.

I give you this most solemn assurance: there is no secret treaty, no secret obligation, no secret commitment, no secret understanding of any shape or form, direct or indirect, with any other government, or any other nation in any part of the world, to involve this Nation in any war.

Such reckless, dangerous misstatements, coming at this time from people aspiring to places of high responsibility in government at a time when their own government is bending every effort to maintain peace, might well undermine the handling of our relations with all other nations in the cause of peace.



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The desperation of partisans who can invent such a falsification drives them to attempts to deceive our people in other ways. Consider, for example, the false charge they make that our industrial system is prostrate - that business can make no profits.

The American people have not forgotten the condition of the United States in 1932. We all remember the failures of banks, the bread lines of starving men and women, the youth of the country riding around in railroad box cars, the farm foreclosures, the home foreclosures, the bankruptcy and the panic. Those things have seared themselves into our memory.

A paralyzed Republican Administration frozen with fear, cowering before the wild forces, their own folly andupidity had unleashed,



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In the face of all the humn suffering, in the face of the economic collapse, government leadership of those days was content to rest easy on one simple statement. A few swift, bold measures would have halted the depression before it gathered momentum. But they shrugged their shoulders; and said that the whole thing was merely the inevitable working of economic laws with which no government could or should interfere.

At the very hour of complete collapse, the American people called upon the Democratic party for leadership. That leadership the Democratic party supplied.

[Government, no longer callous to suffering, moved swiftly to end distress.

Government, no longer impotent, moved vigorously to halt depression.

Government, no longer the captive of the forces of greed, set out on the path to promote the general welfare and to secure social and economic justice for all.]

The very same men who must bear the responsibility for the inaction of those days, are the very ones who now have the nerve to say that not enough has been done to restore the prosperity of the Country.

They deliberately and falsely try to give the impression that we are all still in the slough of the depression into which they plunged us; that we have prevented the country from recovering and that it is



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headed for the chasm of bankruptcy. They have even gone to the extent of stating that this Administration has not made one man a job.

I say that that statement is false. I say that the figures of employment, of production, of earnings, of general business activity -- all prove that it is false.

The tears for the laboring man and woman now being shed in this campaign come from these same Republican leaders who had their chance to prove their love for labor in 1932 -- and missed it.

Back in 1932, these leaders were willing to let the workers starve if they could not get a job.

Back in 1932, they were not willing to provide relief; they were not willing to guarantee collective bargaining.

Back in 1932, they met the demands of unemployed veterans with fire and troops.

Back in 1932, they raised their hands in horror at the thought of fixing a minimum wage or maximum hours for labor; they never gave a thought to such things as pensions for old age or insurance for the unemployed.



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In those days they were interested only in economic abstractions: theories which said that each employee had to make the best deal he could with an employer; theories which said that hours and wages and working conditions should be fixed only by supply and demand; theories which left working men to the tender mercy of an age of technology, where one machine could replace a hundred men.

In 1940, eight years later, what a different tune is played! It is a tune played against a sounding board of election day. It is a tune with overtones which murmur: "votes, votes, votes".

These same Republican leaders are for all the new progressive measures now; they believe in them. They believe in them so much that they will never be happy until they can clasp them to their own chest and put their own brand upon them. If they could only get control of them, they plead, they would take so much better care of them, honest-to-goodness they would.

This tune is, of course, only a rehash of the tune of 1936. That, you will remember, was also an election year. In that year the affection of these Republican leaders for the laboring man also rose to a high pitch. But after the



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election day of 1936, they and their friends, their political supporters and, above all, their political contributors, did all that they could in the Congress before administrative bodies, and in the courts, to beat these measures down into the ground.

Right after election they began to call all these progressive measures "pernicious legislation". And take my word for it, they still, in their hearts, condemn them as pernicious legislation.

What are the plain facts about employment today.

There are nine million more men employed in purely private industry now than were employed in 1900.

In August of this year alone over 400,000 were added to private payrolls. In September, another half a million workers went to work in our industries.

The charts of experts show that all through the coming Winter and Spring months employment will continue to increase.

~~Handwritten signature~~

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PAUL L. D. ROBERTS

NITRO FLAME, Dr. H.

From the Papers of
Samuel I. Rosenman

- 11a -

The elimination of unemployment is not a matter of mere promise - the millions that have gone to work and other hundreds of thousands now going to work each month in private industry is our unequivocal answer to the brazen statement made by the Republicans in this campaign, that this Administration has not added one private job since 1933! This statement of theirs can only be branded as a deliberate misstatement of fact. And I now so brand it.



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I am saddened by statements like that, by attempts to make people believe things like that, by the fact that any responsible political leaders would fall so low as to say such things even in the heat of a campaign year.

Let us call the roll of some of the specific improvements in the lot of the working men and women that have come about during the past eight years:

More than 42 million employees are now under the old age pension system, able to look forward with some assurance of a decent living in their old age. An additional 2,000,000 men and women over 65 years of age, are now receiving each month an old age assistance.

28 million employees have been brought under the protection of unemployment insurance and an additional million and a half under the railroad unemployment insurance program.

Collective bargaining has been guaranteed.

A minimum wage of ~~at least 20 cents per hour~~ has been established, for workers, and in certain industries, much higher minimum wages.

A maximum work week of forty hours has been ^{fixed} established, ~~for those~~ workers, with provision for time and a half for overtime.

Child labor has been outlawed.

The average hourly earnings of factory workers were 56 cents in the boom year of 1929. They fell to 46 cents by 1931. They are now 67 cents, - not only higher than 1931, but, mark you, nearly 11 cents per hour higher than in that mad speculation of 1929.



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Factory pay envelopes had fallen to 5 billion dollars per year by 1932. In 1940, factory payrolls are running at the rate of 10 billion dollars.

And we must not forget that the cost of living is today 22 per cent lower than it was in 1929.

The worst falsification about our economy, is made when the Republican leaders talk about American business — how it is hamstrung, how it cannot make a profit, how little confidence it has in this Administration and how this Administration hates business.

Many of the same business leaders who came to Washington in 1933 to get Government to do something, to do anything to save American business from complete ruin, are again in the forefront of those who now proclaim that monstrous misstatement of fact.

Our Government did act in 1933. This Administration, with the help of the people of the United States, saved the system of American business, of American enterprise and profit — saved it in 1933 and nourished it back to where it is in 1940. And those very business leaders down deep in their hearts, know it.

What the Government did not do in 1933, and what it has refused to do ever since, has been to permit a return to the abuses



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of 1929; to permit to go on unchecked, the great industrial monopolies and the vast concentration of financial and economic control in the hands of a small autocracy; to permit the unregulated, unsupervised exploitation of labor. That is what these orators really feel to be their grievance.

The hands of monopoly which during the 20's were on the throat of small business, the fingers of financial manipulation which were in the pockets of small investors and depositors — they are just itching and twitching to get back to control.

We know, if we but look at the record, that American business, big and small business, is way up above the level of 1932 and on a much sounder footing than it was even in the 20's.

Do you need figures to prove it?

Our national income has come up over 80 per cent above 1932, from ³⁹ ~~twenty~~ billion to sixty-nine and a half billion in 1939; and the national income for 1940 is now at the rate of 74 billions. If you consider the lower cost of living today, the national income in 1939 was even higher than in the great boom year of 1929, and in the coming year it will be over six billions more than in 1929.

In the ten years before the crash of 1929, the years of the so-called prosperity boom, bank failures averaged



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over 600 a year. The number of bank failures last year was only forty-two. Ten of these were under the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation ^{set up by}

And because this Administration passed bank deposits to be guaranteed up to \$5,000.00 ^{and} in these ten ~~insured~~ banks which ~~did not~~, 99% of the depositors did not lose a dollar.

During this Administration the total number of bank failures for the entire seven years was less than the number of bank failures in any single one of the preceding ten years.

And yet there are some banks which are now using stockholders' money to advertise or to send letters to their depositors, hinting that unless this Administration is defeated, the deposits of their banks will be in danger. This is sheer intimidation to blackmail the election, and return the financial control of the government to the very forces which had nearly wrecked the Nation. ~~And even banks, insurance companies are now using the same tactics.~~

~~Just compare the condition of our banks and insurance companies of today with their condition in 1932. The American people know that it was this Administration which saved those banks and insurance companies from complete ruin.~~

For as to corporation profits. They were a minus quantity in 1932. Corporations as a whole showed losses of almost four billion dollars that year. By now, eight years later, that deficit has been wiped out, and corporations are reporting profits of ~~about~~ four billion dollars a year. In other words, they are better off by nearly eight billion dollars



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STANLEY T. ROOSEVELT

18 (cont'd.)

a year more than they were eight years ago. That figure will be greatly increased this year.

And yet they say this Administration prevents profits and stifles business.

