
**Franklin D. Roosevelt — “The Great Communicator”
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**Address to the International Brotherhood of
Teamsters**

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INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

INTERNATIONAL TEAMSTERS' UNION DINNER

SEPTEMBER 23, 1944

I am very happy in the informality of this dinner with old friends of mine. This is not the first time we have met together on this basis. I am also particularly happy that this national campaign opens in your presence, as it did four years ago, for I do not mind mentioning the fact that Dan Tobin and I are just a little bit superstitious.

SPEECH OF THE PRESIDENT
INTERNATIONAL TEAMSTERS' UNION DINNER
STATLER HOTEL
SEPTEMBER 23, 1944

Well, here we are together again -- after four years -- and what years they have been! I am actually four years older -- which seems to annoy some people. In fact, millions of us are more than eleven years older than when we started in to clear up the ^{mess that was} ~~debris~~ dumped in our laps in 1933.

We all know certain people who make it a practice to depreciate the accomplishments of labor -- who even attack labor as unpatriotic. They keep this up usually for three years and six months. But then, for some strange reason, they change their tune -- every four years -- just before election day. When votes are at stake, they suddenly discover that they really love labor, and are eager to protect it from its old friends.

I got quite a laugh, for example -- and I am sure that you did -- when I read this plank in the Republican platform adopted at their National Convention in Chicago last July:

"The Republican party accepts the purposes of the National Labor Relations Act, the Wage and Hour Act, the Social Security Act and all other Federal statutes designed to promote and protect the welfare of American working men and women, and we promise a fair and just administration of these laws".

Many of the Republican leaders and Congressmen and candidates, who shouted enthusiastic approval of that plank in that Convention Hall would not even recognize these progressive laws, if they met them in broad daylight. Indeed, they have personally spent years of effort and energy -- and much money -- in fighting every one of those laws in the Congress, in the press, and in the courts, ever since this Administration began to advocate them and enact them into legislation. That is a fair example of their ⁱⁿsincerity and ⁱⁿconsistency.



The whole purpose of Republican oratory these days seems to be to switch labels. The object is to persuade the American people that the Democratic party was responsible for the 1929 crash and depression, and that the Republican party was responsible for all social progress under the New Deal.

Imitation may be the sincerest form of flattery -- but I am afraid that in this case it is the most obvious common or garden variety of fraud.

There are enlightened, liberal elements in the Republican party, and they have fought hard and honorably to bring the party up to date and to get it in step with the forward march of American progress. But these liberal elements were not able to drive the Old Guard Republicans from their entrenched positions.

Can the Old Guard pass itself off as the New Deal?

I think not.

We have all seen many marvelous stunts in the circus, but no performing elephant could turn a hand-spring without falling flat on his back.

I need not recount to you the centuries of history which have been crowded into these four years since I saw you last.

There were some -- in the Congress and out -- who raised their voices against our preparations for defense -- before and after 1939 -- as hysterical war mongering, who cried out against our help to the Allies as provocative and dangerous. We remember the voices. They would like to have us forget them now. But in 1940 and 1941 they were loud voices. Happily they were a minority and -- fortunately for ourselves, and for the world -- they could not stop America.

There are some politicians who kept their heads buried deep in the sand while the storms of Europe and Asia were headed our way, who said that the lend-lease bill "would bring an end to free government in the United States", and who said "only hysteria entertains the idea that Germany, Italy or Japan contemplate war upon us". These very men are now asking the American people to intrust to them the conduct of our foreign policy and our military policy.

What the Republican leaders are now saying in effect is this: "Oh, just forget what we used to say, we have changed our minds now -- we have been reading the public opinion polls about these things, and we now know what the American people want. Don't leave the task of making the peace to those old men who first urged it, and who have already laid the foundations for it, and who have had to fight all of us inch by inch during the last five years to do it -- just turn it all over to us. We'll do it so skillfully -- that we won't lose a single isolationist vote or a single isolationist campaign contribution".

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There is one thing I am too old for -- I cannot talk out of both sides of my mouth at the same time.

~~The government~~
~~Me,~~ welcomes all sincere supporters of the cause of effective world collaboration in the making of a lasting peace. Millions of Republicans all over the nation are with us -- and have been with us -- in our unshakeable determination to build the solid structure of peace. And they too will resent this campaign talk by those who first woke up to the facts of international life a few short months ago -- when they began to study the polls of public opinion.

Those who today have the military responsibility for waging this war in all parts of the globe are not helped by the statements of men who, without responsibility and without knowledge of the facts, lecture the Chiefs of Staff of the United States as to the best means of dividing our armed forces and our military resources between the Atlantic and Pacific, between the Army and the Navy, and among the Commanding Generals of the different theatres of war.

When I addressed you four years ago, I said: "I know that America will never be disappointed in its expectation that labor will always continue to do its share of the job we now face, and do it patriotically and effectively and unselfishly".

Today we know that America has not been disappointed. In his Order of the Day when the allied armies first landed in Normandy General Eisenhower said: "Our home fronts have given us overwhelming superiority in weapons and munitions of war".

I know that there are those labor baiters among the opposition who, instead of calling attention to the achievements of labor in this war, prefer to pick on the occasional strikes which have occurred -- strikes which have been condemned by every responsible national labor leader -- every national leader except one. And that one labor leader, incidentally, is certainly not among my supporters.

Labor-baiters forget that, at our peak, American labor and management have turned out airplanes at the rate of 109,000 per year; tanks -- 57,000 per year; combat vessels -- 573 per year; landing vessels -- 31,000 per year; cargo ships -- 19 million tons per year; and small arms ammunition -- 23 billion rounds per year.

But a strike is news, and generally appears in shrieking headlines -- and, of course, they say labor is always to blame. The fact is that, since Pearl Harbor, only one-tenth of one per cent of man-hours have been lost by strikes.

But even those candidates who burst out in election-year affection for social legislation and for labor in general still think you ought to be good boys and stay out of politics. And above all, they hate to see any working man or woman contribute a dollar bill to any wicked political party. Of course, it is all right for large financiers and industrialists and monopolists to contribute tens of thousands of dollars --

but their solicitude for that dollar which the men and women in the ranks of labor contribute is always very touching.

They are, of course, perfectly willing to let you vote -- unless you happen to be a soldier or sailor overseas, or a merchant seaman carrying the munitions of war. In that case they have made it pretty hard for you to vote -- for there are some political candidates who think they may have a chance if only the ^{total} vote is small enough.

And while I am on the subject of voting let me urge every American citizen -- man and woman -- to use your sacred privilege of voting, no matter which candidate you expect to support. Our millions of soldiers and sailors and merchant seamen have been handicapped or prevented from voting by those politicians and candidates who think they stand to lose by such votes. You here at home have the freedom of the ballot. Irrespective of party you should register and vote this November. That is a matter of good citizenship.

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Words come easily, but they do not change the record. You are old enough to remember what things were like for labor in 1932.

You remember the closed banks and the breadlines and the starvation wages; the foreclosures of homes and farms, and the bankruptcies of business; the "Hoovervilles", and the young men and women of the nation facing a hopeless, jobless future; the closed factories and mines and mills; the ruined and abandoned farms; the stalled railroads and the empty docks; the blank despair of a whole nation -- and the utter impotence of our Federal Government.

You remember the long hard road, with its gains and its setbacks, which we have traveled together since those days.

Now there are some politicians, of course, who do not remember that far back, and some who remember but find it convenient to forget. But the record is not to be washed away that easily.

The opposition has already imported into this campaign the propaganda technique invented by the dictators abroad. The technique was all set out in Hitler's book -- and it was copied by the aggressors of Italy and Japan. According to that technique, you should never use a small falsehood; always a big one, for its very fantastic nature will make it more credible -- if only you keep repeating it over and over again.

For example, although I rubbed my eyes when I read it, we have been told that it was not a Republican depression, but a Democratic depression from which this nation has been saved -- that this Administration is responsible for all the suffering and misery that the history books and the American people always thought had been brought about during the twelve ill-fated years when the Republican party was in power.

Now, there is an old and somewhat lugubrious adage which says: "Never speak of rope in the house of one who has been hanged". In the same way, if I were a Republican leader speaking to a ~~Republican~~ audience, the last word in

the whole dictionary that I think I would use is that word "depression".

For another example, I learned -- much to my amazement -- that the policy of this Administration was to keep men in the Army when the war was over, because there might be no jobs for them in civil life.

Why, the very day that this fantastic charge was first made, a formal plan for the method of speedy discharge from the Army had already been announced by the War Department -- a plan based upon the ^{wishes} ~~wishes~~ of the soldiers themselves.

This callous and brazen falsehood about demobilization was an effort to stimulate fear among American mothers, wives and sweethearts. And, incidentally, it was hardly calculated to bolster the morale of our soldiers and sailors and airmen fighting our battles all over the world.

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Perhaps the most ridiculous of these campaign falsifications is the one that this Administration failed to prepare for the war which was coming. I doubt whether even Goebbels would have tried that one. For even he would never have dared hope that the voters of America had already forgotten that many of the Republican leaders in the Congress and outside the Congress tried to thwart and block nearly every attempt which this Administration made to warn our people and to arm this nation. Some of them called our 50,000 airplane program fantastic. Many of those very same leaders who fought every defense measure we proposed are still in control of the Republican Party, were in control of its National Convention in Chicago, and would be in control of the machinery of the Congress and of the Republican Party in the event of a Republican victory this fall.

These Republican leaders have not been content with attacks upon me, or my wife, or my sons -- they now include my little dog, Fala. Unlike the members of my family, he resents this. Being a Scottie, as soon as he learned that the Republican fiction-writers had concocted a story that I had left him behind on an Aleutian Island and had sent a destroyer back to find him -- at a cost to the taxpayers of two or three or twenty million dollars -- his Scotch soul was furious. He has not been the same dog since. I am accustomed to hearing malicious falsehoods about myself -- such as that old, worm-eaten chestnut that I have represented myself as indispensable. But I think I have a right to object to libelous statements about my dog.

But we all recognize the old technique. The people of this country know the past too well to be deceived into forgetting. Too much is at stake to forget. There are tasks ahead of us which we must now complete with the same will and skill and intelligence and devotion which have already led us so far on the road to victory.

There is the task of finishing victoriously this most terrible of all wars as speedily as possible and with the least cost in lives.

There is the task of setting up international machinery to assure that the peace, once established, will not again be broken.

And there is the task which we face here at home -- the task of reconvertng our economy from the purposes of war to the purposes of peace.

These peace-building tasks were faced once before, nearly a generation ago. They were botched by a Republican Administration. That must not happen this time. We will not let it happen this time.

