FDR July 20, 1944 Radio Address to the Democratic National Convention 1525B

(1)

FOR THE NEWSREELS

I have already indicated to you why I accept the nomination which you have offered me -- in spite of my desire to retire to the quiet of private life.

You in this Convention are aware of what I have sought to gain for the nation, and you have asked me to continue.

It seems wholly likely that within the next four years our armed forces, and those of our Allies, will have gained a complete victory over Germany and Japan, and that the world once more will be at peace -- under a system, we hope, which will prevent a new world war. In any event, new hands will then have full opportunity to realize the ideals which we seek.

I am sure that you will understand me, when I say that my decision, expressed to you formally tonight, is based solely on a sense of obligation to serve if called upon to do so by the people of the United States.

They will also decide this fall whether they will entrust the task of post-war reconversion to those who offered the veterans of the last war breadlines and apple-selling and who finally led the American people down to the abyss of 1932; or whether they will leave it to those who rescued American business, agriculture, industry, finance and labor in 1933, and who have already planned and put through legislation to help our veterans resume their normal occupations in a well-ordered reconversion process.

(3)

FOR THE NEWSREELS

What is the job before us in 1944? First, to win the war -- to win it fast, to win it overpoweringly. Second, to form worldwide international organizations, and to arrange to use the armed force of the sovereign nations of the world to make another war impossible within the foreseeable future. Third, to build an economy for our returning veterans and for all American s -- which will provide employment and decent standards of living.

The people of the United States will decide this fall whether they wish to turn over this 1944 job -- this worldwide job -- to inexperienced and immature hands, to those who opposed lend lease and international cooperation against the forces of aggression and tyranny, until they could read the polls of popular sentiment; or whether they wish to leave it to those who saw the danger from abroad, who met it head-on, and who now have seized the offensive and carried the war to its present stages of success, to those who, by international conferences and united actions have begun to build that kind of common understanding and cooperative experience which will be so necessary in the world to come.

(4)

FOR THE NEWSREELS

They will not decide these questions by reading glowing words or platform pledges -- the mouthings of those who are willing to promise anything and everything -- contradictions, inconsistencies, impossibilities -- anything which might snare a few votes here and a few votes there.

They will decide on the record -- the record written on the seas, on the land and in the skies.

They will decide on the record of our domestic accomplishments in recovery and reform since March 4, 1933.

They will decide on the record of our war production and food production -- unparalleled in all history, in spite of the doubts and sneers of those in high places who said it could not be done.

They will decide on the record of the International Food Conference, of UNRRA, of the International Labor Conference, of the International Education Conference, of the International Monetary Conference.

They will decide on the record written in the Atlantic Charter, at Casablanca, at Cairo, at Moscow and Teheran.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

April 16, 1945.

MEMORANDUM FOR

HON. AUGUSTUS GIEGENGACK

Would you be good enough to have a box made for this and have it marked as follows:

F.D.R. Padio Address to the Democratic National Convention - July 20, 1944.

Audrey Turner

Audrey Turner

DRAFT NO. 1

SPEECH OF THE PRESIDENT

JULY 20, 1944

Mankind changes viewpoint but slowly. In the past few centuries the scope of thought has been the chief factor. In the days of the Roman Empire eyes were focused on Europe and the Mediterranean area; The existence of another civilization in the Far East was unknown. The American continents were unheard of.

Even in our own colonial days our own eyes knew only our seaboard and a small portion of the other Americas, and we turned most of the time to Europe and the colonizing powers. For us, Africa had entered the picture as the provider of human chattels.

It has been a wrench perhaps for many people here and elsewhere to be compelled to widen the orbit of their vision to include every part of the world. And this has happened most greatly within this and the preceding generation.

During the past few days I have been coming across the whole width of the Continent to a place where I am speaking to you from my train.

As I was crossing the plains of the center of our nation, I could not fail to think of the fairly new relationship between the people of farm and town with the Islands of the Pacific, the teaming millions of the Far East, and the very lives of other millions in Britain and Normandy and Germany and Poland and Russia itself.

For Kansas and California are a part of all these distant spots as greatly as Massachusetts and Virginia were a part of the European picture in 1776.

We all know that in the military sense this is very true -- for if Germany and Japan were to come through this war with their philosophies and armies intact, our own grandchildren, impelled by necessity, will be fighting again for their liberties and their lives. That is why I say that the isolationists and the ostriches in our midst are guilty of immaturity, to put it politely, for they have not kept pace with past or present history.

Some day soon we will be able, in all probability, to fly to any other country or any other nation within twenty-four hours. Oceans will no longer figure greatly in our physical defense.

For our own safety and for our own economic good, we will be compelled to take part in the maintenence of peace and the increase of trade with the whole round world.

That is why your Government has been studying and searching in the problems of the near future, preparing itself in order that the people of the United States of America may maintain this form of government and improve its standards, and join with other nations in doing likewise.

We have, working toward that end, the best staff in our history -- men and women of all parties and from every part of the nation.

I realize that planning is in some places a word which brings forth sneers, but it is to be remembered that it was planning before our entry into the war which made possible the magnificent organization of the Army and Navy of the United States which is fighting for us and our civilization today.

In military affairs things do not stand still. An Army or a Navy trained and equipped and fighting in a 1932 model would not be a safe reliance in 1944. Improvement is the order of the day. And improvement extends, if we all progress in our civilization, to many other things -- physical things in our daily lives and, equally, to gains in social justice at home.

You in this Convention are aware of what I have sought to gain for the nation, and you have asked me to continue a little longer. You are aware of my purely personal desire to return to my home. I have told you that in view of the world crisis I must of course, however reluctantly, heed your wishes. It seems wholly likely that within the next four years our armed forces, and those of our Allies, will have gained a complete victory over Germany and Japan, and that the world once more will be at peace, we hope, under an agreed on system for the prevention of a new world war. In any event, new hands will have full opportunity to carry through an ideal which is worth the seeking.

May the United States attain that goal.

SUGGESTED NEW ENDING

May I add a personal word to you, my fellow Democrats, assembled in Chicago. We can all take pride and satisfaction in the contributions ~~x~~ of our Party to American life at home and to the safety and security of the world beyond our borders. At times, there have been differences among ourselves. But that is natural and healthy in a functioning democracy. With few exceptions, there have been no differences in fundamentals. The goals we set in 1932 have in part been accomplished. Others are on the way to fulfillment. The road has been hard, but the progress has been steady. The American people have approved -- else we could have accomplished nothing.

