
Franklin D. Roosevelt — “The Great Communicator”

The Master Speech Files, 1898, 1910-1945

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

File No. 1334-A

1940 November 1

**Brooklyn, NY - Campaign Address at Brooklyn
Academy of Music**

SPEECH OF THE PRESIDENT
ACADEMY OF MUSIC
BROOKLYN, N. Y.
NOVEMBER 1, 1940

Sentiment is a very wonderful and continuing thing in the human race. It has brought me back again to this old Brooklyn Academy of Music on the Friday night before election.

This is a strange campaign. Here it is almost the day of election, and it is still impossible to determine what are the principles of the opposition party. What is it that the Republican leaders would do during the next four years if given a chance?

They have made campaign speeches on all sides of all questions.

On a Monday, we hear that this Administration has done a good job with its foreign policy; on Tuesday we hear the foreign policies of the United States condemned.

On Wednesday we understand that our policy toward agriculture should not be changed; and on Thursday we learn to our amazement that the farmers have been the victims of the New Deal and are forced to exist on a dole.

On Friday, we are treated to the encouraging thought that the social gains of labor during the past seven years, should be continued; and on Saturday, we are told to weep because labor has been the principal sufferer under the New Deal.

To one group, further and bigger relief is held out; and to the big taxpayers, cuts in expenditures are promised.

One day they say they would continue our good neighbor policy; the next day they hurl insults at certain of our good neighbors to the South.

That is the way they seek to catch a vote here and a vote there.

There is, however, one explanation for these contradictions. That explanation is found in the strange, the very strange, assortment of political bedfellows who have been brought together in the Republican political dormitory.

Many conflicting interests, many irreconcilable social outlooks, many fundamentally opposite economic attitudes have been thrown together under one political roof.

The only common philosophy and the only common purpose they have is to get wholly rid of all the New Deal -- lock, stock and barrel -- and to get control of government in their own hands for their own purposes.

Just as they have not been able to foist their falsifications on the American people, they will never be able to foist this only common purpose of theirs upon the American people.

We will all see to that next Tuesday.

(9,10)

We all know the story of the unfortunate chameleon who turned brown when placed on a brown rug, and red when placed on a red rug, and who died a tragic death when they put him on a Scotch plaid. We all know what would happen to government if it tried to fulfill all the secret understandings and promises made between the conflicting groups which are now backing the Republican Party.

There is something very ominous in this combination which has been forming within the Republican Party between the extreme reactionary and the extreme radical elements of this country.

There is no common ground upon which they can unite, unless it be their common will to power, and their impatience with the normal democratic processes to produce overnight the inconsistent dictatorial ends they each seek.

No elements in American public life have made such vicious attacks upon each other in recent years as have the members of this new unholy alliance against each other.

I do not think that some of the men, even some of the leaders, who have been drawn into this unholy alliance realize what a threat that sort of an alliance may bring to the future of democracy in this country.

I am certain that the rank and file of patriotic Republicans do not realize the nature of this threat.

They should remember, and we must remember, what the collaborative understanding between Communism and Nazism has done to the processes of democracy abroad.

Something evil is happening in this country when a full page advertisement against this Administration, paid for by Republican supporters, appears --- where of all places? --- in the Daily Worker, the newspaper of the Communist Party.

Something evil is happening in this country when vast quantities of Republican campaign literature are distributed by organizations which make no secret of their admiration for the dictatorship form of government.

These forces hate democracy and Christianity as two phases of the same civilization. They oppose democracy because it is Christian. They oppose Christianity because it preaches democracy.

Their objective is to prevent democracy from becoming strong and purposeful. We are strong and purposeful now.

In the years after the last World War, Americans worked and built many things, but few of our people stopped to think why they were working, and why they were building, and whither they were tending.

Those were the days when prosperity was measured only by the stock ticker.

(9,15)

There were the factory workers forced to labor long hours at low wages in sweat-shop conditions. They could look forward to no security in their old age. They could look forward to no insurance during periods of unemployment.

There were the farmers of the nation, overburdened with debt and with farm surpluses, their income vanishing, their farms threatened with foreclosure.

There were the natural resources of the land being wasted -- soil, forests, minerals, water power.

There were millions of workers, unable to organize to protect their livelihoods, unable to form trade unions.

There were the small businesses of the nation, threatened by the monopolies of concentrated wealth.

The savings of the many were entrusted to supposedly great financiers, who were to lose these savings in fantastic adventures of giant holding companies and giant investment trusts.

The crash came as it had to come. And then for three years the American people waited and suffered. For three years the American government did nothing to help.

In 1933, the American people began to stir themselves. They had come to learn that inaction offered no escape from the problems of a troubled and changing world.

The American people determined then and there that what could not be done by individual effort could be done through joint effort; that what the industrial and financial leaders could not do, a democratic government could do!

You all know the history of recovery, beginning in 1933, and progressing ever since.

Our economic system began again to function. Then came the suggestion from monopolistic finance that while the Government had done a good rescue job, the best thing it could do at that point was to forget all about it, and to turn the whole economic system back to Wall Street to run it again.

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They little knew the temper of the American people. The New Deal was no mere rescue party, to restore to a chosen few, their old power over the people's savings, the people's labor, the people's lives.

We had seen social unrest at home and abroad -- the frustrated hopes of common men and women, the apathy which is the forerunner of cynicism, the despair which dissolves civilization. What this Administration was determined to do was to save America from that frustration and from that despair.

We all remember how negligible was the opposition this Administration met in the early days, when it was cleaning up the wreckage which had come from the era of speculation.

The bitter opposition from Republican leaders did not come until a little later. It came when this Administration made it clear that we were not merely salvaging a few things from the past, but that we were determined to make our system of private enterprise and private profit work more efficiently and democratically, to fill the demands and needs of all the people of America.

We understand the philosophy of those who offer resistance and counter offensive against the American people's march of social progress. It is not an opposition which comes necessarily from wickedness -- it is an opposition which comes from subconscious resistance to any measure which disturbs the position of privilege.

It is an unfortunate human failing, that a full pocketbook often groans more loudly than an empty stomach.

I am a firm believer in private enterprise and in private property. I am a firm believer in the American opportunity of men and women to rise in private enterprise.

Of course, if private opportunity is to remain safe, average men and women must be able to have it, as part of their own individual satisfaction in life and their own stake in democracy.

With that in view we have pushed ahead with social and economic reforms, determined that this period in American life should be written down as an heroic era -- an era in which men fought not merely to preserve a past, but to build a future.

We have seen nations great and small go down in ruin, or get backed up against the wall, because the reactionary men who led them could not see the real danger that threatened. They were afraid of losing their own selfish privilege and power. They feared the legitimate forward surge of their own common people, more than they feared the menacing might foreign dictators.

(Q25)

From them, we take warning here.

Most Republican leaders in our own country for the last seven years have bitterly fought and blocked that forward surge of average men and women in the pursuit of happiness.

And let us not be deluded that, overnight, those leaders have become the real friends of these average men and women.

Do you believe that the bulk of the money to finance this vast Republican campaign is being provided by people who have the interests of the common man at heart? Very few of us are so gullible.

Oh, they may say at election time that they approve the social gains and social objectives of the last seven years. But I say that these men have not yet proven that they even understand what these social gains or social objectives have been.

The American people know how many and how difficult were the battles we have fought and won in the last seven years.

Do you want to abandon the protection of people's savings from fraudulent manipulators, the curbing of giant holding companies that despoiled investors and consumers alike, by delivering them into the hands of those who have fought these reforms?

Do you want to abandon the responsibility for the well-being of those who live and work on the farms of the nation, to those who fought against the farm program every inch of the way?

Do you want to abandon collective bargaining, the outlawing of child labor, the minimum wage, the time-and-a-half for overtime, the elimination of sweat-shop conditions, by turning them over to the proven enemies of labor?

Do you want to hamstring the old age pension system, unemployment insurance, aid for children and maternity welfare, vocational training for the physically handicapped, financial aid to the blind, by delivering them into the hands of those who have fought and misrepresented these reforms?

Do you want to abandon slum clearance to those Republican leaders who have fought against appropriations for decent housing?

Do you want to turn over your government to those who failed to have confidence in the future of America, and who now preach fear for the future of America? As an example of this doctrine of fear, certain insurance companies are now sending letters to their policy holders, warning them that if this Administration is retained in office, their policies will shrink in value.

(Q3a)

This is just another form of pay-envelope campaign of fear like the one in 1936.

The fact is that the very existence of most of these insurance companies was saved in 1933 by this Administration. They are today fully solvent.

If there were a vestige of truth in these dangerous forebodings, the bonds of the United States would be selling very low in price. The fact is, however, that only last week the Government of the United States sold one year bonds for public housing -- one hundred million dollars worth of them at an interest rate of only one-quarter per cent. They were

over-subscribed eighteen times. That certainly indicates the solidity of the credit of the United States. And if you need further proof, look at the treasury of the Commonwealth and Southern System. There you will find that they have bought and hold twenty-one million dollars of United States Government securities!

Our program in the past, our program for the future, is equality of economic opportunity. Such a program calls for many things. It requires an orderly settlement of industrial disputes not by those devoted to company unions, but by agencies alert to the requirements of labor and mindful of the responsibilities of industry.

This program entails old age insurance and unemployment insurance, operating on an increasingly wider base.

It makes available cheap credit to impoverished tenants, consumers, and small business. In fact, our program starts with small business, so that it may grow and flourish.

It curbs the old predatory activities of high finance and monopoly practices.

It guarantees that our national resources are used for the benefit of the whole people -- not exploited for the benefit of a few.

It provides for the resettlement of farmers from marginal lands to richer lands, and for farm ownership for enslaved tenants.

Monopoly does not like this program. Certain types of high finance do not like it. Most of the American plutocracy does not like it.

But the vast majority of American business, the backbone of American business, continues to grow and flourish under it. For that business is interested in reasonable profits, not promoters' tribute. That business is interested in freedom from monopolistic restraints and economic imperialism. That business knows that the farmers, the workers, the great mass of our citizens have never asked for more than equality and fair play.

(935)

We are a nation of many nationalities, many races, many religions -- bound together by a single unity, the unity of freedom and equality.

Whoever seeks to set one nationality against another, seeks to degrade all nationalities.

Whoever seeks to set one race against another, seeks to enslave all races.

Whoever seeks to set one religion against another, seeks to destroy all religion.

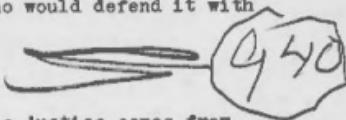
So-called racial and religious voting blocs are the creation of designing politicians who profess to be able to deliver them on election day. But every American citizen -- realizing how precious is his right to the secret ballot -- does scorn and will scorn such unpatriotic politicians. The vote of Americans will be American -- and only American.

The true attitude of some leaders of the Republican party toward the common man is not frequently revealed, but occasionally their true feelings break through the restraints, which a political campaign places upon their tongues, and they mispeak themselves. We can then see their true sentiments in all their naked unloveliness.

In a Republican campaign speech the other day, a prominent leader of the Philadelphia bar, delivered himself in these words, quoted in the New York Times:

The President's only supporters, he said, (and I quote) "are paupers, those who earn less than \$1,200 a year and aren't worth that, and the Roosevelt family".
Forget the Roosevelt family -- but these Americans whom this man calls "paupers", these Americans who in his view are not worth the income they receive, small though it is - who are they? They are only millions and millions of American families, constituting a very large part of the Nation! They are only the common men and women who have helped build this

country, who have made it great, and who would defend it with
their lives if the need arose.



The demand for social and economic justice comes from those who receive less than \$1,200 a year, but not from them alone. For I believe that when Americans cross this dividing line of \$100.00 a month, they do not lose their devotion to social and economic justice.

They do not suddenly become greedy and selfish. And I count among my supporters millions of other men and women who vote by the dictates of their hearts and minds, and not by the size of their bank accounts.

"Paupers" -- who are not worth their salt -- there speaks the true sentiment of the Republican leadership.

Can the Republican leaders deny that this all too-prevailing Republican sentiment is a direct, vicious appeal to class hatred, to class contempt?

