

November 2, 1940

[Cleveland, Ohio]

1335B

FOR Speech File

ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT

November 2, 1940

CLEVELAND, OHIO

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 I ask your vote of confidence in my administration.

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

The surge of swift moving 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 that all that 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.



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From the Papers of
Harry L. Hopkins

We Americans of today -- all of us -- are characters in this book. The lives of all of us -- and our mothers and fathers -- rich and poor, business man and professional man, farmer and worker, private citizen and public official, all colors and races and creeds are spread through all of its many pages, bright pages and dark pages. 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.

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

We Americans of today are living in a tremendous moment of history.

We look at the old world beyond the seas. 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



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From the Papers of
Harry L. Hopkins

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

We know that we are determined to defend our country - to join in the defense of our neighbors in this Hemisphere. We are strong in our defense. 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 complex than ever before in our history. The principles to which we hold -- the principles of liberty and equality under the law -- have been violently suppressed in many parts of the earth.

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 the words but in action. I now re-state it.



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From the Papers of
Harry L. Hopkins

The first purpose of our foreign policy is to keep our country out of war.

The second purpose of this policy is to keep war as far as possible from our shores and from the shores of the 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 all of the peoples of this Hemisphere are united. Our policy is to give all possible material aid to the nations which still resist aggression, across the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans.

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

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

We are ready, when the day for peace comes -- and God grant that it may not be too long delayed --



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Harry L. Hopkins

we are ready to play our proper part in the enactment of a just peace.

We are ready to play our proper part in keeping the peace. And that is the most important of all the tasks that we face in the future. We cannot and will not accept the doctrine that war must be forever a part of man's destiny.

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 can live together at peace.



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From the Papers of
Dwight D. Eisenhower

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A war to end war will always fail of its purpose. But there can be a peace to end war. And we must help to achieve that peace.

It can be our greatest contribution to history.

We do not know what the foreign policy would be of those who are doubters about our democracy. But I have stated the foreign policy of an 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.

Our foreign policy is the outward manifestation of our own inner strength.

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 they have been



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built to defend.

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

But Americans will have none of that. They will never submit to domination by Nazism or Communism either. And for that reason they will not be deceived by any political campaign alliance in this country between those who favor either one or the other of this kind of government.

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.



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From the papers of
Henry L. Hopkins

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.

It is the life blood of freedom which gives vitality to our democracy. But we must not allow our democracy to become flabby through inaction.

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.



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Harry L. Hopkins

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

The start had to be made by providing the bare
necessities of life -- food and shelter and clothing.
It was no longer true that these things were no concern
of government; that they were matters only for the poor
house.

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.



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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.

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; you outlawed the right of anyone to exploit the labor of those children; and you gave 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.



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You stopped, once and for all, gambling with other people's money on the stock market.

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, as the generations before it, have had to do, has been begun. The forward march of democracy is under way. Its advance must never stop.

During these years while our democracy advanced -- 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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Harry L. Hopkins

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.

That form of wealth is counterfeit money.

Of course we shall continue and strengthen all these dynamic reforms in our social and economic life; to keep the processes of democracy space 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 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 nature have endowed the people of the United States.

Of course we intend to continue to build up the bodies



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From the Program of
Barry L. Hopkins

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 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.

For ther 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 organizers and technicians in our factories, our farmers, our professional men and women, our workers in industry, our mothers, our



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JERRY L. HOPKINS

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 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.

This nation ~~has~~ which has become the industrial leader of the world



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From the Papers of
Harry L. Hopkins

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 that future for all the world to see. It is our prayer that they, other peoples, may join us -- the anguished 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 discarded before they reach their prime, where there is no endless chain of poverty from generation to generation, where impoverished farmers do not become homeless migratory workers, where monopoly does not make youth a beggar for a job.

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



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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 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.

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 his
own strength and fortified by the safeguards of law.



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From the Papers of
JERRY L. HOPKINS

And where those who have reached the evening of life shall live out their years in peace and security. There 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 is secure and unafraid.

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.



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From the papers of
Harry L. Hopkins

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.

must be
[This is not something which I have thought about only in a political campaign. This has not been a concern of mind 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



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the soundest guarantee for our future.

✓ The future belongs to us Americans. CA

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.

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.

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

But always the heart and the soul of our country will be the heart and soul of the common man -- the ^{little} ~~little~~ man who never has ceased to believe in democracy, to love ^{his} ~~his~~ family, and ^{his} ~~his~~ home, ^{And this country} to build for his children, to turn the eyes 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. *And in this faith is the strength of America.*



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ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT

November 2, 1940
CLEVELAND, OHIO

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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} I ask your vote of confidence, ~~in my administration~~. ^{But} (A)

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

The surge of ~~upthrusting~~ 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 that all that 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.



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FROM THE PAPERS OF
GENERAL I. ROOSEVELT

We Americans of today -- all of us -- are characters in ^{living democracy,} this book. ~~The lives of all of us -- and our mothers and fathers -- rich and poor, business man and professional man, farmer and worker, private citizen and public official, all colors and races and creeds are spread through all of its many pages, bright pages and dark pages.~~ ^P 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. ^{P I believe that the American people will say: Forward.}

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

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

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From the Papers of
Samuel I. Rodeman

INSERT A.

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 dictator-
ship in our own land -- the Communists on one hand and
the Girdlers on the other.

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

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

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



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From the papers of
Samuel I. Rosenbaum

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

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Samuel I. Rosenman

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The first purpose of our foreign policy is

to keep our country out of war, *and at the same time to keep foreign longthens of government out of our territories*

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From the Papers of
Samuel I. Rosenman

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Samuel I. Rosenman

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551
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From the Papers of
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Samuel I. Rosenzweig

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November 2, 1940
CLEVELAND, OHIO

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From the Papers of
Senator J. ROBERTSON

We Americans of today -- all of us -- are characters in this book. The lives of all of us -- and our mothers and fathers -- rich and poor, business man and professional man, farmer and worker, private citizen and public official, all colors and races and creeds are spread through all of its many pages, bright pages and dark pages. 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.

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

We Americans of today are living in a tremendous moment of history.

We look at the old world beyond the seas. 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



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

We know that we are determined to defend our country - to join in the defense of our neighbors in this Hemisphere. We are strong in our defense. 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 complex than ever before in our history. The principles to which we hold -- the principles of liberty and equality under the law - have been violently suppressed in many parts of the earth.

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 the words but in action. I now re-state it.



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The first purpose of our foreign policy is to keep our country out of war. *foreign countries*

The second purpose of this policy is to keep war as far as possible from our shores and from the shores of the 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 all of the peoples of this Hemisphere are united. Our policy is to give all possible material aid to the nations which still resist aggression, across the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans.

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

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

We are ready, when the day for peace comes -- and God grant that it may not be too long delayed --



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we are ready to play our proper part in the enactment of a just peace.

We are ready to play our proper part in keeping the peace. And that is the most important of all the tasks that we face in the future. We cannot ~~and will not~~ accept the doctrine that war must be forever a part of man's destiny.

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 can live together at peace.



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~~A war to end war will always fail of its purpose. But
there can be a peace to end war. And we must help to achieve
that peace.~~

~~It can be our greatest contribution to history.~~

We do not know what the foreign policy would be of
those who are doubters about our democracy. But I have
stated the foreign policy of an Administration which has
an unyielding faith in the strength of our democracy for the
present, and full confidence in the glories of our democracy
for the future.

Our foreign policy is the outward manifestation of our
own inner strength.

