

October 24, 1940

[Herald Tribune Forum]

FDR Speech File

1323

RADIO ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT

HERALD TRIBUNE FORUM

OCTOBER 24, 1940

In closing this Forum on the subject, "Saving Democracy", I can think of no better text than the final words of the speech which Abraham Lincoln gave in Cooper Institute in New York City on February 27th, 1860.

Lincoln was then speaking to an audience to whom he was a stranger. Represented in the audience, said the New York Tribune of that day, was the "intellect and moral culture" of the city. Lincoln warned them against the fear-mongers and the calamity howlers -- the "appeasers" of that troubled time, who were numerous and influential. He said:

"Neither let us be slandered from our duty by false accusations against us, nor frightened from it by menaces of destruction to the Government, nor of dungeons to ourselves. Let us have faith that right makes might, and in that faith let us to the end dare to do our duty as we understand it".

We do well to repeat Lincoln's declaration of faith today. It gives the right answer -- the American answer -- to the foreign propagandists who seek to divide us with their strategy of terror.

The repeaters of these slanders to our democracy, whether conscious disorganizers or unwitting dupes, seem to believe that if they tell us often enough that democracy is outworn and that we are decadent, we will begin to believe it ourselves, and we will immediately, obediently proceed to decay.

They have a strange misconception of our national character.

They believe, for one thing, that we Americans must be "hybrid, mongrel and undynamic" (so we are called by the enemies of democracy) because so many races have been fused together in our national community.

They believe we have no common tradition.

They believe that we are disunited and defenseless because we believe in free inquiry and free debate -- because we argue with each other -- because we engage in political campaigns -- because we recognize the sacred right of the minority to disagree with the majority, and to express that disagreement, even loudly.

They believe that we are no match for a dictatorship in which uniformity is compulsory, in which each lives in terror of his neighbor and, worse still, of himself, because the dominant atmosphere is that of the concentration camp.

Despising democracy and not knowing our strength, those who have destroyed other free peoples deem the United States an "effete, degenerate democracy".

At first we dismissed this contempt with our traditional spirit of good humor. We are now replying to it in characteristically American terms. We are preparing for the defense of the two American continents,

and of the oceans that are the highways of those continents.

And we are doing so in a mood of determination, but unafraid
and resolute in our will to peace.

We are aware that the dictators are quick to take
advantage of the weakness of others.

As to the humorless theory -- that we are "hybrid
and undynamic -- mongrel and corrupt", and that, therefore,
we can have no common tradition -- let them look at most
gatherings of Americans and study the common purpose that
animates those gatherings. Let them look at any church
sociable in any small town -- at any fraternal convention,
or meeting of doctors or mine workers -- at any cheering
section of any football game; let them look with especial
attention at the crowds which will gather in and around
every polling place on November fifth. Let them observe
the unconquerable vitality of democracy. It is the very
mingling of races dedicated to common ideals which creates
and recreates our vitality.

In every representative American meeting there will be men and women and children with names like Jackson, and Lincoln and Isaac and Schultz and Stuyvesant and Olson and Kovacs and Satori and Jones and Smith. These varied Americans with varied backgrounds are all immigrants or the descendants of immigrants. All of them are inheritors of the same stalwart tradition -- a tradition of unusual enterprise, of adventurousness, of courage "to pull up stakes and git moving". That has been the great, compelling force in our history. Our continent, our hemisphere, has been populated by people who wanted a life better than the life they had previously known. They were willing to undergo all conceivable perils, all conceivable hardships, to achieve the better life. We are animated by this compelling force today. It is what makes us Americans.

The bold and adventurous men, of many racial origins, were united in their determination to build a system which guaranteed freedom -- for themselves and for all future generations. They built a system in which government and

people are one -- a nation which is a partnership -- and can continue as a partnership.

That is our strength today.

The strength of every dictatorship depends upon the power of the one, almighty dictator -- supported by a small, highly-organized minority who call themselves the "elite".

We depend upon the power and allegiance of the one hundred and thirty million members of our national community from whom our government's authority is derived and to whom our government is forever responsible.

We gain in strength through progress, social, intellectual and scientific. The more we perfect means of human communication between all parts of our community, the more united we become. Just as I, as elected head of your government, am privileged to talk to you over the radio, you talk to me. That is partnership. And it means that when, together, we make a decision, we act upon that decision as partners, and not in the inhuman manner of a capricious master toward his slaves.

The constant free flow of communication among us -- enabling the free interchange of ideas -- forms the very blood stream of our nation. It keeps the mind and the body of our democracy eternally vital, eternally young.