That, my friends, is just what I am fighting against
with all my heart and soul.

I am fighting for a free America -- for a country in
which all men and women have equal rights to liberty and
justice.

I am fighting against the revival of government by
special privilege -- government by lobbyists -- government
vested in the hands of those who favor, and who would have
us imitate, the foreign dictatorships.

I am fighting, as I have always fought, for the rights
of the little man as well as the big man, for the weak as
well as the strong, for those who are helpless as well as
for those who can help themselves.

I am fighting to keep this nation prosperous and at
peace. I am fighting to keep our people out of foreign
wars, and to keep foreign conceptions of government out of
our own United States.

I am fighting for these great and good causes. I am
fighting to defend them against the power and might of
those who now rise up to challenge them.

And I shall not stop fighting!

Franklin Roosevelt

Big. reading copy

WORLD WAR II

ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT
Delivered in the Brooklyn Academy of Music
Brooklyn, New York
November 1, 1940, 9.00 P.M., E.S.T.

MRS. BURKE, GOVERNOR LEHMAN, MR. KELLY:

Here I am, back in Brooklyn today. You know, old-fashioned sentiment!

Sentiment is a very wonderful and continuing thing in the human race. It has brought me back again to this old Brooklyn Academy of Music on the Friday night before election. (Applause)

This is a (strange) funny campaign. It is a strange campaign. Here it is almost the day of election and it is still impossible to determine what are the principles of the opposition party. (Applause) And just what is it -- what is it that the Republican leaders would do during the next four years if they were given a chance? (Applause)

They have made campaign speeches on all sides of all questions.

On a Monday we hear that this Administration has done a good job (with) in its foreign policy; but on Tuesday we hear the foreign policies of the United States are condemned.

^a And on Wednesday we understand that our policy toward agriculture should not be changed; and on Thursday we learn to our amazement that the farmers have been the victims of the New Deal and are forced to exist on a dole. (Laughter)

And so it goes. On a Friday we are treated to the encouraging thought that the social gains of labor during the past seven years should be continued; and on Saturday we are told to weep because labor

Franklin D. Roosevelt Library

This is a transcript made by the White House stenographer from ~~the shorthand notes taken at the time the speech was made~~ ^{notes of words added at the time the speech was made} of the speech given on April 1, 1942, in New York City. 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.

Introductions

and so much guidance has already given a signal
symbol which the rest of us had no idea and it was
(susigA) . which excited this rabbit out of place to
the extent a bit of . symbolic power (symbol) is all right
which like it is one notable to you out there at the end . symbol
. giving something out to something out can take advantage of old
recitation out just if it does -- it is true that the (susigA)
a movie show will be more fun for the audience than a stage
(susigA) . symbol
--now this is what I am going to say about symbols of below stated
• symbol

a word and something else will just now you know a no
out now as you see no bad thing material or in (is) do good
• something the same before out to something material
-true because nothing the fact that something we symbol no bad
-now two of these as you see no have been made of the blinds which
are has been out to multiply our need and start out that from
(symbol) . symbol a no sense of symbol
-symbol out of between you are symbol a no . symbol it on back
first comes this and then comes this and then comes this and
total comes this of this this is a symbol no has been made of blinds

has been the principal sufferer under the New Deal. (Laughter)

To one group, further and bigger relief is held out; and to the big taxpayers cuts in expenditures are promised.

One day they say they would continue our good neighbor policy; and the next day they hurl insults at certain of our good neighbor(s) nations to the south of us.

That is the way that they seek to catch a vote here and catch a vote there and pick one out of the sir. (Applause)

There is, however, one explanation for these contradictions, rather a sad explanation. (That explanation) It is (found in the) founded on a strange, (the) a very strange assortment of political bedfellows who have been brought together in the Republican political dormitory. (Laughter)

Many conflicting interests, many irreconcileable social outlooks, many fundamentally opposite economic attitudes have been thrown together under one political roof.

The only common philosophy and the only common purpose that they have is to get wholly rid of all the New Deal -- lock, stock and barrel -- and to get control of Government, your Government, into their own hands for their own purposes.

Just as they have not been able to foist their falsifications on the American people, they will never be able to foist this only common purpose of theirs upon the American people now. (Applause)

Yes, I think we will all see to that next Tuesday. (Applause)

You and I, all of us, we (all) know the story of the unfortunate chameleon who turned brown when placed on a brown rug, and turned red when placed on a red rug, (and) but who died a tragic death when

they put him on a Scotch plaid. (Laughter and applause) We all know what would happen to Government if it tried to fulfill all the secret understandings and promises made between the conflicting groups which are now backing the Republican Party.

There is something very ominous in this combination (which) that has been forming within the Republican Party between the extreme reactionary and the extreme radical elements of this country.

There is no common ground upon which they can unite -- we know that -- unless it be their common will to power, and their impatience with the normal democratic processes to produce overnight the inconsistent dictatorial ends that they, each of them, seek.
public

No elements in American life have made such vicious attacks upon each other in recent years as have the members of this new unholy alliance (against) between each other. (Applause)

Now, I do not think that some of the men, even (some) of (the) their leaders, who have been drawn into this unholy alliance realize what a threat that sort of an alliance may bring to the future of democracy in this country.

And I am very certain that the rank and file of patriotic Republicans do not realize the nature of this threat.

They should remember, and we must remember, what the collaborative understanding between Communism and Nazism has done to the processes of democracy abroad.

Something evil is happening in this country when a full page advertisement against this Administration, paid for by Republican supporters, appears -- where of all places? -- in the Daily Worker, the newspaper of the Communist Party. (Boos)

Yes, something evil is happening in this country when vast quantities of Republican campaign literature are distributed by organizations (which) that make no secret of their admiration for the dictatorship form of government.

(These) Those forces hate democracy and Christianity as two phases of the same civilization. They oppose democracy because it is Christian. They oppose Christianity because it preaches democracy.

Yes, their objective is to prevent democracy from becoming strong and (purposeful) powerful. We are strong and purposeful now and intend to remain so. (Applause)

Back in the 20's, in the years after the last World War, Americans worked and built many things, but few of our people then stopped to think why they were working and why they were building and whither (they) we were tending.

Those were the days when prosperity was measured only by the stock ticker.

There were the factory workers forced to labor long hours at low wages in sweat-shop conditions. They could look forward to no security in their old age. They could look forward to no insurance during periods of unemployment.

There were the farmers of the Nation, overburdened with debt and with farm surpluses, their income vanishing, their farms threatened with foreclosure.

There were the natural resources of the land, resources being wasted -- soils and forests and minerals and water power.

There were millions of workers, unable to organize to protect their livelihoods, unable to form trade unions.

There were the small businesses of the Nation, threatened by the monopolies of concentrated wealth.

And the savings of the many that were entrusted to supposedly great financiers, who were to lose (these) those savings in fantastic adventures of giant holding companies and giant investment trusts.

Well, the crash came as it had to come. And then for three years the American people waited and suffered. For three years more the American Government did nothing to help.

In 1933, the American people began to bestir themselves. They had come to learn that inaction offered no escape from the problems of a troubled and changing world.

The American people determined then and there that what could not be done by individual effort could be done through joint effort; that what the industrial and financial leaders could not do, or would not do, a democratic Government could do and would do!

(Applause)

You all know the history of recovery, beginning in 1933, and progressing ever since.

Our economic system began again to function. Then came the suggestion from monopolistic finance that while the Government had done a good rescue job, the best thing it could do at that point was to forget all about it, and to turn the whole economic system back to Wall Street to run (it) again.

But they little knew the temper of the American people. The New Deal was no mere rescue party, a rescue party to restore to a chosen few their old power over the people's savings, over the people's labor, over the people's lives.

We had seen social unrest at home and abroad -- the frustrated hopes of common men and women, the apathy (which) that is the forerunner of cynicism, the despair (which) that dissolves civilization. What this Administration was determined to do was to save America from that frustration and from that despair.

We all remember how negligible was the opposition that this Administration met in the first months, the early days of that year, when it was cleaning up the wreckage (which) that had come from the era of speculation.

The bitter opposition from Republican leaders did not come until a little later. It came when this Administration made it clear that we were not merely salvaging a few things from the past, but that we were determined to make our system of private enterprise and private profit work more efficiently, (and) more democratically, to fill the demands and needs of all the people of (America) this land. (Applause)

We understand the philosophy of those who offer resistance, (and) of those who conduct a counter offensive against the American people's march of social progress. It is not an opposition which comes necessarily from wickedness -- it is an opposition (which) that comes from -- shall I say, a subconscious resistance to any measure (which) that disturbs the position of privilege?

It is an unfortunate human failing, an unfortunate human failing that a full pocketbook often groans more loudly than an empty stomach. (Applause)

I am, as you know, a firm believer in private enterprise and in private property. I am a firm believer in the American opportunity of men and women to rise in private enterprise.

But, of course, if private opportunity is to remain safe, average men and women must be able to have it as a part of their own individual satisfaction in life and their own stake in democracy.

(Applause)

And so, with that in (view) mind, we have pushed ahead with social and economic reforms, determined that this period in American life should be written down as an heroic era -- an era in which men fought not merely to preserve a past, but to build a future. (Applause)

(We) You and I have seen nations great and small go down in ruin, or get backed up, up against the wall, because the reactionary men who led them could not see the real danger that threatened. They were afraid of losing their own selfish privileges and power. They feared the legitimate forward surge of their own common people, more than they feared the menacing might of foreign dictators.

From them, we in the United States take warning (here).

Most Republican leaders in our own country for the last seven years have bitterly fought (and), bitterly blocked that forward surge of average men and women in (the) their pursuit of happiness. And let us not be deluded that overnight those leaders have suddenly become the real friends of these average men and women.

Do you believe that the bulk of the money to finance this vast Republican campaign is being provided by people who have the interests of the common man at heart? (Cries of "No.") You know, very few of us are (so) that gullible.

Oh, they may say at election time that they approve the social gains and the social objectives of the last seven years. But I say that these men have not yet proven that they even understand

what these social gains or social objectives have been. (Applause)

The (American) people throughout this country know how many and how difficult were the battles that we have fought and won in (the last) this past seven years.

Do you want to abandon the protection of people's savings from fraudulent manipulators, the curbing of giant holding companies that despoiled investors and consumers alike, to abandon by delivering them into the hands of those who have fought (these) those reforms?

(Cries of "No.")

Do you want to abandon the responsibility for the well-being of those who live and work on the farms of the Nation to those who fought against the farm program every inch of the way? (Cries of "No.")

Do you want to abandon collective bargaining, the outlawing of child labor, the minimum wage, the time-and-a-half for overtime, the elimination of sweat-shop conditions by turning them over to the proven enemies of labor? (Cries of "No.")

Or, do you want to hamstring the old-age pension system, or unemployment insurance, or aid for children, (and) or maternity welfare, or vocational training for the physically handicapped, or financial aid to the blind; do you want to hamstring them by delivering them into the hands of those who have fought and misrepresented (these) those reforms? (Cries of "No.")

Yes, do you want to abandon slum clearance to those Republican leaders who have fought against every appropriation(s) for decent housing? (Cries of "No.")

And, finally, do you want to turn over your Government to those who failed to have confidence in the future of America (and),

who now preach fear for the future of America? (Cries of "No.") And as an example of (this) that doctrine of fear, certain insurance companies are now sending letters to their policyholders, warning them that if this Administration is retained in office, their policies will shrink in value. (Boos)

(This) That is just another form of things we have seen before, another form, for instance, of that pay-envelope campaign -- that cam-
paign of fear (like the one in) of the last week of 1936.

The fact is that the very existence of most of these insurance companies I speak of was saved by this Administration in 1933 (by this Administration). (Applause) And, incidentally, today, in 1940, they are (today fully) more solvent than they ever were in their lives before.