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 they have been



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built to defend.

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

But Americans will have none of that. They will never submit to domination by Nazism or Communism either. And for that reason they will not be deceived by any political campaign alliance in this country between those who favor either one or the other of this kind of government.

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.



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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,

It is the life blood of freedom which gives vitality to our democracy. But we must not allow our democracy to become flabby through inaction.

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 re-born 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.



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

The start had to be made by providing the bare
necessities of life -- food and shelter and clothing.
It was no longer true that these things were no concern
of government; that they were matters only for the poor
house.

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.



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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.

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; you outlawed the right of anyone to exploit the labor of those children; and you gave 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.



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You stopped, once and for all, gambling with other people's money on the stock market.

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, as the generations before it, have had to do, has been begun. The forward march of democracy is under way. Its advance must never stop.

During these years while our democracy advanced -- 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.

That form of wealth is counterfeit money.

Of course we shall continue and strengthen all these dynamic reforms in our social and economic life; to keep the processes of democracy apace 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 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 nature have endowed the people of the United States.

Of course we intend to continue to build up the bodies



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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 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.

For ther 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 organizers and technicians in our factories, our farmers, our professional men and women, our workers in industry, our mothers, our



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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 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.

This nation ~~has become~~ 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 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 that future for all the world to see. It is our prayer that they, other peoples, may join us -- the anguished 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 discarded before they reach their prime, where there is no endless chain of poverty from generation to generation, where impoverished farmers do not become homeless migratory workers, where monopoly does not make youth a beggar for a job.

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



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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 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.

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 his
own strength and fortified by the safeguards of law.



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And 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 is secure and unafraid.

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.



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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 mind 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



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the soundest guarantee for our future.

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.

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.

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

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 love 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.

.....



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From the Papers of
SAMUEL I. ROSENTHAL

1940
Clevelandish
(see letter
pg 2)

In the last ten days I have had, speaking personally, a glorious time. I do like to put on the gloves. And I have appreciated good old Tony Galento's chin.

But as President of the United States, conscious of the desperate need for national unity in the problems that face our country, I have been very sorry for some of the things that have had to be said -- and still have to be said -- in this campaign.

Falsifications of fact -- I have had to answer them, and call them -- falsifications of fact.

I wish that had not been necessary. I wish the enemies of this Administration had seen fit to recognise -- as I have tried so hard to recognise -- that the people could make their choice this time without being in doubt about the facts.

Misleading and trapdoor work and snake-oil bellyhoo have always been part of the boisterous fun of American political life, at the times when elections didn't make too much difference and we could afford to have some fun. But that kind of fun just doesn't fit the enormous seriousness of this moment in the history of the world. Normally we can take the falsifications of fact and the personal swearing with a grain of salt, and even the outrageous racial and religious appeals are sometimes regarded as part of our American show, to be laughed at or apologised for the morning after election. But these are superheated



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dark and holy forces that against
 days. Nervous tension is high, as our peaceful country faces the (growth)
our national unity.
 of military states abroad. This first great experiment in many races

becoming one nation now faces a crucial test in which we must find out
 whether we have been fused into one common loyalty. False appeals that
 might have been laughed off the day after election, in other years, may
 strike too deep to be laughed off after election this time.

We had an example in 1928 of an appeal to religious prejudice
 which could not be laughed off on the day after that election. I arose
 from a sickbed to fight against bigotry then, and I would do it again
 on any day in my life.

[Any one who lives in Washington and knows day by day what the
 revolutionary forces are doing in the world must sense the extreme
 danger that lies in inflammatory election talk today.] That is why
 I have tried so hard in the last four speeches to stick to the ham-drum
 business of placing a plain array of facts against the falsifications
 of fact made by the other side. (At whatever cost to myself, I wanted
 to let time and silence heal the dangerous breaches in our national
 unity resulting from the reckless campaign of our opponents, and for
 that purpose I have confined myself to meeting the issues on which
 the other side has taken the initiative.)

But tonight in this last campaign speech I feel it necessary for



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less campaign against the unity of the country, who they are, and what they think they are headed for.

But I charge I charge in sorrow, not in anger, for I really think that the campaign of the Republican Party is being directed by agents of hate and fear and frustration who really do not know what they are doing.

I charge that this Republican campaign is a deliberate attempt to seize control of the United States government by the same kind of ~~un-
ethical~~ ^{un-ethical} ~~methods~~ ^{methods} ~~shortsightedness~~ ^{shortsightedness} ~~as many~~ ^{as many} ~~interests~~ ^{interests} whose concern for their own concentrated property interests betrays the democracy of France into slavery to a dictator.

I charge that this Republican campaign is a deliberate attempt to seize control of the United States government by the same kind of ~~un-
ethical~~ ^{un-ethical} ~~methods~~ ^{methods} ~~shortsightedness~~ ^{shortsightedness} ~~as many~~ ^{as many} ~~interests~~ ^{interests} whose concern for their own eternally concentrated property interests ~~has~~ ^{has} ~~led~~ ^{led} ~~to~~ ^{to} ~~a~~ ^a ~~fatal~~ ^{fatal} ~~policy~~ ^{policy} of appeasement until when she had to fight she fought with her back to the wall.

I am not making that charge against the great majority of Republican workers and sympathizers. I charge that purpose only to the little group which has seized direction of the Republican campaign, before and after Philadelphia. And I say to the great majority of Republican workers and sympathizers in the Republican Party -- in the deepest

I charge that this is an attempt to establish in the United States not a democratic government but a government of concentrated wealth, which because of its very inner nature will not be able to avoid repeating for this country the disasters of the French Bonnet, the disasters of a British Chamberlain.

We have always had the challenge of a blindly avaricious money power to the democracy of this country. Our whole history is a continuing struggle between the spiritual ideal of real freedom for the average man and woman and a few seeking economic power over those free men and women.

In essence the American Revolution was a struggle of colonists who wanted to be free from the economic power of British monopolists who had been granted a Crown privilege to exploit them.

The rise of Andrew Jackson was essentially a second revolt of the frontiersmen who had taken up land in the West, on which old Eastern land speculators had taken mortgages — an effort of the frontiersmen to shake themselves free from the blind attempt of those Eastern capitalists to take more than the free man could give and remain free.

The War Between the States was a struggle of free farmers to save their West from the unfair competition of big plantations and slave labor.

The great uprising of the agrarian West that was misdirected and



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the protection of our democracy, and in order that all of us may have clear heads the day after election, to point out just what the forces are that are carrying on this reckless campaign against the unity of the country, who they are, and what they think they are headed for.

What I charge I charge in sorrow, not in anger, for I really think that the campaign of the Republican Party is being directed by agents of hate and fear and frustration ^{men} who really know not what they do, ^{men} but at the risk of whatever increase of their hatred, I assume this duty cannot be shirked. It is all important for the great mass of the American people, whom these forces are trying to push around, to know what they are trying to do.

I charge that this Republican campaign is a deliberate attempt to seize control of the United States government by the same kind of blind, shortsighted ^{class - interests} ~~big money interests~~ ^{men} whose concern for their own concentrated ~~concentrated~~ ^{concentrated} property interests betrayed the democracy of France into slavery to a dictator.

I charge that this Republican campaign is a deliberate attempt to seize control of the United States government by the same kind of shortsighted ^{class - interests} ~~big money interests~~ ^{men} whose concern for their own ~~concentrated~~ concentrated property interests held England to a fatal policy of appeasement until when she had to fight she fought with her back to the wall.