We see, across the waters, that system undergoing a fearful test. Never before has a whole, free people been put to such a test. Never before have the citizens of a democracy -- men and women and little children -- displayed such courage, such unity, such strength of purpose, under appalling attack. Their homes and their schools, their churches and their national shrines, are being destroyed. But there is one mighty structure more enduring than marble, more precious than all that man has built, and that is the structure of the democratic faith.

We have confidence in the ability of the democratic system which gives men dignity, to give them strength. We say with Lincoln: "Let us have faith that right makes might, and in that faith let us dare to do our duty as we understand it".

Franklin Roosevelt

Orig. reading copy.

RADIO ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT

To the Herald Tribune Forum
October 24, 1940, 4.45 P.M.

(Made from his home in Hyde Park.)

MRS. REID, MEMBERS OF THE HERALD TRIBUNE FORUM:

In closing this Forum on the subject, "Saving Democracy," I can think of no better text than the final words of the speech which Abraham Lincoln gave in Cooper Institute in New York City on February 27th, 1860.

Lincoln was then speaking to an audience to whom he was a stranger. Represented in the audience, said the New York Tribune of that day, was the "intellect and moral culture" of the city. Lincoln warned them against the fear-mongers and the calamity howlers -- the "appeasers" of that troubled time, appeasers who were numerous and influential. He said:

"Neither let us be slandered from our duty by false accusations against us, nor frightened from it by menaces of destruction to the Government, nor of dungeons to ourselves. Let us have faith that right makes might, and in that faith let us to the end dare to do our duty as we understand it."

We do well to repeat Lincoln's declaration of faith today. It gives the right answer -- the American answer -- to the foreign propagandists who seek to divide us with their strategy of terror.

The repeaters of these slanders to our democracy, whether conscious disorganizers or unwitting dupes, seem to believe that if they tell us often enough that democracy is outworn and that we are decadent, we will begin to believe it ourselves, and we will immediately, obediently proceed to decay.

They have a strange misconception of our national character.

Franklin D. Roosevelt Library

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

They believe, for one thing, that we Americans must, as they say, be "hybrid, mongrel and undynamic" -- so we are called by the enemies of democracy -- and we are called so because they say so many races have been fused together in our national community.

They believe we have no common tradition.

They believe that we are disunited and defenseless because we believe in free (inquiry) inquiries and free debate -- because we argue with each other -- because we engage in political campaigns -- because we recognize the sacred right of the minority to disagree with the majority, and to express that disagreement, even loudly.

They believe that we are no match for a dictatorship in which uniformity is compulsory, in which each lives in terror of his neighbor and, worse still, in terror of himself, because the dominant atmosphere is that of the concentration camp.

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We are aware that the dictators are quick to take advantage of the weakness of others.

As to the humorless theory -- that we are "hybrid and undynamic -- mongrel and corrupt," and that, therefore, we can have no

common tradition -- let them look at most gatherings of Americans and study the common purpose that animates those gatherings. Let them look at any church sociable in any small town -- at any fraternal convention, or meeting of doctors or mine workers -- at any cheering section of any football game; let them look with especial attention at the crowds which will gather in and around every polling place on November fifth. Let them observe the unconquerable vitality of democracy. It is the very mingling of races dedicated to common ideals which creates and recreates our vitality.

In every representative American meeting there will be men and women and children with names like Jackson and Lincoln and Isaac and Schultz and Stuyvesant and Olson and Kovacs and Satori and Jones and Smith. These varied Americans with varied backgrounds are all immigrants or the descendants of immigrants. All of them are inheritors of the same stalwart tradition -- a tradition of unusual enterprise, of adventurousness, of courage, courage "to pull up stakes and git moving," as they used to say. That has been the great, compelling force in our history. Our continent, our hemisphere, has been populated by people who wanted a life better than the life they had previously known. They were willing to undergo all conceivable perils, all conceivable hardships, to achieve the better life. They were animated just as we are animated by this compelling force today. It is what makes us Americans.

The bold, (and) the adventurous men, of many racial origins, were united in their determination to build a system which guaranteed freedom -- for themselves and for all future generations. They built a system in which government and people are one -- a nation which is

a partnership -- and can continue as a partnership.

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We depend upon the power and allegiance of the one hundred and thirty million members of our national community from whom our Government's authority is derived and to whom our Government is forever responsible.

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We see, across the waters, that system undergoing a fearful test. Never before has a whole, free people been put to such a test. Never before have the citizens of a democracy -- men and women and little children -- displayed such courage, such unity, such strength of purpose, under appalling attack. Their homes and their schools, across the water, their churches and their national shrines, are

being destroyed. But there is one mighty structure more enduring than marble, more precious than all that man has built, and that is the structure of the democratic faith.