If it is true that the New Deal is the enemy of business, and that the old Republican leaders who brought business to the brink of ruin in 1932, are the friends of business, - then I can only say that American business certainly has cause to love its enemies.

*Should continue to be
run by firm friends*



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It is true, of course, that the increase in many of our factories is being caused by our orders ^{industry} in the national defense. But it is equally true that many other industries, ~~unconnected~~ ^{with ~~the~~ ~~war~~ ~~industry~~}, are turning out more goods and employing more men and women than ever before.

We have passed the time when the prosperity of the Nation is measured in terms of the stock ticker. We know that the well-being of a people is measured by the manner in which they live, by the security which they feel in the future.

Figures alone will never give a true picture of how far the standard of living of the American people has risen since 1929. But 1932 would really be too easy for contrast. Let us take 1929, the year that still ~~seems~~ ^{appears} to some in retrospect to be ~~the~~ ^{as the still} golden age of American prosperity.

For the American people as a whole - the great body of its citizens - the standard of living has increased even above that of 1929.

While we have not yet placed "a chicken in every pot" or "two cars in every garage", it is true that this year the American people will build more homes and will buy more pairs of shoes, more washing machines, more electric ^{will} refrigerators, ^{more electric current,} more textile products, than in the boom year of 1929.



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Look at our industrial economy as a whole. The output of American industry under the administration of these the new talk "lack of confidence" was cut in half between 1929 and 1932. In the past seven years industrial production has more than doubled. The output of our factories and mines is ~~already~~ ^{now} almost 15% greater than at the peak of 1929 -- 1929, mind you, not 1932. It is at the highest level ever recorded.



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Samuel I. Rosenbaum

This year there will be placed on the tables of America more butter, more cheese, more meat, more oranges, more canned goods - more food than in the luxurious year of 1929.

Those are the things that really tell the well-being of a people and show the soundness of our prosperity.

Even though the population between 1929 and 1939 has increased 7 per cent, the fact is that there are more goods available per capita for each man, woman and child today than in 1929.

Yesterday some one showed me a copy of the Wall Street Journal of October 17th. Now you know that the Wall Street Journal is not very friendly to me. It certainly is not a mouth-piece for the New Deal.

But see what I read there:

1. Washington, (page 1). The swelling volume of business continued through the first half of October and a further extension of the index upswing is expected.

2. New York, (page 1). Retail auto sales volume this month will probably be highest level of any October in industry's history.

3. Cleveland, (page 1). For the second successive month of the current season, Great Lakes ore fleet operated at 100% capacity.



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4. New York, (page 11). It appears probable that major branches of the textile industries will operate at capacity levels for the remainder of this year and for the early months of 1941.

5. New York, (page 11). Cotton consumption and cotton textile production during 1940 are expected to reach record high levels. Operation of cotton mills are currently around 95% of capacity and are expected to expand further during the remainder of the year.



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Samuel I. Rosenzweig

Last Sunday morning before I got out of bed, I had to laugh when I read the following in the financial section of the New York Times -- another paper which is reputed not to leave me too much. Evidently there is what we might call a lack of coordination between the business and the editorial pages. For this is what an editor of the financial page of the New York Times said: I quote, "The Federal Reserve Board in the week added another point to its index of production for September, and the figure now stands at 128, or 15 $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent above the 1929 average" - mind you, not the 1928 average but the 1929 average. I quote further: "Dreams of business 'flat on its back' must come from smoking campaign cigars or else the speakers are talking about some other country." Wouldn't it be nice if the editorial writers of the Times could get acquainted with their own business experts?

In this vast recovery, every section of the Country, every occupation, has shared. The gains of farmers have not been made at the cost of workers; the gains of workers have not been made at the



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SIRHAN I. ROSENTHAL

cost of farmers; the gains of farmers and workers have not been made at the expense of business.

Every single man, woman and child has a vital interest in this recovery. But if it can be said to affect any single group more than any other, that group would be the young men and women of America who are about to embark upon their individual careers.

It may be hard for some of you younger people to remember the kind of world which the youth of America faced in 1932. There were no jobs; no relief projects. There was no help from government. For many there was no food except on the bread line.

~~Continued unemployment, the doors which always remained closed, led to discouragement, and then to apathy and finally in some quarters to cynicism. There was no more tragic part of the depression of those days than the plight of people coming of age with nothing to do, except to stand around on street corners or travel around in freight trains.~~

The tragedy of those days has passed. There is today in the youth of the Nation a new spirit, a new energy, a new conviction that a sounder and more stable economy is being built for them, and that their Government will continue to work for the solution of their problems and the fulfillment of their hopes.



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GENERAL D. H. ROOSEVELT

Warned by this conviction, this generation of American youth can be as tough minded as other generations at crucial points in our history. For in 1940 they truly feel that they have a stake in the society which they are called upon to defend.

Through the CCC and the National Youth Amendment, millions of youths have benefited by training and by education.

We propose in the interests of justice and in the interests of national defense to broaden the work and extend the benefits of both these agencies. For these agencies form a line of defense behind the first line — training men for essential defense industries and for other industries; physically developing healthy young people to build the present and the future of their democracy; educating them to self-reliance and to moral resistance against that way of life which ignores the individual and denies his own capacity for happiness.

The one thing which must be extended if we would save the young men of the Nation for the future welfare of the Nation is to give them the opportunity to work. I am well aware of the many problems of youths but I am convinced that their one great ambition above all others is the desire to work and earn their own living.



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From the Papers of
SARAH I. ROOSEVELT

We have recognized that for every American the right to work is as basic to democracy as the right to vote, to learn, to speak, to worship.

We have recognized that in every modern industrial nation this right requires, not mere promises, but positive action on the part of government to underwrite that opportunity, to guarantee that right.

We cannot have a partial or hesitant handling of the needs of youth. We have a definite goal, a definite objective toward which we are aiming. We believe that if any boy or girl in reach employment age has been unable to get a job in private industry, the Government owes them the duty of furnishing them with the necessary training to equip them for employment. That training and work experience should be given in the fields where the Government knows there are jobs available for those who are specially trained to fill them. It is the job of Government to help every young man and woman find a job. We have made progress toward that objective - we have acted while others talked - and we are determined during the next four years to make that total objective - of work for every young man and woman in America - a living fact.



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Training, education, recreation, and jobs -- there lies the possibility for young men to participate in the reasonable happiness and security that we have come to regard as the normal possession of American life.

We have put people to work; but we have done more than that. We have put people back into the life of the Country. We have given the jobless more than jobs; we have given them the sense of usefulness,



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the sense of accomplishment, to which a living man is entitled.

The vast public work projects built with public funds are tangible proofs to many hundreds of thousands of human beings that their work was wanted, and that their work was good.

Nothing we have done will be longer remembered than the fact that we restored to many men and women a belief in themselves and in the dignity and value of their labor. And of none is this more true than of the young -- the generation which came to manhood and womanhood in the difficult years which greed and waste and folly had prepared for us.

And tonight I want to answer one more false charge -- a charge that offends every political and religious conviction that I hold dear. And that is the charge



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That I wish to lead this country into war. It is utterly false. I hate war, and like most Americans would gladly give my life to keep it from our shores. Throughout the past eight years I have laboured to preserve the peace of the world. Before war came, I bent my every effort to prevent its onset. When it came I joined with the Pope in pleading with the chiefs of government of other nations not to take their people into a war which they hated. When that effort failed, I called upon the Congress and I called upon the Nation to build the defenses that would guarantee our peace and our security in this hemisphere. It is for peace I have laboured, and it is for peace I shall labour all the days of my life.



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SECOND DRAFT

SPEECH OF OCTOBER 25, 1940

It is pursuant to a promise that I made last July that I am here tonight. At that time I stated the obvious fact to the national convention of my party: that the pressure of national defense work and the conduct of foreign affairs would not allow me to conduct any campaign in the usually accepted definition of that term.

But I added: "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".

The time has come for me to do that job.

Since July, hardly a day or a night has passed when some crisis, or some possibility of crisis in world affairs, has not called for my personal conference and collaboration with the Secretary of State or other officials of the government.

With every passing day dispatches come to us from literally every nation and every region of the world.

With every passing day has come some urgent problem in connection with our swift production of defense, and our mustering of the men and resources of the Nation.

This is government business which compels me to remain within a reasonable distance of foreign dispatches, the Department of State,



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the National Defense Council and all the agencies and departments of the Capital of the Nation.

Steadily I have pursued that course.

There have been several occasions when I have left the Capital to inspect and to speed up the progress which the Government and private industry and labor have been making, and are making, in building up our defenses.

These trips will be continued after November fifth, as long as they are necessary and as long as I am President.

During these four months I would have been glad to campaign as I did in 1936, throughout the United States. But any President of the United States in times of great emergency owes his primary duty to the office he occupies under the Constitution, a duty which extends to people of all parties in every section of the nation.