And to my fellow-Americans everywhere -- at home and abroad -- may I point out that these periodic elections which we carry on in our blessed country are the bulwark and safeguard of democracy. No one can talk of dictatorship at home so long as these elections form a part of American life. They are a source of wonder and envy to the less fortunate people of the world who do not enjoy the blessings of our freedom. But our enemies know that our elections -- which are as natural to us as the air we breathe -- our political fights and campaigns

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are not a sign of disunity or weakness. Rather they are an indication of inherent unity and strength. For they are a means by which the American people find a medium to speak their united will and determination as a free nation to the whole world. The American will and determination to a lasting peace and to a better world will, with the assistance of Almighty God, prevail -- so that the tragedy and the horror will not come again -- so that peace and security and well-being will follow our victory over the forces which seek in vain to destroy our lives, our liberties and our faith.

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RADIO ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT

SAN DIEGO, CALIFORNIA

JULY 19, 1944

Members of the Convention, my friends:

I have already indicated to you why I accept the nomination which you have offered me -- in spite of my desire to retire to the quiet of private life.

You in this Convention are aware of what I have sought to gain for the nation, and you have asked me to continue.

It seems wholly likely that within the next four years our armed forces, and those of our Allies, will have gained a complete victory over Germany and Japan, and that the world once more will be at peace -- under a system, we hope, which will prevent a new world war. In any event, new hands will then have full opportunity to realize the ideals which we seek.

In the last three elections the people of the United States have transcended party affiliation. Not only Democrats but also forward looking Republicans and millions of independent voters have turned to progressive leadership -- a leadership which has sought consistently -- and with fair success -- to advance the lot of the average American citizen who had been so forgotten during the period after the last war. I am confident that they will continue to look to that same kind of liberalism to build our economy for the future.

I am sure that you will understand me when I say that my decision, expressed to you formally tonight, is based solely on a sense of obligation to serve if called upon to do so by the people of the United States.

I shall not campaign in the usual sense, for the office. In these days of tragic sorrow, I do not consider it fitting. Besides, in these days of global warfare, I shall not be able to find the time. I shall, however,

feel free to report to the people the facts about matters of concern to them and especially to correct any misrepresentations.

During the past few days I have been coming across the whole width of the continent, to a naval base where I am speaking to you now from my train.

As I was crossing the fertile lands and the wide plains and the great divide, I could not fail to think of the new relationship between the people of our farms and cities and villages and the people of the rest of the world overseas -- on the Islands of the Pacific, in the Far East, and in the other Americas, in Britain and Normandy and Germany and Poland and Russia itself.

For Oklahoma and California are becoming a part of all these distant spots as greatly as Massachusetts and Virginia were a part of the European picture in 1776.

Today, Oklahoma and California are being defended in Normandy and Saipan; and they must be defended there -- for what happens in Normandy and Saipan vitally affects the security and well-being of Oklahoma and California.

Mankind changes the scope and breadth of its thought and vision slowly indeed. In the days of the Roman Empire eyes were focused on Europe and the Mediterranean area. The civilization in the Far East was barely known. The American continents were unheard of.

Even after the people of Europe began to spill over to other continents, the people of North America in colonial days knew only their Atlantic seaboard and a small portion of the other Americas, and they turned most of the time for trade and international relationship to Europe. Africa then was considered only as the provider of human chattels. Asia was essentially unknown to them.

During the nineteenth century era of development and expansion on this continent we felt a natural isolation -- geographic, economic and political -- from the vast world which lay overseas.

Not until this generation, have people here and elsewhere been compelled more and more to widen the orbit of their vision to include every part of the world. It has been a wrench perhaps -- but a necessary one.

It is good that we are all getting that broader vision. For we shall need it after the war. The isolationists and ostriches who plagued our thinking before Pearl Harbor are becoming slowly extinct. The American people now know that all nations of the world -- large and small -- will have to play their appropriate part in keeping the peace by force, and in deciding peacefully the disputes which might lead to war.

We all know how truly the world has become one -- that if Germany and Japan, for example, were to come through this war with their philosophies established and their armies intact, our own grandchildren would again have to be fighting in their day for their liberties and their lives.

Some day soon we shall all be able to fly to any other part of the world within twenty-four hours. Oceans will notlonger figure as greatly in our physical defense as they have in the past. For our own safety and for our own economic good, therefore -- if for no other reason -- we must take a leading part in the maintenance of peace and in the increase of trade among all the nations of the world.

That is why your Government for many months has been laying plans, and studying the problems of the near future -- preparing itself to act so that the people of the United States may not suffer hardships after the war,

may continue constantly to improve its standards, and may join with other nations in doing the same. There are even now working toward that end, the best staff in our history -- men and women of all parties and from every part of the nation. I realize that planning is a word which in some places brings forth sneers. But, for example, before our entry into the war it was planning which made possible the magnificent organization and equipment of the Army and Navy of the United States which are fighting for us and for civilization today.

Improvement through planning is the order of the day. Even in military affairs things do not stand still. An Army or a Navy trained and equipped and fighting according to a 1932 model would not have been a safe reliance in 1944. And if we are to progress in our civilization, improvement is necessary in other fields -- in the physical things which are part of our daily lives, and also in the concepts of social justice at home and abroad.

I am now at this naval base in the performance of my duties under the Constitution. The war waits for no elections. Decisions must be made -- plans must be laid -- strategy must be carried out. They do not concern merely a party or a group. They will affect the daily lives of Americans for generations to come.

What is the job before us in 1944? First, to win the war -- to win it fast, to win it overpoweringly. Second, to form worldwide international organizations, and to arrange to use the armed force of the sovereign nations of the world to make another war impossible within the foreseeable future. Third, to build an economy for our returning veterans and for all Americans -- which will provide employment and decent standards of living.

The people of the United States will decide this fall whether they wish to turn over this 1944 job -- this worldwide job -- to inexperienced and immature hands, to those who opposed lend-lease and international cooperation against the forces of aggression and tyranny, until they could read the polls of popular sentiment; or whether they wish to leave it to those who saw the danger from abroad, who met it head-on, and who now have seized the offensive and carried the war to its present stages of success, to those who, by international conferences and united actions have begun to build that kind of common understanding and cooperative experience which will be so necessary in the world to come.