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failed in the day of William Jennings Bryan was ^{a fearful} ~~only~~ another phase of the same revolt against the money power, and Theodore Roosevelt gave later voice to it in his denunciations of plutocracy.

The uprising of 1932, against the farm foreclosures in ^{the middle west} ~~fact~~, against the deflation of credit in the industrial east, against the whole spirit of the Hoover regime was the ^{fourth} ~~fourth~~ battle in the same eternal war. It was a revolt against the Hoover-Morgan ~~Capitalism~~ ^{policy} that the ~~rank-and-file~~ ^{middle class} of American men and women should be put through the wringer so that a few men in flat-topped derbies, with hoarded gold, could go down to Wall Street the next day and buy up the enterprise of the country at a bankrupt bargain sale.

Today ~~that~~ battle looms again with the stakes bigger than ever!

For today billions of defense contracts are to be let; the moral sense of the community demands the conscription of industry as well as of men, the problem stares us in the face of how the burden of taxation to pay for defense shall be allocated. These are the greatest stakes in our economic history. And the blind and greedy forces that we loosely call Wall Street are taking no chances that they may not be in power to direct those great events to their own profiteering advantage. So just because the stakes are so high they have for the first time boldly stepped out to do something they never could have dared do before in all American history.



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In the days of Andrew Jackson the money power would never have dared to nominate Nicholas Biddle to be President of the United States.

In the days of the agrarian distrust in the North East, Mark Hanna would never have dared to name a railroad president-- or Mark Hanna himself -- to be President of the United States.

In the days of 1932, the Republican Party would never have dared to nominate a director of a Morgan bank or the president of a stock exchange to be President of the United States.

Up to now they have always operated through a dummy -- a Warren Harding, a Calvin Coolidge. But in 1940, with billions of dollars of defence contracts ahead and defence profits to be determined -- with the tax burden to be apportioned and enormous issues out of which great fortunes have been made in the past in the balance, Wall Street drops the mask. Cynically it offers to the American democracy as a leader, at a time when such issues are to be determined, not a dummy but its very own man -- a man who may indeed be called the champion, but a champion of what? Of that force in business and politics which is the successor to Nicholas Biddle, to the railroad barons, to the international bankers, to the stock exchanges -- the Public Utilities holding company monopoly.

You don't have to be told what the power of money is trying to do in this election. You have seen the billboards all around you. Do I surprise you? -- they cost money.

You have seen the millions of buttons

and stickers and pamphlets and chain letters. I surprise you? -- they cost money. You have seen full page after full page of advertisements in big newspapers -- advertisements that cost as much as \$5,000 a page. You have heard the radio jammed with broadcast after broadcast -- and a national hook-up on a single chain these days, for a speech such as I am making tonight, costs \$50,000. The Republicans have one great advantage over us on that score. They can put on the president of a public utility holding company, and a Morgan banker, and a farmer, all at the same time, for a single fifty thousand.

The Hatch Act provides that no political campaign may cost more than \$5,000,000, but you will remember it was not so long ago that the ex-chairman of the Republican National Committee submitted to the Republican Party a plan for the organization of local committees which would permit the indefinite evasion of the Hatch Act so far as the expenditure of money is concerned, because each one of these committees could spend \$5,000,000. But even that wasn't enough. Only one week ago, before the Senate investigating committee, the so-called Committee for Constitutional Government -- which has distributed no one knows how many million letters throughout this country -- boldly asserted that it did not consider itself a political committee bound by the Hatch Act and would refuse to consider itself bound thereby. Three million dollars wasn't enough for it to spend, and yet that committee forms so small a part of the



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Republican organization that most of my listeners probably couldn't even recognize its name.

How much has it all cost? The head of the biggest polling service in this country has given it as his opinion that instead of the limit of three million dollars, up to a week ago not less than fifty million dollars had been spent to elect the Republican candidate. And up to a week ago you know ^{to} how that we hadn't seen anything yet. They say it is impossible to unscramble an egg, but I'll bet the Republican finance committee could do it, when you see how easily they have unhatched the Hatch Act.

By what pressure, by what far-flung appeals, by what promises, have these vast political funds been raised. It was not enough for the big money interests to use their own funds. They would, if possible, purchase even the enslavement of the rest of the people with "other people's money", and they have extended their efforts even down to appeals for money, published as paid Republican advertisements in the Daily Worker, the official newspaper of the Communist Party.

You people in Ohio don't have to be told how Mark Hanna made money talk in elections.

But nowadays they don't try to buy you. They try to sell you -- through an advertising agency. They try to sell you a President -- or a governmental policy -- as they would sell you a headache powder. The

Republican Party thinks it has learned how to handle the American people the way the dictators' propaganda agents have learned how to handle the dictators' people -- by the technique described in Mein Kampf -- tell a whopper big enough and often enough and the people will believe it.

That's why the billboard business is so good today -- that's why I'd rather own stock in billboard companies than in Commonwealth & Southern. That's why the poster business and the button business and the sticker business and the radio business and the direct mail advertising business and the canvasser business and the poll business and the magazine article business and the full-page ad business are all so good. And I'm very glad of it, for part of the business of my administration is to stimulate business and we seem to have succeeded.

But I'm not worried by it, for I have more confidence in the fundamental intelligence of the American people than the advertising agencies have. I am sure the American people know that if they let themselves be sold a President the way they're sold a headache powder, they'll need a headache powder for four years after. If this Republican advertising campaign succeeds there'll be one line of business that profits from it, for you'll see a big 1941 boom in the headache powder business. But the powder won't relieve the pain. If Wall Street takes control of this country again, there will be headaches for which no advertising agency has a remedy.

We are not only living in a world war. We are also living in a world revolution.



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We must keep out of that war.

We must also keep out of that revolution.

Let me ask you a first question - a question for you to think about tomorrow as you sit in the quiet of your homes weighing what war seems to you. Do you think the Wall Street crowd has heart enough to be trusted to keep you out of that war if they thought there were money in it?

Now let me ask you a second question as you think of your own little home - of your own little business.

In every other country of the world, including England and France, currents are running which have already brought about a revolution - for it is nothing short of that - in the relation of the state to property and in the relationship of the state to the individual.

You are the only people in the world who have been kept out of that revolution.

Now think back to the events - to the kind of leadership - that brought about 1872, and then let me ask you another question. Do you think the Wall Street crowd which produced 1922 have brains enough to keep us out of that revolution?

I am not talking about all men in Wall Street. I feel I have many good friends there -- particularly among the younger men who have not yet got into a rut and who know what is going on in this world.



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Not as I ascribing evil intentions about going to war to any men in Wall Street. I do not accuse them of consciously wanting to get us either into war or into appeasement for their profit. I do not accuse them of consciously wanting to pull down upon their own heads -- as well as upon the heads of the rest of us -- the whole structure of private enterprise and private property.

But I do accuse that active minority of them which is directing this Republican campaign. In the light of what they have tried already to do in this country --and in the light of the terrible mistakes their kind of people, the Bonnetts and the Chamberlains, have made in directing other democracies -- I do accuse that directing minority of being utterly dangerous people to lead America in a time of war and revolution in the world.

I do accuse them of being so blind and so hating in their grasp for abnormal profits and abnormal personal power that they will wreck this democracy trying to turn it into a plutocracy in the face of world forces that will no longer tolerate plutocracy as a kind of government ⁱⁿ the 20th Century.

I know that from what they have done in France.

I know from what they have done in England.

And everyone of you knows it from their insane mistakes from which we all reaped the whirlwind in 1932.