I have devoted almost all of my time -- incidentally a day never limited to an eight hour maximum -- to the affairs of your Government. I am superimposing in four or five speeches the added time necessary to the clarification of American facts in an American way.

This night and four other nights, I am taking off to point out to the American people what the more fantastic misstatements of this campaign have been. I emphasize the words "more fantastic"



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because it would take 365 nights to discuss all of them.

All of these misstatements cannot possibly be what I called last July, "unmitting falsifications" of fact; many of them must necessarily be what I called "deliberate falsifications" of fact.

There is, of course, a vast difference between honest argument and presentation of economic and social views on the one hand, and deliberate falsifications of fact on the other. Truthful campaign discussion of public issues is an essential to the American form of government; but wilful misrepresentation of fact has no place in the American form of government, during election time or any other time. For example, there can be no legitimate objection to any party or any candidate urging that the undeveloped water power of this Nation should be harnessed by private utility companies rather than by the Government itself; or that the social security law should be repealed, or that the truth-in-securities act should be abrogated. Those are points of view which any party has the right to try to sell to the American public.

But it is entirely a different thing for any party or any candidate to state, for example, that the President of the United States



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telephoned to Mussolini and Hitler to sell Czechoslovakia down the river; or that the unfortunate unemployed of the Nation are going to be driven into concentration camps; or that the social security funds of the Nation will no longer be in existence when the workers of today become old enough to apply for them, or that the election of the present government means the end of American democracy within four years, and the resultant installation of a dictator.

Certain techniques of propaganda, created and developed with great success in dictator countries have been imported into this campaign. It is the very simple technique of repeating and repeating falsehoods, no matter how blatant they may be, with the idea that by constant repetition and with no contradiction, the misstatements will finally come to be believed.

I do not say that the Republican leaders have deliberately imitated the methods of the Nazis and the Communists. I do say that it is an amazing coincidence that the techniques are identical. Dictators have made no secret of this practice in their own lands or in neighboring lands marked out for conquest. They have had success in using it but only because they were able to control the press and the radio and stifle all opposition. That is why I cannot bring myself to believe that in a democracy like ours, where the radio and a part of the press



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remain open to both sides, the over and over again repetition of deliberate misstatements will ever prevail.

I make the definite charge now that these falsifications are being spread for the sole purpose of filling the minds and hearts of the American people with fear — fear of the present and fear of the future. Underlying the strategy of falsehood is the strategy of terror.

This type of campaign has been tried in a small way on previous occasions. It has a familiar ring. It reminds us a little of the warning of 1936, that the social security funds were going to be diverted from the pockets of the American working man.

It reminds us a little of the warning of 1932 that if I were elected, "grass would grow in the streets of a hundred cities," etc.

The campaign of fear has failed before. Conducted this year on a greater scale, it will fail again.

The American people will not be stampeded into panic. They will not be scared by this blitzkrieg of verbal incendiary bombs. They are now calmly and imperturbably aware that "the only thing we have to fear is fear itself". Distortions, will never mislead; misrepresentation will never prevail.



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They indicate ignorance of the Constitution, and ignorance of the responsibility in foreign affairs which all high officials of the government have scrupulously observed for one hundred and fifty years.

The desperation of partisans who can concoct such a falsification drives them to attempts to deceive our people in other ways. Consider, for example, the dismal picture they paint of the business and economic condition of the United States of 1940.

That picture, mind you, - or rather that political cartoon - has come from the brush of the leaders of the party who left the United States in the plight of 1932!

The American people have not forgotten the condition of the United States in 1932. We all remember the failures of banks, the break lines of starving men and women, the youth of the country riding around in railroad box cars, the farm foreclosures, the home foreclosures, the bankruptcy and the panic. Those things have seared themselves into our memory. And let us not forget the attitude of the Republican leaders of 1932 - the executive and legislative leaders, the leaders in office and out of office - toward the catastrophe of those days.



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In the face of all the human suffering, in the face of the economic collapse, government leadership of those days was content to rest easy on one simple statement. A few swift, bold measures could have halted the depression before it gathered momentum. But they shrugged their shoulders; and said that the whole thing was merely the inevitable working of economic laws and of the system of free enterprise.

At the very hour of complete collapse, the American people called upon the Democratic party for leadership. That leadership the Democratic party supplied.

Government, no longer callous to suffering, moved swiftly to end distress.

Government, no longer impotent, moved vigorously to halt depression.

Government, no longer the captive of the forces of greed, set out on the path to promote the general welfare and to secure social and economic justice for all.

The very same men who must bear the responsibility for the inaction of those days, are the very ones who now have the nerve to say that not enough has been done to restore the prosperity of the Country.

The deliberately and falsely try to give the impression that we are all still in the slough of the depression into which they plunged us; that we have prevented the country from recovering and that it is



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headed for the chaos of bankruptcy.

I say that that statement is false. I say that the figures of employment, of production, of earnings, of general business activity -- all prove that it is false.

I say that because it is so wholly false, it is unpatriotic to present such a picture to other nations of the world, friendly nations as well as unfriendly nations.

They have even gone to the extent of stating that this Administration has not made one man a job.

The tears for the laboring man and woman not being shed in this campaign come from those same Republican leaders who had their chance to prove their lie in 1932 -- and missed it.

Back in 1932, these leaders were willing to let the workers starve if they could not get a job.

Back in 1932, they were not willing to provide relief; they were not willing to guarantee collective bargaining.

Back in 1932, they met the demands of unemployed veterans with fire and troops.

Back in 1932, they raised their hands in horror at the thought of fixing a minimum wage or maximum hours for labor; they never gave a thought to such things as pensions for old age or insurance for the unemployed.



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In those days they were interested only in economic abstractions: theories which said that each employee had to make the best deal he could with an employer; theories which said that hours and wages and working conditions should be fixed only by supply and demand; theories which left working men to the tender mercy of an age of technology, where one machine could replace a hundred men.

In 1940, eight years later, what a different tune is played! It is a tune played against a sounding board of election day. It is a tune with overtones which murmur: "votes, votes, votes".

These same Republican leaders are for all the new progressive measures now; they believe in them. They believe in them so much that they will never be happy until they can clasp them to their own chest and put their own brand upon them. If they could only get control of them, they plead, they would take so much better care of them, honest-to-goodness they would.

This tune is, of course, only a rehash of the tune of 1936. That, you will remember, was also an election year. In that year the affection of these Republican leaders for the laboring man also rose to a high pitch. But after the



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election day of 1936, they and their friends, their political supporters and, above all, their political contributors, did all that they could in the Congress before administrative bodies, and in the courts, to beat these measures down into the ground, and to return to the good old days of the economic abstractions which they loved so much.

Right after election they began to call all these New Deal measures "pernicious legislation". And take my word for it, they still, in their hearts, condemn them as pernicious legislation.

What are the plain facts?

The plain fact is that there are eight million more men employed in purely private industry now than were employed in 1932.

In August of this year alone over 400,000 were added to private payrolls. Again in September, another half a million workers went to work in our industries.

The charts of experts show that all through the coming winter and spring months opportunities for employment will continue to increase as we all know they are doing today.



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I have just been checking the Army and Navy contracts cleared by the Defense Commission. A careful analysis of these contracts shows that from four to five million more people will find jobs in private industry during the next year.

In the light of these plain, well-known facts, it almost takes your breath away to hear the brazen statement made in this campaign, that this Administration has not added one private job since 1933!



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I am saddened by statements like that, by attempts to make people believe things like that, by the fact that any responsible American leader would fall so low as to say such un-American things even in the heat of a campaign year.

Call the roll of some of the specific improvements in the lot of the working men and women that have come about during the past eight years!

Nearly 45 million employees are now under the old age pension system, able to look forward with some assurance of a decent living in their old age.

Twenty-eight million employees have been brought under the protection of unemployment insurance and an additional million and a half under the railroad unemployment insurance program.

A minimum wage of at least 50 cents per hour has been established for workers, and in certain industries, much higher minimum wages.

A maximum work week of forty hours has been established for these workers, with provision for time and a half for overtime.

Child labor has been outlawed.

The average hourly earnings of factory workers were 56½ cents in the boom year of 1929. They fell to 45½ cents by 1933. They are now 57 cents, - not only higher than 1933, but, mark you, nearly 11 cents per hour higher than in that mad speculation of 1929.



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Factory pay envelopes had fallen to 5 billion dollars per year by 1932. In 1940, factory payrolls are running at the rate of about 10 billion dollars.

And we must not forget that the cost of living is today 22 per cent lower than it was in 1929. This means that every one of the dollars that goes into the pay envelope buys as much goods as \$1.22 bought in 1929.

The worst falsification about our economy, is made when the Republican leaders talk about American business -- how it is hamstringed, how it cannot make a profit, how little confidence it has in this Administration and how this Administration hates business.