Fortunately, we do not begin from scratch. Much has been done. Much more is under way. The fruits of victory this time will not be apples to be sold on street corners.

Many months ago, this Administration set up the necessary machinery for an orderly peace-time demobilization. The Congress has now passed legislation continuing the agencies needed for demobilization -- with additional powers to carry out their functions.

I know that the American people -- business and labor and agriculture -- have the same will to do for peace what they have done for war. And I know that they can sustain a national income which will assure full production and full employment under our democratic system of private enterprise, with government encouragement and aid whenever and wherever it is necessary.

The keynote of all that we propose to do in reconversion can be found in the one word -- "jobs".

We shall lease or dispose of our government-owned plants and facilities and our surplus war property and land, on the basis of how they can best be operated by private enterprise to give jobs to the greatest number.

We shall follow a wage policy which will sustain the purchasing power of labor -- for that means more production and more jobs.

The present policies on wages and prices were conceived to serve the needs of the great masses of the people. They stopped inflation. They kept prices on a stable level. Through the demobilization period, policies will be carried out with the same objective in mind -- to serve the needs of the great masses of the people.

This is not the time in which men can be forgotten as they were in the Republican catastrophe which we inherited. The returning soldiers, the workers by their machines, the farmers in the field, the miners, the men and women in offices and shops, do not intend to be forgotten.

They know they are not surplus. Because they know that they are America.

We must set targets and objectives for the future which will seem impossible to those who live in and are weighted down by the dead past.

We are even now organizing the logistics of the peace just as Marshall, King, Arnold, MacArthur, Eisenhower and Nimitz are organizing the logistics of this war.

The victory of the American people and their Allies in this war will be far more than a victory against fascism and reaction and the dead hand of despotism and of the past. The victory of the American people and their Allies in this war will be a victory for democracy. It will constitute such an affirmation of the strength and power and vitality of government by the people as history has never before witnessed.

With that affirmation of the vitality of democratic government behind us, that demonstration of its resilience and its capacity for decision and for action -- with that knowledge of our own strength and power -- we move forward with God's help to the greatest epoch of free achievement by free men the world has ever known or imagined possible.

Orig. reading copy -

Franklin D. Roosevelt

ADDRESS Of The President
At The Dinner Given By The
International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs,
Warehousemen and Helpers of America
At The Statler Hotel, Washington, D. C.
September 23, 1944
at 9.30 p.m., e.w.t.
Broadcast Nationally

(after being introduced by Daniel Tobin, a
tremendous ovation was given the President)

Mr. Tobin -- I should say Dan, I always have -- ladies
and gentlemen. I am very much touched, and I am very happy in
your applause, and very happy at the informalities of this dinner
with old friends of mine. (applause) You know -- you know, this
is not the first time that we have met together on this basis,
and I am particularly happy that this national campaign opens in
your presence as it did four years ago. (applause) And I don't
mind mentioning the fact that Dan Tobin and I are just a little
bit superstitious. (applause)

Well, here we are -- here we are (together) again --
after four years -- and what years they have been! You know, I
am actually four years older -- (laughter) -- which is a fact
that seems to annoy some people. (more laughter) In fact, in
the mathematical field there are millions of Americans who (us)
are more than eleven years older than when we started in to
clear up the mess that was dumped in our laps in 1933.
(applause)

Franklin D. Roosevelt Library

This is a transcript made by the White House stenographer from his shorthand notes taken at the time the speech was made. Underlining indicates words extemporaneously added to the previously prepared reading copy text. Words in parentheses are words that were omitted when the speech was delivered, though they appear in the previously prepared reading copy text.

We all know that certain people who make it a practice to depreciate the accomplishments of labor -- who even attack labor as unpatriotic -- they keep this up usually for three years and six months in a row. But then, for some strange reason -- (laughter) -- they change their tune -- every four years -- just before election day. (more laughter) When votes are at stake, they suddenly discover that they really love labor -- (more laughter) -- and that they are anxious (eager) to protect labor (it) from its old friends. (continued laughter)

I got quite a laugh, for example -- and I am sure that you did -- when I read this plank in the Republican platform adopted at their National Convention in Chicago last July:

"The Republican party accepts the purposes of the National Labor Relations Act, the Wage and Hour Act, the Social Security Act and all other Federal statutes designed to promote and protect the welfare of American working men and women, and we promise a fair and just administration of these laws."
(laughter)

You know, many of the Republican leaders and Congressmen and candidates, who shouted enthusiastic approval of that plank in that Convention Hall would not even recognize these progressive laws, if they met them in broad daylight. (more laughter) Indeed, they have personally spent years of effort and energy -- and much money -- in fighting every one of those laws in the Congress, and in the press, and in the courts, ever since this Administration began to advocate them and enact them into legislation. That is a fair example of their

insincerity and of their inconsistency. (more laughter)

The whole purpose of Republican oratory these days seems to be to switch labels. The object is to persuade the American people that the Democratic party was responsible for the 1929 crash and the depression, and that the Republican party was responsible for all social progress under the New Deal.
(continued laughter)

Now, imitation may be the sincerest form of flattery -- but I am afraid -- I am afraid that in this case it is the most obvious common or garden variety of fraud. (more laughter, and applause)

Of course, it is perfectly true that there are enlightened, liberal elements in the Republican party, and they have fought hard and honorably to bring the party up to date and to get it in step with the forward march of American progress. But these liberal elements were not able to drive the Old Guard Republicans from their entrenched positions.

Can the Old Guard pass itself off as the New Deal?
(laughter)

I think not. (more laughter)

We have all seen many marvelous stunts in the circus, but no performing elephant could turn a hand-spring without falling flat on his back. (laughter, cheers and applause)

I need not recount to you the centuries of history which have been crowded into these four years since I saw you last.

There were some -- in the Congress and out -- who

raised their voices against our preparations for defense -- before and after 1939 -- objected to them, raised their voices against them as hysterical war mongering, who cried out against our help to the Allies as provocative and dangerous. We remember the voices. They would like to have us forget them now. But in 1940 and 1941 -- my, it seems a long time ago -- they were loud voices. Happily they were a minority and -- fortunately for ourselves, and for the world -- they could not stop America. (cheers and applause)

There are some politicians who kept their heads buried deep in the sand while the storms of Europe and Asia were headed our way, who said that the lend-lease bill "would bring an end -- and I am quoting -- to free government in the United States," and who said, and I am quoting, "only hysteria entertains the idea that Germany, Italy or Japan contemplate war on (upon) us." These men -- these very men are now asking the American people to intrust to them the conduct of our foreign policy and our military policy.

What the Republican leaders are now saying in effect is this: "Oh, just forget what we used to say, we have changed our minds now -- we have been reading the public opinion polls about these things -- (laughter) -- and (we) now we know what the American people want." (more laughter) And they say: "Don't leave the task of making the peace to those old men who first urged it -- (laughter) -- and who have already laid the foundations for it, and who have had to fight all of us inch by inch during the last five years to do it. Why, just turn it all

over to us. We'll do it so skilfully -- that we won't lose a single isolationist vote or a single isolationist campaign contribution." (laughter, cheers and applause)

I think there is one thing that you know, I am too old for that. I cannot talk out of both sides of my mouth at the same time. (more laughter, cheers and applause)

The (This) Government -- the Government of the United States welcomes all sincere supporters of the cause of effective world collaboration in the making of a lasting peace. Millions of Republicans all over the nation are with us -- and have been with us -- in our unshakeable determination to build the solid structure of peace. And they too will resent this campaign -- this campaign talk by those who first woke up to the facts of international life a few short months ago -- (laughter) -- when -- when they began to study the polls of public opinion. (more laughter, cheers and applause)

Those who today have the military responsibility for waging this war in all parts of the globe are not helped by the statements of men who, without responsibility and without the knowledge of the facts, lecture the Chiefs of Staff of the United States as to the best means of dividing our armed forces and our military resources between the Atlantic and Pacific, between the Army and the Navy, and among the Commanding Generals of the different theatres of war. And I may say that those Commanding Generals are making good in a big way. (cheers and applause)

When I addressed you four years ago, I said this. I said, "I know that America will never be disappointed in its

expectation that labor will always continue to do its share of the job -- the job we now face, and do it patriotically and effectively and unselfishly." (cheers and applause)

Today we know that America has not been disappointed. In his Order of the Day when the Allied Armies first landed in Normandy two months ago, General Eisenhower said: "Our home fronts have given us overwhelming superiority in weapons and munitions of war." (cheers and applause)

The country knows that there is a breed of cats, luckily not too numerous, called labor-baiters. I know that (there are) those labor-baiters among the opposition (who) are there, but who instead of calling attention to the achievements of labor in this war, prefer to pick on the occasional strikes that (which) have occurred -- strikes that (which) have been condemned by every responsible national labor leader. (cheers and applause) I ought to say, parenthetically, all but one. (more laughter, cheers and applause) (-- every national leader except one) And that one labor leader, incidentally, is (certainly) not conspicuous among my supporters. (more laughter)

Labor-baiters forget that at our peak American labor and management have turned out airplanes at the rate of 109,000 a (per) year; tanks -- 57,000 a (per) year; combat vessels -- 573 a (per) year; landing vessels, to get the troops ashore -- 31,000 a (per) year; cargo ships -- 19 million tons a (per) year -- (cheers and applause) -- and Henry Kaiser is here tonight, I am glad to say -- (more cheers and applause); and small arms ammunition -- oh, I can't understand it, I don't believe you

can, either -- 23 billion rounds a (per) year.

But a strike is news, and generally appears in shrieking headlines -- and, of course, they say labor is always to blame. The fact is that since Pearl Harbor only one-tenth of one percent of manhours have been lost by strikes. Can you beat that? (prolonged cheers and applause)

But, you know, even those candidates who burst out in election year -- election-year affection for social legislation and for labor in general, still think that you ought to be good boys and stay out of politics. (laughter) And above all, they hate to see any working man or woman contribute a dollar bill to any wicked political party. (more laughter) Of course, it is all right for large financiers and industrialists and monopolists to contribute tens of thousands of dollars -- but their solicitude for that dollar which the men and women in the ranks of labor contribute is always very touching. (more laughter)

They are, of course, perfectly willing to let you vote -- unless you happen to be a soldier or a sailor overseas, or a merchant seaman carrying the munitions of war. In that case they have made it pretty hard for you to vote at all -- for there are some political candidates who think that they may have a chance of election, if only the total vote is small enough. (laughter and applause)

And while I am on the subject of voting, let me urge every American citizen -- man and woman -- to use your sacred privilege of voting, no matter which candidate you expect to support. Our millions of soldiers and sailors and merchant

seamen have been handicapped or prevented from voting by those politicians, those (and) candidates who think that they stand to lose by such votes. You here at home have the freedom of the ballot. Irrespective of party, you should register and vote this November. I think that is a matter of plain good citizenship.