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I am a man of property. I am a believer in private enterprise and in private profit. I am a believer in the opportunity of the individual to rise in private enterprise and private profit.

But I know that private property, private enterprise, private opportunity or private profit are none of them safe unless they are diffused to the point where the average man and woman -- and not simply a few supermen -- have some of all these things as part of their/individual satisfaction in life.

And I say that diffusion of private opportunity, private enterprise and private property are utterly inconsistent with the things for which the Republican Party, as symbolized in its candidate for the Presidency, now stands.

That symbol is not free private enterprise -- that symbol is not competitive business enterprise.

That symbol is a public utilities monopoly holding company -- a Wall Street banker's creation which has abolished the independent private enterprise of local electric operating companies in five states of this Union and has substituted a banker-controlled holding company in New York City -- and a financially unsuccessful one at that.

I have never been an enemy of wealth as such. I do not object to men making money so long as it is only money they make. But I do object to the often-expressed philosophy of the Republican candidate "Money is



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power". I do object to men turning money into power over the lives of other men — power to push other people around — power to hire advertising men to high-pressure the people of the United States as they have been high-pressured in the last two months — power to wreck a democracy as they wrecked the democracy of France and almost wrecked the democracy of England by the blind pursuit of what they thought was their monetary gains.

Will you entrust the Wall Street public utility crowd which has seized the historic Republican Party with the decisions that affect war or peace or social unrest in this country, if you do I say, and I say deliberately, that you put the fate of this democracy — and the fate of democracy all over the world — in the hands of men whose unconscious instincts are not democratic — in the hands of men whose decisions whether to get this country into war or to sell this country down the river to future destruction under the guise of appeasement, will be determined — unconsciously, mind you, but nonetheless fatally, — by how much they think they will make out of it.

Of course the Republican campaigners say they will keep you out of war.

Of course they say they will retain all the New Deal's social program which as Woodrow Wilson once beautifully put it is "the road away from revolution".



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But either they are hopelessly confused people — or their professions have about as much sincerity as the pre-Securities Commission stock prospectus which used to be their business in life.

For in their anxiety to sell the customer at any cost they have played the politics of both sides of the street with a brazenness I have never heard equalled in all my years of political experience.

If you are trying to become the hero of Wall Street in the East, you fight the T.V.A. and say: "Obviously, and I do not want anybody to misunderstand my position, I am not in favor of expansion of a program such as the Tennessee Valley Authority. I am not. I would be lying and dissembling and misrepresenting my views if I said so."

But if you are reaching out for public power voters in the North West, and have to reconcile yourself with the position of Charlie McNary who is one of the great exponents of public power development, you have to say about Bonneville and Coulees: "If I am elected President of the United States, Senator McNary and myself " " " will see to it not alone that that investment is not lost but that it is completed and that it is operated for the full benefit of the people of this and adjoining areas."

If you are a hater of the Administration, and all its works, you are invited to aid this course of action:

"I hope the people will elect a Republican Congress as well as a Republican President so that I may have the support of a Congress that will



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and some of the pernicious legislation of the past few years."

But if you are one of those who have benefitted from the constructive policies of this Administration, you are lulled to slumber by the assurances that some of the social and economic measures of this Administration will lose a hair of their head.

What you hear, in substance, is what I warned long ago would be the regular sing-song of Republican candidates on this Administration's economic program. "Cross our hearts and hope to die" * * * *

Are you just a plain citizen, worried about a war-torn world? Then in New York the Republican candidate gives you this: "The Administration has done a pretty good job with reference to the foreign problem."

But he gets away out West in San Francisco and gives you this: "The loneliness of the United States is a direct result of the foreign policies of the last eight years."



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But either they are hopelessly confused people -- or their professions have about as much sincerity as the pre-Securities Commission stock prospectus which used to be their business in life.

For in their anxiety to sell the customer at any cost they have played the politics of both sides of the street with a brazenness I have never heard equalled in all my years of political experience.

Are you a farmer? What does Wall Street's candidate have to say to you?

Well that depends -- On August 8 the Republican leader said:

"If elected President, I will not take away any of the benefits gained by agriculture during the last few years. I do not favor changing the present farm program unless a better one can be evolved." Even I could approve of that!

But two weeks later at Elwood he has changed his mind:

"The New Deal has failed in its program of economic rehabilitation... The farmers are victims because many of them are forced to subsist on what is virtually a dole under centralized direction in Washington"

It must have been on the first day that he said: "I own five farms in Indiana, and I make a modest profit on them."

And it must have been on the second day that he said:

"I do own five farms, and I have almost gone broke owning them"



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Of course, any man may change his mind - on facts as well as opinions - but what can the farmers of America expect of such a remarkably changeable mind?

Are you a man or woman in the great ranks of labor?

What does Wall Street's candidate have to say to you?

Well, if you are in an open shop town on the Pacific Coast, this is the consolation you will hear as he bids for the non-union vote:

"It is my considered opinion that labor has been the chief sufferer from the policies of the No Deal."

But if you had been in the audience in a union town on the same West Coast, only a few days later, this is the sweet music that would have greeted your ears:

"I stand for every one of the social gains that labor has made: National Labor Relations Act *** free collective bargaining *** minimum wages and maximum hours *** social security benefits *** insured against unemployment *** sick leave pensions. Now if the No Deal wants to claim credit for these minimum safeguards, I say let it have just as much as it deserves."

What can the laboring man and woman expect from a changeable mind like that?

Are you a business man? ^{anyway} still convinced that Mr. Hoover was right in trying to balance the budget and put the country through the wringer



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If you are trying to become the hero of Wall Street in the East, you fight the T.V.A. and say: "Obviously, and I do not want anybody to misunderstand my position, I am not in favor of expansion of a program such as the Tennessee Valley Authority. I am not. I would be lying and dissembling and misrepresenting my views if I said so."

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I hope the people will elect a Republican Congress as well as a Republican President so that I may have the support of a Congress that will end some of the pernicious legislation of the past few years".

But if you are one of those who have benefitted from the constructive policies of this administration, you are lulled to slumber by the assurances that not one of the social and economic measures of this Administration will lose a hair of its head.

What you hear, in substance, is what I warned long ago would be the regular sing-song of Republican candidates on this Administration's economic program. "Cross our hearts and hope to die * * *"



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Are you just a plain citizen concerned about our relations in a war-torn world? If you listen to the Republican candidate in New York, you get this:

".... the Administration has done a pretty good job with reference to the foreign problem".

But if you had heard him in San Francisco, it would have been something quite different:

"The loneliness of the United States is a direct result of the foreign policies of the last eight years."

The Greeks had a word for it --schizophrenia!

But I think an old friend out in the Bonnaville country had a better way of describing it.

He said: "Mr. President, once I had one of those little lizards, the ones you call chameleons -- the kind that are supposed to be able to change their color to be the same as their background. Well, I got one of them and put him on a piece of red paper. And by gosh, he did turn red .. And then I put him on a piece of green paper. And by gosh he did turn green. And then do you know what I did? -- Just to see what he'd do -- I put him on a piece of Scotch plaid. And by gosh he busted himself trying to accommodate."

I have faith that the common sense of the American people has by this time told them that the Republican candidate will have to bust this country or



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or bust himself if the Republican party is going to try to keep all the promises and all the expectations which the candidate has either made or let his followers make during this campaign.