They will also decide this fall whether they will entrust the task of post-war reconversion to those who offered the veterans of the last war breadlines and apple-selling and who finally led the American people down to the abyss of 1932; or whether they will leave it to those who rescued American business, agriculture, industry,

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They will decide on the record of the International Food Conference, of UNRRA, of the International Labor Conference, of the International Education Conference, of the International Monetary Conference.

They will decide on the record written in the Atlantic Charter, at Casablanca, at Cairo, at Moscow and at Teheran.

We have made mistakes. Who has not?

Things have not always been perfect. Are they ever, in human affairs?

But the objective — at home and abroad -- has always been clear before us. Constantly, we have made steady, sure progress toward that objective. The record is plain and unmistakeable as to that -- for everyone to read.

The greatest war-time President in our history, after a war-time election which he called "the most reliable indication of public purpose in this country" set the goal for the United States, in terms as applicable today as they were in 1865 -- terms which the human mind cannot improve:

...."With firmness in the right, as God gives us to see the right, let us strive on to finish the work we are in; to bind up the nation's wounds; to care for him who shall have borne the battle, and for his widow, and his orphan -- to do all which may achieve and cherish a just and lasting peace among ourselves, and with all nations".

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DRAFT 2

Delegates to the Convention and friends:

I have already indicated to you why I have decided to accept the nomination which you have so generously tendered to me -- in spite of an almost overwhelming desire to retire to the quiet and rest of private life.

You in this Convention are aware of what I have sought to gain for the nation, and you have asked me to continue a little longer. It seems wholly likely that within the next four years our armed forces, and those of our Allies, will have gained a complete victory over Germany and Japan, and that the world once more will be at peace, we hope, under a system for the prevention of a new world war. In any event, new hands will have full opportunity tocarry through the ideal which we are all seeking.

In the last three elections the people of the United States have forgotten party affiliation for not Democrats alone, but forward looking Republicans and millions of independent voters have turned to progressive leadership which sought to advance the lot of the average American citizen who had been so consistently neglected in the last post-war period. They will still look to that same kind of liberation to build our economy for the future.

I am sure that you will understand me when I say that my decision expressed to you formally tonight is based not on any partisan demand, but only on a willingness and a sense of obligation to serve if called upon to do so by the people of the United States. I shall not campaign for the office in the usual sense. In these days of tragic sorrow, I do not consider it fitting. Besides, in these days of global warfare, I shall not be able to find the time.

Mankind changes the scope of its thought slowly indeed. In the days of the Roman Empire eyes were focused on Europe and the Mediterranean area. The existence of another civilization in the Far East was unknown. The American continents were unheard of.

Even after Europe spilled over to other continents, our own eyes, in our colonial days, knew only our Atlantic seaboard and a small portion of the other Americas, and we turned most of the time to Europe and the colonizing powers. For us, Africa was considered only as the provider of human chattels.

Only within this and the preceding generation, have people here and elsewhere been compelled to widen the ~~shrit~~ orbit of their vision to include every part of the world. It has been a wrench perhaps -- but a necessary one.

During the past few days I have been coming across the whole width of the Continent to a place at a naval base where I am speaking to you from my train.

As I was crossing fertile lands east of the Mississippi and the plains of the center of our nation, and the great Western region, I could not fail to think of the fairly new relationship between the people of our farms and cities and villages and the rest of the world overseas -- the Islands of the Pacific, the teaming millions of the Far East, and the lives of other millions in the other Americas, in Britain and Normandy and Germany and Poland and Russia itself -- and the whole African continent.

For Kansas and California are becoming a part of all these distant spots as greatly as Massachusetts and Virginia were a part of the European picture in 1776.

We all know that in a military sense how truly the world has become one -- for if Germany and Japan were to come through this war with their philosophies established and their armies intact, our own grandchildren would have to be fighting

again for their liberties and their lives.

Some day soon we shall all be able to fly to any other part of the world within twenty-four hours. Oceans will no longer figure greatly in our physical defense -- as they have in the past.

For our own safety and for our own economic good -- if for no other more human reason -- we will be compelled to take a leading part in the maintenance of peace and the increase of trade with the whole world.

That is why your Government has been studying the problems of the near future and preparing itself to act so that the people of the United States of America may constantly improve its standards, and join with other nations in doing likewise.

There are now, working toward that end, the best staff in our history -- men and women of all parties and from every part of the nation.

I realize that planning is in some places a word which brings forth sneers, but it was planning before our entry into the war and after Pearl Harbor which made possible the magnificent organization and equipment of the Army and Navy of the United States which is fighting for us and for civilization today.

Improvement through planning is the order of the day. And in military affairs things do not stand still. An Army or a Navy trained and equipped and fighting according to a 1932 model would not be a safe reliance in 1944. And improvement extends, if we are to progress in our civilization, to many other things -- to physical things in our daily lives and to social justice at home and abroad.

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In the last three elections the people of the United States have forgotten party affiliation for not Democrats alone but forward looking Republicans and millions of independent voters have turned to progressive leadership which sought to advance the lot of the average American citizen who had been so consistently neglected in the ~~last post-war period~~ entire period after the last war. They will ~~still~~ continue to look to that same kind of liberation to build our economy for the future. I am confident they

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Even after Europe began to spill over to other continents, we ~~our own eyes~~, in our colonial days, knew only our Atlantic seaboard and a small portion of the other Americas, and we turned most of the time to Europe and the colonizing powers for trade and international relationships. ~~For us~~, Africa was considered only as the provider of human chattels.

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It is good that we are all getting that broader vision. For we shall need it after the war. The isolationists and ostriches who plagued our thinking before Pearl Harbor are becoming extinct. The American people know now that all nations of the world -- large and small -- will have to play their appropriate part in keeping the peace by force and in deciding peacefully the disputes which might lead to war.

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~~THURSDAY~~

I am now at this naval base in the performance of my duties as Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces of the United States. ~~For~~ The war waits for no elections. Decisions must be made -- plans must be laid -- strategy must be carried out, and they are far more important than any party or any group. They will affect the daily lives of Americans for generations to come. The awful responsibility of ultimate decision belongs to the Commander-in-Chief -- no one else. And each day I pray to God for guidance and truth. No President -- worthy of the name -- has sought to divest himself of that responsibility which ~~weighs~~ has been laid upon him under our Constitution. No President -- worthy of the name -- can.

to take our stand against the new tyranny and aggression from abroad.

wealth of our land.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Issues.