Words come easily, but they do not change the record. You are, most of you, old enough to remember what things were like for labor in 1932.

You remember the closed banks and the breadlines and the starvation wages; the foreclosures of homes and farms, and the bankruptcies of business; the "Hoovervilles," and the young men and women of the nation facing a hopeless, jobless future; the closed factories and mines and mills; the ruined and abandoned farms; the stalled railroads, (and) the empty docks; the blank despair of a whole nation -- and the utter impotence of the (our) Federal Government.

You remember the long hard road, with its gains and its setbacks, which we have traveled together ever since those days.

Now there are some politicians (of course) who do not remember that far back -- (laughter) -- and there are some who remember but find it convenient to forget. No, (But) the record is not to be washed away that easily.

The opposition in this year has already imported into this campaign a very interesting thing, because it is foreign. They have imported the propaganda technique invented by the

dictators abroad. Remember, a number of years ago, there was a book Mein Kampf written by Hitler himself. The technique was all set out in Hitler's book -- and it was copied by the aggressors of Italy and Japan. According to that technique, you should never use a small falsehood; always a big one -- (laughter) -- for its very fantastic nature would (will) make it more credible -- if only you keep repeating it over and over and over again. (more laughter, and applause)

Well, let us take some simple illustrations that come to mind. For example, although I rubbed my eyes when I read it, we have been told that it was not a Republican depression, but a Democratic depression from which this nation was (has been) saved in 1933 -- that this Administration -- this one -- today -- is responsible for all the suffering and misery that the history books and the American people have always thought had been brought about during the twelve ill-fated years when the Republican party was in power. (applause)

Now, there is an old and somewhat lugubrious adage which says: "Never speak of a rope in the house of a man (one) who has been hanged." (laughter) In the same way, if I were a Republican leader speaking to a mixed audience, the last word in the whole dictionary that I think I would use is that word "depression." (more laughter, and applause)

You know, they pop up all the time. For another example, I learned -- much to my amazement -- that the policy of this Administration was to keep men in the Army when the war was over, because there might be no jobs for them in civil

life. (laughter)

Well, (Why) the very day that this fantastic charge was first made, a formal plan for the method of speedy discharge from the Army had already been announced by the War Department -- a plan based on (upon) the wishes of the soldiers themselves.

This callous and brazen falsehood about demobilization did, of course, a very simple thing, it was an effort to stimulate fear among American mothers and wives and sweethearts. And, incidentally, it was hardly calculated to bolster the morale of our soldiers and sailors and airmen who are fighting our battles all over the world.

But perhaps the most ridiculous of these campaign falsifications is the one that this Administration failed to prepare for the war that (which) was coming. I doubt whether even Goebbels would have tried that one. (laughter and applause) For even he would never have dared hope that the voters of America had already forgotten that many of the Republican leaders in the Congress and outside the Congress tried to thwart and block nearly every attempt that (which) this Administration made to warn our people and (to) arm our (this) nation. (cheers and applause) Some of them called our 50,000 airplane program fantastic. Many of those very same leaders who fought every defense measure that we proposed are still in control of the Republican party -- look at their names -- were in control of its National Convention in Chicago, and would be in control of the machinery of the Congress and of the Republican party, in the event of a Republican victory this fall.

These Republican leaders have not been content with attacks on (upon) me, or my wife, or on my sons. No, not content with that they now include my little dog, Fala. (prolonged laughter, cheers and applause) Well, of course, I don't resent attacks, and my family don't resent attacks, but Fala does resent them. (more laughter, cheers and applause) You know -- you know, Fala is Scotch, and (Unlike the members of my family, he resents this). being a Scottie, as soon as he learned that the Republican fiction-writers in Congress and out had concocted a story that I had left him behind on the (an) Aleutian Islands and had sent a destroyer back to find him -- at a cost to the taxpayers of two or three, or eight or twenty million dollars -- his Scotch soul was furious. (continued laughter and applause) He has not been the same dog since. (again more laughter and applause) I am accustomed to hearing malicious falsehoods about myself -- such as that old, worm-eaten chestnut that I have represented myself as indispensable. But I think I have a right to resent, to object to libelous statements about my dog. (more laughter and applause)

Well, I think (But) we all recognize the old technique. The people of this country know the past too well to be deceived into forgetting. Too much is at stake to forget. There are tasks ahead of us which we must now complete with the same will and the same skill and intelligence and devotion that (which) have already led us so far along (on) the road to victory.

There is the task of finishing victoriously this most terrible of all wars as speedily as possible and with the

least cost in lives.

There is the task of setting up international machinery to assure (that) the peace, once established, will not again be broken.

And there is the task that (which) we face here at home -- the task of reconverting our economy from the purposes of war to the purposes of peace.

These peace-building tasks were faced once before, nearly a generation ago. They were botched -- (spelling): b-o-t-c-h-e-d -- they were botched by a Republican administration. That must not happen this time. We will not let it happen this time. (cheers and applause)

Fortunately, we do not begin from scratch. Much has been done. Much more is under way. The fruits of victory this time will not be apples (to be) sold on street corners. (cheers and applause)

Many months ago -- many months ago, this Administration set up (the) necessary machinery for an orderly peace-time demobilization. The Congress has (now) passed much more legislation continuing the agencies needed for demobilization -- with additional powers to carry out their functions.

I know that the American people -- business and labor and agriculture -- have the same will to do for peace what they have done for war. (cheers and applause) And I know that they can sustain a national income that (which) will assure full production and full employment under our democratic system of private enterprise, with Government encouragement and aid

whenever and wherever that (it) is necessary.

The keynote back of all this literature that we read,
the keynote of all that we propose to do in reconversion can be
found in the one word jobs. (applause)

We shall lease or dispose of our Government-owned
plants and facilities and our surplus war property and land, on
the basis of how they can best be operated by private enterprise
to give jobs to the greatest number. (cheers and applause)

We shall follow a wage policy that (which) will sustain
the purchasing power of labor -- for that means more production
and more jobs. (cheers and applause)

You and I know that the present policies on wages and
prices were conceived to serve the needs of the great masses of
the people. They stopped inflation. They kept prices on a
relatively stable level. Through the demobilization period,
policies will be carried out with the same objective in mind --
to serve the needs of the great masses of the people.

This is not the time in which men can be forgotten as
they were in the Republican catastrophe that (which) we
inherited. The returning soldiers, the workers by their machines,
the farmers in the field, the miners, the men and women in of-
fices and shops, do not intend to be forgotten. (cheers and
applause)

No, they know that they are not surplus. Because they
know that they are America. (applause)

We must set targets and objectives for the future
which will seem impossible -- like the airplanes -- to

those who live in and are weighted down by the dead past.
(cheers and applause)

And for months -- and today and in the future we are working and will continue to put forth (We are even now organizing) the logistics of the peace, just as Marshall and King and Arnold, MacArthur, Eisenhower and Nimitz are organizing the logistics of this war. (cheers and applause)

I think that the victory of the American people and their Allies in this war will be far more than a victory against fascism and reaction and the dead hand of despotism (and) of the past. The victory of the American people and their Allies in this war will be a victory for democracy. It will constitute such an affirmation of the strength and power and vitality of government by the people as history has never before witnessed.
(cheers and applause)

And so, my friends, we have had (With that) affirmation of the vitality of democratic government behind us, that demonstration of its resilience and its capacity for decision and for action -- we have (with) that knowledge of our own strength and power -- we move forward with God's help to the greatest epoch of free achievement by free men that the world has ever known.
(or imagined possible.)

(prolonged cheers and applause)

STATEMENTS FILE

HOLD FOR RELEASE

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SEPTEMBER 25, 1944

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CARE MUST BE EXERCISED TO PREVENT IMPERATURE PUBLICATION.

STEPHEN EARLY
Secretary to the President

INSERT

is a fact that
Well, here we are ~~again~~ *here we are* again -- after four years -- and what years they have been! I am actually four years older which seems to annoy some people. *in fact, millions of people are more than eleven years older than when we started in to clear up the mess that was duped in our laps in 1933.* *(more laughter)* *in the mathematical field there are*

that
We all know certain people who make it a practice to depreciate the accomplishments of labor -- who even attack labor as unpatriotic -- they keep this up usually for three years and six months *but then, for some strange reason, they change their tune -- every four years -- just before election day.* *(more laughter)* When votes are at stake, they suddenly discover that they really love labor, and are ~~ready~~ *ready* to protect it from its old friends. *(more laughter)* *(more laughter)* -- *labor*

that then
I got quite a laugh, for example -- and I am sure that you did -- when I read this plank in the Republican platform adopted at their National Convention in Chicago last July:

"The Republican party accepts the purposes of the National Labor Relations Act, the Wage and Hour Act, the Social Security Act and all other Federal statutes designed to promote and protect the welfare of American working men and women, and we promise a fair and just administration of these laws." *(laughter)*

Yes, here, many of the Republican leaders and Congressmen and candidates, who shouted enthusiastic approval of that plank in that Convention Hall would not even recognize these *(more laughter)* progressive laws, if they met them in broad daylight. Indeed, they have personally spent years of effort and energy -- and much money -- in fighting every one of these laws in the Congress, in the press, and in the courts, ever since this Administration began to advocate them and enact them into legislation. That is a fair example of their insincerity and of their inconsistency. *(more laughter)*

The whole purpose of Republican oratory these days seems to be to switch labels. The object is to persuade the American people that the Democratic party was responsible for the 1929 crash and depression, and that the Republican party was responsible for all social progress under the New Deal. *(more laughter)*

(OVER)

INSERT A

Mr. Tobin -- I should say Dan, I always have -- ladies and gentlemen. I am very much touched, and I am very happy in your applause, and very happy at the informalities of this dinner with old friends of mine. (applause) You know -- you know, this is not the first time that we have met together on this basis, and I am particularly happy that this national campaign opens in your presence as it did four years ago. (applause) And I don't mind mentioning the fact that Dan Tobin and I are just a little bit superstitious. (applause)

STATEMENTS FILE

^e
(tremendous ovation for the President, after being introduced by Dan Tobin)

-- I am fresh

- 2 -

Now, imitation may be the sincerest form of flattery -- but I am afraid that in this case it is the most obvious common or garden variety of fraud. (laughter and applause)
P. S. I am, it is perfectly true that
There are enlightened, liberal elements in the Republican party, and they have fought hard and honorably to bring the party up to date and to get it in step with the forward march of American progress. But these liberal elements were not able to drive the Old Guard Republicans from their entrenched positions.