We have confidence in the ability of the democratic system which gives men dignity, to give them strength. And so we say with Lincoln: "Let us have faith that right makes might, and in that faith let us dare to do our duty as we understand it."

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OCTOBER 24, 1940

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CARE MUST BE EXERCISED TO PREVENT PREMATURE PUBLICATION.

STEPHEN EARLY
Secretary to the President

In closing this Forum on the subject, "Saving Democracy", I can think of no better text than the final words of the speech which Abraham Lincoln gave in Cooper Institute in New York City on February 27th, 1860.

Lincoln was then speaking to an audience to whom he was a stranger. Represented in the audience, said the New York Tribune of that day, was the "intellect and moral culture" of the city. Lincoln warned them against the fear-mongers and the calamity howlers -- the "apostles" of that troubled time, who were numerous and influential. He said:

"Neither let us be slandered from our duty by false accusations against us, nor frightened from it by menaces of destruction to the Government, nor of dangers to ourselves. Let us have faith that right makes might, and in that faith let us to the end dare to do our duty as we understand it."

We do well to repeat Lincoln's declaration of faith today. It gives the right answer -- the American answer -- to the foreign propagandists who seek to divide us with their strategy of terror.

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They have a strange misconception of our national character.

They believe, for one thing, that we Americans must be "hybrid, mongrel and undynamic" (so we are called by the enemies of democracy) because so many races have been fused together in our national community.

They believe we have no common tradition.

They believe that we are disunited and defenseless because we believe in free inquiry and free debate -- because we argue with each other -- because we engage in political campaigns -- because we recognize the sacred right of the minority to disagree with the majority, and to express that disagreement, even loudly.

They believe that we are no match for a dictatorship in which uniformity is compulsory, in which each lives in terror of his neighbor and, worse still, of himself, because the dominant atmosphere is that of the concentration camp.

Despising democracy and not knowing our strength, those who have destroyed other free peoples deem the United States an "effete, degenerate democracy".

At first we dismissed this contempt with our traditional spirit of good humor. We are now replying to it in characteristically American terms. We are preparing for the defense of the two American continents, and of the oceans that are the highways of those continents. And we are doing so in a mood of determination, but unafraid and resolute in our will to peace.

We are aware that the dictators are quick to take advantage of the weakness of others.

As to the humorless theory -- that we are "hybrid and undynamic -- mongrel and corrupt", and that, therefore, we can have no common tradition -- let them look at most gatherings of Americans and study the common purpose that animates those gatherings. Let them look at any church sociable in any small town -- at any fraternal convention, or meeting of doctors or mine workers -- at any shearing section of any football game; let them look with especial attention at the crowds which will gather in and around every polling place on November fifth. Let them observe the unconquerable vitality of democracy. It is the very mingling of races dedicated to common ideals which creates and recreates our vitality.

In every representative American meeting there will be men and women and children with names like Jackson, and Lincoln and Isaac and Schultz and Stuyvesant and Olson and Kovacs and Satori and Jones and Smith. These varied Americans with varied backgrounds are all immigrants or the descendants of immigrants. All of them are inheritors of the same stalwart tradition -- a tradition of unusual enterprise, of adventurousness, of courage "to pull up stakes and git moving". That has been the great, compelling force in our history. Our continent, our hemisphere, has been populated by people who wanted a life better than the life they had previously known. They were willing to undergo all conceivable perils, all conceivable hardships, to achieve the better life. We are animated by this compelling force today. It is what makes us Americans.

The bold and adventurous men, of many racial origins, were united in their determination to build a system which guaranteed freedom -- for themselves and for all future generations. They built a system in which government and people are one -- a nation which is a partnership -- and can continue as a partnership.

That is our strength today.

The strength of every dictatorship depends upon the power of the one, almighty dictator -- supported by a small, highly-organized minority who call themselves the "elite".

We depend upon the power and allegiance of the one hundred and thirty million members of our national community from whom our government's authority is derived and to whom our government is forever responsible.

We gain in strength through progress, social, intellectual and scientific. The more we perfect means of human communication between all parts of our community, the more united we become. Just as I, as elected head of your government, am privileged to talk to you over the radio, you talk to me. That is partnership. And it means that when, together, we make a decision, we act upon that decision as partners, and not in the inhuman manner of a capricious master toward his slaves.

The constant free flow of communication among us -- enabling the free interchange of ideas -- forms the very blood stream of our nation. It keeps the mind and the body of our democracy eternally vital, eternally young.