What was the task before us in 1932? To restore order out of economic chaos, to start the dead wheels of industry and business and agriculture going, to prevent abuses and exploitations, and to bring about a better distribution of the wealth of the United States. The people of the United States in 1936 said that that job was well done.

What was the task before us in 1936. To carry on recovery, to progress our reforms, to consolidate our social gains for the farmer, the laborer, the clerk, the small business man, etc. The people of the United States in 1940 said that that job was well done.

(over)

What was the task before us in
1940. To arm, to raise our army
and Navy, to take our place with
the decent nations of the world in
behalf of Christian civilization against
the barbarism of the Huns, to
produce the weapons for ourselves
and for our allies to raise the food
necessary to [illegible] to
keep a [illegible] to
[illegible] to prevent [illegible],
the attack to our enemies
and to destroy their armies and
Navies.

The hope of the United States
in 1944 will be that this is a
job well done.

What was the task before us in 1940? To [redacted],
to raise an army and navy, to equip them, to take our place with the decent
nations of the world in behalf of Christian civilization against
the barbarism of the Axis, to produce the weapons of war for
ourselves and for our allies, to raise the food necessary to
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destroy their armies and navies.

The people of the United States in 1944 will
say that this is a job well done.

What is the job before us in 1944? First, to win the war -- to win it fast, to win it overpoweringly. Second, to form world-wide organizations and to arrange to use the force of the sovereign nations of the worldto make another war impossible within the foreseeable future. Third, to build an economy for our returning veterans and for all Americans which will provide employment and decent standards of living.

The people of the United States will decide this fall whether they wish to turn this 1944 job -- this world-wide job -- to inexperienced and faltering hands or to leave it to those who have carried the war to its present sight of victory -- without for a moment seeking to avoid the civilian responsibility for it -- to those who, by international conferences of the heads of the four most powerful nations and by conferences of representatives of all the United Nations, have begun to build that kind of common understanding and cooperative experience which will be so necessary in the world to come.

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~~INSERT 10~~ ~~PAGE 9~~

They will decide it on the record -- the record written at Midway and the Coral Sea, in the Marshalls and in the Marianas, in Alaska and in New Guinea, in the air over Japan, the record written in the skies over Germany, in the cold waters of the Atlantic, on the beaches of Normandy, in Africa, in Sicily, in Italy, in the records of the International Food Conference, UNRRA, the International Labor Conference, the International Monetary Conference, the record written in the Atlantic Charter, at Casablanca, at Cairo and Moscow and Teheran.

We have made mistakes. Who has not? But the objective was always clear before us. And constantly we have made steady sure progress toward that objective. The record is clear and unmistakable as to that.

Things have not always been perfect. Are they ever, in human affairs?

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which he called "the most valuable indication of the purpose in this country".

The greatest war time President in our history, ~~has faced both and this~~ ~~the~~ after a war-time election, but the good for the United States on terms as acceptable to-day as they were in 1865!

Copy A on p 261 is attached both

DRAFT NO. 3

Delegates to the Convention, and friends:

I have already indicated to you why I have decided to accept the nomination which you have so generously tendered to me -- in spite of my almost overwhelming desire to retire to the quiet and rest of private life.

You in this Convention are aware of what I have sought to gain for the nation, and you have asked me to continue a little longer.

It seems wholly likely that within the next four years our armed forces, and those of our Allies, will have gained a complete victory over Germany and Japan, and that the world once more will be at peace -- under a system, we hope, which will prevent a new world war. In any event, new hands will then have full opportunity to carry through the ideals which we are all now seeking to accomplish.

In the last three elections the people of the United States have transcended party affiliation. Not only Democrats alone but also forward looking Republicans and millions of independent voters have turned to progressive leadership -- a leadership which has consistently -- and with great success -- sought to advance the lot of the average American citizen who had been so consistently neglected during the period after the last war. I am confident that they will continue to look to that same kind of liberalism to build our economy for the future.

I am sure that you will understand me when I say that my decision, expressed to you formally tonight, is based not on any partisan call, but only on a sense of obligation to serve if called upon to do so by the people of the United States.

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For Kansas and California are becoming a part of all these distant spots as greatly as Massachusetts and Virginia were a part of the European picture in 1776. Insert A

Mankind changes the scope and breadth of its thought and vision slowly indeed. In the days of the Roman Empire and the early Middle Ages eyes were focused on Europe and the Mediterranean area. The existence of another civilization in the Far East was unknown. The American continents were unheard of.

Even after the people of Europe began to spill over to other continents, the people in North America we knew in our colonial days, even our Atlantic seaboard and a small portion of the other Americas, and their we turned most of the time for trade and international relationship to Europe and particularly to the colonizing powers. Africa then was considered only as the provider of human chattels. Asia was essentially unknown to us. Them.

Insert B

Not until this and the preceding generation, have people here and elsewhere been compelled more and more to widen the orbit of their vision to include every part of the world. It has been a wrench perhaps -- but a necessary one.

It is good that we are all getting that broader vision. For we shall need it after the war. The isolationists and ostriches who plagued our thinking before Pearl Harbor are

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To-day, Kansas and California are being defended in Normandy and Saipan; and they must be defended. Hard — for what happens in Normandy and Saipan ~~~~ vitally affects the ~~~~ security and well-being of Kansans and Californians.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

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becoming slowly extinct. The Amerian people know now that all nations of the world -- large and small -- will have to play their appropriate part in keeping the peace by force and in deciding peacefully the disputes which might lead to war.

We all know [in a military sense] how truly the world has become one -- ~~for~~ that if Germany and Japan were to come through this war with their philosophies established and their armies intact, our own grandchildren would again have to be fighting in their day [again] for their liberties and their lives.

Some day soon we shall all be able to fly to any other part of the world within twenty-four hours. Oceans will no longer figure greatly in our physical defense ~~///~~ as they have in the past.

For our own safety and for our own economic good -- if for no other more human reason -- we [will be compelled to] must take a leading part in the maintenance of peace and the increase of trade among all the nations of with the whole world.

That is why your Government has been studying the problems of the near future, and preparing itself to act after the war so that the people of the United States of America may constantly improve its standards, and may join with other nations in doing ~~likewise~~ the same.