Can the Old Guard pass itself off as the New Deal? (laughter)

I think not. (more laughter)

We have all seen many marvelous stunts in the circus, but no performing elephant could turn a hand-spring without falling flat on his back. (laughter, cheers and applause)

I need not recount to you the centuries of history which have been crowded into these four years since I saw you last.

There were some -- in the Congress and out -- who raised their voices against our preparations for defense -- before and after 1939 -- as hysterical war mongering, who cried out against our help to the Allies as provocative and dangerous. We remember the voices. They would like to have us forget them now. But in 1940 and 1941 they were loud voices. Happily they were a minority and -- fortunately for ourselves, and for the world -- they could not stop America. (cheers and applause)
I objected to them, raised their voices against them
-- my, it seems a long time ago --

There are some politicians who kept their heads buried deep in the sand while the storms of Europe and Asia were headed our way, who said that the lend-lease bill "would bring an end to free government in the United States", and who ridiculously hysteria entertains the idea that Germany, Italy or Japan contemplate war with us. These very men are now asking the American people to intrust to them the conduct of our foreign policy and our military policy. (and I am quoting --)

What the Republican leaders are now saying in effect is this: "Oh, just forget what we used to say, we have changed our minds now -- we have been reading the public opinion polls about these things, and we now know what the American people want. Don't leave the task of making the peace to those old men who first urged it, and who have already laid the foundations for it, and who have had to fight all of us inch by inch during the last five years to do it. Just turn it all over to us. We'll do it so skillfully -- that we won't lose a single isolationist vote or a single isolationist campaign contribution!" (laughter, cheers and applause)

I think there is one thing I am too old for -- I cannot talk out of both sides of my mouth at the same time. (more laughter, cheers and applause)
The Government of the United States welcomes all sincere supporters of the cause of effective world collaboration in the making of a lasting peace. Millions of Republicans all over the nation are with us -- and have been with us -- in our unshakeable determination to build the solid structure of peace. And they too will resent this campaign talk by those who first woke up to the facts of international life a few short months ago -- when they began to study the polls of public opinion. (laughter)

-- this campaign

(more laughter, cheers and applause)

Those who today have the military responsibility for waging this war in all parts of the globe are not helped by the statements of men who, without responsibility and without the knowledge of the facts, lecture the Chiefs of Staff of the United States as to the best means of dividing our armed forces and our military resources between the Atlantic and Pacific, between the Army and the Navy, and among the Commanding Generals of the different theatres of war.

When I addressed you four years ago, I said: "I know that America will never be disappointed in its expectation that labor will always continue to do its share of the job now face, and do it patriotically and effectively and unselfishly."

Today we know that America has not been disappointed. In his Order of the Day when the allied armies first landed in Normandy General Eisenhower said: "Our home fronts have given us overwhelming superiority in weapons and munitions of war."

I know that there are those labor baiters among the opposition who, instead of calling attention to the achievements of labor in this war, prefer to pick on the occasional strikes which have occurred -- strikes which have been condemned by every responsible national labor leader -- every national leader except one. And that one labor leader, incidentally, is certainly not among my supporters.

Labor-baiters forget that, at our peak, American labor and management have turned out airplanes at the rate of 109,000 per year; tanks -- 57,000 per year; combat vehicles -- 573 per year; landing vessels -- 31,000 per year; cargo ships -- 19 million tons per year; and small arms ammunition -- 23 billion rounds per year.

But a strike is news, and generally appears in shrieking headlines -- and, of course, they say labor is always to blame. The fact is that, since Pearl Harbor, only one-tenth of one per cent of man-hours have been lost by strikes.

But even those candidates who burst out in election-year affection for social legislation and for labor in general, still think you ought to be good boys and stay out of politics. And above all, they hate to see any working man or woman contribute a dollar bill to any wicked political party. Of course, it is all right for large financiers and industrialists and monopolists to contribute tons of thousands of dollars -- but their solicitude for that dollar which the men and women in the ranks of labor contribute is always very touching.

They are, of course, perfectly willing to let you vote -- unless you happen to be a soldier or sailor overseas, or a merchant seaman carrying the munitions of war. In that case they have made it pretty hard for you to vote -- for there are some political candidates who think they may have a chance if only the total vote is small enough.

And while I am on the subject of voting, let me urge every American citizen -- man and woman -- to use your sacred privilege of voting, no matter which candidate you expect to support. Our millions of soldiers and sailors and merchant seamen have been handicapped or prevented from voting by those politicians and candidates who think they stand to lose by such votes. You here at home have the freedom of the ballot. Irrespective of party, you should register and vote this November. That is a matter of good citizenship.

If the country knows that there is a breed of rats, likely not too numerous, called labor-baiters.

Oh I can't understand it, I don't believe you can, either --

of election,

Just these Commanding Generals are making good in a big way. (Cheers and applause) Right to say, immediately, all for one (laughter, cheers and applause) I hope you get to say -- (more cheers and applause)

most of you

Words come easily, but they do not change the record. You are old enough to remember what things were like for labor in 1932.

You remember the closed banks and the breadlines and the starvation wages; the foreclosures of homes and farms, and the bankruptcies of business; the "Hoovervilles", and the young men and women of the nation facing a hopeless, jobless future; the closed factories and mines and mills; the ruined and abandoned farms; the stalled railroads, and the empty docks; the black despair of a whole nation — and the utter impotence of the Federal Government.

You remember the long hard road, with its gains and its setbacks, which we have traveled together since those days.

Now there are some politicians, of course, who do not remember that far back, and some who remember but find it convenient to forget. ^{But} the record is not to be washed away that easily.

The opposition, ^{in this year} has already imported into this campaign the propaganda technique invented by the dictators abroad. Remember the technique was all set out in Hitler's book — and it was copied by the aggressors of Italy and Japan. According to that technique, you should never use a small falsehood; always a big one, ^{for its} very fantastic nature ^{will} make it more credible — if only you keep repeating it over and over again.

For example, although I rubbed my eyes when I read it, we have been told that it was not a Republican depression, but a Democratic depression from which this nation has been weaned — that this Administration is responsible for all the suffering and misery that the history books and the American people always thought had been brought about during the twelve ill-fated years when the Republican party was in power.

Now, there is an old and somewhat lugubrious adage which says: "Never speak of a rope in the house of a man who has been hanged." In the same way, if I were a Republican leader speaking to a mixed audience, the last word in the whole dictionary that I think I would use is that word "depression".

For another example, I learned — much to my amazement — that the policy of this Administration was to keep men in the Army when the war was over, because there might be no jobs for them in civil life.

Well, the very day that this fantastic charge was first made, a formal plan for the method of speedy discharge from the Army had already been announced by the War Department — a plan based upon the wishes of the soldiers themselves.

This callous and brazen falsehood about demobilization was an effort to stimulate fear among American mothers, wives and sweethearts. And, incidentally, it was hardly calculated to bolster the morale of our soldiers and sailors and airmen who were fighting our battles all over the world.

did, of course, a very simple thing,

Phell, let us take some simple illustrations that come to mind.

-- this man today --

you know they pay up all the time.

interesting thing, because it is foreign. They have imported a number of years ago, but we have a book from Henry Winston by Hitler himself.

(laughter and applause)

But perhaps the most ridiculous of these campaign falsifications is the one that this Administration failed to prepare for the war which was coming. I doubt whether even Goebbels would have tried that one. For even he would never have dared hope that the voters of America had already forgotten that many of the Republican leaders in the Congress and outside the Congress tried to thwart and block nearly every attempt which this Administration made to warn our people and to arm this nation. Some of them called our 50,000 airplane program fantastic. Many of those very same leaders who fought every defense measure we proposed are still in control of the Republican Party, were in control of its National Convention in Chicago, and would be in control of the machinery of the Congress and of the Republican Party, in the event of a Republican victory this fall.

(cheer and applause)

No, not content with that

These Republican leaders have not been content with attacks upon me, or my wife, or my sons. They now include my little dog, Fala. Unlike the members of my family, he ~~was not~~ this. Being a Scottish as soon as he learned that the Republican fiction-writer had concocted a story that I had left him behind on the Aleutian Islands and had sent a destroyer back to find him -- at a cost to the taxpayers of two or three or twenty million dollars -- his Scotch ass was furious. He has not been the same dog since. I am accustomed to hearing malicious falsehoods about myself -- such as that old, worm-eaten chestnut that I have represented myself as indispensable. But I think I have a right to resent, to object to libelous statements about my dog. (more laughter and applause)

Look at this man

(prolonged laughter, cheer and applause)
Well of course I don't resent attacks, and my family don't resent attacks, but Fala does resent them. (more laughter, cheer and applause)
You know - you know, Fala is Scotch, and

Well, I think we all recognize the old technique. The people of this country know the past too well to be deceived into forgetting. Too much is at stake to forget. There are tasks ahead of us which we must now complete with the same will and skill and intelligence and devotion which have already led us so far along the road to victory.

There is the task of finishing victoriously this most terrible of all wars as speedily as possible and with the least cost in lives.

There is the task of setting up international machinery to assure that the peace, once established, will not again be broken.

And there is the task which we face here at home -- the task of reconverting our economy from the purposes of war to the purposes of peace.

-- (speaking): Botched --

These peace-building tasks were faced once before, nearly a generation ago. They were botched by a Republican Administration. That must not happen this time. We will not let it happen this time. (cheer and applause)

They were botched

Fortunately, we do not begin from scratch. Much has been done. Much more is under way. The fruits of victory this time will not be apples to be sold on street corners. (cheer and applause)

Many months ago, this Administration set up the necessary machinery for an orderly peace-time demobilization. The Congress has now passed legislation continuing the agencies needed for demobilization -- with additional powers to carry out their functions.

(cheers and applause)

I know that the American people -- business and labor and agriculture -- have the same will to do for peace what they have done for war. And I know that they can sustain a national income which will assure full production and full employment under our democratic system of private enterprise, with government encouragement and aid whenever and wherever that is necessary.

P. H. Ragsdale ^{back of you} *this literature that we need,*
 the keynote of all that we propose to do in reconversion can be found in the one word -- "jobs". (applause)

We shall lease or dispose of our government-owned plants and facilities and our surplus war property and land, on the basis of how they can best be operated by private enterprise to give jobs to the greatest number. (cheers and applause)

We shall follow a wage policy ^{that} will sustain the purchasing power of labor -- for that means more production and more jobs. (cheers and applause)

P. H. Ragsdale ^{shows that} The present policies on wages and prices were conceived to serve the needs of the great masses of the people. They stopped inflation. They kept prices on a stable level. Through the demobilization period, policies will be carried out with the same objective in mind -- to serve the needs of the great masses of the people.