Why, if there were a vestige of truth in these dangerous forebodings, the bonds of the United States Government would be selling at a very low (in) price, instead of well above par. Why, (The fact is, however, that) it was only last week (the Government of the United States) that the Treasury of the United States sold some one-year bonds, I believe they call them notes, one-year notes, to pay for public housing -- and they sold (one) a hundred million dollars worth of them at an interest rate of only one-quarter of one per cent. (Applause) (They were) And I must not forget to mention that that bond issue was over-subscribed eighteen times. That certainly indicates (the) a solidity, the safety of the credit of the United States. And if you need further proof, take a look at the Treasury of the Commonwealth and Southern System. (Boos) There you will find that they have bought and that they hold twenty-one million dollars worth of United

States Government (securities) bonds! (Applause -- cries of "Give it to them!")

Our program -- our program in the past, our program for the future, is, as you know, equality of economic opportunity. Such a program calls for many things. It requires an orderly settlement of industrial disputes not by those devoted to company unions, but by agencies alert to the requirements of labor and mindful of the responsibilities of industry.

This program entails old-age insurance and (un)employment insurance, operating on an increasingly wider base, so that eventually it will include every man and woman in the country. (Applause)

It makes available cheap credit to impoverished tenants, to consumers, and to small business. In fact, it has always seemed to me that our program starts with small business, so that it may grow and flourish.

It curbs the old predatory activities of high finance and the activities of monopoly practices.

It guarantees that our (national) natural resources -- our national resources, I had better say -- are used for the benefit of the whole people -- and not exploited for the benefit of a few. (Applause)

And it provides for the resettlement of farmers from marginal lands (to) on richer lands, and for farm ownership for enslaved tenants.

Now, monopoly does not like this program. And certain types of high finance do not like it. Most of the American plutocracy (does) do not like it.

But the vast majority of American business, the backbone of American business, continues to grow and to flourish under it. For that business is interested in reasonable profits, not in promoters' (tribute) profits. (Applause) That business is interested in freedom from monopolistic restraints and economic imperialism. That business knows that the farmers and the workers, the great mass of our citizens have never asked for more than equality and fair play. (Applause)

We are a nation of many nationalities, a nation of many races, of many religions -- bound together by a single unity, the unity of freedom and equality. (Applause)

Whoever seeks to set one nationality against another, seeks to degrade all nationalities. (Applause)

Whoever seeks to set one race against another seeks to enslave all races. (Applause)

And whoever seeks to set one religion against another, seeks to destroy all religion. (Applause)

So-called racial and religious voting blocs are the creation of designing politicians who profess to be able to deliver them on Election Day. But every American citizen -- realizing how precious is his right to the sacred secret ballot -- does scorn and will scorn such unpatriotic politicians. The vote of Americans will be American -- and only American. (Applause)

The true attitude of some leaders of the Republican party toward the common man is not frequently revealed, but occasionally their true feelings break through the restraints, the restraints which a political campaign places upon their tongues, and suddenly

they misspeak themselves. We can then see their true sentiments in all their naked unloveliness.

In a Republican campaign speech the other day, a prominent leader of the Philadelphia bar, delivered himself in these words, quoted in the New York Times:

"The President's only supporters," he said, (and I quote) "are paupers, those who earn less than \$1,200 a year and aren't worth that, and the Roosevelt family." (Boos)

I think we might just as well forget the Roosevelt family -- but (interrupted by laughter and applause) -- but these Americans whom this man calls "paupers," these Americans who, in his view, are not worth the income they receive, small though it is -- who are they? They are only millions and millions of American families, constituting a very large part of the Nation! They are only the common men and women who have helped to build this country, who have made it great, and who would defend it with their lives if the need arose. (Prolonged applause)

Yes, the demand for social and economic justice comes from those who receive less than \$1,200 a year, but not from them alone. For I believe that when Americans cross this dividing line of \$100 a month, they do not lose their devotion to social and economic justice. (Applause)

No, they do not suddenly become greedy and selfish. And I count among my supporters millions of other men and women who vote by the dictates of their hearts and minds, and not by the size of their bank accounts. (Applause)

"Paupers" -- paupers who are not worth their salt -- there

speaks the true sentiment of the Republican leadership in this year
of grace. (Boos)

And one more on that: Can the Republican leaders deny
that all this all-too-prevailing Republican sentiment is a direct,
vicious, unpatriotic appeal to class hatred, (to) and class contempt?
(Applause)

So, my friends, that (my friends) is just what I am fight-
ing against with all my heart and soul. (Applause)

I am fighting for a free America -- for a country in which
all men and women have equal rights to liberty and justice.

I am fighting against the revival of government by special
privilege -- government by lobbyists -- government vested in the hands
of those who favor and who would have us imitate the foreign dictator-
ships.

I am fighting, as I (have) always have fought, for the rights
of the little man as well as the big man (applause) -- yes, for the
weak as well as the strong, for those who are helpless as well as (for)
those who can help themselves. (Applause)

I am fighting to keep this Nation prosperous and at peace.
I am fighting to keep our people out of foreign wars (applause), and
to keep (interrupted by applause) -- yes, and I am fighting to keep
our people out of foreign wars and I am also fighting to keep
conceptions of government out of our own United States. (Applause)

I am fighting for these great and good causes. I am fight-
ing to defend them against the power and against the might of those
who now rise up to challenge them.

And I shall not stop fighting. (Prolonged applause)

* * * * *

November 1, 1940

CAUTION: The following address of the President, to be delivered in the Brooklyn Academy of Music, Brooklyn, N.Y., MUST BE HELD IN CONFIDENCE until released.

NOTE: Release to editions of all newspapers appearing on the streets NOT EARLIER THAN 9:00 P.M., E.S.T., November 1, 1940. The same release of the text of the address also applies to radio announcers and news commentators.

CARE MUST BE EXERCISED TO PREVENT PREMATURE PUBLICATION.

WILLIAM D. HASSETT

Sentiment is a very wonderful and continuing thing in the human race. It has brought me back again to this old Brooklyn Academy of Music on the Friday night before election.

This is a strange campaign. Here it is almost the day of election, and it is still impossible to determine what are the principles of the opposition party. What is it that the Republican leaders would do during the next four years if given a chance?

They have made campaign speeches on all sides of all questions.

On a Monday, we hear that this Administration has done a good job with its foreign policy; on Tuesday we hear the foreign policies of the United States condemned.

On Wednesday we understand that our policy toward agriculture should not be changed; and on Thursday we learn to our amazement that the farmers have been the victims of the New Deal and are forced to exist on a dole.

On Friday, we are treated to the encouraging thought that the social gains of labor during the past seven years, should be continued; and on Saturday, we are told to woe because labor has been the principal sufferer under the New Deal.

To one group, further and bigger relief is held out; and to the big taxpayers cuts in expenditures are promised.

One day they say they would continue our good neighbor policy; the next day they hurl insults at certain of our good neighbors to the South.

That is the way they seek to catch a vote here and a vote there.

There is, however, one explanation for these contradictions. That explanation is found in the strange, the very strange, assortment of political bedfellows who have been brought together in the Republican political dormitory.

Many conflicting interests, many irreconcilable social outlooks, many fundamentally opposite economic attitudes have been thrown together under one political roof.

The only common philosophy and the only common purpose they have is to get wholly rid of all the New Deal -- lock, stock and barrel -- and to get control of government in their own hands for their own purposes.

Just as they have not been able to foist their falsifications on the American people, they will never be able to foist this only common purpose of theirs upon the American people.

We will all see to that next Tuesday.

We all know the story of the unfortunate chameleon who turned brown when placed on a brown rug, and red when placed on a red rug, and who died a tragic death when they put him on a Scotch plaid. We all know what would happen to government if it tried to fulfill all the secret understandings and promises made between the conflicting groups which are now backing the Republican Party.

There is something very ominous in this combination which has been forming within the Republican Party between the extreme reactionary and the extreme radical elements of this country.

There is no common ground upon which they can unite unless it be their common will to power, and their impatience with the normal democratic processes to produce overnight the inconsistent dictatorial ends they each seek.

No elements in American public life have made such vicious attacks upon each other in recent years as have the members of this new unholy alliance against each other.

I do not think that some of the men, even some of the leaders, who have been drawn into this unholy alliance realize what a threat that sort of an alliance may bring to the future of democracy in this country.

I am certain that the rank and file of patriotic Republicans do not realize the nature of this threat.

They should remember, and we must remember, what the collaborative understanding between Communism and Nazism has done to the processes of democracy abroad.

Something evil is happening in this country when a full page advertisement against this Administration, paid for by Republican supporters, appears -- where of all places? -- in the Daily Worker, the newspaper of the Communist Party.

Something evil is happening in this country when vast quantities of Republican campaign literature are distributed by organizations which make no secret of their admiration for the dictatorship form of government.

These forces hate democracy and Christianity as two phases of the same civilization. They oppose democracy because it is Christian. They oppose Christianity because it preaches democracy.

Their objective is to prevent democracy from becoming strong and purposeful. We are strong and purposeful now.

In the years after the last World War, Americans worked and built many things, but few of our people stopped to think why they were working and why they were building and whether they were tending.

Those were the days when prosperity was measured only by the stock ticker.

There were the factory workers forced to labor long hours at low wages in sweat-shop conditions. They could look forward to no security in their old age. They could look forward to no insurance during periods of unemployment.

There were the farmers of the nation, overburdened with debt and with farm surpluses, their income vanishing, their farms threatened with foreclosure.

There were the natural resources of the land being wasted -- soil, forests, minerals, water power.

There were millions of workers, unable to organize to protect their livelihoods, unable to form trade unions.

There were the small businesses of the nation, threatened by the monopolies of concentrated wealth.

The savings of the many were entrusted to supposedly great financiers, who were to lose these savings in fantastic adventures of giant holding companies and giant investment trusts.

The crash came as it had to come. And then for three years the American people waited and suffered. For three years the American government did nothing to help.

In 1933, the American people began to stir themselves. They had come to learn that inaction offered no escape from the problems of a troubled and changing world.

The American people determined then and there that what could not be done by individual effort could be done through joint effort; that what the industrial and financial leaders could not do, a democratic government could do!

You all know the history of recovery, beginning in 1933, and progressing ever since.

Our economic system began again to function. Then came the suggestion from monopolistic finance that while the Government had done a good rescue job, the best thing it could do at that point was to forget all about it, and to turn the whole economic system back to Wall Street to run it again.

They little knew the temper of the American people. The New Deal was no mere rescue party, to restore to a chosen few their old power over the people's savings, the people's labor, the people's lives.

We had seen social unrest at home and abroad -- the frustrated hopes of common men and women, the apathy which is the forerunner of cynicism, the despair which dissolves civilization. What this Administration was determined to do was to save America from that frustration and from that despair.

We all remember how negligible was the opposition this Administration met in the early days, when it was cleaning up the wreckage which had come from the era of speculation.

The bitter opposition from Republican leaders did not come until a little later. It came when this Administration made it clear that we were not merely salvaging a few things from the past, but that we were determined to make our system of private enterprise and private profit work more efficiently and democratically, to fill the demands and needs of all the people of America.

We understand the philosophy of those who offer resistance and counter offensive against the American people's march of social progress. It is not an opposition which comes necessarily from wickedness -- it is an opposition which comes from subconscious resistance to any measure which disturbs the position of privilege.

It is an unfortunate human failing, that a full pocketbook often groans more loudly than an empty stomach.

I am a firm believer in private enterprise and in private property. I am a firm believer in the American opportunity of men and women to rise in private enterprise.

Of course, if private opportunity is to remain safe, average men and women must be able to have it as part of their own individual satisfaction in life and their own stake in democracy.

With that in view we have pushed ahead with social and economic reforms, determined that this period in American life should be written down as a heroic era -- an era in which men fought not merely to preserve a past, but to build a future.

We have seen nations great and small go down in ruin, or get backed up against the wall, because the reactionary men who led them could not see the real danger that threatened. They were afraid of losing their own selfish privilege and power. They feared the legitimate forward surge of their own common people, more than they feared the menacing night of foreign dictators.

For them, we take warning here.

Most Republican leaders in our own country for the last seven years have bitterly fought and blocked that forward surge of average men and women in the pursuit of happiness. And let us not be deluded that overnight those leaders have become the real friends of these average men and women.