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There are now working toward that end, the best staff in our history -- men and women of all parties and from every part of the nation.

I realize that planning is in some places a word which brings forth sneers. But it was planning before our entry into the war and after Pearl Harbor which made possible the magnificent organization and equipment of the Army and Navy of the United States which is fighting for us and for civilization today.

Improvement through planning is the order of the day. Even in military affairs things do not stand still. An Army or a Navy trained and equipped and fighting according to a 1932 model would not be a safe reliance in 1944. And improvement extends, if we are to progress in our civilization, to many other things -- physical things which are part of our daily lives, and to the concepts of social justice at home and abroad.

I am now at this naval base in the performance of my duties as Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces of the United States. The war waits for no elections. Decisions must be made -- plans must be laid -- strategy must be carried out -- and they do not merely concern merely a party or any group.

They will affect the daily lives of Americans for generations to come. The awful responsibility of ultimate decision belongs to the Commander-in-Chief -- no one else. And every day I pray to God for guidance and truth. No President -- worthy of the name -- has sought to divest himself of that responsibility which has been laid upon him under our Constitution. No President -- worthy of the name -- will.

What was the task before us in 1932? To restore order out of economic chaos, to start the dead wheels of industry and business and agriculture going again, to prevent abuses and exploitation, and to bring about a fairer distribution of the wealth of our land. The people of the United States in 1936 said that that job had been well done.

What was the task before us in 1936? To carry on recovery, to progress our reforms, to coordinate our social gains for the farmer, the laborer, the clerk, the small business man; to take our stand against the threat of new tyranny and aggression from abroad. The people of the United States in 1940 said that that job had been well done.

What was the task before us in 1940? To raise an Army and Navy the most powerful in the world, to equip them, to take our place with the decent nations of the world in behalf of Christian civilization against the barbarism of the Axis, to weather the storms of

INSERT E - PAGE #6

People should really learn the difference between tactics and strategy. Trained military and naval officers are solely responsible for the tactics of battle or campaign. Strategy encompasses the whole plan of a war, the broader aspects of offensive and defensive, including manpower and equipment, and partaking of necessity in many political and international decisions.

If officers disagree on strategy, it is necessary that there be some person vested with the duty of making a final decision. If the officers of two or more countries do not agree on major strategy in a world war, it falls upon the heads of governments to make final decisions. No President -- worthy of the name -- has sought to divest himself of that responsibility which has been laid upon him under our Constitution. This fact ought to be apparent to those who have studied history and government.

~~[illegible]~~

The American people have not forgotten the history of these last twelve years.

war for ourselves and for our Allies, to raise the food necessary to feed our vast armed forces all over the world, to keep a balanced economy at home, to prevent inflation, to carry the attack to our enemies and to begin to destroy their armies and navies.

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The people of the United States will decide this fall whether they wish to turn this 1944 job — this world-wide job — to inexperienced and immature hands, or to leave it to those who — without for a moment seeking to avoid the civilian responsibility for it — have designed the offensive and carried the war to its present stages of success, right of victory, to those who, by international conferences and joint actions of the heads of the four most powerful nations and by conferences of representatives of all the United Nations, have begun to build that kind of common understanding and

cooperative experience which will be so necessary in the world to come. (C)

They will not decide these things by reading glowing words or platform pledges -- the mouthings of politicians who are willing to promise anything and everything -- contradictions, inconsistencies, impossibilities -- anything which might snare a few votes here and a few votes there.

They will decide it on the record -- the record written at Midway and the Coral Sea, in the Marshalls and in the Marianas, in Alaska and in New Guinea, and in the air over Japan -- the record written in the skies over Germany, in the cold waters of the Atlantic, on the beaches of Normandy, in Africa, and in Sicily, and in Italy -- (D) in the records of the International Food Conference, of UNRRA, of the International Labor Conference, of the International Education Conference, of the International Monetary Conference -- in the record written in the Atlantic Charter, at Casablanca, at Cairo, at Moscow and at Teheran.

We have made mistakes. Who has not? ~~[illegible]~~ Things have not always been perfect. Are they ever, in human affairs? But the objective was always clear before us. And constantly we have made steady, sure progress toward that objective. The record is clear and unmistakeable as to that. for everyone to read.

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WASHINGTON

(C)

They will also decide this fall whether they will entrust the task of reconversion to a prosperous civilian economy when the war is over, to those who offered the solutions of the last war breadlines and apple ~~sales~~ selling and who finally led the human race plunge down to the abyss of 1932; or whether they will leave it to those who restored American business, agriculture, ~~labor~~ industry, finance and labor in 1933.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

, in the glorious, unparalleled assault across
~~over~~ the English channel
~~over the~~ and the
smashing of the so-called
~~unbreakable~~ walls of
~~the~~ Hitlers fortress of
Europe

The greatest war-time President in our history, after a war-time election which he called "the most reliable indication of the purpose in this country" set the goal for the United States in terms as applicable today as they were in 1865:

"With malice toward none; with charity for all; with firmness in the right, as God gives us to see the right, let us strive on to finish the workdwe are in; to bind up the nation's wounds; to care for him who shall have borne the battle, and for his widow, and his orphan -- to do all which may achieve and cherish a just and lasting peace among ourselves, and with all nations".

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In the last three elections the people of the United States have forgotten party affiliation -- for not Democrats alone but forward looking Republicans and millions of independent voters have turned to progressive leadership -- leadership which has sought to advance the lot of the average American citizen, who had been so consistently neglected in the entire period after the last war. I am confident that they will continue to look to that same kind of liberation to build our economy for the future.

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It is good that we are all getting that broader vision. For we shall need it after the war. The isolationists and ostriches who plagued our thinking before Pearl Harbor are

becoming extinct. The American people know now that all nations of the world -- large and small -- will have to play their appropriate part in keeping the peace by force and in deciding peacefully the disputes which might lead to war.

We all know in a military sense how truly the world has become one -- for if Germany and Japan were to come through this war with their philosophies established and their armies intact, our own grandchildren would have to be fighting in their day again for their liberties and their lives.

Some day soon we shall all be able to fly to any other part of the world within twenty-four hours. Oceans will no longer figure greatly in our physical defense -- as they have in the past.

For our own safety and for our own economic good -- if for no other more human reasons -- we will be compelled to take a leading part in the maintenance of peace and the increase of trade with the whole world.

