
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. 1335-A

1940 November 2

**Cleveland, OH –
Campaign Address**

#1335

SPEECH OF THE PRESIDENT

CONVENTION HALL

CLEVELAND, OHIO,

NOVEMBER 2, 1940

In making this, my final national address of the campaign, I express once more my deep regret that I could not carry out my wish to go to other States in the great Middle West, in the South, and across the Mississippi River. It has been solely in the interest of peace and the maintenance of peace that your great Secretary of State and I have felt that we should both remain within easy distance of the National Capital in these trying days.

Tonight in Cleveland, I am happy, through this great audience of my old friends, to give this message to America.

For the past seven years I have had the high honor
and the grave responsibility of leadership of the American
people. In these seven years, the American people have
marched forward, out of a wilderness of depression and
despair.

They have marched forward right up to the very
threshold of the future -- a future which holds the
fulfillment of our hopes for real freedom, real prosperity,
real peace.

I want that march to continue for four more years.
And for that purpose, I ask your vote of confidence.

There are certain forces within our own national
community, composed of men who call themselves American
but who would destroy America. They are the forces of
dictatorship in our own land -- on one hand the Communists,
and on the other the Girdlers.

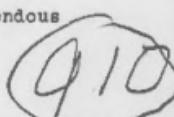
It is their constant purpose in this as in other lands to weaken democracy, to destroy the free man's faith in his own cause.

In this election all the representatives of those forces, without exception, are voting against the New Deal.

I am proud of this opposition. It is proof positive that what we have built and strengthened in the past seven years is democracy!

This generation of Americans is living in a tremendous moment of history.

The surge of events abroad has made some few doubters among us ask: "Is this the end of a story that has been told? Is the book of democracy now to be closed and placed away upon the dusty shelves of time?"



My answer is this: all we have known of the glories of democracy -- its freedom, its efficiency as a mode of living, its ability to meet the aspirations of the common man -- all of these are merely an introduction to the greater story of a more glorious future.

We Americans of today -- all of us -- are characters in this living book of democracy.

But we are also its author. It falls upon us now to say whether the chapters that are to come will tell a story of retreat or a story of continued advance.

I believe that the American people will say:
Forward.

We look at the old world of Europe. It is an ugly world, poisoned by hatred, greed and fear. We can see what has been the inevitable consequence of that poison -- war.

We look at the country in which we live. It is a great country, built by generations of peaceable friendly men and women who had in their hearts faith that the good life can be achieved by those who will work for it.

We know that we are determined to defend our country - and with our neighbors to defend this Hemisphere. We are strong in our defense. Every hour and every day we grow stronger.

Our foreign policy is shaped to express the determination of our government and the will of our people in our dealings with other nations. Those dealings, in the past few years, have been more difficult, more complex than ever before in our history.

There is nothing secret about our foreign policy. It is not a secret from the American people -- and it is not a secret from any government anywhere in the world. I have stated it many times before, not only in words but in action. I now re-state it.

The first purpose of our foreign policy is to keep our country out of war. At the same time we seek to keep foreign conceptions of government out of the United States.

That is why we make ourselves strong; that is why we muster all the reserves of our national strength. (915)

The second purpose of this policy is to keep war as far away as possible from the shores of the entire Western Hemisphere. Our policy is to promote such friendly relations with the Latin American Republics and with Canada, that the great powers of Europe and Asia will know that they cannot divide the peoples of this hemisphere one from another. And it is a policy of practical success.

Also our policy is to give all possible material aid to the nations which still resist aggression, across the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans.

We make it clear that we intend to commit none of the fatal errors of appeasement.

We in this nation of many states have found the way by which men of many racial origins may live together at peace.

If the human race is to survive, the world must find the way by which men and nations can live together at peace. We cannot accept the doctrine that war must be forever a part of man's destiny.

We do know what would be the foreign policy of those who are doubters about our democracy. We do not know what would be the foreign policy of those who are obviously trying to sit on both sides of the fence at the same time.

Ours is the foreign policy of an Administration which has an undying faith in the strength of our democracy today, full confidence in the vitality of our democracy in the future, and a consistent record in the cause of peace.

Our strength is measured not only in terms of the might of our armaments. It is measured not only in terms of the horsepower of our machines.

The true measure of our strength lies deeply imbedded in the social and economic justice of the system in which we live.

For you can build ships and tanks and guns galore; but they will not be enough. You must place behind them an invincible faith in the institutions which they have been built to defend.

The dictators have devised a new system -- or, rather, a modern, streamlined version of an ancient system.

But Americans will have none of that. They will never submit to domination or influence by Nazism or Communism either. They will hesitate to support those of whom they are not absolutely sure.

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Americans are determined to retain for themselves the right of free speech, free religion, free assembly and the right which lies at the basis of all of them -- the right to choose the officers of their own government in free elections.

We intend to keep our freedom -- to defend it against attacks from without and against corruption from within. We shall defend it against the forces of dictatorship, whatever disguises and false faces they may wear.

We have learned, however, that freedom in itself is not enough.

Freedom of speech is of no use to a man who has nothing to say.

Freedom of worship is of no use to a man who has lost his God.

Democracy, to be dynamic, must provide for its citizens opportunity as well as freedom.

We of this generation have seen a rebirth of dynamic democracy in America.

The American people have faced with courage the most severe problems of all of our modern history.

The start toward a solution of these problems had to be made by providing the bare necessities of life -- food and shelter and clothing. The American people insisted that these obligations were a concern of government; they denied that the only solution was the poor house.

Your government assumed its proper function as the working representative of the average men and women of America. And the reforms in our social structure that we have achieved -- these permanent reforms are your achievement.

The New Deal has been the creation of you, the American people!

You provided work for free men and women in America who could find no work. Idle men were given the opportunity on roads to be built, homes to be erected, rivers to be harnessed and power to be made for farm and home and industry.

You used the powers of government to stop the depletion of the top soil of America, to stop decline in farm prices, to stop foreclosures of homes and farms.

You wrote into our law the right of working men and women to bargain collectively, and you set up machinery to enforce that right.

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You turned to the problems of youth and age. You took your children from the factory and shop and outlawed the right of anyone to exploit the labor of those children;

and you gave to those children the chance to prepare in body and spirit the moulding of an even fuller and brighter day for themselves. For the youth of the land you provided chances for jobs and for education. And for old age itself you provided security and rest.

You made safe the banks which held your savings. You stopped, once and for all, gambling with other people's money -- money changing in the temple.

You advanced to other objectives. You gained them, and consolidated them and advanced again.

The task which this generation had to do, has been begun. The forward march of democracy is under way. Its advance must not stop.

During these years while our democracy moved forward -- your government has worked with you and for you. Your government has at times been checked. But always, with the aid and counsel of all the people, we have resumed our march.

Now -- we are asked to stop in our tracks. We are asked to turn about, and march back into the wilderness from which we came.

Of course we will not turn backward. We are the inheritors of a tradition of pioneering, exploring, adventuring, experimenting.

We will not be scared into retreating by threats from the doubters of democracy.

Nor will we be bribed by extravagant promises of fabulous wealth.

Those who offer such promise try to delude us with a mirage on the far horizon -- a mirage of an island of dreams, with palaces and palms.

The mirage is always upside down, above the horizon.

But -- upside down or right-side up -- it isn't there at all.

Now you see it -- and now you don't.

Of course we shall continue to strengthen all these dynamic reforms in our social and economic life; to keep the processes of democracy side by side with the necessities and possibilities of modern industrial production.

Of course we shall continue to make available the good things of life created by the genius of science and technology -- to use them, however, not for the enjoyment of the few but for the welfare of all.

For there lies the road to democracy that is strong.

Of course we intend to preserve and build up the land of this country -- its soil, its forests, its rivers -- all of the resources with which God has endowed the people of the United States.

Of course we intend to continue to build up the bodies and minds of the men, women and children of this country -- through democratic education and a democratic program for health.

8.30

For there lies the road to democracy that is strong.

Of course we intend to continue our efforts to protect our system of private enterprise and private property, protect it from monopoly of financial control on the one hand and from Communistic wrecking on the other.

Of course we shall continue our efforts to prevent economic dictatorship as well as political dictatorship.

Of course we intend to continue to build up the morale of this country, not as blind obedience to some leader, but as the expression of confidence in the deeply ethical principles upon which this nation and its democracy were founded.

For there lies the road to democracy that is strong.

The progress of our country, as well as the defense of our country, requires national unity. We need the cooperation of every single American -- our workers, the

great organizers and technicians in our factories, our farmers, our professional men and women, our workers in industry, our mothers and fathers, our youth -- all the men and women who love America just a little bit more than they love themselves.

And if we can have the assistance of all these, we can promise that such a program can make this country prosperous and free and strong -- to be a light of the world and a comfort to all people.

