

November 1, 1940

[ Brooklyn Academy of Music ]

1334B

FDR Speech File

SPECH OF THE PRESIDENT

ACADEMY OF MUSIC

BROOKLYN, N. Y.

NOVEMBER 1, 1940

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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.



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From the Papers of  
Samuel I. Rosenman

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.



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Architect, E. T. Cope

From the Pages of  
Samuel I. Rosenman

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.



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From the Papers of

Samuel I. Rosenman

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.



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From the Papers of  
Samuel I. Hestrin

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.



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From the Papers of  
Samuel I. Rosenman

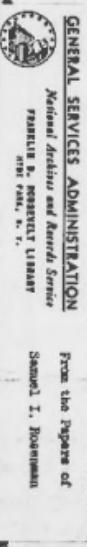
Something evil is happening in this country when vast quantities of Republican campaign literature are distributed by organizations which make no secret of their admiration for the dictatorship form of government.

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.



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WHITE PLAINS, N. Y.

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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.



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WIDE PARK, N. Y.

From the Papers of  
Samuel I. Rosenman

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.



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From the Papers of  
Samuel I. Rosenman

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 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.



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From the Papers of  
Samuel I. Rosenman

And let us not be deluded that overnight those leaders have become the real friends of those 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 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.

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?



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National Advisor and Board Service

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WHITE PLAINS, N. Y.

Samuel I. Rosenman  
From the Report of the  
Senate Select Committee on Small Business

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 per cent. They were



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Spencer A. Penrose  
Public Relations Officer

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.



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From the Papers of  
SAMUEL I. ROSENSTEIN

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.



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FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT LIBRARY  
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From the Papers of  
Samuel I. Rosenman

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.



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FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT LIBRARY  
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From the Papers of  
Samuel I. Horsman

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 gongues, 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 thought 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



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From the papers of  
Samuel I. Rosenman

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.

"Pau;ers" -- 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?



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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.



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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!

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From the Papers of  
Samuel I. Rosenman

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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 wop 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 bad fellows 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.



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WHITE PLAINS, N.Y.

From the Papers of  
Samuel I. Rosenman

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.

There 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.

These 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.



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National Archives and Records Service

FRANCIS B. HORNIGRASS, LIBRARIAN  
STAFF PAGE, E. T.

From the Pages of  
Samuel I. Rosenman

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 those 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. That 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.



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From the Papers of  
Samuel I. Rosenman

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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 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.

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?



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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 those 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 fifteen 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!

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Michael A. DeGolyer and Robert Service  
Franklin D. Roosevelt Library

Samuel J. Rosenman  
From the Papers of

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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.

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

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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 soon 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 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.



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From the Papers of  
Samuel I. Rosenman  
10 of 10

-7-

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 upon 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, 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 those 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!

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From the Program of  
Samuel I. Rosenman

October 29, 1940.

MEMORANDUM FOR

SAM AND HARRY

In the last analysis, in addition to the fact that organized and unorganized labor in the United States, in all our history, has never had a friend who has done more for the bettering of the wages, the hours, the home conditions and the general standard of living of the working man and woman and their families than the present President of the United States: it can be properly said that:

The (1) day in and day out efforts of the President to end the labor split and to united labor, and to end recriminations and name-calling within the ranks of labor have three separate times come to the point where a substantial working agreement to that end was possible. In each of these three cases, the overwhelming majority of the component parts on both sides, being in agreement, success of the negotiations has been ended and the work thrown into the discard by the present individual who happens to be the President of the CIO.

(2) The President of the United States was in effect asked by the present individual, who is President of the CIO, to purchase his support for a consideration. This consideration was in



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From the Papers of  
Samuel I. Rosenman

part impossible to carry through at this time in the interest of the nation today. And another part of the request was obviously illegal. Without seeking any public credit, the President of the United States quietly recorded that he could not sell out the Government for a purely partisan or political reward.



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From the Papers of  
Samuel I. Rosenman

*ZPK*  
*Jan 11*

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.



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FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT  
President of the United States

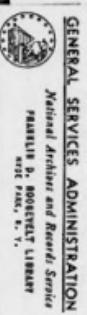
Aug 11 dictated by FDR  
T.F. Long is an  
Excellent carbon

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 ~~social~~ legislation for social justice they say "me too" and thereby refute and repudiate the



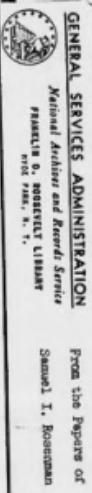
From the Papers of  
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recorded votes of their own Party in the Congress.

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.

P 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 whose shouts from horseback tell us that our sons are



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1945-1949

From the Papers of  
Samuel I. Rosenman

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



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From the Papers of  
Samuel M. Hildreth

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 --



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From the President to  
Samuel I. Rosenman

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



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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



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From the Papers of

Samuel I. Rosenman

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~~ <sup>who</sup> 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.