That is why your Government has been studying the problems of the near future and preparing itself to act so that the people of the United States of America may constantly improve its standards, and join with other nations in doing likewise.

There are now working toward that end, the best staff in our history — men and women of all parties and from every part of the nation.

I realize that planning is in some places a word which brings forth sneers. But it was planning before our entry into the war and after Pearl Harbor which made possible the magnificent organization and equipment of the Army and Navy of the United States which is fighting for us and for civilization today.

Improvement through planning is the order of the day. Even in military affairs things do not stand still. An Army or a Navy trained and equipped and fighting according to a 1932 model would not be a safe reliance in 1944. And improvement extends, if we are to progress in our civilization, to many other things -- to physical things in our daily lives and to social justice at home and abroad.

I am now at this naval base in the performance of my duties as Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces of the United States. The war waits for no elections. Decisions must be made -- plans must be laid -- strategy must be carried out — and they are far more important than any party or any group.

They will affect the daily lives of Americans for generations to come. The awful responsibility of ultimate decision belongs to the Commander-in-Chief -- no one else. And every day I pray to God for guidance and truth. No President -- worthy of the name -- has sought to divest himself of that responsibility which has been laid upon him under our Constitution. No President -- worthy of the name -- can.

What was the task before us in 1932? To restore order out of economic chaos, to start the dead wheels of industry and business and agriculture going, to prevent abuses and exploitation, and to bring about a better distribution of the wealth of our land. The people of the United States in 1936 said that that job was well done.

What was the task before us in 1936? To carry on recovery, to progress our reforms, to coordinate our social gains for the farmer, the laborer, the clerk, the small business man; to take our stand against the new tyranny and aggression from abroad. The people of the United States in 1940 said that that job was well done.

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We all know how truly the world has become one -- that if Germany and Japan, for example, were to come through this war with their philosophies established and their armies intact, our own grandchildren would again have to be fighting in their day for their liberties and their lives.

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For our own safety and for our own economic good, — therefore, if for no other more human reason -- we must take a leading part in the maintenance of peace and in the increase of trade among all the nations of the whole world.

That is why your Government for many months has been laying plans and studying the problems of the near future, — and preparing itself to act after the war so that the people of the United States may not suffer hardships, may constantly improve its standards, and may join with other nations in doing the same. There are even now working toward that end, the best staff in our history -- men and women of all parties and from every part of the nation. I realize that planning is in some places a word which brings forth sneers. But, for example, before our entry into the war and after Pearl Harbor it was planning which made possible the magnificent organization and equipment of the Army and Navy of the United States which are fighting for us and for civilization today.

Improvement through planning is the order of the day. Even in military affairs things do not stand still. An Army or a Navy trained and equipped and fighting according to a 1932 model would not have been a safe reliance in 1944. And if we are to progress in our civilization, improvement is necessary in other things -- physical things which are part of our daily lives, and also in the concepts of social justice at home and abroad.

I am now at this naval base in the performance of my duties as Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces of the United States. The war waits for no elections. Decisions must be made -- plans must be laid -- strategy must be carried out. They do not concern merely a party or a group. They will affect the daily lives of Americans for generations to come.

The awful responsibility of ultimate decision belongs to the Commander-in-Chief -- no one else.

There is a great difference between tactics and strategy. It is the trained military and naval officers who are solely responsible for the tactics of battle or campaign. But strategy encompasses the whole plan of a war, the broader

aspects of the offensive and the defensive, including manpower and equipment and transportation and food -- the making, by necessity, of many political and international decisions.

(A) If our officers disagree on strategy, there must be some person vested with the duty and power of making a final decision. If the officers of two or more allied countries do not agree on major strategy in a world war, it falls upon the heads of their governments to make final decisions. No President -- worthy of the name -- has sought to divest himself of that responsibility which has been laid upon him by our Constitution. This fact ought to be apparent to those who have studied history and government.

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Insert 1936 and 1940 dropped by error

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(B)

The people of the United States will decide this fall whether they wish to turn this 1944 job -- this worldwide job -- to inexperienced and immature hands, or to leave it to those who have seized the offensive and carried the war to its present stages of success, to those who, by international conferences and united actions have begun to build that kind of common understanding and cooperative experience which will be so necessary in the world to come.

They will also decide this fall whether they will entrust the task of reconversion to a prosperous civilian economy when the war is over, to those who offered the veterans of the last war breadlines and apple selling and who finally led the American people down to the abyss of 1932; or whether they will leave it to those who rescued American business, agriculture, industry, finance and labor in 1933 -- and who have already made plans and adopted legislation to help our veterans resume their normal occupations in a well-ordered reconversion process. They will not decide these things by reading glowing words or platform pledges -- the mouthings of politicians who are willing to promise anything and everything -- contradictions inconsistencies, impossibilities -- anything which might snare a few votes here and a few votes there.

They will decide it on the record -- the record written at Midway and the Coral Sea, in the Marshalls and in the

Marianas, in Alaska and in New Guinea, and in the air over Japan -- the record written in the skies over Germany, in the cold waters of the Atlantic, on the beaches of Africa, and Sicily, and Italy, in the glorious unparalleled assault across the English channel and the smashing of the so-called unbreakable walls of Hitler's fortress of Europe, -- in the records of the International Food Conference, of UNRRA, of the International Labor Conference, of the International Education Conference, of the International Monetary Conference, -- they will decide it on the record written in the Atlantic Charter, at Casablanca, at Cairo, at Moscow and at Teheran.

We have made mistakes. Who has not? T

Things have not always been perfect. Are they ever, in human affairs? -- at home and abroad --

But the objective has always been clear before us. And constantly we have made steady, sure progress toward that objective. The record is clear and unmistakeable as to that -- for everyone to read.

The greatest war-time President in our history, after a war-time election which he called "the most reliable indication of the purpose in this country" set the goal for the United

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"With firmness in the right, as God gives us to see the right, let us strive on to finish the work we are in; to bind up the nation's wounds; to care for him who shall have borne the battle, and for his widow, and his orphan -- to do all which may achieve and cherish a just and lasting peace among ourselves, and with all nations".