The same business leaders who came to Washington in 1933 to get Government to do something, to do anything to save American business from complete ruin, are again in the forefront of those who now proclaim that monstrous misstatement of fact.

Our Government did act in 1933. This administration is what saved the system of American business, of American enterprise and profit -- saved it in 1933 and nourished it back to where it is in 1940. And those very business leaders down deep in their hearts, know it.

What the Government did not do in 1933, and what it has refused to do ever since, has been to permit a return to the abuses



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of 1929; to permit to go on unchecked, the great industrial monopolies and the vast concentration of financial and economic control in the hands of a small autocracy; to permit the unregulated, unsupervised exploitation of labor. That is what these orators really feel to be their grievance.

The hands of monopoly which during the 20's were on the throat of small business, the fingers of financial manipulation which were in the pockets of small investors and depositors -- they were just itching and twitching to get back to control.

We know, if we but look at the record, that American business, big and small business, is way up above the level of 1933 and on a much sounder footing than it was even in the 20's.

Do you need figures to prove it?

Our national income has come up ^{over} ~~for~~ 80 per cent above 1932, from \$ billion to \$ billion. If you consider the lower cost of living today, the national income is even higher than in the great boom year of 1929.

In the ten years before the crash of 1929, the years of the so-called prosperity boom, bank failures averaged



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and the little towns and villages of the nation -- sales over the retail counters have increased 58% since this Administration came into office.

Look at our industrial economy as a whole. The output of American industry under the administration of those who now talk "lack of confidence" was cut in half between 1929 and 1932. In the past seven years industrial production has more than doubled. The output of our factories and mines is already almost 10% greater than at the ^{peak} ~~xxxx~~ of 1929 -- 1929, mind you, not 1932. It is at the highest level ever recorded.



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It is true, of course, that the increase in many of our factories is being caused by war orders in the national defense. But it is equally true that very many other industries, unconnected with war orders, are turning out more goods and employing more men and women than ever before.

We have passed the time when the prosperity of the Nation is measured in terms of the stock ticker. We know that the well-being of a people is measured by the manner in which they live, by the security which they feel in the future.

Figures alone will never give a true picture of how far the standard of living of the American people has risen since 1932. But 1932 would really be too easy for contrast. Let us take 1929, the year that still seems to some in retrospect to be the golden age of American prosperity.

For the American people as a whole - the great body of its citizens - the standard of living has increased even above that of 1929.

While we have not yet placed "a chicken in every pot" or "two cars in every garage", it is true that last year the American people bought more pairs of shoes, more suits of clothes, more washing machines, more automobiles than in 1929.



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More life insurance was bought; more electric current was purchased. Last year there were placed on the tables of America more butter, more cheese, more meat, more oranges and more food in general than in 1928.

These are the things that really tell the well-being of a people and show the soundness of our prosperity.

Even though the population between 1929 and 1930 has increased 8 per cent, the fact is that all of these increases in the purchases which make up the standard of living are proportionately greater.

Some one showed me a copy of the Wall Street Journal yesterday. Now you know that the Wall Street Journal is not very friendly to me. It certainly is not a mouthpiece for the New Deal.

But see what I read there:

"Washington - The wheels of American industry are turning faster and faster.

"Cleveland - For the second successive month the Great Lakes ore fleet operated at 100 per cent of capacity.

"New York - Retail demand for new cars and trucks in the national market is showing a substantially better than seasonal improvement. Volume this month probably will be at the highest level of any October in the industry's history.



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Seward I. Rosenbaum

"Washington - The swelling volume of business continued through the first half of October and a further extension of the index upward is expected."

Last Sunday morning before I got out of bed, I had to laugh when I read the following in the financial section of the New York Times — another paper which is reputed not to love me too much. Evidently there is what we might call a lack of coordination between the business and the editorial pages. For this is what it says: "The Federal Reserve Board in the week added another point to its index of production for September, and the figure now stands at 125, or 15½ per cent above the 1929 average" — mind you, not the 1932 average but the 1929 average. I quote further: "Dreams of business 'flat on its back' must come from smoking campaign cigars or else the speakers are talking about some other country."

I am not thinking of the past or even the present in terms of mere statistics. I analyze the gains only in order that we may be better prepared with that knowledge to continue them.

In this vast recovery, every section of the Country, every occupation, has shared. The gains of farmers have not been made at the cost of workers; the gains of workers have not been made at the



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From the Papers of
Samuel I. Rosenman

cost of farmers; the gains of farmers and workers have not been made at the expense of business.

Every single man, woman and child has a vital interest in this recovery. But if it can be said to affect any single group more than any other, that group would be the young men and women of America who are about to embark upon their individual careers.

It may be hard for some of you younger people to remember the kind of world which the youth of America faced in 1933. There were no jobs; no relief projects. There was no help from government. For many there was no food except on the bread line.

Continued unemployment, the doors which always remained closed, led to discouragement, and then to apathy and finally in some quarters to cynicism. There was no more tragic part of the depression of those days than the plight of people coming of age with nothing to do, except to stand around on street corners or travel around in freight trains.

The tragedy of those days has passed. There is today in the youth of the Nation a new spirit, a new energy, a new conviction that a sounder and more stable economy is being built for them, and that their Government will continue to work for the solution of their problems and the fulfillment of their hopes.



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Sandra I. Rosenbaum

Warned by this conviction, this generation of American youth can be as tough minded as other generations at crucial points in our history. For in 1940 they truly feel that they have a stake in the society which they are called upon to defend.

The beginnings of the approach to solution of the youth problem have been made through the CCC and the NYA, through which millions of youths have benefited by training and by education.

We propose in the interests of justice and also in the interests of national defense to broaden the work and extend the benefits of both these agencies. For these agencies form a line of defense behind the first lines — training men for essential defense industries and for other industries; physically developing healthy young people to build the present and the future of their democracy; educating them to self-reliance and to moral resistance against that way of life which ignores the individual and denies his own capacity for happiness.

But we have gone further than that. We shall go further.

There is no doubt that the one thing which must be done if we would save the young men of the Nation for the future welfare of the Nation is to give them the opportunity to work. Above all they want to work and to earn money.



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We have recognized that for every American the right to work is as basic to democracy as the right to vote, to learn, to speak, to worship.

We have recognized that in every modern industrial nation this right requires, not mere promises, but positive action on the part of government to underwrite that opportunity, to guarantee that right.

We cannot have a partial or hesitant handling of the needs of youth. We have a definite goal, a definite objective toward which we are aiming. We believe that if any boy or girl in reaching employment age has been unable to get a job in private industry, the Government owes ~~himself~~ them the duty of furnishing them with the necessary training to equip them for employment. That training should be given in the fields where the Government knows there are jobs available for those who are specially trained to fill them. It is the job of Government to help every young man and woman find a job. That goal is ours - we feel that as we were the first to seek it and make progress towards it, we can reach it more quickly than those who may accept it with their tongues in their cheeks.

As a corollary to that, we have already set up, and we propose to increase and expand, employment exchanges with information about overcrowding in certain professions and industries, overcrowding



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FROM THE PAPERS OF
GENERAL I. ROOSEVELT

in certain cities or rural sections, about the kind of jobs which are available in the different communities.

Soon after Election Day I propose to initiate a broad program throughout the nation to help put the youth of America back into the best physical shape. My old friend, John Kelly, the former champion sculler of the world, a magnificent example of physical fitness at the ripe old age of forty-eight, (?) and many others, are helping me to get this program under way. It is our thought and hope that on a purely voluntary basis this health producing program will be taken up and bring good results in every community in the land. And, lest some new distortion of fact be dinned into your ears in the next two weeks, I can assure you that we are not going to set up youth camps or any other compulsory system for boys or girls — any system which compares remotely with the regimented or ordered methods which we know were imposed in some other nations. We propose to do it by training, education, recreation, health, and jobs — there lies the possibility for young men to participate in the reasonable happiness and security that we have come to regard as the normal possession of American life.

We have put people to work; but we have done more than that. We have put people back into the life of the Country. We have given the jobless more than jobs; we have given them the sense of usefulness,



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the sense of accomplishment, to which a living man is entitled.

The vast public works projects built with public funds by those whom the private industry of 1929 and 1930 and 1931 and 1932 had cast aside as useless, are not only monuments to the vitality of this nation. They are tangible proofs to many hundreds of thousands of human beings that their work was wanted, and that their work was good.

Nothing we have done will be longer remembered than the fact that we restored to many men a belief in themselves and in the dignity and value of their labor. And of none is this more true than of the young — the generation which came to manhood and womanhood in the difficult years which greed and waste and folly had prepared for us.



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N

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

"The Federal Reserve Board in the week added another point to its index of production for September, and the figure now stands at 125, or 13½ per cent above the 1929 average." "Dreams of business 'flat on its back' must come from smoking campaign cigars or else the speakers are talking about some other country."