There has been nothing so convincing as this campaign itself to prove the essential mental confusion of men who are trying to pretend that they believe in the democratic way of life as it was taught by Jefferson and Jackson and Lincoln and Theodore Roosevelt and Woodrow Wilson, while their real lives and their real experience has been lived around the philosophic core that "money is power." - and in riding utility stock prospectuses to catch suckers.

I tell you that no candidate who is inexperienced in both business and politics at a time like this with every important issue in American life can ever resolve the conflicts within himself in time to give this country the continuing sense of direction.

I tell you that no party as confused and mentally disorganized as the Republican party can keep a democracy safe or can keep a democracy free in a world of war and revolution.

You cannot organize the industrial defense of a country around a man who does not know his own mind or is insincere. And you cannot organize the spiritual defense of a country, i.e., the confidence of the great masses of patriotic men and women - around a man who either does not know his own mind or is patently insincere.



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And above all, you cannot organize the confidence of a country
recklessly
around a political party which has done everything possible to make
this country fear itself, everything possible to make this country and
other countries think that we are weak when we are strong, everything
possible to make our people race-conscious and religious-conscious,
everything possible to help the dictators realize their prophecy that
too strong for attack from without, we will be ruined by division from
within. I charge and I charge solemnly that the tactics of the Republican
party and the Republican candidate in this campaign are the tactics by which
the German republic was destroyed and the German nation prepared for
dictatorship.



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Just because of the vigor with which a reckless Republican Party has attempted to divide us on racial and religious lines, this election will be a test in some degree of whether we are yet a country of our own -- with an unquestioning first allegiance to each other -- or whether, as the dictators say, we are only a mixture of peoples whose allegiances are confused.

I have never had any doubts that the American experiment has succeeded and that we are truly our own -- and only our own -- country.

I have complete confidence that whatever our origins, every man, woman and child who is today an American citizen, gives unquestioning allegiance to this country and what it stands for, irrespective of the effect upon the land of his fathers' origin of this country's stand.

I do not believe, despite all that has been done by the Republican Party to divide us in the last three months, that any racial or religious group will be revealed on November 6th to have voted substantially in bloc, i.e. not as Americans first, but as something else first. I do not believe that politicians are correct in saying that any one can deliver a Czecho-Slovakian vote, a Polish vote, a German vote, an Italian vote, an Irish vote, an English vote, in this country.

I think I can honestly say that I have respected the loyalty and the integrity and the patriotism of the American people by acting on the assumption that all they were interested in in these months of



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peril was the defense of their country and of their democracy.

I have, therefore, spoken freely of the actions of leaders of other nations across the seas, without fearing that in any way I was impugning the loyalty to America of American citizens whose origins trace back to those other nations and in the confidence that I have spoken for the hearts of those as well as of all other Americans.

And I have refused to play politics with the other great issues which affect this country.

Many advisers have told me that it was bad politics to advocate the Selective Service Bill before election, to have the selective service numbers drawn within a week of the election. I rejected that advice because that they advised as good politics was inconsistent with what our military commanders deemed the best interests of the safety of the United States; and because those commanders advised me that the sooner an effective army is in training and the sooner we are strong in that regard, the less likely is it that the army so trained will ever have to be used for our defense.

Likewise I have refused to play politics with the anti-democratic forces which are trying to play pressure politics in this country.

Despite how much money they might throw into a political campaign against me, I have refused to let the forces of Big Business on the Right push the American people around.



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And equally I have refused to let ambitious men on the Left push me or the American people around. If those totalitarian forces of the Left and Right are to be combined against the American democracy as they have been combined against democracy in every attempt at its destruction abroad, then the sooner we know that we must face and beat such an unholy alliance, the better.

When I let my name be submitted for reelection as President of the United States, the things most in my heart were the safeguarding of national security and the preservation of peace. But peace for us will not be a peace that begets security until it is shared by the rest of the world.

Unless the civilized world is to perish a peace of some kind will someday come. But I want to see the kind of peace that will not be in itself the death of civilization, that will not destroy all we have worked for and fought for in the United States, through these many generations. I want to see a peace come to the earth, and a peace preserved for us under which all men can use their talents to make a living for themselves and those dear to them, a peace which will allow men and women to enjoy the simple things of life of their own choosing, giving them liberty and freedom to think what they please, say what they please, and write what they please; a peace in which the political prison, the concentration camp, the ghetto and the Pale will be only memories of a hideous past.



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The peace I do not want to see for nations now at war or those yet to be dragged in, is the which is always offered by dictators, either imposed by force upon conquered victims, or offered as an enslaving compromise to put an end to hopeless slaughter. But my repugnance to such a peace is merely that which all men and women must feel, who respond to the ordinary feelings of humanity.

Beyond all this, I want a peace, both for ourselves and for the rest of the world, which will be framed in the interest of the little men, the ordinary men, the men who till the fields and work in the factories, and for the women who do their part of the work of ordinary daily life, a peace framed in the interests of fathers and mothers and children — not a peace for the big men of the world, not a peace to feed the heartless vanity and cruel ambition of those who send the nameless multitudes to war.

So to guide the course of American policy that we, at peace ourselves, may help to bring a peace of happiness to others, is the first, the last, the only ambition I possess, within the compass of my authority in foreign affairs. A peace for the little men would be a peace in which victors and vanquished were not to be found in opposing armies or on opposite sides of national boundaries. It would be a peace in which ~~xxxxxxxxxx~~ ~~xxxxxxxxxx~~ war and the lords of war were the only vanquished and the victors would be Englishmen and Germans, Frenchmen and Italians, Poles



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and Russians, Poles and Norwegians, Belgians and Greeks. That kind of peace is worth all a man can give of the powers of his body and his mind, worth all the loneliness, all the criticism, all the demands to achieve the impossible.

While we are waiting for that kind of a peace in Europe, let us see that we maintain it for ourselves, among ourselves, by the simple process of making ourselves too strong for attack from the outside, and too firmly united in neighborly friendship to be torn apart from within.



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From the Papers of
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SPEECH OF THE PRESIDENT

CLEVELAND, OHIO

NOVEMBER 2, 1940

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

The surge of swift moving events abroad compels us to ask ourselves -- is this the end of a story that has been told? Is the book of our democracy to be closed and placed upon the dusty shelves of time?

Or is all that we have known in the past merely an introduction to the greater story of a more glorious future?

We Americans of today are characters in this book. But we are also its author. It is for us now to say whether the chapters that are to come will tell a story of retreat or a story of continued advance.

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



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From the papers of
Sammuel I. Rosenbaum

We look at the country in which we live. It is a great 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 who will work for it.

We know that we are determined to defend our country - to join in the defense of our neighbors in this Hemisphere. 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. That is the will of our Government which exists to express and to enforce the will of our people.

Our foreign policy implements that will in the course of our dealings with other nations. Those dealings, in the past few years, have been more difficult than ever before in our history. The principles to which we hold -- the principles ~~xxxxxxx~~ of liberty and equality under the law -- have been violently suppressed in many parts of the earth. We have been forced to deal with great powers whose leaders regard all efforts at compromise and conciliation as signs of surrender.

There's nothing secret about our foreign policy. It's not a secret from the American people -- and it's



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not a secret from any government anywhere in the world.
I have stated it before, and I now re-state it.

This first purpose of this policy is to keep war from our shores and from the shores of the 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 all of the peoples of this Hemisphere are united. Our policy is to keep war far away from this Hemisphere by giving every possible material aid to the nations which still resist aggression, across the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans.

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



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trade in order to meet the demands of any foreign power or combination of powers.