And all the forces of evil shall not prevail against it.

For so it is written in the Book, and so it is written in the moral law, and so it is written in the promise of a great era of world peace.

This nation which is arming itself for defense has also the intelligence to save its human resources by giving them that confidence which comes from useful work.

This nation which is creating a great navy has also found the strength to build houses and begin to clear the slums of its cities and its countryside.

This nation which has become the industrial leader of the world, has the humanity to know that the people of a free land need not suffer the disease of poverty and the dread of not being wanted.

It is the destiny of this American generation to point the road to the future for all the world to see. It is our prayer that all lovers of freedom may join us -- the anguished common people of this earth for whom we seek to light the path.

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

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I see an America whose rivers and valleys -- hills and streams and plains -- the mountains over our land and nature's wealth deep under the earth -- are protected as the rightful heritage of all the people.

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

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

I see an America where the income from the land shall be implemented and protected by a government determined to guarantee to farmers a fair share in the national income.

Where the wheels of trade and private industry continue to turn to make the goods for America. Where no business man can be stifled by the harsh hand of monopoly, and where the legitimate profits of legitimate business are the fair reward of every business man -- big and little -- in the nation.

I see an America with peace in the ranks of labor.

Where the workers are really free, and -- through their great unions undominated by any outside force, or by any dictator within -- can take their proper place at the council table with the owners and managers of business. Where the dignity and security of the working man and woman are guaranteed by their own strength and fortified by the safeguards of law.

Where those who have reached the evening of life shall live out their years in peace and security. Where pensions and insurance for these aged shall be given as a matter of right to those who through a long life of labor have served their families and their nation so well.

I see an America devoted to our freedoms -- unified by tolerance -- and by religious faith -- a people consecrated to peace, a people confident in strength because their body and spirit are secure and unafraid.

During these years while our democracy advanced on many fields of battle -- I have had the great privilege of being your President. No personal ambition of any man could desire more than that.

It is a hard task. It is a task from which there is no escape day or night.

And through it all there have been two thoughts uppermost in my mind -- to preserve peace in our land; and to make the forces of democracy work for the benefit of the common people of America.

Seven years ago I started with loyal helpers and with the trust and faith and support of millions of ordinary Americans.

The way was difficult -- the path was dark, but we have moved steadily forward to the open fields and the glowing light that shines ahead.

— (940)

The way of our lives seems clearer now, if we but follow the charts and guides of our democratic faith.

There is a great storm raging now; it makes things harder for the world. And that storm, which did not start in this land of ours, is the true reason that I would like to stick by these people of ours until we reach the clear, sure footing ahead.

We will make it -- make it before the next term is over.

We will make it and the world, we hope, will make it, too.

When that term is over there will be another President, and many more Presidents in the years to come, and I think that word "President" will be a word to cheer the hearts of common men and women everywhere.

Our future belongs to us Americans.

It is for us to design it; for us to build it.

In that building we shall prove that our faith is strong enough to survive the most fearsome storms that have ever swept across this earth.

In the days and months and years to come, we shall be making history --hewing out a new shape for the future. And we shall make very sure that it bears the likeness of liberty.

Always the heart and the soul of our country will be the heart and soul of the common man -- the men and women who never have ceased to believe in democracy, who never have ceased to love their families, their homes and their country.

The spirit of the common man is the spirit of peace and good will. It is the spirit of God . And in His faith is the strength of America.

Franklin D. Roosevelt

Dry, reading copy

#1335

ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT
Delivered in the Public Auditorium
Cleveland, Ohio
November 2, 1940, 9.00 P.M.

MR. CHAIRMAN, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN:

In making this, my final national address of the campaign, I express once more my very deep regret that I could not carry out my wish to go to other states, other states in the great Middle West, in the South and across the Mississippi River. It has been solely in the interest of peace, (and) it has been solely in the maintenance of peace that your great Secretary of State and I have felt that we should both remain within easy distance of the National Capital in these trying days.

Tonight in Cleveland, I am happy, through this great audience of my old friends, to give this message to America. (Applause)

For the past seven years I have had the high honor and the grave responsibility of leadership of the American people. In (these) those seven years, the American people have marched forward, out of a wilderness of depression and despair.

They have marched forward right up to the very threshold of the future -- a future which holds the fulfillment of our hopes for real freedom, real prosperity, real peace.

I want that march to continue for four more years. (Applause)
And for that purpose, I (ask) am asking your vote of confidence.
(Applause)

Now, we know there are certain forces within our own national community, composed of men who call themselves American but who would destroy America. (Boos) They are the forces of dictatorship in our

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This is a transcript made by the White House stenographer from his shorthand notes taken at the time the speech was made. Underlining indicates words extemporaneously added to the previously prepared reading copy text. Words in parentheses are words that were omitted when things speak was repeated, though they appear in the previously prepared reading copy text. See below I read further word that we stand ready another I

Franklin D. Roosevelt Library
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(own) land -- on one hand (the Communists) Communism, and on the other the Girdlers. (Boos)

It is their constant purpose in this as in other lands to weaken democracy, to destroy the free man's faith in his own cause.

In this election all the representatives of those forces, without exception, are voting against the New Deal.

Yes, you and I (am) are proud of (this) that opposition.

(Applause) Because it is proof positive that what we have built, (and) what we have strengthened in the past seven years is democracy! (Applause)

This generation of Americans is living in a tremendous moment of history.

The surge of events abroad has made some few doubters among us ask: Is this the end of a story that has been told? Is the book of democracy now to be closed and placed away (up)on the dusty shelves of time? (Cries of "No, no.")

You are right! (My) The answer is (this) "No!" My answer also is this: All we have known of the glories of democracy -- its freedom, its efficiency as a mode of living, its ability to meet the aspirations of the common man -- all of these are merely an introduction to the greater story of a more glorious future.

And we Americans of today -- all of us -- /are characters in this living book of democracy.

But we are also its author. It falls upon us now to say whether the chapters that are to come will tell a story of retreat or a story of continued advance. (Applause)

And so, with you again I believe that the American people will say: "Forward!" (Applause)

We look at the old world of Europe today. It is an ugly world, poisoned by hatred and greed and fear. We can see what has been the inevitable consequence of that poison -- it has been war.

And we look at the country in which we live. It is a great country, built by generations of peaceable friendly men and women who had in their hearts faith, faith that the good life can be (achieved) attained by those who will work for it. (Applause)

We know that we are determined to defend our country -- and with our neighbors to defend this Hemisphere. We are strong in our defense. And every hour and every day we grow stronger. (Applause)

Our foreign policy is shaped to express the determination of our Government and the will of our people in our dealings with other nations. Those dealings, in the past few years, have been more difficult, more complex than ever before (in our history).

But there is nothing secret about our foreign policy. It is not a secret from the American people -- and it is not a secret from any government anywhere in the world. (Applause) I have stated it many times before, not only in words but in action. (Applause)
(I now re-state it.) Let me restate it like this:

The first purpose of our foreign policy is to keep our country out of war. (Applause) And, at the same time, with that we seek to keep foreign conceptions of government out of the United States. (Applause)

That is why we make ourselves strong; that is why we muster all the reserves of our national strength.

And the second purpose of this policy is to keep war as far away as possible from the shores of the entire Western Hemi-

sphere. (Applause) Our policy is to promote such friendly relations with the Latin-American Republics and with Canada, that the great powers of Europe and of Asia will know that they cannot divide the peoples of this hemisphere one from another. (Applause) And if you go from the North Pole you will know that that (it) is a policy of practical success. (Applause)

Finally, (also) our policy is to give all possible material aid to the nations (which) that still resist aggression, across the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans. (Applause)

(We make it clear) And let me make it perfectly clear that we intend to commit none of the fatal errors of appeasement. (Applause)

We have the thought that in this Nation of many states we have found the way by which men of many racial origins may live together (at) in peace.

If the human race as a whole is to survive, the world must find the way by which men and nations can live together (at) in peace. (Applause) We cannot accept the doctrine that war must be forever a part of man's destiny. (Applause)

We do know what would be the foreign policy of those who are doubters about our democracy.

We do not know what would be the foreign policy of those who are obviously trying to sit on both sides of the fence at the same time. (Applause) Ours is the foreign policy of an Administration which has (an) undying faith in the strength of our democracy today, full confidence in the vitality of our democracy in the future, and a consistent record in the cause of peace. (Applause)

No, our strength is measured not only in terms of the might

of our armaments. It is measured not only in terms of the horse-power of our machines.

The true measure of our strength lies deeply imbedded in the social and economic justice of the system in which we live.

(Applause)

For you can build ships and tanks and planes and guns galore; but they will not be enough. You must place behind them an invincible faith, faith in the institutions which they have been built to defend.