We see, across the waters, that system undergoing a fearful test. Never before has a whole, free people been put to such a test. Never before have the citizens of a Democracy -- men and women and little children -- displayed such courage, such unity, such strength of purpose, under appalling attack. Their homes and their schools, their churches and their national shrines, are being destroyed. But there is one mighty structure more enduring than marble, more precious than all that man has built, and that is the structure of the democratic faith.

We have confidence in the ability of the democratic system which gives man dignity, to give them strength. We say with Lincoln: "Let us have faith that right makes might, and in that faith let us dare to do our duty as we understand it".

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Revised
Herald-Tribune forum draft

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"Neither let us be slandered from our duty by false accusations against us, nor frightened from it by menaces of destruction to the Government, nor of dungeons to ourselves. Let us have faith that right makes might, and in that faith let us to the end dare to do our duty as we understand it."

We do well to repeat Lincoln's declaration of faith today. It gives the right answer -- the American answer -- to the foreign ^{propagandists} ~~agents~~ who seek to divide us with their strategy of terror.

*Stamps of
The enemies of freedom*
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or unwitting dupes, seem to believe that if they tell us often enough that democracy is outworn and that we are decadent, we will begin to believe it ourselves, and we will immediately, obediently proceed to decay.

They have a strange misconception of our national character.

They believe, for one thing, that we Americans must be "hybrid, mongrel and undynamic" (so we are called by the enemies of democracy) because so many races have been fused together in our national community.

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They believe that we are disunited and defenseless because we believe in free inquiry and free debate -- because we argue with each other -- because we engage in political campaigns -- because we recognize the sacred right of the minority to disagree with the majority, and to express that disagreement, even loudly.

They believe that we are no match for a dictatorship in which uniformity is compulsory, in which each lives in terror of his neighbor and, worse still, of himself, because the dominant atmosphere is that of the concentration camp.

[This is the basis of totalitarian contempt for an "effete, decadent democracy", such as the United States of America.]

Despising democracy and not knowing our strength, those who have destroyed other free peoples deem the United States an "effete, degenerate democracy."

At first we dismissed this contempt with our traditional spirit of good humor. We are now replying to it in characteristically American terms. We are preparing for the defense of the two American continents and of the oceans that are the highways of those continents. And we are doing so in a mood of determination, but unafraid and resolute in our will to peace.

We are aware that the dictators are quick to take advantage of the weakness of others. [But they have yet to demonstrate their courage before those of equal strength. They have yet to demonstrate their eagerness to fight free men who have not been caught defenseless or off-guard.]

As to the humorless theory [of the other] -- that we are "hybrid and undynamic--mongrel and corrupt", and that therefore we can have no common tradition -- let them look at ^{first} especial gathering of Americans and study ^{their} the common purpose that animates ~~that~~ gathering. Let them look at any church sociable in any small town -- at any fraternal convention, or meeting of doctors or mine workers -- at any cheering section of any football game; let them look with especial attention at the crowds which will

gather in and around every polling place on November 5th. Let them observe the unconquerable vitality of democracy. It is the very mingling of races dedicated to common ideals which creates and recreates our vitality.

In every representative American gathering there will be men and women and children with names like Jefferson and Jackson, and Lincoln and Ulson and KOVACS and Isaac and Schultz and Stuyvesant and Bananeen and O'Brien and Imperialist.
Satori and Jones and Smith.

These varied Americans with varied backgrounds are all immigrants or the descendants of immigrants. All of them are inheritors of the same stalwart tradition -- a tradition of unusual enterprise, of adventurousness, of courage "to pull up stakes and git moving". That has been the great, compelling force in our history. Our continent, our hemisphere, has been populated by people who wanted a life better than the life they had previously known. They were willing to undergo all conceivable perils, all conceivable hardships, to achieve the better life. We are animated by this compelling force today. It is what makes us Americans.

The bold and adventurous men, of many racial origins, were united in their determination to build a system which guaranteed freedom for themselves and for all future generations. They built a system in which government and people are one -- a nation which is a partnership -- *and we* *must* *go* *on* *together*. That is our strength today.

The strength of every dictatorship depends upon the power of the one, almighty dictator -- supported by a small, highly organized minority who call themselves the "elite".

We depend upon the power and allegiance of the 130,000,000 members of our national community from whom our government's authority is derived and to whom our government is forever responsible.

We gain in strength through progress, social, intellectual and scientific. The more we perfect means of communication between all parts of our community, the more united we become. ^{HUMAN} ~~[Because we now have that no medium or communication is a one-way street.]~~ Just as I, as elected head of your government, am privileged to talk to you over the radio, you ~~talk~~ ^{talk} to me. That is partnership. And it means that when, together, we make a decision, we act upon that decision as partners, and not in the inhuman manner of a capricious master toward his slaves.