--New York Times, financial section, Sunday, October 20, 1940.

*I quote
further:*



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I came into Pennsylvania -- I came here to Philadelphia in the closing days of that campaign to warn people against that falsehood. The overwhelming majority of Americans heeded my warning and accepted the truth of what I told them and rejected that effort to induce fear.



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The American people in that year rejected that warning -- that attempt to instill fear. Instead of the grass in the streets of abandoned cities, they find themselves in the midst of an era of better housing, better sustenance and better jobs on a sounder basis than at any time in more than a generation.



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Stanley I. Rosenberg

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For nearly eight long years the Republican leadership in the Congress has, in the overwhelming majority of instances, opposed the passage of the legislation offered by the majority. It is true that a minority of Democrats in the House and Senate have sometimes opposed the legislation, and it is also true that some Republicans have sometimes supported the legislation.

On the average of the many roll calls, however, a great majority of Democrats have been able to put the legislation through -- over the opposition of the majority of the Republicans.

Therefore, it is clear that in the past eight years the Republican leadership has shown no sign of any constructive policy -- no substitute even for the proposals of the majority -- nothing but a blind, stubborn, un-intelligent series of "nos" without a thought to the patriotic duty of at least proposing something else for the betterment of the nation.



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In the face of the unchanged and apparently unchangeable attitude of defeatism of the Republican Senators and Representatives in the Congress, they have the nerve now to say things like this for example -- the people of little faith - of little faith and no works -- "Franklin Roosevelt has lost faith in the American people." Does this cross section of the American people in front of me tonight believe that?

Here is another: "For all the discouragement of the past seven and a half years we (the Republicans) still have the enterprise and the courage to do the job but we cannot do that job under an Administration that has lost faith in America". Believe me when I say in all sincerity that it was the faith of this Administration during these years -- justified faith -- that still enables us to live in a free America. And I think you agree with that.



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In the making of Presidential appointments -- Members of the Cabinet, Administrators, Members of the Defense Council and all the others, I ask myself in the first instance, is he or is she nationally minded. Your servants -- the servants of your Federal Government -- look at the welfare of the whole nation with more knowledge and with more interest than ever before.

That is why in the conduct of domestic affairs there is so little opportunity for honest political debate in this campaign.

The same is true of this nation which, having pulled itself successfully out of the slough of despond, is able today to meet world threats with basic unanimity and understanding. "Millions for defense but not one cent for tribute" we have revived as our motto. In so doing can we best retain that innate hatred of war, that faith in continued peace for America that lies in every American heart.



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THIRD DRAFT.

SPEECH OF OCTOBER 23, 1940.

On July nineteenth I stated the obvious truth to the convention of my party; that I could conduct no campaign in the usual accepted definition of that term. But I added: "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".

That statement has been carried out with absolute consistency. Since July, hardly a day or a night has passed when some crisis, or some possibility of crisis, in world affairs has not called for my personal collaboration with the Secretary of State or other official of the government in the conduct of our foreign affairs.

With every passing day dispatches come to us from literally every nation and every region of the whole world -- from our good neighbor on the north, Canada -- from the twenty other American Republics south of us, all the way through Central and South America to Cape Horn. They come from the Islands of the Pacific -- from New Zealand and Australia, from the Colonies of European nations in other parts of the world, from the whole Continent of Africa, from the vast domain of the Soviet Republic, extending from the Pacific to the Baltic -- from numberless places which may or may not, from one week to the other be plunged into war.



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JIMMY L. BOPLAND

All of this compels me to remain within a reasonable distance of those dispatches, the Department of State, and the Capital of the Nation. Steadily I have pursued that course. There have been several occasions when I have left the Capital to carry out, insofar as possible, my obvious duty to speed up the progress that your Government and industry has been making and is making in building up our defenses.

These trips will be continued after November fifth.

In pursuance of the definite statement of July, I am taking this evening off in order to carry out the promise that I would answer misstatements of fact.

All of these misstatements cannot possibly be "unwitting falsifications" of fact; many of them must be "deliberate falsifications" of fact.

Certain techniques of propaganda originating, and having their development, in dictator countries have been imported into this campaign. The success of dictators in using this technique has encouraged some campaign orators to use it here. It is the very simple technique of repeating and repeating falsehoods, blatant as they



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Dwight L. Hopkins

may be, with the idea that by constant repetition and no contradiction, the misstatements will finally come to be believed. Dictator propagandists have made no secret of this practice, or of their success in using it. But they forget that they have been successful only because they have been able, by control of press and radio, to stifle any contradiction or presentation of the other side.

In a democracy, where the radio and much of the press have kept open to both sides, that technique will never prevail. Distortions, or half truths,



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Harry L. Hopkins

or untruths will never mislead the American people as a whole. Partisanship, sectional appeal, misrepresentation will never prevail with the American people.

I will not pretend that I find this an unpleasant duty. I am an old campaigner and I love a good fight. But some of the things I must say tonight I shall say regretfully. Disagreement among ourselves is one thing. Even in time of national peril, disagreement, free criticism, is basic to our democratic process. But these are grave times in which we should present a united front to the world. Charges, false charges, which create fear among our people and which mislead our enemies into believing us weak and disunited -- these should have no place here, even in a political campaign.

Only the desperation of partisans can explain, for example, the attempts of some political orators to paint the dismal picture they do of the business and economic condition of the United States of 1940.

That picture, mind you, has come from the brush of the leaders of the party who left the United States in the plight of

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The American people have not forgotten the condition of the United States in 1932. I do not have to speak of the failures of banks, the bread lines of starving men and women, the youth of the country riding around in railroad box cars, the farm foreclosures, the home foreclosures, the bankruptcy and the panic. Those things have seared themselves into the memory of the American people. But I do want to recall the attitude of the Republican leaders of 1932 - the executive and legislative leaders, the leaders in office and out of office - toward the catastrophe of those days.

In the face of all the human suffering, in the face of the economic collapse, government leadership of those days was content to rest easy on the simple statement that the whole thing was merely the inevitable working of economic law and the system of free enterprise. Their only answer was to counsel patience until in its own good time the depression would have run its disastrous course.

A few swift bold measures could have halted the depression before it gathered momentum. But a paralyzed administration, frozen with fear, merely bowed before the wild forces which its own folly and cupidity had unleashed.

At the very hour of complete collapse, the American people called upon the Democratic Party for leadership. That leadership the Democratic Party supplied.



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Government, no longer callous to suffering, moved swiftly to
aid distress.

Government, no longer impotent, moved vigorously to halt
depression.

Government, no longer the captive of the forces of greed,
discharged the fundamental responsibility of free government,
to promote the general welfare and to secure social and economic
justice for all.

The very same men who must bear the responsibility for the
inaction of these days, are the very ones who are now saying that
not enough has been done to restore the prosperity of the country.

They seek to give the impression that the farmer is still
neglected, that labor cannot get a job and works for inadequate
pay, and that business is still in the slough of the depression.

The American people know that that just is not so.

For example, anyone interested in stating facts instead of
merely seeking votes would learn from the record what the state of
American agriculture is today.

This year the six million farmers of the country will receive
about 90% more money for the sale of their crops than they got
in 1932.

Instead of getting 4½¢ for cotton, the American farmer is



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getting 9½¢; instead of selling 37¢ wheat, he is selling 67¢ wheat; instead of 29¢ corn, he is selling 63¢ corn; instead of 8¢ tobacco, he is selling 13¢ tobacco.

But rise in farm prices is only the beginning of the story of the farmer during the last eight years.

Thousands of farms have been saved from foreclosure through the Farm Security Administration.

Farm mortgages now carry 3½% interest instead of 9%.

A quarter of a million miles of rural electric power lines have been built to carry electricity to farms. Over a million farms have been electrified since 1932.

The farmers' roads by which they get their products to market have been increased by over 30,000 miles, to say nothing of the half million miles of repairs and improvements.

Under the Soil Conservation Act and its predecessor acts, farmers have received benefit payments of more than three and a half billion dollars, and soil estimated at \$1 _____ has been saved.

What does all this add up to? It means an agriculture which is not only strong and vigorous but one which can face the future with confidence. These Republican leaders who were willing to let the farmer's income drop to practically nothing, who were willing to



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see his farm and home foreclosed, who were willing to see his purchasing power go to pieces - without lifting a finger to help - these leaders know full well that the farmer is better off today and feels more secure in his future than at any time since the World War.

What did these same leaders do for the laboring man and woman, over whom they shed so many tears now during the course of a political campaign?

Back in 1932, these leaders were willing to let the workers starve if they could not get a job.

Back in 1932, they were not willing to provide relief through public works or even through a dole.

Back in 1932, they were not willing to guarantee a worker the right to join a union, and to bargain collectively with his employer.

Back in 1932, they raised their hands in horror at the thought of fixing a minimum wage or maximum hours for labor.