(Applause)

The dictators have devised a new system -- or, rather, a modern, streamlined version of (an) a very ancient system.

But Americans will have none of that. They will never submit to domination or influence by Nazism or Communism (either).

They will hesitate to support (these) those of whom they are not absolutely sure. (Applause)

For Americans are determined to retain for themselves the right of free speech, free religion, free assembly and the right which lies at the basis of all of them -- the right to choose the officers of their own Government in free elections. (Applause)

We intend to keep our freedom -- to defend it (against) from attacks from without and against corruption from within. We shall defend it against the forces of dictatorship, whatever disguises and false faces they may wear. (Applause)

But we have learned (however) that freedom in itself is not enough.

Freedom of speech is of no use (to) if a man (who) has nothing to say. (Applause)

Freedom of worship is of no use to a man who has lost his God. (Applause)

So, democracy, to be dynamic, must provide for its citizens opportunity as well as freedom.

We of this generation have seen a rebirth of dynamic democracy in America in these past few years.

The American people have faced with courage the most severe problems of all of our modern history.

The start toward a solution of these problems had to be made seven years ago by providing the bare necessities of life -- food and shelter and clothing. And the American people insisted that (these) those obligations were a concern of Government; they denied that the only solution was the poorhouse. (Applause)

Your Government assumed its proper function as the working representative of the average men and women of America. And the reforms in our social structure that we have achieved -- these permanent reforms are your achievement. (Applause)

Yes, the New Deal has been the creation of you, the American people.

You provided work for free men (and) for free women in America who could find no work.

Idle men were given the opportunity on roads to be built, homes to be erected, rivers to be harnessed, (and) power to be made for farm and home and industry.

You used the powers of Government to stop the depletion of the top soil of America, to stop decline in farm prices, to stop foreclosures of homes and farms.

You wrote into (our) the law the right of working men and women to bargain collectively, and you set up the machinery (interrupted by applause) -- yes, and you set up the machinery to enforce that right. (Applause)

You turned to the problems of youth and age. You took your children (from) out of the factory and shop and outlawed the right of anyone to exploit the labor of those children; and you gave to those children the chance to prepare in body and spirit the molding of an even fuller and brighter day for themselves. For the youth of the land you provided chances for jobs and for education. And for old age itself you provided security and rest. (Applause)

You made safe the banks which held your savings. (Applause) You stopped, once and for all, gambling with other people's money -- money changing in the temple. (Applause)

Yes, you advanced to these and many other obligations -- yes, many obligations of democracy and therefore objectives of democracy (other objectives). You gained them, (and) you consolidated them and (advanced again) therefore you are advancing again.

The task which this generation had to do has been begun. The forward march of democracy is under way. And its advance must not and will not stop. (Applause)

During (these) those years while our democracy moved forward, your Government has worked with you and for you. Your Government has at times been checked. But always, with the aid and counsel of all of the people, we have resumed our march. (Applause)

And now -- we are asked to stop in our tracks. We are asked to turn about, (and) to march back into the wilderness from

which we came.

Of course we will not turn backward. (Cries of "No.") We will not turn back because we are the inheritors of a tradition of pioneering, exploring, experimenting and adventuring (experimenting). We will not be scared into retreating by threats from the doubters of democracy. (Applause)

(Nor) Neither will we be bribed by extravagant promises of fabulous wealth.

Those who offer such promise(s) try to delude us with a mirage on the far horizon -- a mirage of an island of dreams, with palaces and palms and plums. (Laughter)

And it is a curious fact of nature that a (The) mirage is always upside down, above the horizon. (Laughter and applause)

And then, on top of that, the mirage (But) -- upside down or right-side up -- (it) isn't there at all. (Laughter and applause)

Now you see it -- and now you don't. (Laughter and applause)

Of course we shall continue to strengthen all these dynamic reforms in our social and economic life; to keep the processes of democracy side by side with the necessities and with the possibilities of modern industrial production.

Of course we shall continue to make available the good things of life created by the genius of science and technology -- to use them, however, not for the enjoyment of the few but for the welfare of all.

(Applause)

For there lies the road to democracy that is strong.

Of course we intend to preserve and build up the land of this country -- its soil, its forests and its rivers -- all of the

resources with which God has endowed the people of the United States.

Of course we intend to continue to build up the bodies and
the minds of the men, women and children of (this country) the Nation--
through democratic education and a democratic program for health.

(Applause)

For there, there too, lies the road to democracy that is
strong. (Applause)

Of course we intend to continue our efforts to protect our
system of private enterprise and private property, but to protect it
from monopoly of financial control on the one hand and from Communis-
tic wrecking on the other. (Applause)

Of course we shall continue our efforts to prevent economic
dictatorship as well as political dictatorship.

Of course we intend to continue to build up the morale of
this country, not as blind obedience to some leader, but as the ex-
pression of confidence in the deeply ethical principles upon which
this Nation and its democracy were founded. (Applause)

For there lies once more the road to democracy that is
strong.

The progress of our country, as well as the defense of our
country, requires national unity. We need the cooperation of every
single American -- our workers, the great organizers and technicians
in our factories, our farmers, our professional men and women, our
workers in industry, our mothers, our fathers, our youth (applause) --
all the men (interrupted by applause) (and) all the women who love
America just a little bit more than they love themselves. (Applause)

And if we can have the assistance of all these, we can

promise that such a program can make this country prosperous and free and strong -- to be a light of the world and a comfort to all people.

And all the forces of evil shall not prevail against it.

For so it is written in the Book, and so it is written in the moral law, and so it is written in the promise of a great era of world peace.

This Nation which is arming itself for defense has also the intelligence to save its human resources by giving them that confidence which comes from useful work.

This Nation which is creating a great (navy) armament has also found the strength to build houses and begin to clear the slums of its cities and its countryside. (Applause)

Yes, this Nation which has become the industrial leader of the world, (applause) -- which has become that -- has the humanity to know that the people of a free land need not suffer the disease of poverty and the dread of not being wanted.

So I think that it is the destiny of this American generation to point the road to the future for all the world to see. It is our prayer that all lovers of freedom may join us -- the anguished common people of this earth for whom we seek to light the path.

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

I see (interrupted by applause) -- I see an America whose

rivers and valleys and lakes -- hills and streams and plains -- the mountains over our land and nature's wealth deep under the earth -- are protected as the rightful heritage of all the people. (Applause)

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) its people.

I see an America where the income from the land shall be implemented and protected by a Government determined to guarantee to (farmers) those who hoe it a fair share in the national income.

An America where the wheels of trade and private industry continue to turn to make the goods for America. Where no businessman can be stifled by the harsh hand of monopoly, and where the legitimate profits of legitimate business are the fair reward of every businessman -- every businessman, big and little -- in all the Nation.

I see an America with peace in the ranks of labor. (Applause)

An America where the workers are really free and -- through their great unions undominated by any outside force, or by any dictator within -- can take their proper place at the council table with the owners and managers of business. (Applause) Yes, an America where the dignity and security of the working man and woman are guaranteed by their own strength and fortified by the safeguards of law. (Applause)

An America where those who have reached the evening of life shall live out their years in peace, (and) in security. Where pensions and insurance for these aged shall be given as a matter of right to those who through a long life of labor have served their families and their nation so well. (Applause)

I see an America devoted to our freedoms -- unified by tolerance -- (and) unified by religious faith -- a people consecrated, a people consecrated to peace, a people confident in strength because their body and their spirit are secure and unafraid. (Applause)

During these years while our democracy advanced on many fields of battle -- I have had the great privilege of being your President. (Applause) And I think -- I think that no personal ambition of any man could desire more than that. (Applause)

Yes, it is a hard task. It is a task from which there is no escape day or night.

And through it all there have been two thoughts uppermost in my mind -- to preserve peace in our land; and to make the forces of democracy work for the benefit of the common people of America.

Seven years ago I started with loyal helpers and with the trust and faith and support of millions of ordinary Americans. (Applause)

The way was difficult -- the path was dark, but I think we have moved steadily forward to the open fields, (and) to the glowing light that shines ahead.

The way of our lives seems clearer now, if we but follow the charts and the guides of our democratic faith.

There is a great storm raging now, a storm that (it) makes things harder for the world. And that storm, which did not start in this land of ours, is the true reason that I would like to stick by (these) those people of ours until we reach (interrupted by applause) ... yes, stick by these people of ours until we reach the clear, sure footing ahead.

And we will make it (applause) -- we will make it before the

next term is over. (Applause)

We will make it; and the world, we hope, will make it, too.
(Applause)

When that term is over there will be another President,
(applause) and many more Presidents (interrupted by applause) -- many
more Presidents in the years to come, (applause) and I think that, in
the years to come, that word "President" will be a word to cheer the
hearts of common men and women everywhere. (Applause)

Our future belongs to us Americans.