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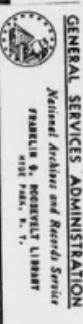
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From the Papers of  
Samuel I. Rosenman

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



From the Papers of  
Samuel I. Rosenman

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  
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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.



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1937 PARK, N. Y.

From the People of  
Samuel L. Rosenbaum  
to the People of

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.



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From the Papers of  
Samuel I. Rosenman

SUGGESTIONS FOR THE PEBORATION

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.



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NEW YORK, N. Y.

From the Papers of  
Samuel I. Rosenman

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From the Pages of  
Samuel I. Rosenman

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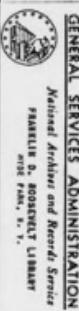
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From the Papers of  
Samuel T. Rosenman

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Samuel I. Rosenman  
From the *Reapers*, 1936

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.

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From the Papers of  
Samuel I. Rosenman

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From the Papers of

Samuel I. Rosenman

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From the Papers of  
Samuel I. Rosenman

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From the Papers of  
Samuel T. Rosenman

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WHITE HOUSE, W. C., D. C.

From the Papers of  
Franklin D. Roosevelt

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.

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Archives Park, N. Y.

From the Papers of  
Samuel I. Rosenman

Second Draft

SPEECH OF THE PRESIDENT

ACADEMY OF MUSIC

BROOKLYN, N.Y.

NOVEMBER 1<sup>st</sup> 1940

Human sentiment is a very wonderful and continuing thing

in the human race. This old Brooklyn Academy of Music has pulled  
me back to it again on the Friday night before election.

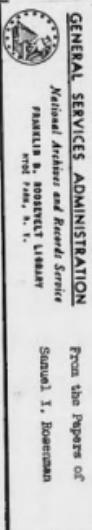
But together with sentiment for old associations; for  
old ties, there goes hand in hand a sentiment for certain ideals  
which we label by the general adjective "American".

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 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.



GENERAL SERVICES ADMINISTRATION

*National Archives and Records Service  
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WHITE PARK, N. Y.*

From the Papers of  
Samuel I. Rosenman

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.

To one group further and bigger relief is held out; and to the Eastern hi; taxpayer curtailment of expenditures is 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.

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.



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1937-1941, P. T.

From the Papers of  
Samuel I. Rosenman

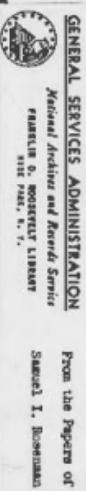
They come from throwing under one political roof,  
many conflicting interests, many irreconcilable social outlooks,  
many fundamentally opposite economic attitudes.

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  
falseifications 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.

We all know the story of the unfortunate chancillon 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 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.

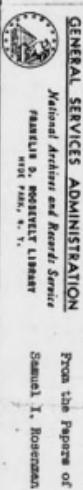
No elements in American public life have made such vicious attacks upon each other in recent years as have the members of this new unholy alliance against each other.

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, what the alliance of 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



From the Files of  
Samuel I. Rosenman

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.



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National Archives and Record Service  
FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT LIBRARY  
WHITE PLAINS, N. Y.

From the Papers of  
Samuel I. Rosenman

In the years after the last World War Americans worked and built many things, but few of them 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 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 protest their livelihoods, unable to form trade unions.

There were the small businesses of the nation threatened by the competition of the concentration of 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!



GENERAL SERVICES ADMINISTRATION

Historical Archives and Records Service

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From the Report of  
Samuel I. Rosenman

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.

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 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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National Archives and Record Service

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From the Papers of  
Samuel I. Rosenman

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 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 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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From the Papers of  
Samuel I. Rosenman

Of course, if private property and private enterprise and private opportunity and private profit are to remain safe, the average man and woman must be able to earn some of these things 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 power; 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 take warning here.



GENERAL SERVICES ADMINISTRATION

National Archives and Records System  
FRANCIS D. ROSENSTIEG, LIBRARIAN

G. M. COOPER,  
Superintendent of  
Prints, U. S.  
Government  
Printing Office  
FRANCIS D. ROSENSTIEG

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.

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.

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



GENERAL SERVICES ADMINISTRATION

National Archives and Record Service

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT LIBRARY  
WHITE PLAINS, N. Y.

From the Papers of  
Samuel I. Rosenman

Do you want to turn over 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 turn over collective bargaining, the outlawing of child labor, the minimum wage, the time-and-a-half for overtime, the elimination of sweat-shop conditions, 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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Archived Archives and Record Service

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From the President  
Samuel I. Rosenman

2914

SPECH OF THE PRESIDENT

ACADEMY OF MUSIC

BROOKLYN, N.Y.

NOVEMBER 1, 1940.

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.



GENERAL SERVICES ADMINISTRATION  
National Archives and Record Service

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From the Papers of  
Samuel I. Rosenman

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 not be expanded.

It has been said in one place that the New Deal has driven the industries of New England into the South, although on an earlier occasion credit for this removal was claimed for a southern power company.