Back in 1932, they never gave a thought to such things ~~xxx~~ as pensions for old age or insurance for the unemployed.

In those days they were interested only in economic abstractions: theories which said that each employee had to make the best deal he could with an employer; theories which said



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that hours and wages and working conditions should be fixed by supply and demand, and not through humanitarian ideas or social vision; theories which left working men to the tender mercy of an age of technology, where one machine could replace a hundred men.

In 1940, eight years later, what a different tune is played!

These same Republican leaders are for these progressive changes now; they believe in them. They believe in them so much that they will never be happy until they put their own brand upon them. If they could only get control of them, they plead, they would take so much better care of them, honest-to-goodness they would.

This tune is, of course, only a rehash of the tune of 1936. That, you will remember, was also an election year. In that year the affection of these Republican leaders for the laboring man also rose to a high pitch. But after the election day of 1936, they and their friends, their political supporters and contributors, did all that they could in the legislature, before administrative bodies and in the courts, to beat these measures down into the ground and to return to the good old days of the economic abstractions which they loved so much.

What are the plain facts?

The plain fact is that there are eight million more men em-



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ployed in private industry now than were in 1932.

The plain fact is that in the various government works ^{out} programs an additional 2½ million persons are employed.

The plain fact, therefore, is that there is a total of 10½ million more jobs today than there were in 1932. What is more important, employment is growing every month, every week. Furthermore, estimates submitted to me show that the defense program will raise employment by six million before the end of next year.

Call the roll of some of the specific improvements in the lot of the working men and women that have come about during the past eight years.

Nearly 45 million employees are now under the old age pension system, able to look forward with some assurance of a decent living in their old age.

26 million employees have been brought under the protection of unemployment insurance and an additional million and a half under the railroad unemployment insurance program.

A minimum wage of at least thirty cents per hour has been established for workers, and in certain industries, much higher minimum wages.

A maximum work week of forty hours has been established for these workers, with provision for time and a half for overtime.



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Child labor has been outlawed.

Average hourly earnings in manufacturing industry have risen almost 80 per cent since 1932. Factory pay rolls have more than doubled since 1932.

What we have done since 1933 has been based on the fundamental idea that when we helped labor, or when we helped ~~the~~ agriculture, or when we helped home owners, or when we helped any one section or group in the community, we thereby helped all groups and all sections.

That doctrine was proved correct by what has happened to the general economy of America.

The same business leaders who came to Washington in 1933 to beg Government to do something, to do anything, to save American business from complete ruin are in the forefront of those who now proclaim that American business has been stifled during the last eight years.

Our Government did act in 1933. Our Government did save the system of American business, of American private enterprise and profit.

What the Government did not do in 1933, and what it has refused to do ever since, has been to permit a return to the abuses of 1929; to permit to go on, unnoticed,



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the great industrial monopolies and the vast concentration of financial and economic control in the hands of a small autocracy; to permit the unregulated, unsupervised exploitation of labor.

We know, if we but look at the record, that American business, big and small business, is way up above the level of 1933 and on a much sounder footing than it was even in the 20's.

Do you need figures to prove it?

Our national income has come up over eighty per cent above 1932, from \$ billion to \$ billion.

In the ten years before the crash of 1929, the years of the so-called prosperity boom, bank failures averaged over 600 a year. The number of bank failures last year were only thirty.

Corporations reported losses of five billion dollars in 1932. In 1938 the deficit had been wiped out, and more than three and a half billion dollars of profit were added.

Retail sales have shown an increase of 55%.

The American business man knows that his deposits in his bank have been guaranteed by the United States Government up to five thousand dollars.

The American business man knows that the farmers of the Nation have been given increased purchasing power with which to buy his products.

The American business man knows that the workers of the Nation have been given fairer wages and the sense of security which encourages them to buy more of his products.

The American business man knows that the home owners loan program has saved the homes of over one million families.

The American business man knows that the security exchanges of America have been made a more orderly market place and that manipulation of markets for the benefit of stock gamblers ~~XXXX~~ has been stopped.

All of these improvements, all of these benefits to labor, to the farmer and to the business man, have brought about an increase



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in the standard of living in America which reflects the prosperity of the country.

We have passed the time when the prosperity of the Nation is measured in terms of the stock ticker. We know that the well being of a people is measured by the manner in which they live, by the security which they feel in the future.

Although the population has increased since 1932 only _____ per cent, the number of automobiles has increased twenty-eight per cent; the per capita consumption of electricity has increased sixty-seven per cent; the retail sales in our stores have increased fifty-five per cent; the number of refrigerators has increased _____ per cent; the number of shoes sold has increased _____ per cent.

In this vast recovery, every section of the country, every occupation, has shared. The gains of farmers have not been made at the cost of workers; the gains of workers have not been made at the cost of farmers; the gains of farmers and workers have not been made at the expense of business.

Every single man, woman and child has a vital interest in this recovery. But if it can be said to affect any single group more than any other, that group would be the young men and women



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of America who are about to embark upon their individual careers.

It may be hard for ~~you~~^{some} of you younger people to remember the kind of world which the youth of America faced in 1932. There were no jobs. There was no chance to work on a relief project. There was no government assistance. For many there was no food except on the bread line.

There was no more tragic part of the depression of those days than the plight of people coming of age with nothing to do, except to stand around on street corners or travel around in freight trains.

The future which a young man or young woman faces today is quite different. Everything that we have done to advance the economy of the nation, every improvement we have made for every group and in every section, has helped to lift the clouds which hang over the young people of America.

Special effort has been made for youth by way of training and by way of education. Through the CCC camps millions of young men have been given healthful work and the beginnings of some training. We propose to broaden the work of the CCC so as to give more training to its members.



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Through the NYA we have given educational opportunities to hundreds of thousands of youths who would otherwise be without them. We propose to extend the work and the benefits of NYA.

There is no doubt that the one thing which must be done if we would save the young men of the nation for the future welfare of the nation is to give them the opportunity to work. Above all they want to work and to earn money. Providing jobs is the least that democratic government can do for its citizens. Democracy will never truly work unless reasonable opportunity for jobs is provided for youths.

We have made a beginning, not by words but by actual deeds. Ten and a quarter million more people are employed now than were in 1932. That is a great advance but not enough. The ultimate objective for which we strive is opportunity for a job for every young man and woman as they come of age.

As a corollary to that, we look forward to setting up employment exchanges with information about the kind of



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jobs which are available in the different communities. We look forward to a system of vocational guidance where young people may obtain accurate information of over-crowding in certain professions and industries, of over-crowding in certain cities or rural sections, and of availability of certain types of work in other cities and other sections.

Training, education and jobs -- there lies the possibility for young men to participate in the reasonable happiness and security that we have come to regard as the normal possession of American life. Then we take work out of the lives of young people, we take from them the roots by which they may live and grow into manhood and womanhood. Nothing has changed this basic fact of American life - that work has been the means by which a nation progresses. The right to work, we proclaim to be one of the fundamental rights of man -- included in his right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. It should be not only a right to work, but a choice of work according to the individual's inclination, his ability and his aptitude.

But we have done more than put people to work. We have put people back into the life of the country. We have given the jobless more than jobs; we have given them the sense of usefulness, the sense of accomplishment, to which a living man is



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entitled. The great dams, the broad roads, the school-houses, the court houses, the bridges built by those whom the private industry of 1929 and 1930 and 1931 and 1932 had cast aside as useless, are not only monuments to the vitality of this nation but visible and tangible proofs to many hundreds of thousands of human beings that their work was wanted and that their work was good.

Nothing we have done will be longer remembered than the fact that we restored to many men a belief in themselves and in the dignity and value of their labor. And of none is this more true than of the young -- the generation which came to manhood and womanhood in the difficult years which greed and waste and folly had prepared for us.

Let us be honest withourselves. It is not enough to say to the young men and the young women of America: "You are free". "You can say what you think". "You can think what you please". It is not enough, much as it is, to say to them: You enjoy the legal guarantees of freedom. It is necessary to say and to do far more. It is necessary to permit them to have their lives. It is necessary to



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receive them into the body of this nation and to enable them to help create the kind of world they wish to live in.

For democracy is precisely that -- the perpetual creation and recreation by each generation, by its own free will and purpose, of a world to which its men and women can give their loyalty and lives. Without the guarantee of the bill of rights, democracy could not exist. But democracy is not the guarantee alone. Democracy is the common labor for a common end and the guarantees of individual responsibility make possible.

It was this democracy -- this common labor for the common end -- which we restored. When we took over the administration of this government more had been destroyed than banks and industries and markets and the savings of men's lives. The sense of work, the meaning of work, the reality of work had been destroyed. It was the sense of the meaning and the dignity of work which we restored to men and women in America.