It is for us to design it; for us to build it.

In that building of it we shall prove that our faith is strong
enough, strong enough to survive the most fearsome storms that have ever
swept (across this) over the earth.

In the days (and) in the months and the years to come, we
shall be making history -- hewing out a new shape for the future. And
we shall make very sure that (it) that future of ours bears the like-
ness of liberty. (Applause)

Always the heart and the soul of our country will be the
heart and the soul of the common man -- the men and the women who never
have ceased to believe in democracy, who never have ceased to love
their families, their home(s) and their country. (Applause)

The spirit of the common man is the spirit of peace and good
will. It is the spirit of God. And in His faith is the strength of
all America. (Prolonged applause)

* * * * *

ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT
DELIVERED IN THE PUBLIC AUDITORIUM
CLEVELAND, OHIO
NOVEMBER 2, 1940

- - - - -

In making this, my final national address of the campaign, I express once more my deep regret that I could not carry out my wish to go to other States in the great Middle West, in the South and across the Mississippi River. It has been solely in the interest of peace and the maintenance of peace that your great Secretary of State and I have felt that we should both remain within easy distance of the National Capital in these trying days.

Tonight in Cleveland, I am happy, through this great audience of my old friends, to give this message to America.

For the past seven years I have had the high honor and the grave responsibility of leadership of the American people. In these seven years, the American people have marched forward, out of a wilderness of depression and despair.

They have marched forward right up to the very threshold of the future -- a future which holds the fulfillment of our hopes for real freedom, real prosperity, real peace.

I want that march to continue for four more years. And for that purpose, I ask your vote of confidence.

There are certain forces within our own national community, composed of men who call themselves American but who would destroy America. They are the forces of dictatorship in our own land -- on one hand the Communists, and on the other the Girdlers.

It is their constant purpose in this as in other lands to weaken democracy, to destroy the free man's faith in his own cause.

In this election all the representatives of those forces, without exception, are voting against the New Deal.

I am proud of this opposition. It is proof positive that what we have built and strengthened in the past seven years is democracy!

This generation of Americans is living in a tremendous moment of history.

The surge of events abroad has made some few doubters among us ask: Is this the end of a story that has been told? Is the book of democracy now to be closed and placed away upon the dusty shelves of time?

My answer is this: All we have known of the glories of democracy -- its freedom, its efficiency as a mode of living, its ability to meet the aspirations of the common man -- all of these are merely an introduction to the greater story of a more glorious future.

No Americans of today -- all of us -- are characters in this living book of democracy.

But we are also its authors. It falls upon us now to say whether the chapters that are to come will tell a story of retreat or a story of continued advance.

I believe that the American people will say: Forward. We look at the old world of Europe. It is an ugly world, poisoned by hatred, greed and fear. We can see what has been the inevitable consequence of that poison -- war.

We look at the country in which we live. It is a great country, built by generations of peaceable friendly men and women who had in their hearts faith that the good life can be achieved by those who will work for it.

We know that we are determined to defend our country -- and with our neighbors to defend this Hemisphere. We are strong in our defense. Every hour and every day we grow stronger.

Our foreign policy is shaped to express the determination of our government and the will of our people in our dealings with other nations. Those dealing, in the past few years, have been more difficult, more complex than ever before in our history. There is nothing secret about our foreign policy. It is not a secret from the American people -- and it is not a secret from any government anywhere in the world. I have stated it many times before, not only in words but in action. I now re-state it. The first purpose of our foreign policy is to keep our country out of war. At the same time we seek to keep foreign conspiracies of government out of the United States.

That is why we make ourselves strong; that is why we muster all the reserves of our national strength.

The second purpose of this policy is to keep war as far away as possible from the shores of the entire Western Hemisphere. Our policy is to promote such friendly relations with the Latin American Republics and with Canada, that the great powers of Europe and Asia will know that they cannot divide the peoples of this hemisphere one from another. And it is a policy of practical success.

Also our policy is to give all possible material aid to the nations which still resist aggression, across the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans.

We make it clear that we intend to commit none of the fatal errors of appeasement.

To in this Nation of many states have found the way by which men of many racial origins may live together at peace.

If the human race is to survive, the world must find the way by which men and nations can live together at peace. We cannot accept the doctrine that war must be forever a part of man's destiny.

We do know what would be the foreign policy of those who are doubters about our democracy.

We do not know what would be the foreign policy of those who are obviously trying to sit on both sides of the fence at the same time. Ours is the foreign policy of an Administration which has an undying faith in the strength of our democracy today, full confidence in the vitality of our democracy in the future, and a consistent record in the cause of peace.

Our strength is measured not only in terms of the might of our armaments. It is measured not only in terms of the horsepower of our machines.

The true measure of our strength lies deeply imbedded in the social and economic justice of the system in which we live.

For you can build ships and tanks and guns galore; but they will not be enough. You must place behind them an invincible faith in the institutions which they have been built to defend.

The dictators have devised a new system -- or, rather, a modern, streamlined version of an ancient system.

But Americans will have none of that. They will never submit to domination or influence by Nazism or Communism either. They will hesitate to support those of whom they are not absolutely sure.

Americans are determined to retain for themselves, the right of free speech, free religion, free assembly and the right which lies at the basis of all of them -- the right to choose the officers of their own government in free elections.

We intend to keep our freedom -- to defend it against attacks from without and against corruption from within. We shall defend it against the forces of dictatorship, whatever disguises and false faces they may wear.

We have learned, however, that freedom in itself is not enough.

Freedom of speech is of no use to a man who has nothing to say.

Freedom of worship is of no use to a man who has lost his God.

Democracy, to be dynamic, must provide for its citizens opportunity as well as freedom.

We of this generation have seen a rebirth of dynamic democracy in America.

The American people have faced with courage the most severe problems of all of our modern history.

The start toward a solution of these problems had to be made by providing the bare necessities of life -- food and shelter and clothing. The American people insisted that these obligations were a concern of government; they denied that the only solution was the poor house.

Your government assumed its proper function as the working representative of the average men and women of America. And the reforms in our social structure that we have achieved -- these permanent reforms are your achievement.

The New Deal has been the creation of you, the American people.

You provided work for free men and women in America who could find no work.

Idle men were given the opportunity on roads to be built, homes to be erected, rivers to be harnessed and power to be made for farm and home and industry.

You used the powers of government to stop the depletion of the top soil of America, to stop decline in farm prices, to stop foreclosures of homes and farms.

You wrote into our law the right of working men and women to bargain collectively, and you set up machinery to enforce that right.

You turned to the problems of youth and age. You took your children from the factory and shop and outlawed the right of anyone to exploit the labor of those children; and you gave to those children the chance to prepare in body and spirit the molding of an even fuller and brighter day for themselves. For the youth of the land you provided chances for jobs and for education. And for old age itself you provided security and rest.

You made safe the banks which held your savings. You stopped, once and for all, gambling with other people's money -- money changing in the temple.

You advanced to other objectives. You gained them, and consolidated them and advanced again.

The task which this generation had to do, has been begun. The forward march of democracy is under way. Its advance must not stop.

During these years while our democracy moved forward your government has worked with you and for you. Your government has at times been checked. But always, with the aid and counsel of all the people, we have resumed our march.

Now -- we are asked to stop in our tracks. We are asked to turn about, and march back into the wilderness from which we came.

Of course we will not turn backward. We are the inheritors of a tradition of pioneering, exploring, adventuring, experimenting. We will not be scared into retreating by threats from the doubters of democracy.

Nor will we be bribed by extravagant promises of fabulous wealth.

Those who offer such promises try to delude us with a mirage on the far horizon -- a mirage of an island of dreams, with palaces and palms.

The mirage is always upside down, above the horizon.

But -- upside down or right-side up -- it isn't there at all.

Now you see it -- and now you don't.

Of course we shall continue to strengthen all these dynamic reforms in our social and economic life; to keep the processes of democracy side by side with the necessities and possibilities of modern industrial production.

Of course we shall continue to make available the good things of life created by the genius of science and technology -- to use them, however, not for the enjoyment of the few but for the welfare of all.

For there lies the road to democracy that is strong.

Of course we intend to preserve and build up the land of this country -- its soil, its forests, its rivers -- all of the resources with which God has endowed the people of the United States.

Of course we intend to continue to build up the bodies and minds of the men, women and children of this country -- through democratic education and a democratic program for health.

For there lies the road to democracy that is strong.

Of course we intend to continue our efforts to protect our system of private enterprise and private property, protect it from monopoly of financial control on the one hand and from Communistic wrecking on the other.

Of course we shall continue our efforts to prevent economic dictatorship as well as political dictatorship.

Of course we intend to continue to build up the morale of this country, not as blind obedience to some leader, but as the expression of confidence in the deeply ethical principles upon which this nation and its democracy were founded.