This is not the time in which we can be forgotten as they were in the Republican catastrophe which we inherited. The returning soldiers, the workers by their machines, the farmers in the field, the miners, the men and women in offices and shops, do not intend to be forgotten. (cheers and applause)

P. H. Ragsdale ^{they} They know they are not surplus. Because they know that they are America. (applause)

-- like the airplanes --

We must set targets and objectives for the future which will seem impossible to those who live in and are weighted down by the dead past. (cheers and applause)

Plan for months -- and today and in the future we are working and will continue to put back the logistics of the peace

We are even now organizing the logistics of the peace just as Marshall, ^{and} King, ^{and} Arnold, MacArthur, Eisenhower and Nimitz are organizing the logistics of this war. (cheers and applause)

P. H. Ragsdale ^{think that} The victory of the American people and their Allies in this war will be far more than a victory against fascism and reaction and the dead hand of despotism of the past. The victory of the American people and their Allies in this war will be a victory for democracy. It will constitute such an affirmation of the strength and power and vitality of government by the people as history has never before witnessed. (cheers and applause)

With that affirmation of the vitality of democratic government behind us, that demonstration of its resilience and its capacity for decision and for action -- with that knowledge of our own strength and power -- we move forward with God's help to the greatest epoch of free achievement by free men the world has ever known. ~~or imagined position~~

(prolonged cheers and applause)

Plan so, my friends, we have had

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

INTERNATIONAL TEAMSTERS' UNION DINNER

SEPTEMBER 23, 1944

I am very happy in the informality of this dinner with old friends of mine. This is not the first time we have met together on this basis. I am also particularly happy that this national campaign opens in your presence, as it did four years ago, for I do not mind mentioning the fact that Dan Tobin and I are just a little bit superstitious.

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STEPHEN EARLY
Secretary to the President

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SPEECH OF THE PRESIDENT
INTERNATIONAL TEAMSTERS' UNION DINNER
STATLER HOTEL
SEPTEMBER 23, 1944

Well, here we are together again -- after four years -- and what years they have been! I am actually four years older -- which seems to annoy some people. In fact, millions of us are more than eleven years older than when we started in to clear *mess that was* up the debris dumped in our laps in 1933.

We all know certain people who make it a practice to depreciate the accomplishments of labor -- who even attack labor as unpatriotic. They keep this up usually for three years and six months. But then, for some strange reason, they change their tune -- every four years -- just before election day. When votes are at stake, they suddenly discover that they really love labor, and are eager to protect it from its old friends.

I got quite a laugh, for example -- and I am sure that you did -- when I read this plank in the Republican platform adopted at their National Convention in Chicago last July:

"The Republican party accepts the purposes of the National Labor Relations Act, the Wage and Hour Act, the Social Security Act and all other Federal statutes designed to promote and protect the welfare of American working men and women, and we promise a fair and just administration of those laws".

Many of the Republican leaders and Congressmen and candidates, who shouted enthusiastic approval of that plank in that Convention Hall would not even recognize these progressive laws, if they met them in broad daylight. Indeed, they have personally spent years of effort and energy -- and much money -- in fighting every one of those laws in the Congress, in the press, and in the courts, ever since this Administration began to advocate them and enact them into legislation. That is a fair example of their ⁱⁿ⁻sincerity and of their ⁱⁿ⁻consistency.

The whole purpose of Republican oratory these days seems to be to switch labels. The object is to persuade the American people that the Democratic party was responsible for the 1929 crash and depression, and that the Republican party was responsible for all social progress under the New Deal.

Imitation may be the sincerest form of flattery -- but I am afraid that in this case it is the most obvious common or garden variety of fraud.

There are enlightened, liberal elements in the Republican party, and they have fought hard and honorably to bring the party up to date and to get it in step with the forward march of American progress. But these liberal elements were not able to drive the Old Guard Republicans from their entrenched positions.

Can the Old Guard pass itself off as the New Deal?

I think not.

We have all seen many marvelous stunts in the circus, but no performing elephant could turn a hand-spring without falling flat on his back.

I need not recount to you the centuries of history which have been crowded into these four years since I saw you last.

There were some -- in the Congress and out -- who raised their voices against our preparations for defense -- before and after 1939 -- as hysterical war mongering, who cried out against our help to the Allies as provocative and dangerous. We remember the voices. They would like to have us forget them now. But in 1940 and 1941 they were loud voices. Happily they were a minority and -- fortunately for ourselves, and for the world -- they could not stop America.

There are some politicians who kept their heads buried deep in the sand while the storms of Europe and Asia were headed our way, who said that the lend-lease bill "would bring an end to free government in the United States", and who said "only hysteria entertains the idea that Germany, Italy or Japan contemplate war upon us". These very men are now asking the American people to intrust to them the conduct of our foreign policy and our military policy.

What the Republican leaders are now saying in effect is this: "Oh, just forget what we used to say, we have changed our minds now -- we have been reading the public opinion polls about these things, and we now know what the American people want. Don't leave the task of making the peace to those old men who first urged it, and who have already laid the foundations for it, and who have had to fight all of us inch by inch during the last five years to do it -- just turn it all over to us. We'll do it so skillfully -- that we won't lose a single isolationist vote or a single isolationist campaign contribution".

There is one thing I am too old for -- I cannot talk out of both sides of my mouth at the same time.

This government
We welcome all sincere supporters of the cause of effective world collaboration in the making of a lasting peace. Millions of Republicans all over the nation are with us -- and have been with us -- in our unshakeable determination to build the solid structure of peace. And they too will resent this campaign talk by those who first woke up to the facts of international life a few short months ago -- when they began to study the polls of public opinion.

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These peace-building tasks were faced once before, nearly a generation ago. They were botched by a Republican Administration. That must not happen this time. We will not let it happen this time.

Fortunately, we do not begin from scratch. Much has been done. Much more is under way. The fruits of victory this time will not be apples to be sold on street corners.

Many months ago, this Administration set up the necessary machinery for an orderly peace-time demobilization. The Congress has now passed legislation continuing the agencies needed for demobilization -- with additional powers to carry out their functions.

I know that the American people -- business and labor and agriculture -- have the same will to do for peace what they have done for war. And I know that they can sustain a national income which will assure full production and full employment under our democratic system of private enterprise, with government encouragement and aid whenever and wherever it is necessary.

The keynote of all that we propose to do in reconversion can be found in the one word -- "jobs".

We shall lease or dispose of our government-owned plants and facilities and our surplus war property and land, on the basis of how they can best be operated by private enterprise to give jobs to the greatest number.

We shall follow a wage policy which will sustain the purchasing power of labor -- for that means more production and more jobs.

The present policies on wages and prices were conceived to serve the needs of the great masses of the people. They stopped inflation. They kept prices on a stable level. Through the demobilization period, policies will be carried out with the same objective in mind -- to serve the needs of the great masses of the people.

This is not the time in which men can be forgotten as they were in the Republican catastrophe which we inherited. The returning soldiers, the workers by their machines, the farmers in the field, the miners, the men and women in offices and shops, do not intend to be forgotten.

They know they are not surplus. Because they know that they are America.

We must set targets and objectives for the future which will seem impossible to those who live in and are weighted down by the dead past.

We are even now organizing the logistics of the peace just as Marshall, King, Arnold, MacArthur, Eisenhower and Nimitz are organizing the logistics of this war.

The victory of the American people and their Allies in this war will be far more than a victory against fascism and reaction and the dead hand of despotism and of the past. The victory of the American people and their Allies in this war will be a victory for democracy. It will constitute such an affirmation of the strength and power and vitality of government by the people as history has never before witnessed.

With that affirmation of the vitality of democratic government behind us, that demonstration of its resilience and its capacity for decision and for action -- with that knowledge of our own strength and power -- we move forward with God's help to the greatest epoch of free achievement by free men the world has ever known or imagined possible.

FIRST DRAFT

- 1 -

A

Four years ago when I addressed your convention here in Washington, I had just returned from an inspection trip of American navy yards, gun factories, aviation plants and training camps - where I saw America preparing for defense.

We were then still at peace. We were resolved to keep the peace as long as we could. We were determined not to get into any foreign war until it was made an American war by an attack upon us. But it was a troubled peace. In Europe and Asia and Africa, aggressors were on the march. They were bent on conquest of the world - and that included the United States. And we were arming just as fast as we could to meet that attack - and to counterattack.

Tonight, four years later, I have just come back from another trip -- this time to Quebec. There I had my twelfth(?) conference with Prime Minister Winston Churchill and the Chiefs of Staff of our respective nations.

I need not recount to you the centuries of history which have been crowded into those four years since I saw you last. Our progress since then can best be summed up in a statement of what we did at Quebec:

First, we made the final plans for the crushing defeat and the complete disarmament of Germany.

BEGINNING

(A)

Well here we are together again - after four years - and what years they have been! I am actually four years older which seems to annoy some people - and worry others - and incidentally twelve years older than when you and I and all Americans of good will started in to clear up the debris left us in 1933.

I know that you and I understand each other, and have had quite a chuckle over some of the Republican campaign oratory we have been hearing recently.

INSERT 1

Secondly, we made the plans for the all-out, large-scale attacks which will lead to the crushing defeat and complete disarmament of Japan.

The years before 1939 during which the storms of war were gathering in Europe and Asia were anxious years for the Republic. They were years when in spite of all our efforts to keep the peace of the world, we were compelled by common sense to begin to lay the foundations for our national defense.

And after war came to Europe in 1939, we again had a dual role to play. We had to take every precaution possible to remain out of the war. And, at the same time, we had to arm ourselves feverishly against the day when the attack would come.

There were some -- in the Congress and out -- who raised their voices against the preparation of defenses before and after 1939, as hysterical war mongering, who cried out against our help to the Allies as provocative and dangerous. We remember the voices. They would like to have us forget them now. But in 1940 and 1941 they were loud voices. Happily they were a minority and -- fortunately for ourselves, and for the world -- they could not stop America.

For there were men in America who saw the danger and who warned against it time and again. They saw aggression coming years before 1940. They first called for a quarantine to stop the aggressors, and then called for armed force to stop them.

America carried on through the early years of the European war, keeping the peace down to the last shred of hope— but building our gigantic armament industry — in case of attack.

And those who had the responsibility of buttressing the defense of Great Britain who was standing alone in all the world against the Nazi might, were not helped by men who rushed into print with the statement that the Lend-Lease bill, the foundation of all our assistance to those resisting aggressors, meant the end to free government in the United States and would abolish the Congress for all practical purposes.