The constant free flow of communication among us -- enabling the free interchange of ideas -- forms the very blood stream of our nation. It keeps the mind and the body of our democracy eternally vital, eternally young.

~~We are proud of the differences that exist among us, proud of our capacity for argument, [proud of our very "coarseness"] And we are, today, more than ever proud of the democratic system.~~

Address to the Nation

We see ~~clashed~~ that system undergoing a fearful test. Never before has a whole, free people been put to such a test. Never before have ~~men~~ ^{the citizens of a democratic} men and women and little children displayed such courage, such unity, such strength of purpose, under appalling attack. Their homes and their schools, their churches and their national shrines, are being destroyed. But there is one mighty structure more enduring than marble ~~and~~ more precious than all that man has built, and that is the structure of the democratic faith.

We have confidence in the ability of the democratic system which gives men dignity, to give them strength. We say with Lincoln: "Let us have faith that right makes might, and in that faith let us dare to do our duty as we understand it."

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We do well to repeat Lincoln's declaration of faith today. It gives the right answer -- the American answer -- to the foreign propagandists who seek to divide us with their strategy of terror.

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Yale

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P.P.E.

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They believe, for one thing, that we Americans must be "hybrid, mongrel and undynamic" (so we are called by the enemies of democracy) because so many races have been fused together in our national community.

They believe we have no common tradition.

They believe that we are disunited and defenseless because we believe in free inquiry and free debate -- because we argue with each other -- because we engage in political campaigns -- because we recognize the sacred right of the minority to disagree with the majority, and to express that disagreement, even loudly.

They believe that we are no match for a dictatorship in which uniformity is compulsory, in which each lives in terror of his neighbor and, worse still, of himself, because the dominant atmosphere is that of the concentration camp.

Despising democracy and not knowing our strength, those who have destroyed other free peoples deem the United States an "effete, degenerate democracy".

At first we dismissed this contempt with our traditional spirit of good humor. We are now replying to it in characteristically American terms. We are preparing for the defense of the two American continents,

and of the oceans that are the highways of those continents. And we are doing so in a mood of determination, but unafraid and resolute in our will to peace.

We are aware that the dictators are quick to take advantage of the weakness of others.

As to the humorless theory -- that we are "hybrid and undynamic -- mongrel and corrupt", and that, therefore, we can have no common tradition -- let them look at most gatherings of Americans and study the common purpose that animates those gatherings. Let them look at any church sociable in any small town -- at any fraternal convention, or meeting of doctors or mine workers -- at any cheering section of any football game; let them look with especial attention at the crowds which will gather in and around every polling place on November fifth. Let them observe the unconquerable vitality of democracy. It is the very mingling of races dedicated to common ideals which creates and recreates our vitality.

In every representative American meeting there will be men and women and children with names like Jackson, and Lincoln and Isaac and Schultz and Stuyvesant and Olson and Kovacs and Sgori and Jones and Smith. These varied Americans with varied backgrounds are all immigrants or the descendants of immigrants. All of them are inheritors of the same stalwart tradition -- a tradition of unusual enterprise, of adventurousness, of courage "to pull up stakes and git moving". That has been the great, compelling force in our history. Our continent, our hemisphere, has been populated by people who wanted a life better than the life they had previously known. They were willing to undergo all conceivable perils, all conceivable hardships, to achieve the better life. We are animated by this compelling force today. It is what makes us Americans.

The bold and adventurous men, of many racial origins, were united in their determination to build a system which guaranteed freedom -- for themselves and for all future generations. They built a system in which government and

people are one -- a nation which is a partnership -- and can continue as a partnership.

That is our strength today.

The strength of every dictatorship depends upon the power of the one, almighty dictator -- supported by a small, highly-organized minority who call themselves the "elite".

We depend upon the power and allegiance of the one hundred and thirty million members of our national community from whom our government's authority is derived and to whom our government is forever responsible.

We gain in strength through progress, social, intellectual and scientific. The more we perfect means of human communication between all parts of our community, the more united we become. Just as I, as elected head of your government, am privileged to talk to you over the radio, you talk to me. That is partnership. And it means that when, together, we make a decision, we act upon that decision as partners, and not in the inhuman manner of a capricious master toward his slaves.

The constant free flow of communication among us -- enabling the free interchange of ideas -- forms the very blood stream of our nation. It keeps the mind and the body of our democracy eternally vital, eternally young.

We see, across the waters, that system undergoing a fearful test. Never before has a whole, free people been put to such a test. Never before have the citizens of a democracy -- men and women and little children -- displayed such courage, such unity, such strength of purpose, under appalling attack. Their homes and their schools, their churches and their national shrines, are being destroyed. But there is one mighty structure more enduring than marble, more precious than all that man has built, and that is the structure of the democratic faith.