For there lies the road to democracy that is strong.

The progress of our country, as well as the defense of our country, requires national unity. We need the cooperation of every single American -- our workers, the great organizers and technicians in our factories, our farmers, our professional men and women, our workers in industry, our mothers, our fathers, our youth -- all the men and women who love America just a little bit more than they love themselves.

And if we can have the assistance of all these, we can promise that such a program can make this country prosperous and free and strong -- to be a light of the world and a comfort to all people.

And all the forces of evil shall not prevail against it.

For so it is written in the Book, and so it is written in the moral law, and so it is written in the promise of a great era of world peace.

This nation which is arming itself for defense has also the intelligence to save its human resources by giving them that confidence which comes from useful work.

This nation which is creating a great navy has also found the strength to build houses and begin to clear the slums of its cities and its countryside.

This nation which has become the industrial leader of the world, has the humanity to know that the people of a free land need not suffer the disease of poverty and the dread of not being wanted.

It is the destiny of this American generation to point the road to the future for all the world to see. It is our prayer that all lovers of freedom may join us -- the anguished common people of this earth for whom we seek to light the path.

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

I see an America whose rivers and valleys -- hills and streams and plains -- the mountains over our land and nature's wealth deep under the earth -- are protected as the rightful heritage of all the people.

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.

I see an America where the income from the land shall be implemented and protected by a government determined to guarantee to farmers a fair share in the national income.

Where the wheels of trade and private industry continue to turn to make the goods for America. Where no business man can be stifled by the harsh hand of monopoly, and where the legitimate profits of legitimate business are the fair reward of every business man -- big and little -- in the nation.

I see an America with peace in the ranks of labor.

Where the workers are really free and -- through their great unions undominated by any outside force, or by any dictator within -- can take their proper place at the council table with the owners and managers of business. Where the dignity and security of the working man and woman are guaranteed by their own strength and fortified by the safeguards of law.

Where those who have reached the evening of life shall live out their years in peace and security. Where pensions and insurance for those aged shall be given as a matter of right to those who through a long life of labor have served their families and their nation so well.

I see an America devoted to our freedoms -- unified by tolerance -- and by religious faith -- a people consecrated to peace, a people confident in strength because their body and spirit are secure and unafraid.

During these years while our democracy advanced on many fields of battle -- I have had the great privilege of being your President. No personal ambition of any man could desire more than that.

It is a hard task. It is a task from which there is no escape day or night.

And through it all there have been two thoughts uppermost in my mind -- to preserve peace in our land; and to make the forces of democracy work for the benefit of the common people of America.

Seven years ago I started with loyal helpers and with the trust and faith and support of millions of ordinary Americans.

The way was difficult -- the path was dark, but we have moved steadily forward to the open fields and the glowing light that shines ahead.

The way of our lives seems clearer now, if we but follow the charts and guides of our democratic faith.

There is a great storm raging now; it makes things harder for the world. And that storm, which did not start in this land of ours, is the true reason that I would like to stick by these people of ours until we reach the clear, sure footing ahead.

We will make it -- make it before the next term is over.

We will make it; and the world, we hope, will make it, too.

Then that term is over there will be another President, and many more Presidents in the years to come, and I think that word "President" will be a word to cheer the hearts of common men and women everywhere.

Our future belongs to us Americans.

It is for us to design it; for us to build it.

In that building we shall prove that our faith is strong enough to survive the most fearsome storms that have ever swept across this earth.

In the days and months and years to come, we shall be making history -- hewing out a new shape for the future. And we shall make very sure that it bears the likeness of liberty.

Always the heart and the soul of our country will be the heart and soul of the common man -- the men and women who never have ceased to believe in democracy, who never have ceased to love their families, their homes and their country.

The spirit of the common man is the spirit of peace and good will. It is the spirit of God. And in His faith is the strength of America.

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BEGINNING

In making this, ^{my} final national address of the campaign, I express once more my deep ~~sincere~~ regret that I could not carry out my wish to go to other States in the great Middle West, in the South and across the Mississippi River. It has been solely in the interest of peace and the maintenance of peace that your great Secretary of State and I have felt that we should both remain within easy distance of the National Capital in these trying days.

Tonight in Cleveland, I am happy, through this great audience of my old friends, to give this ~~speech~~ message to America.

SPEECH OF THE PRESIDENT

CONVENTION HALL

CLEVELAND, OHIO

NOVEMBER 2, 1940

(2)

For the past seven years I have had the high honor
and the grave responsibility of leadership of the American
people. In these seven years, the American people have
marched forward, out of a wilderness of depression and
despair.

They have marched forward right up to the very
threshold of the future -- a future which holds the
fulfillment of our hopes ~~for~~ ^{for} real freedom, real prosperity,
real peace.

I want that march to continue for four ^{more} years. And
for that purpose, I ask your vote of confidence.

There are certain forces within our own national
community, composed of men who call themselves American but
who would destroy America. They are the forces of
dictatorship in our own land -- on one hand the Communists,
and on the other the Girdlers.

It is their constant purpose in this as in other

(3)

Lands
~~countries~~ to weaken democracy, to destroy the free man's
faith in his own cause.

In this election all the ~~representatives~~ ^{representatives} ~~of~~ ^{three}
forces, without exception, are voting against the New
~~EMERGENCY~~ Deal.

I am ~~presently~~ proud of this opposition. It is proof ~~of~~ ^{of} ~~that~~ ^{that}
that what we have built and strengthened in the past seven
years is democracy!

This generation of Americans is living in a tremendous
moment of history.

The surge of events abroad has made some few doubters
among us ask: Is this the end of a story that has been
told? Is the book of democracy now to be closed and
placed away upon the dusty shelves of time?

This:
My answer is ~~that~~ all we have known of the glories
of democracy -- its freedom, its efficiency as a mode of
living, its ability to meet the aspirations of the common
man, -- all of these are merely an introduction to the
greater story of a more glorious future.

SECOND DRAFT

(4)

-3-

We Americans of today -- all of us -- are characters
in this living book of democracy.

But we are also its author. It falls upon us now
to say whether the chapters that are to come will tell
a story of retreat or a story of continued advance.

I believe that the American people will say:
Forward.

of Europe
We look at the old world ~~beyond~~ It
is an ugly world, poisoned by hatred, greed, fear. We
can see what has been the inevitable consequence of that
poison -- war.

We look at the country in which we live. It is

(5)

a great country, built by generations of peaceable friendly men and women who had in their hearts faith that the good life can be achieved by those who will work for it.

We know that we are determined to defend our country -
and with ~~to join in the defense of~~ our neighbors ⁱⁿ this Hemisphere.
We are strong in our defense. Every ^{day} ~~far~~ and every ^{day} we grow stronger.

Our foreign policy is shaped to express the determination of our government and the will of our people in our dealings with other nations. Those dealings, in the past few years, have been more difficult, more complex than ever before in our history.

There is nothing secret about our foreign policy. It is not a secret from the American people -- and it is not a secret from any government anywhere in the world. I have stated it many times before, not only in words but in action. I now re-state it.

SECOND DRAFT

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The first purpose of our foreign policy is to keep our country out of war. At the same time we seek to keep foreign conceptions of government out of the United States.

That is why we make ourselves strong; that is why we muster all the reserves of our national strength.

The second purpose of this policy is to keep war as far away as possible from the shores of the entire Western Hemisphere. Our policy is to promote such friendly relations with the Latin American Republics and with Canada, that the great powers of Europe and Asia will know that they cannot divide the peoples of this hemisphere one from another.
An it is a policy of practical alliance.
It also our policy is to give all possible material aid to the nations which still resist aggression, across the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans.

We make it clear that we intend to commit none of the fatal errors of appeasement.

We in this Nation of many States have found the way by which men of many racial origins may live together at peace.

If the human race is to survive, the world must find the way by which men and nations can live together at peace. We cannot accept the doctrine that war must be forever a part of man's destiny.

(7)

We know what would be the foreign policy of
those who are doubters about our democracy. ~~of~~ We do not know what would be the
foreign policy of an Administration which has an undying
faith in the strength of our democracy today, and full
confidence in the vitality of our democracy in the future,
~~and a consistent record in the cause of peace,~~
~~Our foreign policy is the outward manifestation of~~
~~our own inner strength.~~

But that strength is measured not only in terms of the
might of our armaments. It is measured not only in terms
of the horsepower of our machines.

The true measure of our strength lies deeply imbedded
in the social and economic justice of the system in which
we live.

For you can build ships and tanks and guns galore;
but they will not be enough. You must place behind them
an invincible faith in the institutions which they have
been built to defend.

The dictators have devised a new system -- or,
rather, a modern, streamlined version of an ancient system.
But Americans will have none of that. They will
never submit to domination or influence by Nazism or

Communism either. They will hesitate to support those of whom they are not absolutely sure.