Do you believe that the bulk of the money to finance this vast Republican campaign is being provided by people who have the interests of the common man at heart? Very few of us are so gullible.

Oh, they may say at election time that they approve the social gains and social objectives of the last seven years. But I say that these men have not yet proven that they even understand what these social gains or social objectives have been.

The American people know how many and how difficult were the battles we have fought and won in the last seven years..

Do you want to abandon the protection of people's savings from fraudulent manipulators, the curbing of giant holding companies that despoiled investors and consumers alike, by delivering them into the hands of those who have fought these reforms?

Do you want to abandon the responsibility for the well-being of those who live and work on the farms of the nation to those who fought against the farm program every inch of the way?

Do you want to abandon collective bargaining, the outlawing of child labor, the minimum wage, the time-and-a-half for overtime, the elimination of sweat-shop conditions, by turning them over to the proven enemies of labor?

Do you want to hamstring the old age pension system, unemployment insurance, aid for children and maternity welfare, vocational training for the physically handicapped, financial aid to the blind, by delivering them into the hands of those who have fought and misrepresented these reforms?

Do you want to abandon slum clearance to those Republican leaders who have fought against appropriations for decent housing?

Do you want to turn over your government to those who failed to have confidence in the future of America and who now preach fear for the future of America? As an example of this doctrine of fear certain insurance companies are now sending letters to their policy holders, warning them that if this Administration is retained in office, their policies will shrink in value.

This is just another form of pay-envelope campaign of fear like the one in 1936.

The fact is that the very existence of most of these insurance companies was saved in 1933 by this Administration. They are today fully solvent.

If there were a vestige of truth in these dangerous forebodings, the bonds of the United States would be selling very low in price. The fact is, however, that only last week the Government of the United States sold one year bonds for public housing -- one hundred million dollars worth of them at an interest rate of only one-quarter of one per cent. They were over-subscribed eighteen times. That certainly indicates the solidity of the credit of the United States. And if you need further proof, look at the Treasury of the Commonwealth and Southern System. There you will find that they have bought and held twenty-one million dollars of United States Government securities!

Our program in the past, our program for the future, is equality of economic opportunity. Such a program calls for many things. It requires an orderly settlement of industrial disputes not by those devoted to company unions, but by agencies alert to the requirements of labor and mindful of the responsibilities of industry.

This program entails old age insurance and unemployment insurance, operating on an increasingly wider base.

It makes available cheap credit to impoverished tenants, consumers, and small business. In fact, our program starts with small business, so that it may grow and flourish.

It curbs the old predatory activities of high finance and monopoly practices.

It guarantees that our national resources are used for the benefit of the whole people -- not exploited for the benefit of a few.

It provides for the resettlement of farmers from marginal lands to richer lands, and for farm ownership for enslaved tenants.

Monopoly does not like this program. Certain types of high finance do not like it. Most of the American plutocracy does not like it.

But the vast majority of American business, the backbone of American business, continues to grow and flourish under it. For that business is interested in reasonable profits, not promoters' tribute. That business is interested in freedom from monopolistic restraints and economic imperialism. That business knows that the farmers, the workers, the great mass of our citizens have never asked for more than equality and fair play.

We are a nation of many nationalities, many races, many religions -- bound together by a single unity, the unity of freedom and equality.

Whoever seeks to set one nationality against another, seeks to degrade all nationalities.

Whoever seeks to set one race against another seeks to enslave all races.

Whoever seeks to set one religion against another, seeks to destroy all religion.

So-called racial and religious voting blocs are the creation of designing politicians who profess to be able to deliver them on election day. But every American citizen -- realizing how precious is his right to the secret ballot -- does scorn and will scorn such unpatriotic politicians. The vote of Americans will be American -- and only American.

The true attitude of some leaders of the Republican party toward the common man is not frequently revealed, but occasionally their true feelings break through the restraints, which a political campaign places upon their tongues, and they misspeak themselves. We can then see their true sentiments in all their naked unloveliness.

In a Republican campaign speech the other day, a prominent leader of the Philadelphia bar, delivered himself in these words, quoted in the New York Times:

The President's only supporters, he said, (and I quote) "are paupers, those who earn less than \$1,200 a year and aren't worth that, and the Roosevelt family".

Forget the Roosevelt family -- but these Americans whom this man calls "paupers", these Americans who in his view are not worth the income they receive, small though it is -- who are they? They are only millions and millions of American families, constituting a very large part of the Nation! They are only the common men and women who have helped build this country, who have made it great, and who would defend it with their lives if the need arose.

The demand for social and economic justice comes from those who receive less than \$1,200 a year, but not from them alone. For I believe that when Americans cross this dividing line of \$100.00 a month, they do not lose their devotion to social and economic justice.

They do not suddenly become greedy and selfish. And I count among my supporters millions of other men and women who vote by the dictates of their hearts and minds, and not by the size of their bank accounts.

"Propors" -- who are not worth their salt -- there speaks the true sentiment of the Republican leadership.

Can the Republican leaders deny that this all too prevailing Republican sentiment is a direct, vicious appeal to class hatred, to class contempt?

That, my friends, is just what I am fighting against with all my heart and soul.

I am fighting for a free America -- for a country in which all men and women have equal rights to liberty and justice.

I am fighting against the revival of government by special privilege -- government by lobbyists -- government vested in the hands of those who favor and who would have us imitate the foreign dictatorships.

I am fighting, as I have always fought, for the rights of the little men as well as the big man, for the weak as well as the strong, for those who are helpless as well as for those who can help themselves.

I am fighting to keep this nation prosperous and at peace. I am fighting to keep our people out of foreign wars, and to keep foreign conceptions of government out of our own United States.

I am fighting for these great and good causes. I am fighting to defend them against the power and might of those who now rise up to challenge them.

And I shall not stop fighting!

1st Draft

2914

SPEECH OF THE PRESIDENT

ACADEMY OF MUSIC

BROOKLYN, N.Y.

NOVEMBER 1, 1940.

Inset (A)

This is a strange campaign. Here it is almost the day of election and it is still impossible to determine what the principles of the opposition party are in this campaign -- just what it is that the Republican leaders would do during the next four years if given a chance.

They have made campaign speeches on all sides of all questions.

On a Monday, we hear that this Administration has done a good job with its foreign policy; on Tuesday we hear the foreign policies of the United States condemned.

On Wednesday we understand that our policy toward agriculture should not be changed; and on Thursday we learn to our amazement that the farmers have been the victims of the New Deal and are forced to exist on a dole.

On Friday we are treated to the beautiful thought that the social gains of labor, enacted during the past seven years, should be continued; and on Saturday we are told to weep because labor has been the principal sufferer under the New Deal.

In the ~~Northwest~~, it has been said that the great public power developments should be carried forward; but on an earlier occasion it was said that programs such as the Tennessee Valley Authority should ~~stand still in their tracks~~.
~~not be implemented.~~

~~In Massachusetts~~ ~~It has been said in one place that the New Deal had driven~~ ~~was planned following~~
~~the industries of New England into the South, although on an earlier~~
~~in Alabama the~~
~~occasion credit for this removal was claimed for a southern power~~
~~company, subsidiary of Commonwealth & Southern~~
~~Corporation.~~

To one group further and bigger relief is held out; and to the Eastern big taxpayer curtailment of expenditures is promised.
~~Next A~~
Almost as bad as direct falsifications of fact is this policy of making wholly inconsistent statements at different times and in different parts of the country merely to catch a vote here and a vote there.

There is, however, an explanation of the contradictions in opposition to the domestic policies of this Administration and to its foreign policies. That explanation is found in the strange, the very strange assortment of political bedfellows who have been brought together in one political dormitory.

Page 2 insert A

One day they say they would continue our good neighbor policy; the next day they hurl insults at certain of our good neighbors to the South.

The New Deal

They come from the process of getting together under one political roof, many conflicting interests, many irreconcilable social outlooks, many fundamentally opposite economic attitudes.

The only common philosophy and the only common purpose they have is to get wholly rid of all the New Deal, lock, stock and barrel, and to get control of government in their own hands.

Just as they have not been able successfully to foist their falsifications on the American people, they will never be able to foist this common purpose of theirs upon the American people.

We will all see to that next Tuesday.

(B) I have not hesitated to make a straightforward denial of their falsification that this Administration has made some secret agreement with some foreign power.

In the same way, the people of the United States have a right to know what private conversations, what secret understandings, what hidden deals, what whispered expectations, have brought into the same tent those who on the one side of the tent have indicted this Administration for favoring labor too much and those who on the other side of the tent have accused this Administration of being too inexcusably lenient toward employers.

(B.) p. 3

We all know the story of the unfortunate chameleon who died a tragic death when they put him in a scotch plaid; and we all know what would happen to government if it tried to fulfil conflicting promises to each and every group and section and community in the whole nation.

There is something very ominous in this combination which has been forming within the Republican Party between the extreme reactionary and the extreme radical elements in this country.

There is no common ground upon which they can unite, unless it be their common will to power, and their impatience with the normal democratic processes to produce overnight the inconsistent dictatorial ends they each seek.

No elements in American public life have made such vicious attacks upon each other ^{in recent years} as have the members of this new unholy alliance ~~against each other, during these recent years, and now all of~~

~~these roaring lions lie down together in one bed like those lambs,~~
~~and pull over themselves the cover of sweetness and light and~~
~~common understanding.~~

~~I know nothing so ominous to the future of democracy in~~
~~this country as this unholy alliance.~~

~~I can picture them all in bed together, chockling with~~
~~merriment as they read the full page advertisement against this~~
~~Administration paid by Republican supporters — a full page~~
~~advertisement in the Communist organ of New York City, The Daily Worker.~~

5A

~~Page 2 - Document 2~~

I do not think that some of the men, even some of the leaders, who have been drawn into this unholy alliance realize what a threat that sort of an alliance may bring to the future of democracy in this country.

They should remember, and we must remember, ~~that when Hitler, the leader of the National Workers Party, joined with Thysen and other big-industrialists in Germany, the German Republic was destroyed.~~

~~They should remember, and we must remember, that when Hitler, who proclaimed himself the arch enemy of Communism, joined with Stalin, the arch leader of Communism, the democracies of Europe fell.~~

Something evil is happening in this country when a full page advertisement against this Administration, paid for by Republican supporters, appears -- where of all places? -- in the Daily Worker, the newspaper of the Communist Party. P Something evil is happening in this country when quantities of Republican campaign literature are distributed by organizations which make no secret of their admiration for the dictatorship form of government.

*what the alliance of
Communism and Nazism has done to
the processes of Democracy abroad.*

5B

~~SECRET~~

These forces hate democracy and Christianity as two phases of the same civilization. They oppose democracy because it is Christian, ~~they~~ oppose Christianity because it preaches democracy.

There is more wisdom today than ever before in the familiar words of Abraham Lincoln, "If we could first know where we are and whither we are tending, we could then better judge what to do and how to do it".

Republican leaders in this confused campaign do not know yet where they are and whither they are tending.

The people of the United States know full well, however, from a record of seven years, where we are, and whither we are tending, and how far we have come in the last seven years.

Inser. (B)

In the ~~years~~ after the last World War Americans worked and ~~we~~ built many things, but few of ~~us~~ stopped to think why ~~they~~ were working and why ~~they~~ were building and whether ~~we~~ were tending.

Those were the days when prosperity was measured only by the stock ticker.

Many things, many more important things were entirely overlooked.

There were the factory workers forced to labor long hours at low wages in sweat-shop conditions. They could look forward to no security in their old age. They could look forward to no insurance during periods of unemployment.

There were the farmers of the nation, overburdened with debt and with farm surpluses, their income vanishing, their farms going in foreclosure.

There were the natural resources of the land being wasted -- soil; forests; minerals; water power.

There were millions of workers unable to organize to protect their livelihoods, unable to form ~~new~~ ~~Trade~~ unions.

There were the small businesses of the nation threatened by the competition of the concentration of wealth.

The crash came as it had to come. And then for three years the American people waited and suffered. For three years the American government did nothing to help.