We are ready, when the day for peace comes -- and God grant that it may not be too long delayed -- we are ready to play our proper part in the enactment of a just peace.

We are ready to play our proper part in keeping the peace. And that is the most important of all the tasks that we face in the future.

We cannot and will not accept the doctrine that war must be forever a part of man's destiny.

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 can live together at peace.

A war to end war will always fail of its purpose. But there can be a peace to end war. And we must help to achieve that peace.

It can be our greatest contribution to history.



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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 sight of our armaments. It is not measured in terms of the horsepower of our machines.

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

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

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.



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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 mere freedom is not enough.

It must provide the means for work and opportunity which make for the dignity of man, before true democracy can be said to exist.



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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 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.

The start had to be made by providing the bare necessities of life — food and shelter and clothing. It was no longer true that these things were no concern of government; that they were matters only



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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 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 Government took your children from the factory and shop; you outlawed the right of anyone to exploit their labor; and you gave them the chance to prepare in body and spirit the molding of a fuller and brighter day



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for themselves. For the youth of the land you provided jobs and a chance 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.

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

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

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

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



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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.



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Of course we intend to continue dynamic reforms in social and economic life; to keep the processes of democracy apace with the necessities and possibilities of modern industrial ~~present~~ production.

Of course, we intend to continue to use the good things of life made possible by the creative genius of science and technology -- to use them not for the enjoyment of the few but for the welfare of all.

For there lies the road to ^{our} 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 nature have endowed the people of the United States.

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

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.



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

I 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



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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 a 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.

^{as}
This nation has determined that its wheels of industry work to turn out the armaments of defense, as 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 make. It is the destiny of this generation to lay out the road to that future for all the world to see. It is our prayer that they ~~may~~ quickly join us — the anguished peoples of this earth for whom we light the path.



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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.

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

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

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~~



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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 guarantee to farmers a fair share in the national income.

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

Where the workers are really free - and through their great unions undominated by any outside force, 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 his own strength and fortified by the safeguards of law.

And not one firm in the land is deprived of the decent necessities 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.



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FROM THE PAPERS OF
SERIAL I. ROOSEVELT

CLEVELAND SPEECH

PERORATION:

The future belongs to us.

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.

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.

And there will be many more Presidents.

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 love 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.



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SAMUEL I. ROSENTHAL

Roosevelt

SPEECH OF THE PRESIDENT
CLEVELAND, OHIO
NOVEMBER 2, 1940

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

The surge of swift moving 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 that all that 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 book. The lives of us -- and our mothers and fathers -- rich and poor, business man and professional man, farmer and worker, private citizen and public official, all colors and races and creeds are spread through all of its many pages, [bright pages and dark pages.]



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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.

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

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

We look at our own country on this side of the ocean. It is a great 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 who have the patience and intelligence and will work for it.

That country -- *[with all that it implies]* -- is what we now aim to defend. To that end we join in the defense of our neighbors in this Hemisphere. We are strong in our defense. We are strong despite the misstatements of some who are deep down in their hearts doubters. We are strong - and every day we grow stronger.

We know that we will engage in no war or wars in lands across the seas. We know that no American boy is



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SHERMAN I. ROOSEVELT

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. That is the fixed and unalterable determination of your Government.

Our foreign policy is shaped to express that determination of our Government and that will of our people. Our dealings with other nations, in the past few years, have been more difficult than ever before in our history. The principles to which we hold -- the principles of liberty and equality under the law -- have been violently crushed in many parts of the earth. [We have been forced to deal with great powers whose leaders would regard any effort at compromise and bargaining as signs of weakness and surrender.]

There's nothing secret about our foreign policy.

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



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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 underlying, all-pervading purpose of this policy is to keep war from our shores. It is to keep war away from the shores of the Western Hemisphere - for only in that way can we be sure of peace.

That is why we make our selves strong; that is why we muster now the resources of our national strength.

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.

Our policy is to keep the forces of aggression away from this Hemisphere by giving every possible material aid to the nations which still resist aggression, across the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans.

We do not know what the foreign policy would be of those who are doubters about our democracy. But I have stated the foreign policy of an 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.



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

It must be only the outward manifestation of our own inner strength.

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 they have been built to defend.

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 have none of that. [They will never submit to domination by Nazism or Communism either.] And for that reason they will not be deceived by any



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political campaign alliance in this country between those who favor either one or the other of this kind of government. They are determined to retain for themselves the right of free speech, free religion, free assembly. They are determined to retain for themselves the right which lies at the basis of all of them -- the right to choose the officers of their own Government in free elections.

Faith in democracy is even greater than faith in those great civil liberties, without which life itself seems unimportant. Without them there is no freedom.

But we have learned by now that political freedom and civil
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 democracy 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.



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GENERAL SERVICES ADMINISTRATION

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.

You had to make a start by providing the bare necessities of life to those in distress -- food and shelter and clothing. You came to a determination that these things were a definite and continuing concern of Government; that they were matters which were no longer only the concern of [local charity and] the poor house.

And then you provided work for free men and women in American who could find no work. 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.

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



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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 factories and shops; you outlawed the right of anyone to exploit the labor of those children; and you gave them 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 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. You gained them, and consolidated them and advanced again.



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The task which this generation had to do, as the generations before it have had to do has been begun. The forward march of democracy is under way. Its advance must never stop.

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

We say that these instruments are just a beginning of what we know can be done to make democracy the strongest force on earth to supply the needs and aspirations of the common people of this land.

And, of course, we shall see that it is done.

Of course, we shall continue our efforts to help the ordinary man and woman of America enjoy the benefits of education in their childhood, have the equal 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.



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

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



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Samuel I. Rosenbaum

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

Of course, we shall 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.

Of course, we shall continue to build up the bodies and minds of the great mass 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 of health.

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

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



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Of course, we shall 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 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.

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

We cannot continue these efforts alone. 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.



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Samuel I. Rosenman

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 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.

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



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FROM THE PAPERS OF
SAMUEL I. ROSENMAN

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

It is the destiny of this generation of Americans to lay out the road to that future for all the people of all the world to see. It is our prayer that they may quickly join us -- the anguished common people of this earth for whom we now 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 any responsible government.

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

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.



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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 shall be implemented and protected by a government unafraid to guarantee to farmers a fair share in the national income.

Where the wheels of private trade and 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.

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.



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



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And where the dignity and security of the working man and woman are guaranteed by his own strength and fortified by the safeguards of law.

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 cannot turn over any responsibilities of the Presidency to anyone else. Every day that passes he must be in close touch with all the departments and agencies of the National Capital -- with every section of the country, every state and county and city -- with every nation and government in the whole world.



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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.

And through the months 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 through this conflict, about the need of keeping it strong through the rest of the world.

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)



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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 my capacity.

But there are certain principles and doctrines and faith and aspirations without which democracy is made too weak to survive. Only the people can decide which principles and doctrines and faith and aspirations are the soundest guarantee for our future.

The future belongs to 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.

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.



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Four years from now, there will be another President.

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

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 love 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.



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From the Papers of
Samuel I. Rosenman

TELEGRAM

Nov 2 1891

The White House
Washington

Lowest P
 Nearly eight years ago I started
 with ~~some~~ 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
 shining ahead. ~~The~~ The way seems
 clearer, if we ~~stick to~~ ^{follow} certain charts
 and certain guides.