We have confidence in the ability of the democratic system which gives men dignity, to give them strength. We say with Lincoln: "Let us have faith that right makes might, and in that faith let us dare to do our duty as we understand it".

HOLD FOR RELEASE

HOLD FOR RELEASE

HOLD FOR RELEASE

OCTOBER 24, 1940

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STEPHEN EARLY
Secretary to the President

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Lincoln was then speaking to an audience to whom he was a stranger. Represented in the audience, said the New York Tribune of that day, was the "intellect and moral culture" of the city. Lincoln warned them against the fear-mongers and the calamity howlers -- the "appeasers" of that troubled time, who were numerous and influential. He said:

"Neither let us be slandered from our duty by false accusations against us, nor frightened from it by menaces of destruction to the Government, nor of dungeons to ourselves. Let us have faith that right makes might, and in that faith let us to the end dare to do our duty as we understand it."

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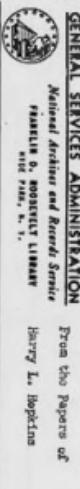
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We do well to repeat Lincoln's declaration of faith today. It gives the right answer - the American answer - to the foreign propagandists who seek to divide us with their strategy of terror. [It gives the right answer to the few timorous men among ourselves who, even as in Lincoln's time, fear that the end of our Union is at hand.]



The authors and the repeaters of foreign propaganda seem to believe that if they tell us often enough that we are decadent, we will begin to believe it ourselves, and we will immediately, obediently proceed to decay.

They have a strange misconception of our national character.

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They believe that we are disunited and defenseless because we are addicted to arguing with each other - because we engage in political campaigns - because we recognize the sacred right of the minority to disagree with the majority, and to express that disagreement, loudly.

They believe that we are no match for a dictatorship in which uniformity is compulsory, in which every individual lives in terror of the concentration camp and the headsman's axe.

This is the basis of totalitarian contempt for an "effete, degenerate democracy", such as the United States of America.



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HARRY L. Hopkins

We have dismissed this contempt with our traditional spirit of good humor. We have not been deeply impressed nor unduly disturbed by it. We are now replying to it in characteristically American terms. We are asserting our national vitality in a manner that can not possibly be misunderstood. We are preparing for the defense of the two American continents and of the oceans that are the highways of those continents.

[A week ago, on October 16th, we were privileged to witness and to participate in one of the truly great, inspiring occasions of our history. That was the day on which nearly seventeen million young men registered for service in their country's cause. In every state, in every district, the numbers of registrants exceeded the previous estimates. But it was not mere numbers which gave us the deepest feeling of confidence, of assurance that our democracy is as strong and as young as it ever was. It was the spirit of those young men - these intelligent, enlightened, straight thinking young men. They stood up to be counted, and they did so in no spirit of false bravado. They had not been hypnotized into the belief that they belong to a "master race" and that world conquest is their destiny. They had no illusions as to the brutality, the inhumanity, of war. But they stood up, in a spirit



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HARRY L. Hopkins
From the
President

of calm defiance, simply because they are Americans and free men and they are determined that they and their children shall continue to be Americans, and free men.

On that day of registration, I believe that we all experienced a spiritual exaltation, an uplifting of the heart. Here in Washington, in the White House, one can not fail to feel always a sense of our country's past, of the living spirits of the immortal Americans who were the builders of our union, the saviors of our union, the defenders of our union, through one generation after another. And I believed that those living spirits were walking among the seventeen million young Americans and were saying, "Here is the proof that we labored not in vain - we fought not in vain - we died not in vain."

The demonstration of national unity given by those young men is sufficient answer to the foreign propagandists who imagined that the vigorous determination of our people could be shattered by their appeals to fear.]

As to their theory of "racism" - that we are "hybrid and undynamic-mongrel and corrupt", and that therefore we can have no common tradition - let them look at any normal gathering of Americans and study the common purpose that animates that gathering. Let them look at any church sociable in any small town - at any convention of Elks, or of doctors, or mine workers - at any cheering section of any foot ball game; let



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From the People of

Harry L. Hopkins

then look with especial attention at the crowds which will gather in
and around every polling place on November 5th. Let them observe
the unconquerable vitality of democracy. It is the very mixture of
[blood - the constant infusion of new blood] which creates and
recreates our vitality.