In 1933, the American people began to stir themselves. They had come to learn that inaction offered no escape from the problems of a troubled and changing world. The American people determined then and there that what could not be done by individual effort could be done through joint effort; that what the industrial and financial leaders could not do, a democratic government could do!


INSERT - Page 8

The savings of the many were entrusted to supposedly great financiers,
who were to lose these savings in fantastic adventures of giant
holding companies and giant investment trusts.

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- 9 -

The history, beginning in 1933 and
You all know the record of our administration.
~~of knowing more~~
Dance,

These days - two-ninety-four economic system began again
to function. Then came the suggestion from monopolistic finance
that while the Government had done a good rescue job, the best
thing it could do at that point was to forget all about it and
turn the whole economic system back to Wall Street to run it.

They little knew the temper of the American people. The
New Deal was no mere rescue party to restore ^{to} a chosen few their
old power over the people's savings, the people's labor, the
people's lives.

We had seen social unrest, the frustrated hopes of common
men and women, the apathy which is the forerunner of cynicism, the
despair which dissolves civilization. And what this Administration
was determined to do was to save America from that frustration, from
that despair.

We all remember how negligible was the opposition this
Administration met in the early days ~~when it was principally a~~
~~monopoly~~, when it was cleaning up the wreckage which had come from
the era of speculation.

The bitter opposition from Republican leaders did not come
until a little

later. It came when this Administration made it clear that we were not merely ~~solving~~ ~~to~~ a few things from the past, but that we were determined to make our system of private enterprise and private profit work more efficiently ^{and honorably} to fill the demands and needs of all the people of America.

We understood the philosophy of those who offered resistance and counter offensive against the American people's march of social progress. It is not an opposition which comes necessarily from wickedness -- it is an opposition which comes from subconscious ~~economics~~ ~~actions~~ resistance to any measure which disturbs the position of privilege.
It's unfortunate human failing that
~~For some reason which I do not understand~~ a full pocketbook often groans more loudly than an empty stomach.

~~the owner of property~~. I am a firm believer in private enterprise and in private property. I am a firm believer in the American opportunity of men and women to rise in private enterprise.

Of course,

~~I am realistic enough to know that if private pro-~~

erty and private enterprise and private opportunity and

private profit are to remain safe, they must be spread

~~more, so that~~ the average man and woman ~~are~~ able to

earn some of these things as part of their own individual

satisfaction in life and their own ~~status~~ in democracy.

With that in view we have pushed ahead with social and economic reforms, determined that this period in American life should be written down as a heroic era -- an era in which men fought not merely to preserve a past but to build a future.

We have seen ~~most~~ nations go down in ruin or get backed up against the wall, because the men who led them could not see the real danger that threatened. ~~They could not see the danger because~~ they were afraid of losing their own selfish power; and ~~because~~ they had little faith in their own common people. They feared the legitimate forward surge of their own common people more than they feared the menacing might of foreign dictators.

From them, we ~~can~~ take warning here.

~~F~~ T, do.

-12-

Those Republican leaders in our own country who for the last seven years have bitterly fought and blocked the forward surge of average men and women in the pursuit of happiness, have not become, overnight in these months of October and November before election their real friends.

bulk of the
Do you believe that the money to finance this vast
A
Republican campaign is being provided by people who have the interests of the common man at heart? *Very few of no are*
so bulletable.

Oh, they may say at election time that they approve the social gains and social objectives of the last seven years. But I say that these men have not yet proven that they even understand what these social gains or social objectives have been.

The American people know how many and how difficult were the battles we have fought and won in the last seven years.

Perhaps the most difficult was the battle to protect the people's savings from destruction by fraudulent manipulators of securities and stock pools, and to curb

the giant holding companies which despoiled investors and consumers alike.

Let me ask you. Do you want the Republican campaign managers -- the sellers of securities and the directors of giant holding companies, to administer these laws?

Another battle we fought and won was the recognition by Government of its responsibility for the continuing well-being of those who live and work on the farms.

Let me ask you. Do you want to put this farm program in the hands of those who voted against it every inch of the way.

Other hard battles we fought and won were to guarantee to the workers of the nation the right to bargain collectively the battle to outlaw child labor and starvation pay and sweatshop conditions.

Will you turn these measures over to the enemies of labor?

Another hard battle which we fought and won was to provide an old age pension system and unemployment insurance, assistance for child and maternal welfare, vocational training for the physically handicapped, financial aid to

cost of living

the blind.

~~Do you want to turn those measures over to those who have fought these reforms?~~

~~Another hard battle which we have fought and are still fighting is the clearance of slums and the establishment of decent housing in the cities and in the rural areas.~~

~~Will you turn this program over to Republican leaders who have voted against new appropriations for decent housing?~~

~~(FIFTY WORDS ON HOUSING)~~

From the foundation of this vast program of accomplishment in the last seven years, America looks to the future.

I have unbounded faith in our American institutions, faith in our people. I have abiding confidence in the future of America.

America will resent the effort now being made by the Republican leaders in this campaign to preach lack of confidence in the future of America -- to preach fear for the future of America. This doctrine is now being spread by certain insurance companies who have been sending

letters to their policy holders, warning them that if this administration is retained in office, their policies will be valueless.

This is just another pay-envelope campaign of fear like the 1936 one.

~~The fact is that most of these insurance companies were saved in 1933 by this Administration from sharing the fate of the banks in 1932. If they really believe this political charge, then I say that they have no right to sell a single policy of insurance from today on.~~

America has not been completely built. America has yet to come into its rich inheritance. And unless the power of special privilege has its way, America will always enjoy that inheritance.

I see an America where the creation of jobs, more jobs, better paid jobs, more permanent jobs, will always be the first concern of any responsible government.

I see an America where factory hands are not discarded before they reach their prime, where there is no endless chain of poverty from generation to generation, where impoverished farmers do not become homeless migratory workers, where monopoly does not make youth a beggar for a job.

Chesky

~~the lion of~~

~~They are today fully submit~~



Chase
Land

149

Carl Flory

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I see an America where the resources of our rivers and mountains are developed for the benefit of the entire people, not for the favored few.

I see an America where small business really has a chance to flourish and grow.

I see an America of great cultural and educational opportunity for all the people.

Equality of economic opportunity must start from the bottom - not from the top.

A program of equal economic opportunity, requires an orderly settlement of industrial disputes not by those devoted to company unions, but by agencies alert to the requirements of labor and mindful of the responsibilities of industry.

Such a program entails old-age insurance and unemployment insurance operating on an increasingly wider base.

It makes available cheap credit to impoverished tenants, consumers, and small business.

Our program of equality of opportunity starts with small business, so that it may grow and flourish.

THIRD DRAFT

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It curbs the predatory activities of high finance and monopoly practices.

It guarantees that our national resources are ~~exploited~~ used
for the benefit of the whole people ~~and~~ ^{not exploited for the benefit of} a few.

It provides for the resettlement of farmers from marginal lands to rich lands and for farm ownership for enslaved tenants.

This has been the direction of the national program during the last seven years. This will be its direction during the next four years.

Monopoly will not like this program. High finance will not like it. The American plutocracy will not like it.

But the vast majority of American business, the backbone of American business, will grow and flourish under it. For that business is interested in reasonable profits, not pronotors' tribute. That business is interested in freedom from monopolistic restraints and economic imperialism. That business knows that the farmers, the workers, the great mass of our citizens have never asked for more than equality and fair play.

We are a nation of many nationalities, many races, many religions. We are a nation of nationalities bound together by a single unity, the unity of freedom. Those who seek that unity, seek it for freedom. Whoever seeks to set one nationality against another, seeks to degrade all nationalities. Whoever seeks to set one race against another seeks to enslave all races. Whoever seeks to set one religion against another, seeks to destroy all religions, for out of the conflict of religion can come only the triumph of those
who would destroy religion itself.

I have steadily refused to believe that there is such a thing as an English vote or an Irish vote or a German vote or an Italian vote or a Polish vote, or a Catholic or Protestant or Jewish vote. Such voting blocs are the creation of designing politicians who profess to be able to deliver them. On election day every American citizen — realizing how precious a right his voting franchise is — will scorn these politicians and vote ~~purely~~ American — and only ~~American~~ American.

*not selfish and
for myself*

19.

The true attitude of the leaders of the Republican Party toward the common man is not frequently revealed, but occasionally their true feelings break through the restraints which a political campaign places upon their tongues, and they "misspeak" themselves. We can then see their true sentiments in all their naked unloveliness.

In a Republican campaign speech the other day, a leader of the Philadelphia bar, delivered himself in these words, quoted in the New York Times:

The President's only supporters, he said, (and I quote) "are paupers, those who earn less than \$1,200 a year and aren't worth that, and the 'oosevelt family."

This means
These Americans whom ~~he~~ calls "paupers", these Americans who in his view are not worth the income they receive, small though it is — who are they? They are only the backbone of America! They are only 22 million families, constituting three-fifths of the Nation! They are only the common men and women who have built this country, who have made it great and who would defend it with their lives if the need arose.

~~I do not believe that~~ The demand for social and economic

20.

justice comes ~~not~~ from those who receive less than \$1,200 a year, but ~~not~~
~~from them alone. For I believe that~~
~~I can believe that when Americans cross this dividing line, of~~
~~prestol workers of and below, no, passing and~~
~~\$100 a month, they b~~e~~ greedy and selfish. And I count among my~~
~~supporters millions of other men and women who vote by the dictates~~
~~of their hearts, and not by the size of their bank accounts. But~~
~~there can be no question of what the Republican leaders throughout~~
~~the country think of the mass of the American people.~~

"Paupers, who are not worth their salt." There speaks the
true sentiment of the Republican leadership.

And I ask the Republican leaders to deny that this all too-
prevailing Republican sentiment is a direct, vicious appeal to class
hatred, to class contempt.

That, my friends, is just what I am fighting against.

~~20~~ 21.

My friends - in this campaign I am fighting for the causes to which I am devoted with all my heart and soul.

I am fighting for a free America - for a country in which all men and women deserve ~~equal~~ justice.

I am fighting against the revival of government by special privilege - government by lobbyists - government vested in the hands who favor and who would have us imitate the foreign dictatorships.

I am fighting for the fundamental principles laid down by the builders of our democracy - the essential principles of equality.

I am fighting, as I have always fought, for the rights of the little man as well as the big man, for the weak as well as for the strong, for those who are helpless as well as for those who can help themselves.

I am fighting to keep this nation prosperous and at peace. I am fighting to keep our people out of foreign wars, and to keep foreign conceptions of government out of our own United States.

I am fighting for these good causes. I am fighting to defend them against the power and might of those who now rise up to challenge them.

And I shall not stop fighting, after ~~Election Day~~.

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Second Draft

SPEECH OF THE PRESIDENT

ACADEMY OF MUSIC

BROOKLYN, N.Y.

NOVEMBER 1, 1940

[~~Mass~~] Sentiment is a very wonderful and continuing thing
in the human race. It has brought me back again to
this old Brooklyn Academy of Music [~~has pulled~~
~~me back to it again~~] on the Friday night before election.

[But together with sentiment for old associations, for
old ties, there goes hand in hand a sentiment for certain ideals
which we label by the general adjective "American".]

This is a strange campaign. Here it is almost the
day of election, and it is still impossible to determine what the
principles of the opposition party [~~are in this campaign~~] — just
what it ~~is~~ ^{and} that the Republican leaders would do during the next
four years if given a chance?

They have made campaign speeches on all sides of all
questions.

On a Monday, we hear that this Administration has done a
good job with its foreign policy; on Tuesday we hear the foreign
policies of the United States condemned.

On Wednesday we understand that our policy toward agriculture
should not be changed; and on Thursday we learn to our amazement

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Second Draft

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that the farmers have been the victims of the New Deal and are forced to exist on a dole.

On Friday, we are treated to the [unwitting] thought that the social gains of labor [enacted] during the past seven years, should be continued; and on Saturday, we are told to weep because labor has been the principal sufferer under the New Deal.

To one group further and bigger relief is held out; and to the [Eastern] big taxpayers [certain] expenditures are promised.

One day they say they would continue our good neighbor policy; the next day they hurl insults at certain of our good neighbors to the South.