There is a great storm
 raging now, and it makes things
 harder. And that storm, which
 did ^{not} start here, ~~but which is~~
 in the chief
 reason I ^{would} like to stick with these
 people until we reach the clear
 sun shining ahead



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From the Papers of
BARRY L. DUFFIN

TELEGRAM

The White House
Washington

We will make it before the
next term is over - we will make it,
and the world will make it too.
When that term is over
there will be another President, and
in the year 1901
many more Presidents; and, indeed,
the word "President" will be a word
to cheer the hearts of common men
every where.

Note

On Saturday Mar 2, 1890 -
this was read by the President
on the train to Cleveland where he
later included it in his last speech
of the campaign. His own handwriting
includes "When that term is over" - "in the
year to come" - "o" "follow" "would" H.L.H.



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From the papers of
JERRY L. HUGHES

STATEMENTS FILE
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HOLD FOR RELEASE

HOLD FOR RELEASE

November 2, 1940

CAUTION: The following address of the President, to be delivered in the Public Auditorium, Cleveland, Ohio, MUST BE HELD IN CONFIDENCE until released.

NOTE: Release to editions of all newspapers appearing on the streets NOT EARLIER THAN 9:00 P.M., E.S.T. November 2, 1940. The same release of the text of the address also applies to radio announcers and news commentators.

CARE MUST BE EXERCISED TO PREVENT PREMATURE PUBLICATION.

WILLIAM D. HASETT

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 these forces, without exception, are voting against the New Deal.

I am proud of that 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?

The 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.

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.

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.

And 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 in peace.

If the human race is to survive, the world must find the way by which men and nations can live together in 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 unwavering 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 poorhouse.

Your government assumed its proper function as the working representative of the average man 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 ^{the} law the right of working men and women to bargain collectively, and you set up machinery to enforce that right. (C) 2.112

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. (C)

You made safe the banks which hold your savings. (C) You stopped, once and for all, gambling with other people's money -- money changing in the temple. (C) 6.6.11.11.11.11.

You advanced to ~~other objectives~~ ^{other objectives}. You gained them, and consolidated them and advanced again. (C)

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

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. (C)

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. (C) 6.6.11.11.11.11.

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. (C) 6.6.11.11.11.11.

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. (C) 6.6.11.11.11.11.

The mirage is always upside down, above the horizon. (C) 6.6.11.11.11.11.
at all. (C) upside down or right-side up -- ~~is~~ isn't there

Now you see it -- and now you don't. (C) 6.6.11.11.11.11.

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. (C)

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. (C)

For there lies the road to democracy that is strong. (C)

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. (C)

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. (C)

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. (C)

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 ~~many~~ has also found the strength to build houses and begin to clear the slums of its cities and its countryside. (C)

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. (C)

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 ~~every~~ 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 force 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.

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.

Barclay Thompson draft

TELEGRAM

The White House

Washington

NY. RA. NP. 735 D. L.

Ni. New York, N. Y., November 1, 1940

Harry Hopkins,
White House.

Following conversation with President, he asked me jot down things we discussed for inclusion in speech. Think absolutely clear statement foreign policy contained memo. I submitted but suggest it be enumerated one two three four. Also enumerate domestic policy under quote We intend Unquote one we intend to continue social and economic reforms in order to keep this democracy apace with the necessities of modern life and the possibilities of modern production — possibilities created by human genius created by science and technology and created not for the enjoyment of the few but the welfare of the many. We intend two to realize in this democracy and realize them genuinely the claims falsely made by the revolutionary powers and to that end we intend three to preserve and build up the land of this country its earth its forests, its rivers and all the resources with which God and nature endowed the people of the United States We intend four — to build up the bodies and minds of the men women and children of this country not by a military service that breaks their backbones and their spirits but with joyful service that strengthens their backbones and their spirits through a democratic army through democratic social services, through democratic education and through a democratic health program We intend four to find the fullest use for all the resources of this incomparably endowed nation among which resources we count first of all the skill and



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PRESIDENT

NEWCOMB CARLTON

CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD

J. D. WILSON

CASH VICE-PRESIDENT

WESTERN
UNION

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Harry Hopkins

New York N.Y. Nov 1 1940

(add to Dorothy Thompson message, first sheet xxx)

~~xxxxxx~~ Endowed Nation among which resources we count first of all the skill and talent and willing hands and creative brains of the American people themselves we intend five-to protect private enterprise and to protect and extend private property during the next four years as we have protected it during the past eight years and protected it as the whole record shows better than any words or claims indeed shows as the deposits in the savings banks show as the production of mine dash as the books of wholesale and retail merchants show and I might add as the money spent by our opponents in this campaign shows but we intend sixth-that we shall not allow private enterprise whether from ignorance or prejudice or greed or habit to substitute itself for the Government of the American people stop we shall continue to oppose either political dictatorship or economic dictatorship we intend seventh to build up the morale of this country using the word morale not as blind or even heroic obedience to some leader or cause but in its intrinsic sense as the expression in work in management in service in individual behavior of the deeply ethical principles upon which this nation was founded dash the ethics of the ten commandments and the first commandment that sums them all up that thou shall love the lord thy god with all thy heart and with all thy soul and with all thy strength and thy neighbor as thyself stop and in order to achieve these

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE



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Dorothy L. Hopkins

things we shall need and we shall seek the cooperation of every single American dash of our workers of the great organizers and technicians of our factories among them some of the most gifted men in the world of our farmers of our professional men and women of the journalists who can become if they will the adult educators of this nation of our school teachers of our youth of our poets of our artists and of all men and women who love America just a little bit more than they love themselves stop and among these Americans of good will we include our critics stop and we promise you not as vote catching words but as the expression of a moral principle that cannot be flouted in this world and that is a spiritual truth as exact as any mathematical or chemical formula that with such a program carried out in such a spirit and only by such a program carried out in such a spirit this country will become prosperous and free and strong and be a light of the world and a comfort to all peoples and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it stop for as 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.

(end)

Dorothy

(first sheet will follow)

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1200

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NI NEWYORK NY NOV 1 406P
HON HARRY HOPKINS=CARE PRESIDENTS SPECIAL TRAIN
PENN RR 30TH ST STATION

FOLLOWING CONVERSATION WITH PRESIDENT, HE ASKED ME JOT DOWN THINGS WE DISCUSSED FOR INCLUSION IN SPEECH. THINK ABSOLUTELY CLEAR STATEMENT FOREIGN POLICY CONTAINED MEMO I SUBMITTED BUT SUGGEST IT BE ENUMERATED ONE, TWO, THREE, FOUR. ALSO ENUMERATE DOMESTIC POLICY UNDER QUOTE WE INTEND UNQUOTE. ONE, WE INTEND TO CONTINUE SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC REFORMS IN ORDER TO KEEP THIS DEMOCRACY APACE WITH THE NECESSITIES OF

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30th ST. PENN. R. R., PHILADELPHIA, PA.