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and salutations

May I add a personal word to you, my fellow Democrats, assembled in Chicago. We can all take pride in our contributions to American life at home and to the safety and security of the world beyond our borders. At times, there have been differences among ourselves but that is natural and healthy in a functioning democracy. Those differences have been with few exceptions, there has been no difference as to in fundamentals. The goals we set in 1932 have in part been accomplished. Others are on the way to fulfillment. The road has been hard, but the progress has been steady. The American people have approved — else we could have accomplished nothing.

And to my fellow Americans everywhere — at home and abroad — we may I point out that these periodic elections which we carry on in our blessed country are the bulwarks and safeguards of democracy. No one can talk of dictatorship for home so long as these elections form a part of American life. They are a picture of consider and envy to the less fortunate people of the world who do not enjoy the blessings of our freedom. This election But our enemies know that our elections — which are as natural to us as the air we breathe — our political fights and campaigns are not a sign of disunity or weakness. Rather they are an indication of inherent unity and

the American

Strength. For ~~the~~ they are a united ~~source~~ ~~strength~~ means by which the American people ~~can~~ find a medium to speak their will and determination as a free nation to the whole world. ~~That the~~ ~~world~~ That will and determination to a lasting peace and to a better world will, with the assistance of almighty God, prevail — so that the tragedy and the horror will not come again — so that peace and security and well being will follow ~~in the train of~~ our victory over the forces which seek again to destroy our lives, our liberties and our faith.

DRAFT NO. 4

Delegates to the Convention and friends:

I have already indicated to you why I accept the nominatmen which you have tendered to me -- in spite of my desire to retire to the quiet and rest of private life.

You in this Convention are aware of what I have sought to gain for the nation, and you have asked me to continue a little longer.

It seems wholly likely that within the next four years our armed forces, and those of our Allies, will have gained a complete victory over Germany and Japan, and that the world once more will be at peace -- under a system, we hope, which will prevent a new world war. In any event, new hands will then have full opportunity to carry through the ideals which we are all now seeking to accomplish.

In the last three elections the people of the United States have transcended party affiliation. Not only Democrats but also forward looking Republicans and millions of independent voters have turned to progressive leadership -- a leadership which has sought consistently -- and with fair success -- to advance the lot of the average American citizen who had been so neglected

during the period after the last war. I am confident that they will continue to look to that same kind of liberalism to build our economy for the future.

I am sure that you will understand me when I say that my decision, expressed to you formally tonight, is based not on any partisan call, but only on a sense of obligation to serve if called upon to do so by the people of the United States.

I shall not campaign in the usual sense, for the office. In these days of tragic sorrow, I do not consider it fitting. Besides, in these days of global warfare, I shall not be able to find the time. I shall, however, feel free to report to the people the facts about matters of concern to them and especially if the opposition should attempt at any time to misrepresent them.

During the past few days I have been coming across the whole width of the continent, to a naval base where I am speaking to you now from my train.

As I was crossing the fertile lands east of the Mississippi, and the wide plains in the center of our nation, and the great Western region, I could not fail to think of the fairly new relationship between the people of our farms and cities and villages and the people of the rest of the world

overseas -- on the Islands of the Pacific, the teaming millions of the Far East, and the other millions in the other Americas, in Britain and Normandy and Germany and Poland and Russia itself -- and on the whole African continent.

For Kansas and California are becoming a part of all these distant spots as greatly as Massachusetts and Virginia were a part of the European picture in 1776. Today, Kansas and California are being defended in Normandy and Saipan; and they must be defended there -- for what happens in Normandy and Saipan vitally affects the security and well-being of Kansans and Californians.

Mankind changes the scope and breadth of its thought and vision slowly indeed. In the days of the Roman Empire and the early Middle Ages eyes were focused on Europe and the Mediterranean area. The existence of another civilization in the Far East was unknown. The American continents were unheard of.

Even after the people of Europe began to spill over to other continents, the people in North America in colonial days knew only their Atlantic seaboard and a small portion of the other Americas, and they turned most of the time for trade and international relationship to Europe and particularly to the colonizing powers. Africa then was considered only as the provider

of human chattels. Asia was essentially unknown to them.

During the era of development and expansion on this continent we felt a natural isolation -- geographic, economic and political, from the vast world which lay overseas.

Not until this and the preceding generation, have people here and elsewhere been compelled more and more to widen the orbit of their vision to include every part of the world. It has been a wrench perhaps -- but a necessary one.

It is good that we are all getting that broader vision. For we shall need it after the war. The isolationists and ostriches who plagued our thinking before Pearl Harbor are becoming slowly extinct. The American people know now that all nations of the world -- large and small -- will have to play their appropriate part in keeping the peace by force and in deciding peacefully the disputes which might lead to war.

We all know how truly the world has become one -- that if Germany and Japan were to come through this war with their philosophies established and their armies intact, our own grandchildren would again have to be fighting in their day for their liberties and their lives.

Some day soon we shall all be able to fly to any other part of the world within twenty-four hours. Oceans will no longer figure as greatly in our physical defense as they have in the past.

For our own safety and for our own economic good -- if for no other more human reason -- we must take a leading part in the maintenance of peace and in the increase of trade among all the nations of the whole world.

That is why your Government for years has been laying plans and studying the problems of the near future, and preparing itself to act after the war so that the people of the United States of America may not suffer hardships, may constantly improve its standards, and may join with other nations in doing the same. There are even now working toward that end, the best staff in our history -- men and women of all parties and from every part of the nation. I realize that planning is in some places a word which brings forth sneers. But, for example, before our entry into the war and after Pearl Harbor it was planning which made possible the magnificent organization and equipment of the Army and Navy of the United States which are fighting for us and for civilization today.

Improvement through planning is the order of the day. Even in military affairs things do not stand still. An Army or a Navy trained and equipped and fighting according to a 1932 model would not have been a safe reliance in 1944. And if we are to progress in our civilization, improvement is necessary in other things -- physical things which are part of our daily lives, and also in the concepts of social justice at home and abroad.

I am now at this naval base in the performance of my duties as Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces of the United States. The war waits for no elections. Decisions must be made -- plans must be laid -- strategy must be carried out. They do not concern merely a party or a group. They will affect the daily lives of Americans for generations to come.

The awful responsibility of ultimate decision belongs to the Commander-in-Chief -- no one else.

There is a great difference between tactics and strategy. It is the trained military and naval officers who are solely responsible for the tactics of battle or campaign. But strategy encompasses the whole plan of a war, the broader

aspects of the offensive and the defensive, including manpower and equipment and transportation and food -- the making, by necessity, of many political and international decisions.