Now, victory in Europe is in sight. While the fighting is not over, and while we have to supply reinforcements of men and thousands of different kinds of munitions to a line running from the English Channel to the Adriatic, we know that the German war criminals are nearing the day of justice and punishment.

And after that it will be the turn of Japan to feel the full force and deadly weight of Allied might.

Those who have the military responsibility for waging this war in all parts of the globe are not helped by the statement of ~~these men~~ who without responsibility and without knowledge of the facts, lecture the Chiefs of Staff of the United States as to the best means of disposing of the armed forces and the military resources of the United States between the Atlantic and Pacific, between the Army and the Navy, and among ^{the remaining generals of} our different theatres of war.

Even as our armed forces were making their way across the oceans to attack our enemies in the Pacific and in the Mediterranean and across the Channel and over the roof-tops of Germany, we again had to play a dual role — win the war, and lay the foundations for a lasting peace. For every one of the United Nations was determined that this tragedy should never happen again.

We have held conferences for the purpose of winning the war and winning the peace. We have held conferences in which all the United Nations have participated, and in which the United States has been represented by members of the executive and legislative branches, members of both political parties.

In this war, we have not waited for the shooting to stop before beginning to lay the foundations of the peace.

•

WASHINGTON

In preparation for peace - as in
preparations for war - we have, from
the very beginning, sought out the
advice and assistance of leaders of
both parties. Our objective is not to try to
~~get~~ get the credit for the job.
It is - and will be - to get the job
done - and to end it as soon as possible
to prevent another such end to
war.

was 9 We have already come to agreement on many vital international problems of food and agriculture, relief and rehabilitation, currency and banking, education and security. Even as I talk to you tonight, the details of the machinery and the organization to keep the peace of the world -- by force if necessary -- are being worked out at Dumbarton Oaks. A B

Now the American voters have become accustomed in the last few national elections to seeing Republican campaign orators clap to their bosom all of the great domestic, social reforms of this Administration -- which they themselves had fought for years, and ridiculed and tried to sabotage.

2/ But this year we have a new spectacle. It is in the international field. All of a sudden, ^{many of} those very isolationist leaders who kept their heads buried deep in the sand while the storms of Europe were headed our way, who refused to have anything to do with Britain and Russia, who even denounced our recognition of Russia, who called the lend-lease bill the death-knell of American democracy, who urged that the great peoples of Europe opposing the Axis should stew in their own juice, who even thought that we could always do business with Hitler and acquiesced in the doctrine that maybe Nazism was the wave of the future -- these men are now turning up as the great internationalists of the day.

In these conferences which are of course preliminary, [the interesting thing is that] most of the peace machinery has been worked out. [That is an amazing accomplishment.] There is still work to be done before the completed proposals go for study to all the United Nations and other peace-loving nations associated with them in the war. Then there will be a conference with all such nations taking part. Doubtless that next conference will not be the final one, ^{It} but will, ^{however,} represent definite progress toward the final agreement by which future wars will be ^{prevented} ~~prevented against~~ as far as the human mind can do it today. That means something to you and to me and to our children and grandchildren.

"Oh just forget what we used to say", they urge you, "we have changed our minds now -- we have been reading the public opinion polls about these things and we now know what the American people want. Don't leave the task of making the peace to those old men who first urged it and who have already laid the foundations for it, and who had to fight all of us inch by inch during the last five years to do it -- just turn it all over to us. We'll do it so skillfully -- that in doing it we won't lose a single isolationist vote."

Now we shall welcome all sincere converts to the cause of effective world collaboration in the making of a lasting peace. It should be a bi-partisan peace, of course. Millions of Republicans all over the nation are with us -- and have been with us -- in our unshakable determination to work out the means of peace. And they too will resent this campaign talk by those who first woke up to the facts of life -- international life -- when they began to study the polls of public opinion.

When I saw you four years ago, I expressed to you the confidence which the people of the United States felt in American labor.

I then said: "I know that America will never be disappointed in its expectation that labor will always continue to do its share of the job we now face, and do it patriotically and effectively and unselfishly".

Today we know that America has not been disappointed.

There is no need to cite statistics to prove it. Eloquent testimony has been given by the thousands and thousands of miles of weapons and equipment which have poured by ships and by planes across both oceans, and into Britain and Africa and Italy and France and Russia, and into the islands of the Pacific. The brave men and the skillful officers who are now crushing the Germans and beating the Japs have fought and won the battles; but in the words of General Eisenhower in his Order of the Day when his men landed in Normandy: "Our home fronts have given us overwhelming superiority in weapons and munitions of war". ^{9/} These weapons came from America's factories and shipyards and from its farms and mines and they have stood the test of battle on every continent and every sea.

[American industry and American labor -- men and women alike -- have formed a partnership which has established a record of production never before equalled in the history of the world.]

I know that there are those labor baiters among the opposition who, instead of calling attention to the accomplishments of labor in this war, will always pick on the occasional flare-ups and strikes which occur -- strikes which have been condemned by every responsible national labor leader -- every national leader except one. And that one labor leader, incidentally, is certainly not among my supporters.

Newspapers, or the majority of them, seldom

mention the day-by-day and month-by-month production of implements of war. They do not mention the airplanes ^{which at the height of production were} being turned out at the rate of _____ per year, or the tanks at _____ per year, or the cargo ships at _____ per year, or the combat vessels at _____ per year, or the ammunition at the rate of _____ per year.

No! That is not news. But they will put every strike into shrieking headlines -- and, of course, ^{they say} labor is always to blame.

It is no more than fair to say that less than _____ percent of man-hours have been lost by strikes since Pearl Harbor -- and the vast majority have been wild-cat, unauthorized strikes. *about A*

We all know of certain people who make it a practise to depreciate the accomplishments of labor -- they even attack labor as unpatriotic. They keep this up usually for three years and six months. But then, for some strange reason, they change their tune -- every four years -- just before election day. They suddenly discover that they really love labor, and wish to foster it, and to protect it from its old friends.

I got quite a laugh, for example, -- and I am sure that you did -- when I read this plank in the Republican platform adopted at the Republican National Convention in Chicago last July:

*The Republican party accepts the purposes of the National Labor Relations Act, the Wage and Hour Act, the Social Security

Insert A p 9

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

And if these strikes — %
come as a result of the refusal
of the employees to obey the
instructions of the War Labor Board —
set up by law to pass on these
labor disputes.

Act and all other Federal statutes designed to promote and protect the welfare of American working men and women, and we promise a fair and just administration of these laws".

There were Republican leaders and Congressmen who shouted, enthusiastic approval of that plank in that Convention hall, who had personally spent years of effort and energy -- and much money -- in fighting every one of those laws in the Congress, in the press, and in the courts ever since this Administration began to advocate them and enact them into legislation.

But even ^{here who burst out in} in this quinquennial ^{social} outburst of affection for ^{these} ~~legislation~~ ^{these} and for labor in general, [they] still think you ought to be good boys and stay out of politics. And above all, they hate to see you contribute a dollar bill to any wicked political party. Of course, it is all right for large financiers and industrialists and monopolists to contribute tens of thousands of dollars -- but ^{the men and women in the ranks of} their solicitude for that dollar which labor contributed is always very touching.

They are, of course, perfectly willing to let you vote -- unless you happen to be a soldier or sailor overseas or a merchant mariner, carrying the munitions of war. In that case they have made it pretty hard for you to vote, (D)

And while I am on the subject of voting let me urge every American citizen -- men and women -- to use your sacred privilege of voting, no matter which candidate you expect to support. It will

~~For instance,~~ I know several merchant marine sailors
for example,
and Red Cross and USO workers who will be on the sea or on foreign
fronts between now and election day. They happen to be residents, ^{and citizens}
of the State of New York, ~~and are citizens~~. They want to vote for
^{Federal officers at least,}
but they cannot vote because the executive and legislative
branches of the State of New York, ^{- although they} talked about it a great deal -
~~and then~~ did nothing to permit them to vote.

11) be a sign of weakness in democracy if there is not an outpouring of voters at this election, which will be so important to the future of America. Our six or seven million soldiers and sailors and merchant mariners have been handicapped or prevented from voting by those politicians and candidates who think they stand to lose by such votes. [You know who those politicians and candidates are.] Those of you who are at home -- irrespective of party -- ^{Can} make up for this by your own votes. Be sure that you register and enable yourself to vote this November. That is a matter of good citizenship -- though some people think it may not be a matter of good party politics.

Words come easily, but they don't change the record. ^{They do} ~~the~~ members of this audience, I am sure, are old enough to remember [the record -- the record since 1933, and the record before 1933.

You are old enough to recall] the "yellow dog" contract, the labor spy, the bullets of organized strike breakers, the unlimited work week at sweatshop wages, the little children working in the mills and factories and mines. You know what it meant to organize a shop in those days. You are old enough to remember the long hard fight before social security and the right of collective bargaining.

were written into the statutes - by this Administration.

And you are old enough to remember what things were like for labor in 1932, when the entire country was flat on its back.

You and I are realists - not opportunists. We remember the closed banks and the breadlines and the starvation; the foreclosures of homes and farms, and the bankruptcies of business; the Hoovervilles, and the young men and women of the nation riding around in freight cars; the closed factories and mines and mills; the ruined and abandoned farms; the stalled railroads and the empty docks; the hopelessness and despair of a whole nation - and the utter futility of our Federal Government.

You and I are realists -- not opportunists. We remember the long hard road, with its gains and its setbacks, which we have traveled together since those days.

Now there are some of our junior citizens, of course, who do not remember that far back, and some who, though they do remember, find it convenient to forget. But the record is not to be washed away that easily.

[I think you and I are pretty well agreed on what that record adds up to. I think we understand each other. We know who are the real friends of labor and who are the election-day friends.]

[And labor knows from the record of the last twelve years what were the forces of progress and accomplishment in building up a strong prosperous free working ^{and} ~~times~~ -- and what were the forces of stubborn opposition and privileged greed and sabotage.]

We have come far together -- but the objective which we seek has not yet been attained. For we shall not be satisfied until we have reached the standard of living and the feeling of security for every man, woman and child which the vast natural resources and the unlimited skill and efficiency of America make possible.

[We are now holding the first general national election that has been held in any country at war since Hitler attacked civilization in 1939. No surer proof could be adduced for the strength of our democracy -- or to show how silly is any campaign talk about dictatorship or one-man rule in the United States.]

In ^{this} (such an) election, fair partisan debate and truthful discussion of public issues are helpful to the democratic process -- indeed essential. However, campaigning based on misrepresentation of fact -- in the press, and on the air, and in campaign speeches -- is dangerous -- and has no proper place in American political life.