Individuals
Many are determined to retain for themselves, the right of free speech, free religion, free assembly and the right which lies at the basis of all of them -- the right to choose the officers of their own government in free elections.

We intend to keep our freedom — to defend it against attacks from without and against corruption from within. We shall defend it against the forces of dictatorship, whatever disguises and false faces they may wear.

We have learned, however, that freedom in itself is not enough.

Freedom of speech is of no use to a man who has nothing to say.

Freedom of worship is of no use to a man who has lost his God.

Democracy, to be dynamic, must provide for its citizens opportunity as well as freedom.

We of this generation have seen a rebirth of dynamic democracy in America.

In recent years we have seen a restoration of government by and for, as well as of the people.

The American people have ~~met the problems~~^{found with courage} of the most severe problems of all of our nation's history.

the evils which had been gnawing at the vitals of our democracy and undermining its strength.

To find a solution of these problems
The start had to be made by providing the bare

necessities of life -- food and shelter and clothing.

~~The American people insisted~~ ~~that~~ ~~it was no longer true that these things were a concern~~
~~of government; that they were matters only for the poor~~

house.

~~your~~
The government assumed its proper function as the working representative of the average men and women of America. And the reforms in our social structure that we have achieved -- these permanent reforms are your achievement.

The New Deal has been the creation of you, the American people!

You provided work for free men and women in America who could find no work.

Idle men were given the opportunity ~~to work~~ on roads to be ~~done~~,
homes to be ~~built~~, rivers to be harnessed and power to be made
for farm and home and industry.

These were living instruments by which America was not
only meeting the problems of the present but building for the
future.

You used the powers of government to stop the depletion of
the top soil of America, to stop decline in farm prices, to
stop foreclosures of homes and farms.

You wrote into our law the right of working men and women
to bargain collectively, and you set up machinery to enforce
that right.

You turned to the problems of youth and age. You took
your children from the factory and shop~~s~~ ^{and} outlawed the right
of anyone to exploit the labor of those children; and you gave
~~to those children~~ ^{them} the chance to prepare in body and spirit the molding of an
even fuller and brighter day for themselves. For the youth of
the land you provided chances for jobs and for education. And
for old age itself you provided security and rest.

You made safe the banks which held your savings.

You stopped, once and for all, gambling with other people's
money, ~~— money changing in the Triangle,~~

~~These were the living instruments of dynamic democracy.~~
~~These instruments you will always keep by your side.~~

You advanced to other objectives. You gained them,
and consolidated them and advanced again.

The task which this generation had to do, ~~the~~
~~generations before it, have had to do,~~ has been begun.

The forward march of democracy is under way. Its advance
must ~~not~~ stop.

During these years while our democracy ~~advanced~~ ^{forward}
~~these years of one victory after another~~ your government
has worked with you and for you. Your government has at
times been checked. But always, with the aid and counsel
of all the people, we have resumed our march.

Now -- we are asked to stop in our tracks. We are
asked to turn about, and march back into the wilderness
from which we came.

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Of course we will not turn backward. We are the
inheritors of a tradition of pioneering, exploring,
adventuring, experimenting. We will not be scared into
doing so by threats from the doubters of democracy. We will
not be bribed into doing so by extravagant promises of
vast wealth.

What form of wealth is counterfeit money.

Of course we shall continue ~~to~~ strengthen all
these dynamic reforms in our social and economic life;
~~we shall~~ ^{Side by side} ~~keep~~ the processes of democracy ~~agree~~ with the necessities
and possibilities of modern industrial production.

TELEGRAM

(A) p. 17

The White House
Washington

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We will not be scared into retreating by threats from the doubters of democracy.

Nor will we be lured by extravagant promises of fabulous wealth.

Those who offer such promises try to delude us with a mirage on the far horizon - a mirage of an island of dreams, with palaces and palms, ~~and soft~~

The mirage is always upside down, above the horizon.

Point - upside down or right-side up - it isn't there at all.

Now you see it -- and now you don't.

② Of course we shall continue to make available the

(2-15)

good things of life created by the genius of science and technology -- to use them, however, not for the enjoyment of the few but for the welfare of all.

For there lies the road to a democracy that is strong.

Of course we intend to preserve and build up the land of this country -- its soil, its forests, its rivers -- all of the resources with which God ~~and our forefathers have~~ endowed the people of the United States.

Of course we intend to continue to build up the bodies

(B)

and minds of the men, women and children of this country --
through democratic education and a democratic program for
health.

For there lies the road to democracy that is strong.

Of course we intend to continue our efforts to protect
our system of private enterprise and private property,
protect it from monopoly of financial control on the one
hand and from Communistic wrecking ~~attack~~ on the other.

Of course we shall continue our efforts to prevent
economic dictatorship as well as political dictatorship.

Of course, we intend to continue to build up the
morale of this country not as blind ~~obedience~~ bbedience
to some leader but as the expression of confidence in the
deeply ethical principles upon which this nation and its
democracy were founded.

For there lies the road to ~~a~~ democracy that is strong.

The progress of our country, as well as the defense of
our country, requires national unity. We need the cooperation
of every single American -- our workers, the great or-
ganizers and technicians in our factories, our farmers, our
professional men and women, our workers in industry, our mothers,
our *father*,

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Our youth -- all the men and women who love America just a little
bit more than they love themselves.

And if we can have the assistance of all these we can
promise that such a program can make this country prosperous
and free and strong -- to be a light of the world and a
comfort to all people. And all the forces of evil shall not
prevail against it. For so it is written in the Book, and so
it is written in the moral law, and so it is written in the
promise of a great era of world peace.

This nation which is creating a ~~big~~ ^{great} navy has also
~~build houses and begin to clear~~
found the strength to ~~minimize~~ ^{by building them} the slums of its cities
and its countryside.

This nation which is arming itself for defense has also
~~Save~~
the intelligence ~~not to~~ ^{by} ~~use~~ its human resources ~~to~~
~~depleted by having deprived of~~ ^{by giving them} that confidence which comes from
useful work.

This nation ~~now~~ ^{now} ~~determined~~ which has become the
industrial leader of the world

~~build houses and begin to clear~~

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has the humanity to know that the people of a free land
need not suffer the disease of poverty and the dread of
not being wanted.

It has been given to this people to see a future
clearly toward which we can proudly march. It is a future
which only a free people can imagine.

It is the destiny of this American generation to
point the road to ~~the~~ future for all the world to see.
It is our prayer that ~~they, other people,~~ ^{All lovers of freedom}, may join us --
the enfeebled common people of this earth for whom we
seek to light the path.

And in that light, I see an America where the
creation of jobs, more jobs, better paid jobs, more
permanent jobs, will always be the first concern of every
American government.

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

I see an America whose rivers and valleys --
hills and streams and plains -- the mountains over our

land and nature's wealth deep under the earth -- are protected as the rightful heritage of all the people.

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.

~~Where every farmer shall have his birthright of land to be nourished and tended for his children's children, where his income from the land~~
I see an America
~~where every farmer shall have his birthright of land to be nourished and tended for his children's children, where his income from the land~~
His income shall be implemented and protected by a government determined to guarantee to farmers a fair share in the national income.

Where the wheels of trade and private industry continue to turn to make the goods for America. Where no business man can be stifled by the harsh hand of monopoly, and where the legitimate profits of legitimate business are the fair reward of every business man -- big and little -- in the nation.

I see an America with peace in the ranks of labor,
Where the workers are really free - and through their
great unions undominated by any outside force, or by any dictator within -- can take their proper place at the council table with the owners and managers of business. ~~and~~ *Where* the dignity and security of the working man and woman are guaranteed by ~~them~~ *their* own strength and fortified by the safeguards of law.

Where those who have reached the evening of life shall live out their years in peace and security. Where pensions and insurance for these aged shall be given as a matter of right to those who through a long life of labor have served their families and their nation well.

I see an America devoted to our freedoms -- unified by tolerance -- and by religious faith -- a people consecrated to peace, a people confident in strength because their body and spirit ~~are~~ secure and unafraid.

On many fields

During these years while our democracy advanced ~~and these~~
~~years of one victory after another~~ -- I have had the ~~high~~
~~honor and the grave responsibility~~ of being your President.

No personal ambition of any man could desire more than that.

It is a hard task. It is a task from which there is no escape day or night.

W. W. G.

And through it all there have been two thoughts uppermost in my mind -- to preserve peace in our land; and to make the forces of democracy work for the benefit of the common people of America.