That is the way they talk.
Almost as bad as direct falsifications of fact is this policy of making wholly inconsistent statements at different times and in different parts of the country merely to catch a vote here and a vote there.

There is, however, ^{an} explanation ^{in these} of the contradictions. In opposition to the domestic policies of this Administration and to its foreign policies. That explanation is found in the strange, the very strange assortment of political bedfellows who have been brought together in ^{the} political dormitory.

[They come from throning] under one political roof

P Many conflicting interests, many irreconcilable social outlooks,
many fundamentally opposite economic attitudes, have been thrown together.

The only common philosophy and the only common purpose they
have is to get wholly rid of all the New Deal, lock, stock and barrel,
and to get control of government in their own hands for their own purpose.

Just as they have not been able [successfully] to foist their
falsifications on the American people, they will never be able to
only
foist this common purpose of theirs upon the American people.

We will all see to that next Tuesday.

We all know the story of the unfortunate chameleon who
died a tragic death when they put him on a Scotch plaid and we all
know what would happen to government if it tried to fulfill [considering]
made between the conflicting groups
promises to each and every group and section and community in the
whole nation, which are now backing the Republican
party.

who turns brown when placed on a brown
rug, and red when placed on red
rug, and who

There is something very ominous in this combination which has been forming within the Republican Party between the extreme reactionary and the extreme radical elements ^{of} ~~for~~ this country.

There is no common ground upon which they can unite, unless it be their common will to power, and their impatience with the normal democratic processes to produce overnight the inconsistent dictatorial ends they each seek.

No elements in American public life have made such vicious attacks upon each other in recent years as have the members of this new unholy alliance against each other.

I do not think that some of the men, even some of the leaders, who have been drawn into this unholy alliance realize what a threat that sort of an alliance may bring to the future of democracy in this country.

Inset A

collaborative understanding
They should remember, and we must remember, what the ~~subversives~~ /
between
~~the~~ Communism and Nazism has done to the processes of democracy abroad.

Something evil is happening in this country when a full page advertisement against this Administration, paid for by Republican supporters, appears -- where of all places? -- in the Daily Worker, the newspaper of the Communist Party.

Something evil is happening in this country when vast quantities of Republican campaign literature are distributed by organizations

INSERT A PAGE 5

I am certain that the rank and
file of patriotic Republicans do not
realize the nature of this threat.

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which make no secret of their admiration for the dictatorship form of government.

These forces hate democracy and Christianity as two phases of the same civilization. They oppose democracy because it is Christian. They oppose Christianity because it preaches democracy.

His objective is to prevent ~~the~~ democracy from becoming strong and purposeful. We are strong and purposeful now.

In the years after the last World War Americans worked
and built many things, but few ~~of them~~ ^{of our people} stopped to think why they
were working and why they were building and whither they were
tending.

Those were the days when prosperity was measured only by
the stock ticker.

There were the factory workers forced to labor long
hours at low wages in sweat-shop conditions. They could look forward
to no security in their old age. They could look forward to no in-
surance during periods of unemployment.

There were the farmers of the nation, overburdened with
debt and with farm surpluses, their income vanishing, their farms ~~Threatened~~
^A ~~in~~ ^{with} foreclosure.

There were the natural resources of the land being wasted —
soil, forests, minerals, water power.

There were millions of workers unable to organize to protect their livelihoods, unable to form trade unions.

There were the small businesses of the nation threatened by the ~~monopolies of concentrated~~ wealth. P The savings of the many were entrusted to supposedly great financiers, who were to lose these savings in fantastic adventures of giant holding companies and giant investment trusts.

The crash came as it had to come. And then for three years the American people waited and suffered. For three years the American government did nothing to help.

In 1933, the American people began to stir themselves. They had come to learn that inaction offered no escape from the problems of a troubled and changing world. P The American people determined then and there that what could not be done by individual effort could be done through joint effort; that what the industrial and financial leaders could not do, a democratic government could do!

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You all know the history, beginning in 1933, and progressing ever since.

Our economic system began again to function. Then came the suggestion from monopolistic finance that while the Government had done a good rescue job, the best thing it could do at that point was to forget all about it and turn the whole economic system back to Wall Street to run it again.

They little knew the temper of the American people. The New Deal was no mere rescue party to restore to a chosen few their old power over the people's savings, the people's labor, the people's lives.

at home and abroad —
We had seen social unrest, the frustrated hopes of common men and women, the apathy which is the forerunner of cynicism, the despair which dissolves civilization. ~~and~~ What this Administration was determined to do was to save America from that frustration ~~and~~ from that despair.

We all remember how negligible was the opposition this Administration met in the early days, when it was cleaning up the wreckage which had come from the era of speculation.

The bitter opposition from Republican leaders did not come until a little

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later. It came when this Administration made it clear that we were not merely salvaging a few things from the past, but that we were determined to make our system of private enterprise and private profit work more efficiently and democratically to fill the demands and needs of all the people of America.

C understood
We understand the philosophy of those who offer [redacted] resistance and counter offensive against the American people's march of social progress. It is not an opposition which comes necessarily from wickedness -- it is an opposition which comes from subconscious resistance to any measure which disturbs the position of privilege.

It is an unfortunate human failing that a full pocket-book often groans more loudly than an empty stomach.

I am a firm believer in private enterprise and in private property. I am a firm believer in the American opportunity of men and women to rise in private enterprise.

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Of course, if private property and private enterprise and
private opportunity and private profits are to remain safe, ¹⁵ ~~the~~
~~average man and woman must be able to own some of these things as~~ have it
part of their own individual satisfaction in life and their own
stake in democracy.

With that in view we have pushed ahead with social and
economic reforms, determined that this period in American life
should be written down as a heroic era — an era in which men
fought not merely to preserve a past but to build a future.

We have seen nations great and small go down in ruin or
get backed up against the wall, because the reactionary men who
led them could not see the real danger that threatened. They
were afraid of losing their own selfish powers ~~from~~ ^{privilege and} ~~and~~
~~Caitchiness own common people~~ They feared the legitimate
forward surge of their own common people more than they feared
the menacing might of foreign dictators.

From them, we take warning here.

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Most
These Republican leaders in our own country ~~are~~ for
the last seven years have bitterly fought and blocked ~~the~~ *That*
forward surge of average men and women in the pursuit of
And let us not be deluded that overnight these
happiness, ~~have not become~~, overnight in these months of
~~have become the real friends of these average men and women.~~
~~October and November before election their real friends.~~

Do you believe that the bulk of the money to finance
this vast Republican campaign is being provided by people
who have the interests of the common man at heart? Very
few of us are so gullible.

Oh, they may say at election time that they approve
the social gains and social objectives of the last seven
years. But I say that these men have not yet proven that
they even understand that these social gains or social
objectives have been.

The American people know how many and how difficult
were the battles we have fought and won in the last seven
years.

abandon
Do you want to ~~turn over~~ the protection of people's
savings from ~~destructive~~ by fraudulent manipulators, the
curbing of giant holding companies that despoiled investors
by delivering them into the hands of
and consumers alike, *to those who have fought these reforms!*

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Do you want to [] the responsibility for the well-being of those who live and work on the farms of the nation to those who fought against the farm program every inch of the way?

Do you want to [] collective bargaining, the outlawing of child labor, the minimum wage, the time-and-a-half for overtime, the elimination of sweat-shop conditions, by turning them over to the proven enemies of labor?

Do you want to hamstring the old age pension system, unemployment insurance, aid for children and maternity welfare, vocational training for the physically handicapped, financial aid to the blind, by delivering them into the hands of those who have fought and misrepresented these reforms?

Do you want to abandon slum clearance to those Republican leaders who have fought against appropriations for decent housing?

From the foundation of this vast program of accomplishment in the last seven years, America looks to the future.

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Do you want to turn over your government to America will resent the effort now being made by the those who failed to have Republican leaders in this campaign to preach lack of and who now confidence in the future of America ~~not~~ to preach fear for the future of America? As an example of ~~This doctrine is not being~~ of fear spread by certain insurance companies who have been are now sending letters to their policy holders, warning them that if this Administration is retained in office, their policies will ~~decrease~~ shrink in value.
This is just another pay-envelope campaign of fear like the ~~same~~ one in 1936.

The fact is that the ^{very existence} lives of most of these insurance companies ^{were} saved in 1933 by this Administration. They are today fully solvent.

(INSERT L)

Our program in the first, our program for the future, is, Equality of economic opportunity, requires an orderly settlement of industrial disputes not by those devoted to company unions, but by agencies alert to the requirements of labor and mindful of the responsibilities of industry.

This Such a program entails old-age insurance and unemployment insurance operating on an increasingly wider base.

Such a program calls for many things.

P.S.

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INSERT L PAGE 14

If there were a vestige of truth in these
dangerous forebodings, the bonds of the United

States would be selling ~~for a very high price.~~
very low in price.

~~now,~~ The fact is that ~~now~~ *only last week*
~~now,~~ *1 year*
Government of the United States sold bonds for

public housing, one hundred ~~7~~ million dollars
worth of them, at an interest ~~rate~~ *rate* ~~of 4%~~ *of 4%.*

That certainly indicates ~~now~~ *the solidity of* the credit of the
United States. And if you need further

proof, look at the treasury of the Commonwealth

and Southern System. There you will find ~~that they have~~
bought and held twenty-one million dollars of United States
Government securities!

It makes available cheap credit to impoverished tenants, consumers, and small business. In fact, our program

~~Our program of equality of opportunity~~ starts with small business, so that it may grow and flourish.

It ^{old} curbs the predatory activities of high finance and monopoly practices.

It guarantees that our national resources are used for the benefit of the whole people -- not exploited for the benefit of a few.

It provides for the resettlement of farmers from marginal lands to richer lands and for farm ownership for enslaved tenants.

~~This has been the direction of the national program during the last seven years.~~

Monopoly ^{does} not like this program. High finance ^{does} not like it. Most of ^{does} American plutocracy ^{does} not like it.

But the vast majority of American business, the backbone of American business, ^{continues to} grow and flourish under it. For that business is interested in reasonable profits, not promoters' tribute. That business is interested in freedom from monopolistic restraints and economic imperialism. That business knows that the

farmers, the workers, the great mass of our citizens have never asked for more than equality and fair play.

We are a nation of many nationalities, many races, many religions. [We are a nation of nationalities] bound together by a single unity, the unity of freedom. [Whoever] who seek that unity, seek it for freedom. [P] Whoever seeks to set one nationality against another, seeks to degrade all nationalities. P Whoever seeks to set one race against another seeks to enslave all races. P Whoever seeks to set one religion against another, seeks to destroy all religions. So-called racial and religious voting blocs are the creation of designing politicians who profess to be able to deliver them. On election day. But every American citizen — realizing how precious a right to the secret ballot — his voting franchise — does scorn and will scorn such unpatriotic ^{is his} _{of Americans} politicians. The vote will be American — and only American.

The true attitude of the leaders of the Republican Party toward the common man is not frequently revealed, but occasionally their true feelings break through the restraints which a political campaign places upon their tongues, and they misspeak themselves. We can then see their true sentiments in all their naked unloveliness.

In Republican campaign speech the other day, a leader of the Philadelphia bar, pronounced
quoted in the New York Times:

The President's only supporters, he said, (and I quote) "are paupers, those who earn less than \$1,200 a year and aren't worth that, and the

Roosevelt family".

~~forget the Roosevelt family~~ — ~~but~~
~~These Americans whom this man calls "paupers", these~~
Americans who in his view are not worth the income they receive, small though it is -- who are they? ~~They are~~
~~only the backbone of America!~~ They are only ~~10~~ million families, constituting ~~one-third~~ of the Nation. They ~~are~~ ~~helped~~
are only the common men and women who have built this country, who have made it great, and who would defend it with their lives if the need arose.

The demand for social and economic justice comes from those who receive less than \$1,200 a year, but not from them alone. For I believe that when Americans cross this dividing line of \$100 a month, they ~~are still~~ ~~do not lose their devotion to~~ ~~seekers of and promoters of~~ social and economic justice.