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HARRY S. TRUMAN LIBRARY
From the Papers of
Harry S. Truman

In every representative American gathering there will
be men and women and children with names like Jefferson and Jackson,
and Lincoln and Cohen and Schultz and Stuyvesant and Svensson and
O'Brien and LaGuardia. These varied Americans with varied
backgrounds are all immigrants or the descendants of immigrants.
All of them are inheritors of the same stalwart tradition - a tradition
of unusual enterprise, of adventurousness, of courage "to pull up
stakes and git moving". That has been the great, compelling force
in our history. Our continent, our hemisphere, has been populated
by people who wanted a life better than the life they had previously
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by this compelling force today. It is what makes us Americans.

The bold and adventurous men, of many racial origins, were united in their determination to build a system which guaranteed freedom, for themselves and for all future generations. They built a system in which government and people are one - a state which is a partnership.

That is our strength today.

The strength of every dictatorship depends upon the power of the one, almighty dictator - supported by a small, highly organized minority who call themselves the "elite".

We depend upon the massed power of the 130,000,000 members of our national community from whom our government's authority is derived and to whom our government is forever responsible.

We gain in strength through progress, social, intellectual and scientific. The more we perfect means of communication between all parts of our community, the more united we become. Because - we see to it that no medium of communication is a one way street. Just as I, as elected head of your government, am privileged to talk to you over the radio, you are privileged to talk back to me. That is partnership. And it means that when, together, we make a decision, we act upon that decision as partners, and not in the unstable, inhuman manner of masters and slaves.



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From the Papers of
Harry L. Hopkins

The constant free flow of communication among us - enabling the free interchange of ideas - forms the very blood stream of our nation. It keeps the mind and the body of our democracy eternally vital, eternally young.

We are proud of the differences that exist among us, proud of our capacity for argument, proud of our very "corneriness". And we are, today, more than ever proud of the democratic system.

We are seeing that system undergoing a fearful test in the Battle of Britain. Never before has a whole, free people been put to such a test. Never before have common men and women and little children displayed such profound courage, such unity, such strength of purpose, under constant, horrible attack.

On the island of Britain today the civilians hold the front line. Their homes and their schools, their churches and their national shrines, are being destroyed. But there is one mighty structure which still stands firm, for all the world to see and admire, and that is the structure of the democratic faith.

The British people have not abandoned that faith in this hour of tragic trial. They have chosen, instead, to assert it, more vigorously



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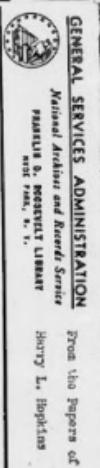
President of the United States

than ever. They have cast off the rule of timid Toryism and achieved a government more thoroughly representative, more truly liberal and democratic, than any they have known since their forefathers first proclaimed the right to freedom in Magna Charta.

There is more than symbolism in the fact that the original of Magna Charta is now in our custody, for the duration of this war. It will be kept safe in the Library of Congress, together with the originals of the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United States and the Gettysburg address.

We guard this treasure, proudly. And we pray for the day of peace when Magna Charta shall be restored to the British people who have proved so valiantly that their faith and ours can never be conquered.

"Let us have faith that right makes might, and in that faith let us dare to do our duty as we understand it."



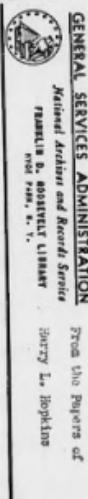
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Dear John
Oct 28, 1984

Revised
Herald-Tribune forum draft

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I can think of no better text than the final words of the speech which
Abraham Lincoln gave in Cooper Institute in New York City on February
27th, 1860.



Lincoln was then speaking to an audience to whom he was a stranger.
Represented in the audience, said the New York Tribune of that day, was
the "intellect and moral culture" of the city. Lincoln warned them against
the fear-mongers and the calumny bawlers -- the "cappensers" of that
troubled time, who were numerous and influential. He said:

"Neither let us be slandered from our duty by false accusations
against us, nor frightened from it by menaces of destruction to the Govern-
ment, nor of dungeons to ourselves. Let us have faith that right makes
right, and in that faith let us to the end dare to do our duty as we
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We do well to repeat Lincoln's declaration of faith today. It
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The repeaters of foreign propaganda whether conscious disorganizers

or unwitting dupes seem to believe that if they tell us often enough that democracy is outworn and that we are decadent, we will begin to believe it ourselves, and we will immediately, obediently proceed to decay.

They have a strange misconception of our national character.

They believe, for one thing, that we Americans must be "hybrid, mongrel and undynamic" (so we are called by the enemies of democracy) because so many races have been fused together in our national community.

They believe we have no common tradition.

They believe that we are disunited and defenseless because we believe in free inquiry and free debate — because we argue with each other — because we engage in political campaigns — because we recognize the sacred right of the minority to disagree with the majority, and to express that disagreement, even loudly.