~~This is not something which I have thought about only in a political campaign. This has not been a concern of mine for only a few weeks. Long before the Convention which nominated me, it had borne heavily on my conscience and on my mind.~~

~~And it was the result of grave thought and weighty reflection, with a full realization of the responsibility which I had, that I sent this message to the Convention in Chicago.~~

(COPY)

~~That message I repeat tonight to the people of America. The only ambition I have is to conform with the ambition of America.~~

~~No man is indispensable in any capacity.~~

~~But there are certain principles and doctrines and faiths and aspirations without which democracy is made too weak to survive. Only the people can decide which principles and doctrines and faiths and aspirations are~~

~~1912 - LIBERTY~~

(19)

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Seven years ago I started with loyal helpers and with the trust and faith and support of millions of ordinary Americans.

The way was difficult -- the path was dark, but we have moved steadily forward to the open fields and the glowing light that shines ahead.

The way of our lives seems clearer now, if we but follow ^{The} charts and guides of our democratic faith.

There is a great storm raging now; it makes things harder for the world. And that storm, which did not start in this land of ours, is the true reason that I would like to stick by these people of ours until we reach the clear, sure footing ahead.

We will make it -- make it before the next term is over.

We will make it and the world, we hope, will make it, ^{too}.

When that term is over there will be another President, and many more Presidents in the years to come, and I think that word "President" will be a word to cheer the hearts of common men and women everywhere.

Our future belongs to us Americans.

It is for us to ~~design~~ it; for us to build it.
A

In that building we shall prove that our faith is strong enough to survive the most fearsome storms that have ever swept across this earth.

In the days and months and years to come, we shall be making history — hewing out a new shape for the future. And we shall make very sure that it bears the likeness of liberty.

Always the heart and the soul of our country will be the heart and soul of the common man — the men and women who never have ceased to believe in democracy, who never have ceased to love their families, their homes and their country.

The spirit of the common man is the spirit of peace and good will. It is the spirit of God. And in His faith is the strength of America.

SPEECH OF THE PRESIDENT

CLEVELAND, OHIO

NOVEMBER 2, 1940

*This generation of
We know that we Americans of today are living in a*
tremendous moment of history.

The surge of swift moving events abroad ~~compels us~~
few doubtless among us ask:
~~to seek ourselves~~ — is this the end of a story that has
been told? Is the book of ~~our~~ democracy to be closed
away
and placed upon the dusty shelves of time?

My answer is that
~~as~~ all that we have known *in the past* ~~is~~
introduction to the greater story of a more glorious
future?

- all of us -
We Americans of today *are* characters in this book. *(B)*
falling from
But we are also its author. It *leaves* us now to say
whether the chapters that are to come will tell a story
of retreat or a story of continued advance. *(C)*

We look at the old world beyond the seas. It is
an ugly world torn apart by hatred, greed, fear.

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TELEGRAM

The White House
Washington

(A) p. 1

of the glories of democracy, its freedom, its efficiency as a mode of ~~freedom~~ living, its ability to meet the aspirations of the common man — all of these are merely an

TELEGRAM

(B) p. 1.

The White House
Washington

Business
men and
professional
men,

The lines of ~~of us~~ rich and poor, farmers
and workers, private citizens and
public official, all colors and
races and creeds are spread through
~~many~~ ~~all~~ ~~the~~ ~~ages~~ ~~of time~~
all gets ~~of~~ ~~the~~ ~~age~~ ~~of time~~
~~feuds~~ ~~until this~~ ~~modern~~
~~and~~ ~~expelled~~ ~~in this modern~~
~~age~~ ~~where~~

bright pages and dark pages

TELEGRAM

The White House
Washington

(C)pt

~~We Americans may differ~~

The American people look these
doubters straight in the eye and
say: The command to the forces of democracy
is always, Forward.

D.P.R. We know that no American boy
is going to be sent to
engage in any foreign war.
We know it despite the campaign of fear spread
by some who are deep down in their
hearts, doubters.
We know it also because we know that
that is the will of the American people.

freed and enriched
by the vision of your

-2-

We look at ^{our own} ^{in this pole of the ocean} We are strong - and

country, built by generations of men and women who had in
their hearts faith and confidence that the good life can be
achieved by those ^{for the patience and intelligence and} who will work for it.

That country - with all that it implies - is what
we know that we are determined to defend our country -
we now arm to defend. To that god we

to join in the defense of our neighbors in this Hemisphere.

We are strong despite the misstatements of those who -
We are strong in our defense. Every day we grow stronger.

We know that we will engage in no war or wars in lands
across the seas. ^{insert D} That is the ~~will~~ of our Government, which
exists to express and to enforce the will of our people.

is shaped to express that determination of our government
Our foreign policy implements that will in the conduct

of our dealings with other nations. These dealings, in the
past few years, have been more difficult than ever before
in our history. The principles to which we hold -- the
principles ~~maximism~~ of liberty and equality under the law -
have been violently ^{crushed} ~~suppressed~~ in many parts of the earth.

We have been forced to deal with great powers whose leaders would
^{any} ~~regard~~ ^{bargaining} efforts at compromise and ~~negotiations~~ as signs of
weakness and ~~surrender~~.

There's nothing secret about our foreign policy.

Certainly
It's not a secret from the American people -- and it's

not a secret from any government anywhere in the world.
~~many times~~ ^{not only in words but in action.}
I have stated it before, and I now re-state it.

The underlying, all-pervading
purpose of this policy is to keep war
~~Enter~~ ^{It is to keep war away}
from our shores, ~~and~~ from the shores of the Western
— for only in that way, can we be sure of peace ^{but}
Hemisphere. Our policy is to promote such friendly

relations with the Latin American Republics and with
Canada that the great powers of Europe and Asia will
know that all of the peoples of this Hemisphere are
united. ^P ~~the forces of aggression~~
Our policy is to keep ~~war~~ away from this
Hemisphere by giving every possible material aid to the
nations which still resist aggression, across the
Atlantic and Pacific Oceans. ^(E)

At this moment, we can see some signs of encouragement
on the far horizon -- both to the East and to the West.
But experience teaches us that we must not be believers
in signs. We must never relax our vigilance, for one
moment, day or night.

We must make it clear that we intend to commit none
of the fatal errors of appeasement.

We must make it clear that whatever the events of
the next year -- or the next several years -- we will
not change our standards of living or our practices of

TELEGRAM

The White House
Washington

D p. 3. P That is why we ~~were~~ ^{must} make our selves strong; that is why we now ~~are~~ ^{have} the resources of our national strength.

E P [] We do not know what the foreign policy would be of those who are ~~leaders~~ ^{successors}. But I have stated the foreign policy of ~~this~~ ^{our} Administration which has an undying faith in the strength of ^{our} democracy for the present, and full confidence in the glories of our democracy for the future.

4

-#-

Our foreign policy, however, can never be sufficient unto itself.

It is only the outward manifestation of our own inner strength.

That strength is ~~not~~ measured in terms of the weight of our armaments. It is ~~not~~ measured in terms of the horsepower of our machines.

The true measure of our strength lies ^{not only} ~~in~~ in the social and economic justice of the system in which we live. (F)

The dictators have devised a new system -- or, rather, a modern, streamlined version of a very old system -- with which to supply food and shelter to their subjects. But Americans will never stand for a dictatorship in this country. They will never submit to domination by Nazism or Communism either. They are determined to retain for themselves the right of free speech, free religion, free assembly, and the right which lies at the basis of all of them -- the right to choose the officers of their own government in free elections. (G)

TELEGRAM

The White House
Washington

F. p. 4

For you can build ships and tanks and guns galore; but they will not be enough. You must place behind them an invincible faith in the institutions they have been built to defend.

G. p. 4 And for that reason they will not be deceived by any alliance ^{in politics or war} in this country between those who favor either one or the other of this kind of government.

Faith in democracy is even greater than faith in
those great civil liberties, without which life seems
unimportant. Without them there is no freedom. But
we have learned by now that ~~these~~ ^{political and civil} freedom is not enough. ~~Government~~
~~must~~ ^{function so as to} provide the means for work and opportunity
which make for the dignity of man, before true demo-
cracy can be said to exist.

True faith in democracy involves a faith in its capacity to make the life of average men and women more decent than any dictator can make it for them. This faith must be reborn in each generation. It must spring from the aspirations of a free people, expressed not in words alone but in living instruments which can deal effectively with living problems of their own time.

We of this generation have seen a rebirth of ^{this} dynamic democracy in America.

In recent years, the American people, in full possession of their own government, have met the problems and the evils which have been gnawing at its democracy and undermining its strength.

~~My first task was
to start had to be made by providing the bare necessities of life — food and shelter and clothing. It was a definite and continuing determination no longer true that these things were the concern of government; that they were matters only which were no longer~~

- 7 -

~~for~~ local charity and the poor house.

And then you provided work for free men and women in America who could find no work, ~~but whose dignity shrank from accepting charity or dole.~~ Idle men were given the opportunity to work on roads to be laid, homes to be built, rivers to be harnessed, and power to be made for farm and home and industry.