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THIRD DRAFT

SPEECH OF OCTOBER 23, 1940

Last July I stated the plain obvious fact to the national convention of my party: that the pressure of national defense work and the conduct of foreign affairs would not allow me to conduct any campaign in the usually accepted definition of that term.

Since July, hardly a day or a night has passed when some crisis, or some possibility of crisis in world affairs, has not called for my personal conference with the Secretary of State or other officials of the Government.

With every passing day dispatches come to us from literally every nation and every region of the world.

With every passing day has come some urgent problem in connection with our swift production for defense, and our mustering of the resources of the Nation.

If it were only a matter of my own wish, I would accept the many invitations to speak in many parts of the country. But because there has always been before me the fixed determination to do everything to keep this Nation at peace, to have it armed with an invincible defense, I have been compelled to adhere to the rule never to be more than twelve hours distant from Washington. I am sure you will understand when I say that any President of the United States, irrespective of any political campaign, must first think of his immediate responsibility and duty to the people of all parties and in every section of the nation.



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THIRD DRAFT

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Last July I also said this to the Chicago Convention:

"I shall never be loath to call the attention of the Nation to deliberate or unwitting falsifications of fact, which are sometimes made by political candidates".

The time has come for me to do just that.

This night and four other nights, I am taking time to point out to the American people what the more fantastic misstatements of this campaign have been. I emphasize the words "more fantastic", because it would take 365 nights to discuss all of them.

I could give you subject after subject, example piled on example, of misrepresentations, of bogey men set up for the instilling of false fears. You will hear more about these examples from me in the next ten days.

All of these misstatements cannot possibly be what I called last July, "unwitting falsifications" of fact; many of them must necessarily be what I called "deliberate falsifications" of fact.

I defend obvious truth; but, equally important, I attack obvious untruth.

The young people who are attending dinners in every State of the Union tonight, will be the first to realize



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THIRD DRAFT

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that they are already a part of the whole economic and social life of the nation. The examples of these mis-statements and the facts which I use to refute them affect the future of the younger generation and, therefore, the future of America.

There is, of course, a vast difference between honest argument and presentation of economic and social views on the one hand, and deliberate falsifications of fact on the other. Truthful campaign discussion of public issues is an essential to the American form of government; but wilful misrepresentation of fact has no place during election time or at any other time. For example, there can be no legitimate objection to any party or any candidate urging that the undeveloped water power of this nation should be harnessed by private utility companies rather than by the Government itself; or that the social security law should be repealed, or that the truth-in-securities act should be abrogated.

But it is entirely a different thing for any party or any candidate to state, for example, that the President of the United States telephoned to Mussolini and Hitler to sell Czechoslovakia down the river; or that the unfortunate unemployed of the Nation are going to be driven into concentration camps;



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From the papers of
Barry M. Hopkins

THIRD DRAFT

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or that the social security funds of the Nation will no longer be in existence when the workers of today become old enough to apply for them, or that the election of the present government means the end of American democracy within four years. They know and we know that all of these statements are false.

Certain techniques of propaganda, created and developed with great success in dictator countries have been imported into this campaign. It is the very simple technique of repeating and repeating falsehoods, no matter how blatant they may be, with the idea that by constant repetition and with no contradiction, the misstatements will finally come to be believed.

Dictators have had great success in using this technique; but only because they were able to control the press and the radio and stifle all opposition. That is why I cannot bring myself to believe that in a democracy like ours, where the radio and a part of the press remain open to both sides, repetition of deliberate misstatements will ever prevail.

I make the definite charge now that these falsifications are being spread for the sole purpose of filling the minds and hearts of the American people with fear -- fear of the present and fear of the future. They are used to create fear by instilling in the minds of the people doubt of each other, doubt of their government and doubt of the objectives and purposes of their democracy.



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THIRD DRAFT

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This type of campaign has been tried in a small way on previous occasions. It has a familiar ring. It reminds us of the scarecrow of 1936, that the social security funds were going to be diverted from the pockets of the American working man.

It reminds us of the scarecrow of 1938 that "grass will grow in the streets of a hundred cities; a thousand towns; the weeds will over-run the fields of millions of farms".

The American people will not be stampeded into panic. The effort failed before. It will fail again. They will not be scared by this blitzkrieg of verbal incendiary bombs. They are now calmly aware that once more "the only thing we have to fear is fear itself".

But, the misrepresentations are so flagrant and so widespread, that if they were to go unanswered, there is a possibility that they might seriously affect the national unity which is so essential in these critical times. I consider it, therefore, a public duty to answer falsifications with facts. I will not pretend that I find this an unpleasant duty. I am an old campaigner, and I love a good fight. But some of the things I must say tonight, and on later nights, I shall say



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THIRD DRAFT

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with sorrow -- because they have to be sold.

The Presidency is not a prize to be won by mere glittering promises. It is not a commodity to be sold by high pressure salesmanship and a national advertising campaign. The Presidency is a most sacred trust. It represents the reasoned purposes of a free people. It ought not to be dealt with on any level other than an appeal to reason and to humanity.

The worst bombshell of fear which Republican leaders have let loose on this people is the accusation that this Government, without the knowledge of the Congress or of the people, has secretly entered into agreements with foreign nations. They even intimate that such commitments have endangered the security of the United States or have pledged the participation of the United States in some foreign war. It seems almost unnecessary to deny such a charge. But so long as the fantastic misstatement has been made, I must brand it for what it is.

I give you this most solemn assurance: there is no secret treaty, no secret obligation, no secret commitment, no secret understanding of any shape or form, direct or indirect, with any other government, or any other nation in any part of the world, to involve this Nation in any war or for any other purpose.



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FROM THE PAPERS OF
HERBERT L. HOPLINS

Patriotism requires the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth, in discussing the international relationships of our country.

The desperation of partisans who can invent secret treaties drives them to try to deceive our people in other ways. Consider, for example, the false charge they make that our whole industrial system is prostrate -- that business is stifled and can make no profits.

The American people have not forgotten the condition of the United States in 1935. We all remember the failures of banks, the bread lines of starving men and women, the youth of the country roaming around in railroad box cars, the farm foreclosures, the home foreclosures, the bankruptcy and the panic.

A paralyzed Republican Administration frozen with fear, cowering before the wild forces which their own folly and cupidity had unleashed.

A few swift, bold measures could have halted the depression before it gathered momentum. But in the face of all the human suffering, in the face of the economic collapse, Government leadership of those days was content to rest easy on one simple statement. They shrugged their shoulders; and said that the whole thing was merely the inevitable working of economic



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Laws with which no government could or should interfere.

At the very hour of complete collapse, the American people called for new leadership. That leadership, this Administration and a Democratic Congress supplied.

Government, no longer callous to suffering, moved swiftly to end distress.

Government, no longer impotent, moved vigorously to halt depression.

Government, no longer the captive of the forces of greed, set out on the path to promote the general welfare and to secure social and economic justice for all.

The very same men who must bear the responsibility for the inaction of those days, are the very ones who now dare to say that not enough has been done to restore the prosperity of the Country.

They deliberately and falsely try to give the impression that we are all still in the depth of the depression into which they plunged us; that we have prevented the country from recovering and that it is headed for the shade of bankruptcy. They have even gone to the extent of stating that this Administration has not made one man a job.



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Harry L. Hopkins

THIRD DRAFT

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I say that that statement is false. I say that the figures of employment, of production, of earnings, of general business activity -- all prove that it is false.

The tears for the laboring man and woman now being shed in this campaign come from those same Republican leaders who had their chance to prove their love for labor in 1932 -- and missed it;

Back in 1932, these leaders were willing to let the workers starve if they could not get a job.

Back in 1932, they were not willing to provide relief; they were not willing to guarantee collective bargaining.

Back in 1932, they met the demands of unemployed veterans with fire and troops.

Back in 1932, they raised their hands in horror at the thought of fixing a minimum wage or maximum hours for labor; they never gave a thought to such things as pensions for old age or insurance for the unemployed.

In 1940, eight years later, what a different tune is played! It is a tune played against a sounding board of election day. It is a tune with overtones which whisper: "votes, votes, votes".



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These same Republican leaders are for all the new progressive measures now; they believe in them. They believe in them so much that they will never be happy until they can slap them to their own chests and put their own brand upon them. If they could only get control of them, they plead, they would take so much better care of them, honest-to-goodness they would.

This time is, of course, only a rehash of the tune of 1936. That, you will remember, was also an election year. In that year the affection of these Republican leaders for the laboring man also rose to a high pitch. But after the election day of 1936, they and their friends, their political supporters and, above all, their political contributors, did all that they could in the Congress, before administrative bodies, and in the courts, and in the Press, to beat these measures down into the ground.

What are the plain facts about employment today?

There are nine million more men and women employed in purely private industry now than were employed in March of 1933.

In the month of August of this year alone over 400,000 were added to private payrolls. In September, another 300,000 workers went to work in our industries.