To one group further and bigger relief is held out; and to the Eastern big taxpayer curtailment of expenditures is promised. 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.



GENERAL SERVICES ADMINISTRATION

National Archives and Records Service  
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1945-1946, Vol. 1

From the Papers of  
Samuel I. Rosenman

They come from the process of banding 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.

I have not hesitated to make a straightforward daniel's 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 inexorably lenient toward employers.



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National Archives and Records Service

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RDG, Park, N. Y.

From the Papers of  
Samuel I. Rosenman

It all reminds me of that story my friend told me about  
his chameleon.

He said: "Mr. President, I had quite an experience with  
one of those little lizards, the ones you call chameleons -- the kind  
that are supposed to be able to change their color to be the same as  
whatever they're standing on.

"I got one of them and put him on a piece of red paper. And  
by gosh, he did turn red.

"And then I put him on a piece of brown paper. And by gosh  
he did turn brown.

"And then do you know what I did? — Just to see what he's  
do, I put him on a piece of Scotch plaid. And by gosh he busted himself  
trying to accommodate."



GENERAL SERVICES ADMINISTRATION

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1939-1945

From the Papers of  
Samuel I. Rosenman

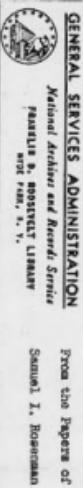
There is something very ominous in this combination which has been forming within the Republican Party between the extreme reactionary and the extreme radical elements in this country.

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 as have the members of this new unholy alliance during these recent years, and now all of these roaring lions lie down together in one bed like three lambs, and pull over themselves the cover of sweetness and light and common understanding.

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

I can picture them all in bed together, chuckling 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*.



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.



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From the Papers of  
Samuel I. Rosenman

In the days after the last World War we Americans worked and we built many things, but few of us stopped to think why we were working and why we 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.



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and  
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From the Papers of  
Franklin D. Roosevelt

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

There were the small businesses of the nation threatened by the constitution 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!



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WHITE HALL, W. C. 2, D. C.

From the Papers of  
Samuel I. Rosenman

You all know the record of our accomplishments.

[There came a time when] 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.

They little knew the temper of the American people. The New Deal was no mere rescue party to restore <sup>to</sup> 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 discolves 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 rescue party, 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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WHITE PLAINS, N. Y.

From the Papers of  
Samuel I. Rosenman

later. It came when this Administration made it clear that we were not merely a rescue party to save a few things from the past, but that we were determined to make our system of private enterprise and private profit work more efficiently 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 economic predilections -- from resistance to any measure which disturbs the position of privilege.

For some reason which I do not understand, a full pocketbook often groans more loudly than an empty stomach.

I am myself an 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.



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From the Papers of  
Samuel L. Rosenberg

I am realistic enough to know that if private property and private enterprise and private opportunity and private profit are to remain safe, they must be spread about, so that the average man and woman are able to earn some of these things as part of their own individual satisfaction in life.

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 great 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 [ ] take warning here.



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From the Papers of  
Samuel I. Rosenman

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.

*but they K*

Do you believe that the money to finance this vast Republican campaign is being provided by people who have the interests of the common man at heart?

Oh, they may say at election time that they approve the social gains and social objective 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



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From the Papers of  
Samuel I. Rosenman

the giant holding companies which defrauded 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 recogni-  
tion by Government of its responsibility for the continu-  
ing well being of those who live and work on the farms.

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

Other hard battles we fought and won were to guaran-  
tee to the workers of the nation the right to bargain  
collectively the battle to outlaw child labor and starva-  
tion 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 insur-  
ance, assistance for child and maternal welfare, vocational  
training for the physically handicapped, financial aid to



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National Archives and Records Service

FRANCIS E. BREWSTER, LIBRARIAN  
and JOHN R. T. COOPER, DIRECTOR

From the Papers of  
Samuel I. Rosenman

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



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From the Pages of  
Samuel I. Rosenman

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.



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From the  
Pages of  
JOHNSON

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.



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GENERAL SERVICES ADMINISTRATION

From the Papers of  
Samuel I. Rosenman

THIRD DRAFT

- 17 -

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

It guarantees that our national resources are exploited for the benefit of the whole people and not for 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 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.



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National Archives and Record Service  
Franklin D. Roosevelt Library  
West Park, New York

From the Papers of  
Samuel T. Rosenman

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 as an American and only as an American.



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From the Papers of

National Archives and Records Service  
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WHITE PLAINS, N. Y.

Samuel I. Rosenman

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.



GENERAL SERVICES ADMINISTRATION

*Museum Archives and Records Service*

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT LIBRARY

WHITE HALL, N. Y.

From the Papers of  
Samuel T. Rosenbach

*End*

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 Roosevelt family."

Those 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



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justice comes only from those who receive less than \$1,200 a year.

I do not believe that when Americans cross this dividing line of \$100 a month, they 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 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.



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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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