MODERN LIFE AND THE POSSIBILITIES OF MODERN PRODUCTION DASH POSSIBILITIES CREATED BY HUMAN GENIUS CREATED BY SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY AND CREATED NOT FOR THE ENJOYMENT OF THE FEW BUT THE WELFARE OF THE MANY. WE INTEND TWO TO REALIZE IN THIS DEMOCRACY AND REALIZE THEM GENUINELY THE CLAIMS FALSELY MADE BY THE REVOLUTIONARY POWERS AND TO THAT END WE INTEND THREE TO PRESERVE AND BUILD UP THE LAND OF THIS COUNTRY ITS EARTH ITS FORESTS ITS RIVERS AND ALL THE RESOURCES WITH WHICH GOD AND NATURE ENDOWED THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES WE INTEND FOUR=

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From the Secretary of
Douglas L. Hopkins

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N. W. WHITE

President

WESTERN UNION

HERSCHEL EARLTON

President of the Board

J. C. WILKINSON

First Vice President

1908

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TO BUILD UP THE BODIES AND MINDS OF THE MEN WOMEN AND CHILDREN OF THIS COUNTRY NOT BY A MILITARY SERVICE THAT BREAKS THEIR BACKBONES AND THEIR SPIRITS BUT WITH JOYFUL SERVICE THAT STRENGTHENS THEIR BACKBONES AND THEIR SPIRITS THROUGH A DEMOCRATIC ARMY THROUGH DEMOCRATIC SOCIAL SERVICES. THROUGH DEMOCRATIC EDUCATION AND THROUGH A DEMOCRATIC HEALTH PROGRAM WE INTEND FOUR TO FIND THE FULLEST USEFOR ALL THE RESOURCES OF THIS INCOMPARABLY ENDOWED NATION AMONG WHICH RESOURCES WE COUNT FIRST OF ALL THE SKILL AND X X X.=

WHITE HOUSE TELEGRAPH OFFICE.

436PM.

—MESSAGE FROM THE PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

The first part of this speech, H. H. says, is to deal with Defense, the second part with the Social program. The following suggestions are for a transition which will unify the two parts.

And so we move swiftly toward marshalling the might of America to guard the new world from the tragic horror which has engulfed the Old world. But let no man tell you that might alone can do this. We must and shall thrust out into the seas bases from which our ships on the water, & ^{under the} in the air will watch day and night ~~and~~ give a warm reception to any ugly customer who may growl toward this hemisphere. In search of ~~any~~ ^{any} ~~that~~. Behind them shall be forts & planes, guns & tanks and men hardened and trained to fight them. But it is not enough to forge the sword, we must have the stout heart and the will to wield it. And to have these we must have a fighting faith in our selves, in our America, in the future of our democracy.

We are not dreaming here, to-day, as more than once our fathers dreamed, again at some side show of a dynastic war in Europe. To-day we face a violent and fanatical challenge to every article of our democratic faith, to



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From the Papers of
JERRY L. DODD

every hope of decent and free life in the hands of
every of plain men women, to the very
conception of human liberty. Those who fling
this challenge ~~and answer~~ ^{back it to the hands} with every
device of modern military ~~science~~ ^{force} to back it
to the ~~limit~~ ^{limit} with force. But they are armed,
too, with fanatical faith in themselves and their
doctrine. And they strike ~~at~~, not ~~only~~ ^{first} with arms
but with the very violence of their belief wherever
they ~~see~~ see the features of doubt, ~~and disbelief~~.

"Citizens," cried John Milton, whose kind eyes
were not darkened to truth, "it is of no small
concern what manner of men ye are, whether
to acquire or to keep possession of your
liberty." And, it is of no small concern what
manner of men you choose for the second part of
anarchy.

You have seen great nations go down in
ruin, and come to the very brink of ruin, because
the men who led them could not see the danger
which threatened. And they could not see because they
did not believe men are afraid of the forward
surge of common men to stake out new
homesteads of freedom in a new age, that
the dictator did not even so bad. He made

He made industry there.

the train ran on time. He broke up the labor movement. He was a practical believer against socialism put radicals & communists in jail. Above all he was a practical man. You could come to an understanding with him. The people who followed this man are lucky now, if those who did are in exile, or dead in their misery, they can even smile their way across from above this earth.

~~But the man who led to these things~~

But these leaders, who were so kind, had just done something worse. They had destroyed the faith of the people in themselves & in their future. They had made democracy a mere word shouted from a platform. They had made it, as the dictators saw a check for the whole thing as they were, a means to make ~~the world better~~ for the stark realities and the lot of much forward to meet new problems. They had forgotten — if they ever knew — that democracy as a fighting faith can only live by attack — attack on every front & against those leaders & oppressors of the body & spirit, which the mass of mankind some complacent people ~~are~~ believe are its inevitable lot of the common man.

Then a hundred thirty million people move



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with one voice that there is no inviolable lot
but a free & good life for every man &
woman, and no stopping place upon the
road, and no effort to go on to make,
and no power strong enough to stop them,
these democracy lives & these there is no
power strong enough to stop its faith:

For it is the faith of the ~~free~~ common people in
their own capacity, to ~~make their life~~ ^{will} ~~on earth~~ ^{to make their life} more decent
& more just than any man, or any group of men
can ~~make it for them~~ ^{make it for them}. Negatives are not enough -
not even the great negatives ^{for} which we would ~~the~~ ^{find}
find with our lives. No impairment of freedom ^{to}
to think & speak & print our thoughts, or to
worship, or to be secure in our homes - without
these, freedom cannot ~~last~~ ^{last}, but without more ~~it~~
~~our more~~ ~~even~~ democracy can never come to birth.
And it must be true in each generation come from
the travail of a people bringing forth, not words
or generalities, but the living forces which ~~can~~
deal with the problems of this time.

~~In the past eight years we have seen again
the miracle of the birth of hope & faith of the
people in themselves. In some as a government
of doubt & fear was replaced by a~~



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From the Papers of
Isaiah L. Hopkins

~~to leave me~~ with me with hope
Eight years ago the people again took of the
power.

That first has been again with us - for
eight years no justice, with a justice government,
living on from tick to tick, and no
man dare say to-day that he would undo one
thing that you have wrought. The start had to
be made with the bare necessities of life - food, shelter
& clothing - you have not forgotten ~~that this was~~
that should not these things were no concern of
your government. The nation but only of local
charity & poor laws. Then came the back of
together we faced the folly of idle men & idle
tools with houses to be built and roads to be
built & streams to be dammed & given the
mule had ~~these things were done~~, and carried
to farm & home. And all these things were fought
by men whom you remember - and all these things
were done were being done.

And then you found that the first lot of
Dominion which was the before ~~the time being~~
should feel on children's children was being
exposed at ~~the time being~~ ^{stronger force to set with some on} ~~the time being~~ ^{overhead}
down every river valley ~~the~~ for still farms
mortgages were foreclosed. And you stopped that &

~~Then the first~~
 gave the former the first choice he has had
 in two decades.

You wrote into our ^{the right of} ~~the~~ working men
 movement to bargain collectively and set up
 machinery to enforce that right. You turned
 to the problems of youth wage. ~~For~~ youth you
 & your government took out of the factory &
 shop and gave the chance to prepare themselves
 in today's spirit & mind to take up from you
 the task of the ~~country~~ toward the molding of a
 fuller & brighter ~~age~~ day. And for age you
 provided security & rest.

You made ~~invest~~ the banks which held your
 savings & you stepped over for all greatness
 on the stock market with the lives of people
 and looking under the name of finance.

The men who fought you every step of
 the way still do not understand what they
 have seen. They think that what is only a
 start in the translation of the democratic faith
 into action is an end. Their very words tell
 them. They speak of these first steps as objectives.
 We approve the objectives, they say, but if you



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will let us administer, ~~the~~ we shall achieve
 them so much better. These things which you
 have done are not objectives, they are only
 positions which have been stressed, consolidated
 & passed. The objective which these men can
 never understand & on which they would put
 the line of death, it is the ordering by
 the common man of his own world.

~~That day has come. So far in the past~~
~~The day~~

Once again a generation has begun the forward
 march. ~~from~~ The outposts have been taken.
 that we are still in the dawn of the new day. We
 who believe in democracy have only begun
 to fight.



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