~~This was~~ ^{old man} a living instrument by which America was not only meeting the problems of the present but building for the future.

You used the powers of government to stop the depletion of the top soil of America, to stop decline in farm prices, to stop foreclosures of homes and farms.

You wrote into our law the right of working men and women to bargain collectively; and you set up machinery to enforce that right.

You turned to the problems of youth and age. You ~~and your~~ ¹⁹⁵ government took your children from the factory and shop; you outlawed the right of anyone to exploit ^{of these children} their labor; and you gave them the chance to prepare in body and spirit the molding of ^{an ideal} fuller and brighter day

28

for themselves. For the youth of the land you provided ~~chance~~
~~for~~ jobs and ~~education~~ for education. And for old age itself
you provided security and rest.

You made safe the banks which held your savings.

You stopped, once and for all, gambling on the stock market.

These were the living instruments of dynamic democracy. These
instruments ~~you will keep always by your side.~~

You advanced other objectives. ~~xxxxxxxxxx~~ You gained
them, and consolidated them and advanced again.

The task which this generation had to do, as ~~that~~ the
generations before it have had to do, has been begun.

The forward march of democracy is under way. Its advance
must never stop.

TELEGRAM

The White House
Washington

8A

And now we are told that ^{some of} these instruments which we have forged are not ^{to} bad. In fact ^{that} one or two are even good. Of course they say "We know how to good." Better than the American people know, even though perhaps we did try to block them for seven years.

~~But they do not urge that the American people must forge stronger standards for the~~

We say that these instruments are just a beginning of what we know can be done to make Democracy the strongest forth in earth to supply the needs and aspirations of the common people of this land. And of course we ~~will~~ shall see that it is ~~is~~ done.

A (H)

9

Or course, we shall ~~intend to~~ continue dynamic reforms in our

social and economic life; to keep the processes of democracy
space with the necessities and possibilities of modern
industrial ~~present~~ production.

Of course, we shall ~~intend to~~ continue to use the good
things of life ~~made possible by the creative genius of science~~
~~created by~~ ^{make available}
and technology -- to use them, ^{forever} not for the enjoyment of the few
but for the welfare of all.

For there lies the road to democracy that is ~~invincible~~
shall
Of course, we ~~intend to~~ preserve and build up the land
of this country -- its soil, its forests, its rivers -- all of
the resources with which God and nature have endowed the people
of the United States.

For there lies the road to democracy that is strong.
shall
Of course we ~~intend to~~ continue to build up the bodies
and minds of the men, women and children of this country -- not
by a military service which breaks their backbone and their
spirit, but through democratic social services, democratic
education and a democratic program for health. For there lies
the road to democracy that is strong. ~~invincible~~

TELEGRAM

The White House
Washington

(H) 1 p.m. 9

Of course we shall continue our efforts to keep the ordinary man and woman of America enjoying the benefits of education in their childhood, the opportunity of a job in their youth and during their lifetime, the freedom to succeed in business and professional life and to rise in the system of American free enterprise, the absolute right to look forward to security in their old age.

(K) Of course, we intend ^{shall} to continue our efforts to protect our system of private enterprise and private property, protect it from monopoly of financial control on the one hand and from Communistic attack on the other.

Of course we shall continue our efforts to prevent economic dictatorship as well as political dictatorship.

Of course, we intend ^{shall} to continue to build up the morale of this country not as blind or even heroic obedience to some leader but as the expression of confidence in the deeply ethical principles upon which this nation and its democracy were founded.

P For there lies the road to a democracy that is ^{irresistible} strong.

W ~~grant~~ We cannot continue these efforts alone, for we shall need and we shall seek the cooperation of every single American -- our workers, the great organizers and technicians in our factories, our farmers, our professional men and women, our workers in industry, our youth -- all the men and women who love America just a little bit more than they love themselves.

And among these Americans of good will whom we shall ask to help us we include also our critics. And if we can have the assistance of all these we can promise that such a program can make this country prosperous and free and strong -- to be a light of the world and a comfort to all people. And the gates

TELEGRAM

The White House
Washington

(K) p 10

P Of course, we shall continue our efforts to help the laboring man and woman of America - to see that they get a fair wage for their toil; that they ~~do~~ work under decent American standards, that they do not suffer from the burdens of unemployment, that they shall always ~~of collective strength~~ be able to attain and keep the dignity which belongs to American.

X //

of Hell shall not prevail against it. For so it is written in the Book, and so it is written in the moral law, and so it is written in the promise of a great era of world peace.

This nation which is creating a two-ocean navy has also found the strength to make unnecessary ~~the~~ slums of its cities and its countryside.

This nation which is arming itself for defense has also the intelligence not to allow its human resources to be depleted by being deprived of that confidence which comes from useful work.

P ~~which has become the strongest industrial leader of the world~~
~~This nation has determined that its wheels of industry work to~~
~~turn out the armaments of defense~~ ^{to} ~~as~~ the humanity to know that
the people of a free land ^{do not have to} ~~need not~~ suffer the disease of poverty
and the dread of not being wanted.

It has been given to this people ^{to} see a future clearly toward which we can proudly march. It is a future which only a free people can make. P It is the destiny of this generation, to lay out the road to that future for all ^{of the} ~~the~~ ^{people of all the} world to see. It is our prayer that ~~they~~ ^{They} ~~may~~ ^{now} quickly join us -- the anguished ~~citizens~~ peoples of this earth for whom we light the path.

13 / 2

We must realize, however, that Democracy is still
only in the dawn of the new day. We look toward the
type of America which we worked to build.

And in that light

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 impover-
ished farmers do not become homeless migratory workers,
where monopoly does not make youth a beggar for a job.

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.

I see an America where the cost of living has been

44 13

Where every farmer shall have his birthright of land
to be nourished and tended for his children's children. Where
his income shall be implemented by a government unafraid to
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Where the workers are really free - and through their
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man and woman are guaranteed by his own strength and fortified
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Finally
~~And where one who in the land is deprived of decent
accessions of life,~~

And where those who have reached the sunset of life
shall live out their years in peace and security. Where
pensions and insurance for these aged shall be given as a matter
of right to those who through a long life of labor have served
their families and the nation well.

During these years while our democracy advanced --
these years of one victory after another -- I have had
the high honor and the grave responsibility of being your
President. No personal ambition of any man could desire
more than that.

It is a hard task. It is a task from which there
is no escape day or night. The President, under our
Constitution, cannot turn over any responsibilities of

175 ~~not~~ all the departments
and agencies of the
the Presidency to anyone else. Every day that passes he
must be in close touch with the National Capital -- with
the nation as a whole and with the world as a whole.

every section of the country - every
state and county and city -
with every nation and
government in the whole world

TELEGRAM

The White House
Washington

(16)

And through it all there have been two thoughts uppermost in my mind - to preserve peace in our land; and to ~~to help~~ make the forces of democracy work for the benefit of the common people of America.

And through ~~all~~ the months which followed of the great storm which has been raging across the world I have laid awake nights thinking about this democracy of ours, about the need of preserving it, though this combat, & about the need of keeping it strong through the rest of the world. This is not something ~~in which~~ which I have thought about only in a

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20

The White House
Washington

political campaign. This ~~has not been~~ has not been
concern ^{mine} of only a few weeks. Long
before the Convention which nominated
me, it had borne heavily on my
conscience and on my mind.

And it was the result of grave
thought and weighty reflection, with
a full ~~and~~ realization of the
responsibility which I had, that I
sent this message to the Convention
in Chicago.

(Copy)

That message I repeat to the
people of America. ^{forgetting} The only ambition I have
is to conform with the ambition of America.

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Washington

No man is indispensable
in my capacity. But there are certain
principles and doctrines and
faith and ~~long~~ aspirations
without which democracy is
made ^{too} weak ^{to stand}. Only the people
can decide which principles and
doctrines and faith and
aspirations are the soundest
guarantee for ~~the~~ ^{our} future.

P-21

CLEVELAND SPEECH

PERORATION:

The future belongs to us *Americans*

It is for us to design it and for us to build it.

We shall do so. We shall prove that our faith is
strong enough to survive the most fearful storms that
have ever swept across this earth.

*Street copy of
first draft.*

In the days and months and years to come we shall
be making history. We shall be moulding a new shape for
the future. We shall make sure that it bears the likeness
of liberty.

Four years from now, there will be another President.

of ours. And there will be many more Presidents *in this America*

But always the heart and the soul of our country will
be the heart and soul of the common man -- the little man
who never has ceased to believe in democracy, to live his
family, and his home, to build for his children, to turn
the eye of friendship upon his own kind, the human kind.

The spirit of the common man is the spirit of peace
and good will. It is the spirit of God.