D They do not suddenly become greedy and selfish. And I

count among my supporters millions of other men and women
and minds,
who vote by the dictates of their hearts, and not by the
size of their bank accounts. But there can be no question
or what the Republican leaders throughout the country think
of the mass of the American people.

"Paupers," who are not worth their salt — there speaks
the true sentiment of the Republican leadership.

Our
And I ask the Republican leaders to deny that this
all too-prevailing Republican sentiment is a direct,
vicious appeal to class hatred, to class contempt.²

That, my friends, is just what I am fighting against.
My friends -- in this campaign I am fighting for the
causes to which I am devoted with all my heart and soul,
I am fighting for a free America -- for a country
her equal rights to liberty and
in which all men and women deserve justice.

I am fighting against the revival of government by
special privilege -- government by lobbyists -- government
vested in the hands of those who favor and who would have
us imitate the foreign dictatorships.

[I am fighting for the fundamental principles laid
down by the builders of our democracy -- the essential]

~~principles of equality.~~

I am fighting, as I have always fought, for the rights of the little man as well as the big man, for the weak as well as ~~for~~ the strong, for those who are helpless as well as for those who can help themselves.

I am fighting to keep this nation prosperous and at peace. I am fighting to keep our people out of foreign wars, and to keep foreign conceptions of government out of our own United States.

I am fighting for these good causes. I am fighting to defend them against the power and might of those who now rise up to challenge them.

And I shall not stop fighting.

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SPEECH OF THE PRESIDENT
ACADEMY OF MUSIC
BROOKLYN, N. Y.
NOVEMBER 1, 1940

Human sentiment is a very wonderful and continuing thing in the human race. The old Brooklyn Academy of Music has pulled me back to it again on the Friday night before election.

But together with sentiment for old associations, for old ties, there goes hand in hand a sentiment for certain ideals which we label by the general adjective "American".

In three previous Addresses, I have made clear by quoting the record that many statements made by the opposition leaders in this campaign are of necessity and beyond peradventure of doubt wholly and unalterably false.

Because that record which I have quoted could not be extended to people who have absolutely no record in Government -- no record of public speeches which was consistent from one month to another -- I was compelled to fall back on the recorded votes and statements made by duly elected Republican leaders in the Congress.

In mentioning many names of Republican leaders, I found, by pure chance, three of them -- a trio which is already so famous throughout the land that I do not mention them again, lest this audience lapse into song.

Tonight I find myself laboring under certain practical difficulties because I find myself faced with the following situation. I do not know what the principles of the opposition really are.

The Republican leadership in the Congress during these years has been solely a leadership of opposition, and any person who has read the papers in these past seven years is unable to point out a single proposal of the Republicans to substitute something better for the legislation enacted by the majority in both Houses. Sum it up by saying that the Republicans have voted against everything and have proposed nothing to take the place of what they were voting against.

Second, their candidates have spent months in continuing the same processes of tearing down except in referring to great ~~massive~~ legislation for social justice they say "me too" and thereby refute and repudiate the

recorded votes of their own Party in the Congress.

Finally, the combined record and speeches of the Republican legislators and candidates gives to the people of the United States no conceivable knowledge of just what direction they are going in.

Their speeches in one section of the country have been diametrically opposed to their speeches made in other sections of the country. To the farmer of the West greater public aid is promised, and to the taxpayer of the East curtailment of expenditures is substituted; to relief workers, bigger relief is held out; to the bankers strict economy.

When I said that I hope 12,000 additional planes will be ordered over here by Britain in the defense of democracy, the figure was ridiculed as being wholly too small, and it is suggested that if another Administration were in office it would, in the twinkling of an eye, wave its wand and have acres and acres, tens of thousands, hundreds of thousands, of new and perfect military airplanes ready for delivery in the home by evening.

Honestly it is difficult to discuss great problems -- foreign and domestic -- with people who have no public record of their own; no experience in government affairs; no consistency in utterance and no practical convictions which you could discover under a microscope.

On a Monday, according to the opposition in this campaign, this Administration has done a good job with its foreign policy; on Tuesday we hear that the foreign policies of the last eight years have injured the United States. On Wednesday we understand that the policy toward agriculture should not be changed; and on Thursday we learn to our amazement that the farmers have been the victims of the New Deal and are forced to exist on a dole. On Friday we are treated to the beautiful thought that the social gains of labor, enacted during the past seven years, should be continued; and on Saturday we are told to weep because labor has been the principal sufferer under the New Deal.

Sunday ought to be a day of rest. But we are pursued into our homes by toy images of Paul Revere's whose shouts from horseback tell us that our sons are

already on the transports and that an Administration, which has successfully and with consistent purpose kept us out of war for eight years, is about to unsheathe the sword and wage bloody warfare in Indo-China and Morocco.

Thus, you will understand some of the problems of a man, who, for four years as Governor of this State and for nearly eight years as President, has managed, in spite of certain problems and difficulties from time to time, to keep his feet on the ground; to avoid strife — domestic and foreign; to hew to the somewhat consistent line of trying to obtain by constitutional means, in cooperation with the legislative bodies, some betterment of the lot and the fate of the average individual in this country; to do a little here and a little there, not to wreck happiness but to gain it — especially for those in our midst who have had little of happiness and less of a chance in our civilization.

That individual has never sought discord or disunity but when either one of them has been forced upon him, he has taken up the challenge because he loves a good fight and because deep down in his soul he believes that we in

America are headed in the right direction.

Today I am in the midst of a campaign against chameleons -- those little lizards that change their color to the same hue as the article they happen to be standing on. When I put one of them on a piece of red paper he turns red. When I put him on a piece of brown paper, he turns brown. When I put him on a piece of black paper, he turns black.

Next Tuesday I am going to put him on a piece of Scotch plaid. And then in trying to accomodate himself I think he is going to blow up.

Seriously, however, I am deeply concerned by two elements that make this Presidential campaign different from any other in my experience, which began in the year 1904.

I have touched on the first of these elements -- the effort on the part of the opposition to be all things to all men. Americans don't like that as a national policy. Americans are on the whole a hard-headed lot and they know that each and every man and woman and child in every walk of life, in every state in the Union, in every community, cannot have every personal wish satisfied --

cannot attain a Utopia next Tuesday. Human perfection is not that as yet, and, in the last analysis, the best we can do is to move forward a little here and a little there, day in and day out, and, equally important, to prevent us from sliding back to days that were more evil; days that were more difficult than they are in America in 1940.

Equally, we cannot trust those who make one appeal one week and the diametrically opposite appeal the next week. We cannot have confidence in those who have no record, versus those who have at least fair records.

(I revert to my old football analogy. If your team has had a successful season, and in the final game your team is now leading by two touchdowns to the other fellow's none, how much attention are you going to pay to a group that stands up in the grandstand -- a group of people who are out of training and have poor records or no records at all, and asks to be put in in place of your team to carry the game on. It is literally one chance in a thousand that a scrub team like that might still let your side win the game, but when the stake is the safety of America, the continuance of the democratic form of

government, the rest of the grandstand will ask them politely to sit down -- next Tuesday.

I have spoken of the safety of America and the continuation of our democratic form of government -- advisedly -- because I want to tell you tonight that I am worried by this other phase of this campaign. We are finding for the first time in our history a strange -- and I fear an unholy alliance -- and an alliance, for the campaign at least, between groups who represent the revolutionary right wing in our country and the revolutionary left wing in our country. I use the word revolutionary because we all know that there are people on the right who have never in all their lives believed deep down in their hearts in popular, representative government. They have shown by their actions that they believe in some extremely limited form of representation, with the actual power limited to the few who think they have the training or the property or the business ability to conduct government all by themselves, and without any of the checks and balances, or any of the need of subjecting

gives
themselves to the form of popular election that gives to
the poorest exactly the same say as the richest.

It becomes more clear in this closing week of the campaign that there have been joined to these revolutionary rightists that group at the other extreme -- the revolutionary leftists. People who for one reason or another -- and there are many reasons -- people ~~think~~ ^{who} think they would rather live under Nazism or Fascism or Communism than under democracy.

I am concerned about that because that is just what happened in many places where democracy no longer survives. I am concerned because the dictatorship of the brown shirts in Germany came about with the financial aid of some of the richest men in Germany. I am concerned because many years ago some on the extreme right sold out to some on the extreme left in Russia. I am concerned because not long ago people in the United States -- I mean Americans who do not belong either to the extreme right or to the extreme left -- lifted their eyebrows when they read of the military marriage of Communism with Nazism.

I am most deeply concerned because this campaign has got to the point where the Republican leadership is using well known methods of dictator countries through its speeches and its propaganda agencies.

They are copying, on a huge scale, things done before on a limited scale. In previous elections they sought, as we know, to intimidate employees -- threatening the very existence of their jobs. Now they seek to instill fear into the minds of the doctors of the country -- circularizing them with telegrams, letters and pamphlets, cleverly insinuating that this Administration would socialize all medicine and take away the private practice of it. People with an ounce of brains can see through that falsehood -- even as you and I.

They are sending pamphlets and letters and telegrams to insurance brokers and agents telling them that their own government will destroy all private insurance and take away the livelihood of those who sell it. People with an ounce of brains see through that falsehood -- even as you and I. They are spreading the vicious word among policy-holders who carry life insurance and other insurances, that it

will be no good if this Administration remains in power -- that they have paid their money and will never get any of it back.

To them -- leading candidates on the Republican ticket -- it seems to mean little that in many states it is a crime before the law to destroy people's confidence in the validity of insurance policies, just as it is a crime to destroy their confidence in the money or the securities of the Government. People with an ounce of brains do not believe that falsehood -- even as you and I.

The other day, at the close of a newspaper conference, the Chairman of the Republican National Committee told a the newspaper men that what he was about to say was "off the record" -- that is it could not be attributed to him, but was nevertheless true: that the United States Fleet had been ordered to proceed westward from Hawaii in the direction of China and Japan; that this could well be considered a hostile act by Japan; furthermore, that immediately after the election, the President would order the United States Fleet to proceed to the Philippines and that would certainly be regarded as an act of war by Japan.

It is not so much that this was, of course, a complete and unspeakable falsehood as that this falsehood was put out by a responsible leader in order that it might be used in the press of the United States to instill the fear that the Government of the United States was leading us into war. It makes not so much difference that the name of the Chairman of the Republican National Committee is Congressman Martin as that this is a clinching illustration of the deliberate attempt to frighten the mothers and fathers of America into voting the Republican ticket by the unpatriotic method of traducing the good faith of the Government of the United States.

Finally, in this strange household of strange bed fellows, we find people in this country who, in recent times, have held a gun against my chest and made demands for their own personal gain which I could not comply with - I would infinitely rather lose this election than to sacrifice this country -- sacrifice its defense -- sacrifice its democracy -- to illegal demands made at the point of a gun.

SUGGESTIONS FOR THE PERORATION

How can government of that kind function?

What will happen to Nation if extreme right and
extreme left join hands in matrimony?

Back of it all fear of those who obstruct and
promise the earth and, at the same time, have only a
record which shows their disbelief in democracy. These
are first steps to dictatorship.

Unknown factor versus known factor.

F. D. R. could not be dictator, etc.

STATEMENTS FILE

HOLD FOR RELEASE BY KENNEDY ✓ HOLD FOR RELEASE

November 1, 1940

CAUTION: The following address of the President, to be delivered in the Brooklyn Academy of Music, Brooklyn, N.Y., MUST BE KEPT IN CONFIDENCE until released.

NOTE: Release to editions of all newspapers appearing on the streets NOT EARLIER THAN 9:00 P.M., E.S.T., November 1, 1940. The same release of the text of the address also applies to radio announcers and news commentators.

CARE MUST BE EXERCISED TO PREVENT PREMATURE PUBLICATION.

WILLIAM D. HASSETT

Sentiment is a very wonderful and continuing thing in the human race. It has brought me back again to this old Brooklyn Academy of Music on the Friday night before election.

This is a ~~new~~ campaign. Here it is almost the day of election, and it is still impossible to determine what are the principles of the opposition party. What is it that the Republican leaders would do during the next four years if given a chance?