Yet the opposition has already imported into this campaign the propaganda technique invented by the dictators abroad. The technique was all set out in Hitler's book -- and it was copied by the aggressors of Italy and Japan. Never use a small falsehood; always a big one, for its very fantastic nature will make it more credible -- if only you keep repeating it over and over again.

I am not speaking of the great mass of Republican voters who time and again have placed above partisanship their own ideals of what serves the nation best. I am talking about certain leaders who have retained and still retain control of the party machinery and who seek by any means to perpetuate and increase that control and their own power.

I stated in my speech of acceptance that although I did not expect to be able to find the time to campaign in the usual partisan sense, I would nevertheless feel free to point out and answer any

campaign misrepresentations. I propose to point out a few of the more important ones tonight, and to brand them for what they are -- deliberate attempts to deceive the American people and to fill their minds with fear.

The Republican campaign leaders will learn this year -- as they learned four years ago and eight years ago -- that in a democracy where the radio and a part of the press are open to both sides, this kind of Hitlerian propaganda technique cannot succeed.

14 They tried it in the election of 1932 ^{again in 1936 and again in 1940} -- to instill fear by saying that if the Hoover Administration were turned out: "Grass will grow in the streets of a hundred cities; a thousand towns; the weeds will overrun the fields of millions of farms".]

~~But~~ they did not deceive the American people.

[They tried it again in 1936 -- to instill fear by using the pay envelopes of the American workers to say that the social security funds of the workers were in danger.

But they did not deceive the American people.

They tried it again in 1940 -- to instill fear by saying that a third term meant the end of our democracy and the abolition of all elections; that this Government had entered into secret treaties with other nations; that our defense work was lagging, and that we could never rearm in time to meet the threat from]

[Germany and Italy; that the equipment we were furnishing our Army was no good and that our soldiers were not going to be properly housed or fed or trained.

The American people now remember all this campaign talk -- but the American people were not deceived!

This year, they have started again. You will hear them over and over again -- because it is by repetition that they hope to impress and deceive.

For example, although I rubbed my eyes when I read it, we have been told that it was not a Republican depression, but a Democratic depression from which this nation has been saved -- that this Administration is responsible for all the suffering and misery that the history books and the American people always thought had been brought about in 1929, during the twelve ill-fated years when the Republican party was in power.

Now, there is an old and somewhat lugubrious adage which says: "Never speak of rope in the house of one who has been hanged." In the same way, if I were a Republican leader speaking to a Republican audience, the last word in the whole dictionary that I think I would use is the word "depression."

I know that the American people will never be fooled by that one; but I warn you that you will hear it over and over again -- because it is by repetition that they hope to impress and deceive.

3/ For another example, I learned — such to my amazement — that the policy of this Administration was to keep men in the Army when the war was over, because there might be no jobs for them in civil life.

In June of this year, when victory in Germany first became really imminent, the policy of this Administration was publicly announced that discharges from the Army and Navy would come as soon as possible after hostilities were over.

And the very day before this fantastic charge was first made, a formal plan for the method of speedy discharge from the Army had already been announced by the War Department — a plan based upon the votes of the soldiers themselves.

This gross and brazen misrepresentation was an effort to play upon the fears and hopes of American mothers — to try to catch votes here and there by instilling in their minds some doubt of the good-faith of their Government.

The American people will never be fooled by that — but you will hear it over and over again because it is by repetition that they hope to impress and deceive.

Perhaps the most callous of these campaign falsifications is the one that this Administration failed to prepare for the war which was coming. I doubt whether even Goebbels would have tried

1/ that one. For even he would never have dared hope that the voters of this nation had already forgotten that every attempt which this Administration made to warn our people of the need for defense against attack and to arm the nation, was thwarted and blocked by the Republican leaders in the Congress and by the leaders of the Republican Party outside of Congress. Many of those very same leaders who fought every measure we proposed to that end are still in control of the Party, were in control of its National Convention in Chicago, and will be in control of the machinery of the Congress and of the Republican Party in the event of a Republican victory this Fall.

Have we forgotten our old friends -- Martin, Barton and Fish? Only one member of that trio is not running for re-election, this Fall -- but there are plenty of others running ^{who are fully qualified} to take his place.

Can they really expect you to forget that those leaders branded me as an alarmist and war-monger every time that I called attention to the threat of aggression in Europe and Asia, and urged a quarantine upon all aggressors -- every time I used funds to help our national defense? Or that they voted against me when I asked the Congress in January 1938 for naval expansion; or that they voted in March 1939 against increasing naval aviation? Or that in June 1939 ~~they~~ they voted to reduce appropriations

for the Army Air Corps? Or that they voted against repeal of the Embargo Law so that we could sell war supplies to the victims of aggression? Or that they opposed the over-age destroyer transfer for bases, which saved Britain and secured our own defense? Or that they voted against the extension of the Selective Service Law in August 1941, ^{which passed by only one vote in the House of Representatives} three months before Pearl Harbor? Or that they voted against the Lend-Lease Act in March 1941 -- which did more than anything else to sustain Russia and Britain and China until our full American might could be thrown against the enemy?

No, the American people will never be fooled by that one, but you will hear it over and over again in this campaign, for it is by repetition that they hope to impress and deceive.

[The American people know that if the Republican leaders in the Congress-- and in other high places -- had prevailed, the British and the Russians might never have had the weapons with which to beat back the Germans, and that the war would now be flaming around our own shores and on our own farms and in our own cities.]

These attacks upon us have not stopped with me, or with my wife, or with my sons -- they now include my little dog, Fala. Unlike the family, he resents this. Being a Scottie

as soon as he learned from the Republican fiction-writers that I had left him behind on a lone Aleutian Island for two days, and then had sent a destroyer back to find him -- at a cost to the taxpayers of two or three or ten or twenty million dollars -- his Scotch soul was furious. He has not been the same dog since. For myself, I'm accustomed to hearing malicious falsehoods. But I think I have a right to object to deliberate lies about my dog.

18 But enough of the past for tonight. The people of this country know it too well to forget -- or to be deceived into

Such as that I have
ever represented myself
as indispensable.

forgetting. Too much is at stake to forget. There are tasks ahead of us which we must now face and do with the same will and intelligence and devotion which have already led us so far on the road to victory.

The task of preparing for the peace falls into two parts.

There is the task we share with all the other United Nations - the task of setting up international machinery to assure that the peace, once established, will not again be broken.

And there is the task which we face here at home, the task of reconverting our economy from the purposes of war to the purposes of peace.

We faced these twin tasks once before, nearly a generation ago. We faced them and we botched them - both of them. That must not happen this time. It won't happen this time.

[After the last war we turned our back on any world organization for the preservation of the peace. We chose to rely, instead on the vain delusion that, if only we minded our own business, we could remain at peace no matter what happened elsewhere in the world.

The second world war has taught us our lesson. This time we are not leaving it to chance. This time - in consultation with our Allies - we are setting up machinery specifically designed to keep the peace, and we are building the solid structure of the peace even as]

[we batter at the last fortresses of our enemies.

After the last war we pursued the same policy on the home front. We left things to chance. We chose to believe that a war economy could become a peace economy simply by canceling war contracts, scrapping essential parts of the Government machinery, and letting nature take its course. We learned that lesson too - that it cannot be done that way.]

Fortunately, we do not begin from scratch. Much has been done. Much more is under way. *The fruit of victory this time will not be ~~and~~ applied to be sold on the corner.*

[An Office of Demobilization, pursuant to an Executive Order, has been at work for eight months on orderly demobilization.

An Office of Contract Termination has been set up by Executive Order to see that war contractors are paid promptly and that their plants are rapidly converted to peacetime pursuits. Already _____ billions of dollars of contracts have been terminated.

An Administrator to dispose of surplus property has been appointed by Executive Order to effectuate speedy and efficient sale of surplus property without helping monopolies and speculation. Already ___ billion dollars of surplus property has been sold.

An Office of Reemployment and Retraining has been set up to facilitate the reemployment and training of discharged veterans and war workers. Already, in conjunction with the United States

omit date to 6-29

[Employment Office _____ placements have been found and _____ workers are being retrained.

Legislation has been recommended and passed continuing all of these agencies which this Administration set up long ago - with additional powers and funds to carry out these functions.

The keynote of all that we propose to do in reconversion can be found in the word "jobs". Too much of the discussion of reconversion has placed the emphasis on unemployment. The emphasis must be placed on employment.

Of course legislation providing unemployment payments for those who cannot find work is essential - in amounts large enough to provide the essentials of life. The payments in some states are inadequate and should be increased with Federal funds. Important groups of workers now excluded, should be given the benefits of the system - farm workers and domestic workers and government employees - as well as the three million men and women who are excluded because they work in small establishments. We need adequate unemployment benefits]

[for workers not only to prevent hardship, but -- and this is equally important -- to give them purchasing power with which to buy food and clothing and thus provide employment for others.

But the major task before us is not how to take care of the unemployed. It is rather to try to see to it that there are no unemployed.

That can be done -- if the American people have the will to do it. It can be done by private industry and, as I have said on many occasions, it is only when private industry with the assistance and encouragement of government is unable to handle this essential job, the government must step in.

Back in the dark days when military defeats faced the Allies all over the world, I remember that then I announced a goal of 50,000 airplanes per year, there were plenty of doubting Thomases who called such figures "fantastic" -- and that challenge came most vociferously from some of those Republican leaders who now prate of inadequate preparation.

That goal was reached -- and doubled -- because the American people had the will to do it.

I have the same confidence that the American people -- business and labor and agriculture -- have the same will to do for peace what they have done for war. I know that they can attain a national income which will assure full production and full employment.]

Everything we do must assume that that objective is not only possible -- but that it will be reached.

That is the course we shall pursue in our reconversion process:

Our government-owned plants and facilities should be leased or disposed of only on the basis of how they can best give jobs to the greatest number.

Our surplus war property and land should be disposed of so as to provide jobs for the most people -- and not to help monopolists and speculators make a profit for themselves.

Our wage policy should prevent a sharp curtailment of wages and should sustain the purchasing power of labor -- for that means production and more jobs.

It should spread work by reduction of the work week to 40 hours except in certain war production -- for that means more jobs!

Our pricing policy for civilian goods should be fixed so as to promote greater sales and greater production -- for that means more jobs!

Our tax policy after the war must encourage production, not only by furnishing greater incentive for private profit, but by encouraging industry by liberal tax depreciation allowances on new equipment and machinery -- for all that means more jobs!