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From the Papers of
Dwight L. Hopkins

The millions that have gone to work and the other hundreds of thousands now going to work each month in private industry are the unequivocal answer to the brazen statement made by the Republicans in this campaign, that this Administration has not added one private job since 1933. This statement of theirs can only be branded as a deliberate misstatement of fact. And I now so brand it.

Let us call the roll of some of the specific improvements in the lot of the working men and women that have come about during the past eight years:

More than 42 million employees are now under the old age pension system. An additional 2,000,000 men and women over 65 years of age, are now receiving cash grants each month as old age assistance.

Twenty-nine million employees have been brought under the protection of unemployment insurance.

Collective bargaining has been guaranteed.

A minimum wage has been established.

A maximum work week of forty hours has been fixed, with provision for time and a half for overtime.

Child labor has been outlawed.



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THIRD DRAFT

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The average hourly earnings of factory workers were 86

cents in the boom year of 1929. They fell to 45 cents by 1933. They are now 67 cents, - not only higher than 1933, but, mark you, nearly 11 cents per hour higher than in 1929 itself.

Factory pay envelopes had fallen to 5 billion dollars per year by 1932. In 1940, factory payrolls are running at the rate of 10 billion dollars.

And we must not forget that the cost of living is today 22 per cent lower than it was in 1929.

The worst falsification about our economy, is made when the Republican leaders talk about American business -- how it is hamstringed, how it cannot make a profit, how little confidence it has in this Administration and how this Administration hates business.

We know, if we but look at the record, that American Business, big and small business, is way up above the level of 1932 and on a much sounder footing than it was even in the 20's.

Do you need figures to prove it?

Our national income has nearly doubled since 1932, from 39 billions then running up to the rate of 74 billions in 1940. If you consider the lower cost of living today, the national income is even higher now than in the great boom year of 1929.



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In the ten years before the crash of 1929, the years of the so-called prosperity boom, bank failures averaged over 600 a year. The number of bank failures last year was only forty-two. Ten of these were under federal deposit insurance set up by this administration, and in those ten banks, 99% of the depositors did not lose a dollar.

During this Administration the total number of bank failures for the entire seven years was less than the number of bank failures in any single one of the preceding ten years.

And yet there are some banks which are now using stockholders' money to advertise or to send letters to their depositors, hinting that unless this Administration is defeated, the deposits of their banks will be in danger. This is sheer intimidation to blackjack the election, and return the financial control of the government to the very forces which had nearly wrecked the Nation. I think you agree.

Now as to corporation profits. They were a minus quantity in 1932. Corporations as a whole showed losses of almost four billion dollars that year. By now, eight years later, that deficit has been wiped out, and corporations are reporting profits of four billion dollars a year. In other words, they are better off by nearly eight billion dollars a year more than they were eight years ago. That figure will be greatly increased this year.



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And yet they say this Administration prevents profits and stifles business. You and I cannot believe that.

If it is true that the New Deal is the enemy of business, and that the old Republican leaders, who brought business to the brink of ruin in 1932, are the friends of business -- then I can only say that American business should continue to be saved from its friends.

Look at our industrial economy as a whole. The output of our factories and mines is now almost 15% greater than at the peak of 1929 -- 1929, mind you, not 1932. It is at the highest level ever recorded.

We have passed the time when the prosperity of the Nation is measured in terms of the stock ticker. We know that the well-being of a people is measured by the manner in which they live, by the security which they feel in the future.

Figures alone will never give a true picture of how far the standard of living of the American people has risen since 1932. But 1932 would really be too easy for contrast. Let us take 1929, the year that still appeals to some as the glittering age of American prosperity.



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For the American people as a whole - the great body of its citizens - the standard of living has increased well above that of 1929.

We do not advertise "a chicken in every pot" or "two cars in every garage". We know it is more important that the American people this year are building more homes, are buying more pairs of shoes, more washing machines, more electric refrigerators, more electric current, more textile products, than in the boom year of 1929.

This year there will be placed on the tables of America more butter, more shoes, more meat, more oranges, more canned goods - more food than in the luxurious year of 1929.

The fact is that there are more goods available per capita for each man, woman and child today than in 1929.

Yesterday I saw a copy of the Wall Street Journal of October 17th. Now you know that the Wall Street Journal is not very friendly to me. It certainly is not a mouth-piece for the New Deal.

But see what I read there:

1. Washington. The swelling volume of business continued through the first half of October and a further extension of the index upswing is expected.



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2. New York. Retail auto sales volume this month will probably be highest level of any October in industry's history.

3. Cleveland. For the second successive month of the current season, Great Lakes ore fleet operated at 100% capacity.

4. New York. It appears probable that major branches of the textile industries will operate at capacity levels for the remainder of this year and for the early months of 1941.

5. New York. Cotton consumption and cotton textile production during 1940 are expected to reach record high levels.

Last Sunday morning before I got out of bed, I had to laugh when I read the following in the financial section of the New York Times -- another paper which is reputed not to love me too much. Evidently there is what we might call a lack of coordination between the business and the editorial pages. For this is what an editor of the financial page of the New York Times said: I quote, "The Federal Reserve Board in the week added another point to its index of production for September, and the figure now stands at 125, or 15½ per cent above the 1929 average" - mind you, not the 1932 average but the 1929 average. I quote further: "Dreams of business 'flat on its back' must come from smoking campaign cigars of also the speakers are talking about some other country." Wouldn't it be nice if the editorial writers of the Times could get acquainted with their own business experts?



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FROM THE PAPERS OF
HARRY L. BOPLIN

In this vast recovery, every section of the Country, every occupation, has shared. The gains of farmers have not been made at the cost of workers; the gains of workers have not been made at the cost of farmers; the gains of farmers and workers have not been made at the expense of business.

Every single man, woman and child has a vital interest in this recovery. But if it can be said to affect any single group more than any other, that group would be the young men and women of America who are about to embark upon their individual careers.

It may be hard for some of you younger people to remember the kind of world which the youth of America faced in 1932. There were no jobs; no relief projects. There was no help from government. For many there was no food except on the bread line.

The tragedy of those days has passed. There is today in the youth of the Nation a new spirit, a new energy, a new conviction that a sounder and more stable economy is being built for them, and that their Government will continue to work for the solution of their problems and the fulfilment of their hopes.

In 1940 this generation of American youth can truly feel that they have a stake in the society which they are glad to defend.



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Through the CCC and the National Youth Administration, millions of youth have benefited by training, and by education, and by jobs.

We propose in the interests of justice and in the interests of national defense to broaden the work and extend the benefits of both these agencies. For these agencies form a line of defense behind the first lines -- training men and women for essential defense industries and for other industries; educating them to self-reliance and to moral resistance against that way of life which ignores the individual and denies his own capacity for happiness.

The one thing which must be extended if we would save the young men and women of the nation is to give them the opportunity to work.

We have recognized that for every American the right to work is as basic to democracy as the right to vote, to learn, to speak, to worship.

We have a definite goal, a definite objective toward which we are aiming. We believe that if any boy or girl in reaching employment age has been unable to get a job in private industry, the Government owes them the duty of furnishing them with the necessary training to equip them for employment. It is the job of Government to help every young man and woman find a job. We have made progress toward that objective during the last eight years. Do you want to keep that progress in experienced



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THIRD DRAFT

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and willing hands, or turn it over to untried and unbelieving hands,
We are determined during the next four years to make our objective -- work
for every young man and woman in America -- a living fact.

We have put people to work; but we have done more than that.
We have put people back into the life of the nation. We have given the
jobless more than jobs; we have given them the sense of usefulness, the
sense of accomplishment, to which a living man is entitled.

We have restored to many men and women a belief in themselves
and in the dignity and value of their labor.

Tonight there is one more false charge -- one outrageously false
charge -- made to strike terror into the hearts of our citizens. It is
a charge that offends every political and religious conviction that I hold
dear. It is the charge that this Administration wishes to lead this country
into war.

This charge is contrary to every fact, every purpose of the
past eight years. Throughout these years my every act and every thought
has been directed to the end of preserving the peace of the world. As
I saw the war coming, I used every ounce of the prestige of the office of
President of the United States to prevent its onset. When war came I
used every ounce of the



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prestige of the office to prevent its spread to other nations.
When that effort failed, I called upon the Congress and I called
upon the nation to build the strong defenses that would be our
best guarantee of peace and security in this hemisphere.

To Republicans and Democrats, to every man, woman and
child in the nation I say -- your President and your great Secretary
of State are following the road to peace.

We are arming ourselves not for any foreign war. We are
arming ourselves not for any purposes of conquest or intervention
in foreign disputes. I repeat again that I stand on the Platform
of our Party: "We will not participate in foreign wars and we will
not send our army, naval or air forces to fight in foreign lands
outside of the Americas except in case of attack".

It is for peace I have labored; and it is for peace I
shall labor all the days of my life.



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