They believe that we are no match for a dictatorship in which uniformity is compulsory, in which each lives in terror of his neighbor and, worse still, of himself, because the dominant atmosphere is that of the concentration camp.

[This is the basis of totalitarian contempt for an "effete, degenerate democracy", such as the United States of America.]



GENERAL SERVICES ADMINISTRATION

Kinsey, Arthur and Brooks Series

RECORDED AND INDEXED
APRIL 1, 1947

HARRY L. DEWEY JR.
From the Polaris Co.

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At first we dismissed this contempt with our traditional spirit of good humor. We are now replying to it in characteristically American terms. We are preparing for the defense of the two American continents and of the oceans that are the highways of those continents. And we are doing so in a mood of determination but unafraid and resolute in our will to peace.

We are aware that the dictators are quick to take advantage of the weakness of others. [But they have yet to demonstrate their courage before those of equal strength. They have yet to demonstrate their eagerness to fight free men who have not been caught defenseless or off-guard.]

As to the humorless theory [of "racism"] — that we are "hybrid and undynamic—mongrel and corrupt", and that therefore we can have no common tradition — let them look at any normal gathering of Americans and study the common purpose that animates that gathering. Let them look at any church sociable in any small town -- at any fraternal convention, or meeting of doctors or mine workers -- at any cheering section of any football game; let them look with especial attention at the crowds which will



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HARRY L. Hopkins
Director of Projects of
the National Resources Commission

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Franklin D. Roosevelt Library
National Archives and Records Service
West Park, N.Y.

From the Papers of

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FROM THE PAPERS OF

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From the Papers of
Harry L. Hopkins

STATEMENTS FILE
ShorthandBy Kanner

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OCTOBER 24, 1940

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Mo Re: 15-1365

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We are aware that the dictators are quick to take advantage of the weakness of others.

As to the humorless theory -- that we are "hybrid and undynamic -- mongrel and corrupt", and that, therefore, we can have no common tradition -- let them look at most gatherings of Americans and study the common purpose that animates those gatherings. Let them look at any church sociable in any small town -- at any fraternal convention, or meeting of doctors or mine workers -- at any cheering section of any football game; let them look with especial attention at the crowds which will gather in and around every polling place on November fifth. Let them observe the unconquerable vitality of democracy. It is the very mingling of races dedicated to common ideals which creates and recreates our vitality.

In every representative American meeting there will be men and women and children with names like Jackson, and Lincoln and Isaac and Schultz and Stuyvesant and Olson and Kovacs and Satori and Jones and Smith. These varied Americans with varied backgrounds are all immigrants or the descendants of immigrants. All of them are inheritors of the same stalwart tradition -- a tradition of unusual enterprise, of adventurousness, of courage, to pull up stakes and git movin'. That has been the great, compelling force in our history. Our continent, our hemisphere, has been populated by people who wanted a life better than the life they had previously known. They were willing to undergo all conceivable perils, all conceivable hardships, to achieve the better life. We are animated by this compelling force today. It is what makes us Americans.

The bold, ~~adventurous~~, adventurous men, of many racial origins, were united in their determination to build a system which guaranteed freedom -- for themselves and for all future generations. They built a system in which government and people are one -- a nation which is a partnership -- and can continue as a partnership.

That is our strength today.

The strength of every dictatorship depends upon the power of the one, almighty dictator -- supported by a small, highly-organized minority who call themselves the "elite".

We depend upon the power and allegiance of the one hundred and thirty million members of our national community from whom our government's authority is derived and to whom our government is forever responsible.

We gain in strength through progress, social, intellectual and scientific. The more we perfect means of human communication between all parts of our community, the more united we become. Just as I, as elected head of your government, am privileged to talk to you over the radio, you talk to me. That is partnership. And it means that when, together, we make a decision, we act upon that decision as partners, and not in the inhuman manner of a capricious master toward his slaves.

The constant free flow of communication among us -- enabling the free interchange of ideas -- forms the very blood stream of our nation. It keeps the mind and the body of our democracy eternally vital, eternally young.

We see, across the waters, that system undergoing a fearful test. Never before has a whole, free people been put to such a test. Never before have the citizens of a democracy -- men and women and little children -- displayed such courage, such unity, such strength of purpose, under appalling attack. Their homes and their schools, their churches and their national shrines, are being destroyed. But there is one mighty structure more enduring than marble, more precious than all that man has built, and that is the structure of the democratic faith.

We have confidence in the ability of the democratic system which gives man dignity, to give them strength." We say with Lincoln: "Let us have faith that right makes might, and in that faith let us dare to do our duty as we understand it".