They have made campaign speeches on all sides of all questions.

On Monday, we hear that this Administration has done a good job with its foreign policy; on Tuesday we hear the foreign policies of the United States condemned.

On Wednesday we understand that our policy toward agriculture should not be changed; and on Thursday we learn to our amazement that the farmers have been the victims of the New Deal and are forced to exist on a dole.

On Friday, we are treated to the encouraging thought that the social gains of labor during the past seven years should be continued; and on Saturday, we are told to weep because labor has been the principal sufferer under the New Deal.

To one group, further and bigger relief is held out; and to the big taxpayers cuts in expenditures are promised.

One day they say they would continue our good neighbor policy; the next day they hurl insults at certain of our good neighbors to the South.

That is the way they seek to catch a vote here and a vote there.

There is, however, one explanation for these contradictions. That explanation is found in the strange, the very strange, assortment of political bedfellows who have been brought together in the Republican political dormitory.

Many conflicting interests, many irreconcilable social outlooks, many fundamentally opposite economic attitudes have been thrown together under one political roof.

The only common philosophy and the only common purpose they have is to get wholly rid of all the New Deal -- lock, stock and barrel -- and to get control of government in their own hands for their own purposes.

Just as they have not been able to foist their falsifications on the American people, they will never be able to foist this only common purpose of theirs upon the American people.

We will all see to that next Tuesday.

We ~~can't~~ know the story of the unfortunate chameleon who turned brown when placed on a brown rug, and red when placed on a red rug, and who died a tragic death when they put him on a Scotch plaid. We all know what would happen to government if it tried to fulfill all the secret understandings and promises made between the conflicting groups which are now backing the Republican Party.

There is something very ominous in this combination which has been forming within the Republican Party between the extreme reactionary and the extreme radical elements of this country.

There is no common ground upon which they can unite unless it be their common will to power, and their impatience with the normal democratic processes to produce overnight the inconsistent dictatorial ends they each seek.

No elements in American public life have made such vicious attacks upon each other in recent years as have the members of this new unholy alliance ~~against~~ each other.

I do not think that some of the men, even ~~some~~ of the leaders, who have been drawn into this unholy alliance realize what a threat that sort of an alliance may bring to the future of democracy in this country.

I am certain that the rank and file of patriotic Republicans do not realize the nature of this threat.

They should remember, and we must remember, what the collaborative understanding between Communism and Nazism has done to the processes of democracy abroad.

Something evil is happening in this country when a full page advertisement against this Administration, paid for by Republican supporters, appears -- where of all places? -- in the Daily Worker, the newspaper of the Communist Party.

Something evil is happening in this country when vast quantities of Republican campaign literature are distributed by organizations which make no secret of their admiration for the dictatorship form of government.

These forces hate democracy and Christianity as two phases of the same civilization. They oppose democracy because it is Christian. They oppose Christianity because it preaches democracy.

Their objective is to prevent democracy from becoming strong and purposeful. We are strong and purposeful now.

In the years after the last World War, Americans worked and built many things, but few of our people stopped to think why they were working and why they were building and whither they were tending.

Those were the days when prosperity was measured only by the stock ticker.

There were the factory workers forced to labor long hours at low wages in sweat-shop conditions. They could look forward to no security in their old age. They could look forward to no insurance during periods of unemployment.

There were the farmers of the nation, overburdened with debt and with farm surpluses, their income vanishing, their farms threatened with foreclosure.

There were the natural resources of the land being wasted -- soil, forests, minerals, water power.

There were millions of workers, unable to organize to protect their livelihoods, unable to form trade unions.

There were the small businesses of the nation, threatened by the monopolies of concentrated wealth.

The savings of the many were entrusted to supposedly great financiers, who were to lose these savings in fantastic adventures of giant holding companies and giant investment trusts.

The crash came as it had to come. And then for three years the American people waited and suffered. For three years the American government did nothing to help.

In 1933, the American people began to stir themselves. They had come to learn that inaction offered no escape from the problems of a troubled and changing world.

The American people determined when and there that what could not be done by individual effort could be done through joint effort; that what the industrial and financial leaders could not do, a democratic government could do! (C)

You all know the history of recovery, beginning in 1933, and progressing ever since.

Our economic system began again to function. Then came the suggestion from monopolistic finance that while the Government had done a good rescue job, the best thing it could do at that point was to forget all about it, and to turn the whole economic system back to Wall Street to run it again.

They little knew the temper of the American people. The New Deal was no mere rescue party, to restore to a chosen few their old power over the people's savings, the people's labor, the people's lives. (C)

We had seen social unrest at home and abroad -- the frustrated hopes of common men and women, the apathy which is the forerunner of cynicism, the despair which dissolves civilization. What this Administration was determined to do was to save America from that frustration and from that despair.

We all remember how negligible was the opposition this Administration met in the early days, when it was cleaning up the wreckage which had come from the era of speculation.

The bitter opposition from Republican leaders did not come until a little later. It came when this Administration made it clear that we were not merely salvaging a few things from the past, but that we were determined to make our system of private enterprise and private profit work more efficiently, and democratically, to fill the demands and needs of all the people of America. (C)

We understand the philosophy of those who offer resistance and counter offensive against the American people's march of social progress. It is not an opposition which comes necessarily from wickedness -- it is an opposition which comes from subconscious resistance to any measure which disturbs the position of privilege.

It is an unfortunate human failing that a full pocketbook often groans more loudly than an empty stomach.

I am a firm believer in private enterprise and in private property. I am a firm believer in the American opportunity of men and women to rise in private enterprise.

Of course, if private opportunity is to remain safe, average men and women must be able to have it as part of their own individual satisfaction in life and their own stake in democracy.

With that in view we have pushed ahead with social and economic reforms, determined that this period in American life should be written down as a heroic era -- an era in which men fought not merely to preserve a past, but to build a future.

We have seen nations great and small go down in ruin, or get backed up against the wall, because the reactionary men who led them could not see the real danger that threatened. They were afraid of losing their own selfish privilege and power. They feared the legitimate forward surge of their own common people, more than they feared the menacing might of foreign dictators.

From ~~now~~ them, we take warning, however.

Most Republican leaders in our own country for the last seven years have bitterly fought and blocked that forward surge of average men and women in the pursuit of happiness. And let us not be deluded that overnight those leaders have become the real friends of these average men and women.

Do you believe that the bulk of the money to finance this vast Republican campaign is being provided by people who have the interests of the common man at heart? Very few of us are so gullible.

Oh, they may say at election time that they approve the social gains and social objectives of the last seven years. But I say that those men have not yet proven that they even understand what these social gains or social objectives have been.

The American people know how many and how difficult were the battles we have fought and won in the last seven years.

Do you want to abandon the protection of people's savings from fraudulent manipulators, the curbing of giant holding companies that despise investors and consumers alike, by delivering them into the hands of those who have fought these reforms?

Do you want to abandon the responsibility for the well-being of those who live and work on the farms of the nation to those who fought against the farm program every inch of the way? ()

Do you want to abandon collective bargaining, the outlawing of child labor, the minimum wage, the time-and-a-half for overtime, the elimination of sweat-shop conditions, by turning them over to the proven enemies of labor? ()

Do you want to hamstring the old-age pension system, unemployment insurance, aid for children and maternity welfare, vocational training for the physically handicapped, financial aid to the blind, by delivering them into the hands of those who have fought and misrepresented these reforms? ()

Do you want to abandon slum clearance to those Republican leaders who have fought against appropriations for decent housing? ()

Do you want to turn over your government to those who failed to have confidence in the future of America and who now preach fear for the future of America? As an example of this doctrine of fear certain insurance companies are now sending letters to their policyholders, warning them that if this Administration is reelected in office, their policies will shrink in value. ()

This is just another form of pay-envelope campaign of fear like the one in 1936. ()

The fact is that the very existence of most of these insurance companies was saved in 1933 by this Administration. They are ~~today~~ fully solvent. ()

If there were vestiges of truth in these dangerous forebodings, the bonds of the United States would be selling at very low price. The fact is, however, that only last week the Government of the United States sold one year bonds for public housing for one hundred million dollars worth of them at an interest rate of only one-quarter of one per cent. They were over-subscribed eighteen times. That certainly indicates the solidity of the credit of the United States. And if you need further proof, look at the Treasury of the Commonwealth and Southern System. There you will find that they have bought and held twenty-one million dollars of United States Government securities. ()

Our program in the past, our program for the future, is equality of economic opportunity. Such a program calls for many things. It requires an orderly settlement of industrial disputes not by those devoted to company unions, but by agencies alert to the requirements of labor and mindful of the responsibilities of industry.

This program entails old-age insurance and unemployment insurance, operating on an increasingly wider base.

It makes available cheap credit to impoverished tenants, consumers, and small business. In fact, our program starts with small business, so that it may grow and flourish.

(from)

It curbs the old predatory activities of high finance and monopoly practices.

It guarantees that our national resources are used for the benefit of the whole people -- not exploited for the benefit of a few.

It provides for the resettlement of farmers from marginal lands to richer lands, and for farm ownership for enslaved tenants.

Monopoly does not like this program. Certain types of high finance do not like it. Most of the American plutocracy does not like it.

But the vast majority of American business, the backbone of American business, continues to grow and flourish under it. For that business is interested in reasonable profits, not promoters' tribute. What business is interested in freedom from monopolistic restraints and economic imperialism. That business knows that the farmers, the workers, the great mass of our citizens have never asked for more than equality and fair play.

We are a nation of many nationalities, many races, many religions -- bound together by a single unity, the unity of freedom and equality.

Whoever seeks to set one nationality against another, seeks to degrade all nationalities.

Whoever seeks to set one race against another seeks to enslave all races.

Whoever seeks to set one religion against another, seeks to destroy all religion.

So-called racial and religious voting blocs are the creation of designing politicians who profess to be able to deliver them on election day. But every American citizen -- realizing how precious is his right to the secret ballot -- does scorn and will scorn such unpatriotic politicians. The vote of Americans will be American -- and only American.

The true attitude of some leaders of the Republican party toward the common man is not frequently revealed, but occasionally their true feelings break through the restraints, which a political campaign places upon their tongues, and they misspeak themselves. We can then see their true sentiments in all their naked unloveliness.

In a Republican campaign speech the other day, a prominent leader of the Philadelphia bar, delivered himself in these words, quoted in the New York Times:

The President's only supporters, he said, (and I quote) "are paupers, those who earn less than \$1,200 a year and aren't worth that, and the Roosevelt family".

Forget the Roosevelt family -- but those Americans whom this man calls "paupers", these Americans who in his view are not worth the income they receive, small though it is -- who are they? They are only millions and millions of American families, constituting a very large part of the Nation! They are only the common men and women who have helped build this country, who have made it great, and who would defend it with their lives if the need arose.

The demand for social and economic justice comes from those who receive less than \$1,200 a year, but not from them alone. For I believe that when Americans cross this dividing line of \$100.00 a month, they do not lose their devotion to social and economic justice.

They do not suddenly become greedy and selfish. And I count among my supporters millions of other men and women who vote by the dictates of their hearts and minds, and not by the size of their bank accounts.

"Propertors" who are not worth their salt -- there speaks the true sentiment of the Republican leadership.

Can the Republican leaders deny that this all too prevailing Republican sentiment is a direct, vicious appeal to class hatred, ~~or~~ class contempt?

That, ~~my friends~~, is just what I am fighting against with all my heart and soul.

I am fighting for a free America -- for a country in which all men and women have equal rights to liberty and justice.

I am fighting against the revival of government by special privilege -- government by lobbyists -- government vested in the hands of those who favor and who would have us imitate the foreign dictatorships.

I am fighting, as I ~~have always fought~~, for the rights of the little man as well as the big man, for the weak as well as the strong, for those who are helpless as well as ~~for~~ those who can help themselves.

I am fighting to keep this nation prosperous and at peace. I am fighting to keep our people out of foreign wars, and to keep foreign conceptions of government out of our own United States.

I am fighting for these great and good causes. I am fighting to defend them against the power and might of those who now rise up to challenge them.

And I shall not stop fighting!