If our officers disagree on strategy, there must be some person vested with the duty and power of making a final decision. If the officers of two or more allied countries do not agree on major strategy in a world war, it falls upon the heads of their governments to make final decisions. No President -- worthy of the name -- has sought to divest himself of that responsibility which has been laid upon him by our Constitution. This fact ought to be apparent to those who have studied history and government.

The American people have not forgotten the history of these last twelve years.

What was the task before us in 1932? To restore order out of economic chaos, to start the dead wheels of industry and banking, of business and agriculture going again, to ~~xxxxxx~~ wipe out flagrant abuses and exploitation, and to bring about a fairer distribution of the wealth of our land. In 1936, the people of the United States said that that job had been well done.

What was the task before us in 1940? To raise the most powerful Army and Navy in the world, to equip them, to take our place with the decent nations of the world in behalf of Christian civilization against the barbarism of the Axis, to produce the weapons of war for ourselves and for our Allies, to raise the food necessary to feed our vast armed forces all over the world, to keep a balanced economy at home, to prevent inflation, to carry the attack to our enemies and to begin to destroy their armies and navies.

In 1944, the people of the United States will say that this is a job which has been well done.

What is the job before us in 1944? First, to win the war -- to win it fast, to win it overpoweringly. Second, to form worldwide international organizations, and to arrange to use the forces of the sovereign nations of the world to make another war impossible within the foreseeable future. Third, to build an economy for our returning veterans and for all Americans -- which will provide employment and decent standards of living.

The people of the United States will decide this fall whether they wish to turn this 1944 job -- this worldwide job -- to inexperienced and immature hands, or to leave it to those who have seized the offensive and carried the war to its present stages of success, to those who, by international conferences and united actions have begun to build that kind of common understanding and cooperative experience which will be so necessary in the world to come.

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DRAFT NO. 5

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I have already indicated to you why I accept the nomination which you have tendered to me -- in spite of my desire to retire to the quiet and rest of private life.

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It seems wholly likely that within the next four years our armed forces, and those of our Allies, will have gained a complete victory over Germany and Japan, and that the world once more will be at peace -- under a system, we hope, which will prevent a new world war. In any event, new hands will then have full opportunity to carry through the ideals which we are all now seeking to accomplish.

In the last three elections thepeople of the United States have transcended party affiliation. Not only Democrats but also forward looking Republicans and millions of independent voters have turned to progressive leadership -- a leadership which has sought consistently -- and with fair success -- to advance the lot of the average American citizen who had been so

neglected during the period after the last war. I am confident that they will continue to look to that same kind of liberalism to build our economy for the future.

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We all know how truly the world has become one — that if Germany and Japan, for example, were to come through this war with their philosophies established and their armies intact, our own

grandchildren would again have to be fighting in their day for their liberties and their lives.

Some day soon we shall all be able to fly to any other part of the world within twenty-four hours. Oceans will no longer figure as greatly in our physical defense as they have in the past. For our own safety and for our own economic good, therefore, -- if for no other more human reason -- we must take a leading part in the maintenance of peace and in the increase of trade among all the nations of the whole world.

That is why your Government for many months has been laying plans and studying the problems of the near future -- preparing itself to act so that the people of the United States may not suffer hardships after the war, may continue constantly to improve its standards, and may join with other nations in doing the same. There are even now working toward that end, the best staff in our history -- men and women of all parties and from every part of the nation. I realize that planning is a word which in some places brings forth sneers. But, for example, before our entry into the war and after Pearl Harbor it was planning which made possible the magnificent organization and

equipment of the Army and Navy of the United States which are fighting for us and for civilization today.

Improvement through planning is the order of the day. Even in military affairs things do not stand still. An Army or a Navy trained and equipped and fighting according to a 1932 model would not have been a safe reliance in 1944. And if we are to progress in our civilization, improvement is necessary in other things -- physical things which are part of our daily lives, and also in the concepts of social justice at home and abroad.

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Officers must be selected for the supreme command of the Army and the Navy -- as well as for command in the different theatres. Decision must be made between the heads of Allied Governments as to who will be in command of operations in an area and who will be subordinate.

If our officers disagree on strategy, there must be some person vested with the duty and power of making a final decision. If the officers of two or more allied countries do not agree on major strategy in a world war, it falls upon the heads of their governments to make final decisions. No President -- worthy of the name -- has sought to divest himself of that responsibility which has been laid upon him by our Constitution.

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What was the task before us in 1932? To restore order out of economic chaos, to save American homes and farms, to start the dead wheels of industry and banking, of business and agriculture going again, to wipe out flagrant abuses and exploitation, and to bring about a fairer distribution of wealth in our land.

In 1936, the people of the United States said that that job had been well done.

What was the task before us in 1936? To carry on recovery, to progress our reforms, to coordinate our social gains for the farmer; the laborer, the clerk, the small business man; to take our stand against the threat of new tyranny and agression from abroad.

In 1940, the people of the United States said that that job had been well done.

What was the task before us in 1940? To raise the most powerful Army and Navy in the world, to equip them, to take our place with the decent nations of the world in behalf of Christian civilization against the barbarism of the Axis, to produce the weapons of war for ourselves and for our Allies, to raise the food necessary to feed our vast armed forces all over the world, to keep a balanced economy at home, to prevent inflation, to carry the attack to our enemies and to begin to destroy their armies and navies.

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The people of the United States will decide this fall whether they wish to turn this 1944 job -- this worldwide job -- to inexperienced and immature hands, to those who opposed lend lease and international cooperation against the forces of aggression and tyranny, until they could read the polls of popular sentiment, or to leave it to those who saw the danger from abroad, who met it head-on, and who now have seized the offensive and carried the war to its present stages of success, to those who, by international conferences and united actions have begun to build that kind of common understanding and cooperative experience which will be so necessary in the world to come.

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They will decide it on the record of domestic accomplishments in recovery and reform since March 4, 1933.

They will decide it on the records of our war production and food production unparalleled in all history -- in spite of the doubts and sneers of those in high places who said it could not be done.

They will decide it on the records of the International Food Conference, of UNRRA, of the International Labor Conference, of the International Education Conference, of the International Monetary Conference. They will decide it on the record written in the Atlantic Charter, at Casablanca, at Cairo, at Moscow and at Teheran.

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