[Our policies with respect to cut-backs, and contract termination, and wartime controls over materials and manpower will continue to be based on the objective of orderly and speedy return to civilian production -- so as to provide peacetime jobs as fast as possible to as large a number as possible.

Wartime controls over rationing and prices will be retained only long enough to insure fairness in price, and fairness in the distribution of food and clothing and shelter and gasoline and the other necessities of American life.

The present policies on wages and prices were conceived to serve the needs of the great masses of the people. They stopped inflation. They kept prices on a stable level. They raised the standard of living. As we cautiously feel our way through the demobilization period, those policies will be changed from time to time with the same objective in mind -- to serve the needs of the great masses of the people.

We must set targets and objectives for the future which will seem incredible and impossible to those who live in and are weighted down by the dead past.

Government must keep pace with the objective of an expanding American economy -- by research in new products, new processes, new industries, by new highways and thousands of new airports, by a health]

[program of hospitals, medical centers, by improved education, by regional development of natural resources, by cheap electricity for farms and shops and industries, by encouraging private industry to build millions of new homes. That is the nature of the design of post-war America.

I like to think about what can be done for the future of America with our war plants and equipment and our new war-developed skills and science, in terms of one of the old surplus war plants of the last war. We all know what TVA has meant to the millions of people living within its borders — in terms of greater security and employment and happiness in industry and on the farms. Few of us remember, however, that the seed of TVA was a so-called surplus war plant. It was a plant where people had jobs making explosives during the last war. Then the war ended — and the jobs. There followed 15 years of argument about what to do with Muscle Shoals.

The time came when a great American of broad and farseeing vision — George Norris, who has just this month died — was enabled by this Administration to develop his dream of building a better world for the people of that valley.

What has happened to that valley is the kind of hope men of good will have for all of America. Of course the pattern will not be the same in other parts of the country. But everywhere the aim can be the free development of enterprise and agriculture and labor into many happy valleys in a busy, free America.]

[This is a job for free business and free labor — with the encouragement and planning of progressive government.

We want no economic freedom in which the powerful are free to destroy the small or in which the employer, great or small, can oppress those who staff his plant. If free enterprise, however, has learned anything in our times, it is this: the impossibility of successful business in this mass production age without the support of the mass consuming power of a people — a people not only secure from starvation but eager and able to buy the good things of life which American labor, management and agriculture can now so lavishly produce.

This is not the time in which men can be forgotten. The fruit of victory this time will not be an apple to be sold on the corner. The returning soldier, the worker by his machine, the farmer in the field, the men and women in offices and shops do not mean to be forgotten in the bookkeeping of unimaginative economists and the speculations of junk dealers and men with junk-dealer minds.

They are not surplus. They are America.]

To this greatest war in all history, we have devoted more of our manpower, our treasures, our skill than ever before. Yet, as we fight with every American resource, the American people at home are better fed than ever before -- in peace or in war. ^{Insert A} Our civil liberties are all secure. Our democratic rights and privileges have all been preserved. ^{Insert B}

In this war we have seen how victorious armies may advance at a bewildering rate of speed. [At times -- in recent weeks -- Allied columns have averaged 35 miles an hour through the German lines in France.]

But when an army reaches its objectives, it must pause for a while -- and consolidate its gains.

That means clearing out the remaining enemy pockets of resistance -- the snipers -- the saboteurs. It means reestablishing law and order in the liberated territory -- giving the war-ravaged victims a chance to regain the good life, the peaceful life.

After 1918 we failed to consolidate our gains. We reached our objectives -- and then we quit -- we quit cold.

And, during the 1920's, the snipers and the saboteurs came out of their hiding places and -- well, the tragic story of those years is too well known to need retelling.

Insert
(A) p. 29

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Our farmers are better off than at any time in our history. Wage earners are able to consume the record production of food because of high wages. Corporate profits are at the highest level since 19—x. And yet there has been no inflation — the American dollar is still the soundest currency in the world.

B
● INSERT ~~1~~ - PAGE ~~28~~ 29

I shall, from time to time before Election Day, inform the American people of what we have done and what we shall do -- and pay my respects to those who have tried to create the false impression that we have done nothing in the past, and have no program for the future.

But -- we shall not make those mistakes again.

We shall consolidate our gains. We shall organize the logistics of the peace as today General Eisenhower, General MacArthur and Admiral Nimitz are organizing the logistics of this war.

And then we shall take the high road and march forward to the new objectives -- the ultimate purposes for which the whole people of these United States and these United Nations have fought and worked so magnificently, so triumphantly, for so long -- the peace and security and happiness of the good people who have earned it all over the world.

Well here we are together again -- after four years -- and what years they have been! I am actually four years older which seems to annoy some people -- and worry others -- and incidentally twelve years older than when you and I and all Americans of good will started in to clear up the debris left us in 1933.

I know that you and I understand each other, and have had quite a chuckle over some of the Republican campaign oratory we have been hearing recently.

We all know certain people who make it a practise to depreciate the accomplishments of labor, and even attack labor as unpatriotic. They keep this up usually for three years and six months. But then, for some strange reason, they change their tune -- every four years -- just before election day. They suddenly discover that they really love labor, and wish to foster it, and to protect it from its old friends.

I got quite a laugh, for example, -- and I am sure that you did -- when I read this plank in the Republican platform adopted at the Republican National Convention in Chicago last July:

"The Republican party accepts the purposes of the National Labor Relations Act, the Wage and Hour Act, the Social Security Act and all other Federal statutes designed to promote and protect the welfare of American working men and women, and we promise a fair and just administration of these laws".

There were ^{Republican} Republican leaders and Congressmen who shouted, enthusiastic approval of that plank in that Convention hall, who had personally spent years of effort and energy -- and much money -- in fighting every one of those laws in the Congress, in the press, ^{the} and in courts ever since this Administration began to advocate them and enact them into legislation.

Four years ago when I addressed your convention here in Washington, I had just returned from an inspection trip of American navy yards, gun factories, aviation plants and training camps -- where I saw America preparing for defense.

We were then still at peace. We were resolved to keep the peace as long as we could. We were determined not to get into any foreign war until it was made an American war by an attack upon us. But it was a troubled peace. In Europe and Asia and Africa, aggressors were on the march. They were bent on conquest of the world -- and that included the United States. And we were arming just as fast as we could to meet that attack -- and to counterattack.

Tonight, four years later, I have just come back from another trip -- this time to Quebec. There I had my twelfth(?) conference with Prime Minister Winston Churchill and the Chiefs of Staff of our

respective nations.

I need not recount to you the centuries of history which have been crowded into those four years since I saw you last. Our progress since then can best be summed up in a statement of what we did at Quebec:

First, we made the final plans for the crushing defeat and the complete disarmament of Germany.

Secondly, we made the plans for the all-out, large-scale attacks which will lead to the crushing defeat and complete disarmament of Japan.

The years before 1939 during which the storms of war were gathering in Europe and Asia were anxious years for the Republic. They were years when in spite of all our efforts to keep the peace of the world, we were compelled by common sense to begin to lay the foundations for our national defense.

And after war came to Europe in 1939, we again had a dual role to play. We had to take every precaution possible to remain out of the war. And, at the same time, we had to arm ourselves feverishly against the day when the attack would come.

There were some -- in the Congress and out -- who raised their voices against the preparation of defenses before and after 1939, as

hysterical war mongering, who cried out against our help to the Allies as provocative and dangerous. We remember the voices. They would like to have us forget them now. But in 1940 and 1941 they were loud voices. Happily they were a minority and -- fortunately for ourselves, and for the world -- they could not stop America.

For there were men in America who saw the danger and who warned against it time and again. They saw aggression coming years before 1940. They first called for a quarantine to stop the aggressors, and then called for armed force to stop them.

America carried on through the early years of the European war, keeping the peace down to the last shred of hope -- but building our gigantic armament industry -- in case of attack.

And those who had the responsibility of buttressing the defense of Great Britain who was standing alone in all the world against the Nazi might, were not helped by men who rushed into print with the statement that the Lend-Lease bill, the foundation of all our assistance to those resisting aggressors, meant the end to free government in the United States and would abolish the Congress for all practical purposes.

Those who have the military responsibility for waging this war in all parts of the globe are not helped by the statement of men who without responsibility and without knowledge of the facts, lecture the Chiefs of Staff of the United States as to the best means of disposing of the armed forces and the military resources of the United States between the Atlantic and Pacific, between the Army and the Navy, and among the Commanding Generals of our different theatres of war.

Even as our armed forces were making their way across the oceans to attack our enemies in the Pacific and in the Mediterranean and across the Channel and over the roof-tops of Germany, we again had to play a dual role -- win the war, and lay the foundations for a lasting peace.

We have held conferences for the purpose of winning the war and winning the peace. We have held conferences in which all the United Nations have participated, and in which the United States has been represented by members of the executive and legislative branches, members of both political parties.

In preparations for peace -- as in preparations for war -- we have, from the very beginning, sought out the advice and assistance of leaders of both parties. Our objective is not to try to get the credit for the job. It is -- and will be -- to get the job done -- and to put an end to war!

In this war, we have not waited for the shooting to stop before beginning to lay the foundations of the peace. We have already come to agreement on many vital international problems of food and agriculture, relief and rehabilitation, currency and banking, education and security. Even as I talk to you tonight, the details of the machinery and the organization to keep the peace of the world -- by force if necessary -- are being worked out at Dumbarton Oaks. In these conferences which are of course preliminary, most of the peace machinery has been worked out. There is still work to be done before the completed proposals go for study to all the United Nations and other peace-loving nations associated with them in the war. Then there will be a conference with all such nations taking part. Doubtless that next conference will not be the final one. It will, however, represent definite progress toward the final agreement by which future wars will be prevented as far as the human mind can do it today. That means something to you, and to me, and to our children and grandchildren.

Now the American voters have become accustomed in the last few national elections to seeing Republican campaign orators clasp to their bosom all of the great domestic, social reforms of this Administration -- which they themselves had fought for years, and ridiculed and tried to sabotage.

But this year we have a new spectacle. It is in the international field. All of a sudden, many of those very isolationist leaders who kept their heads buried deep in the sand while the storms of Europe were headed our way, who refused to have anything to do with Britain and Russia, who even denounced our recognition of Russia, who called the lend-lease bill the death-knell of American democracy, who urged that the great peoples of Europe opposing the Axis should stew in their own juice, who even thought that we could always do business with Hitler and acquiesced in the doctrine that maybe Nazism was the wave of the future -- these men are now turning up as the great internationalists of the day.

"Oh just forget what we used to say", they urge you, "we have changed our minds now -- we have been reading the public opinion polls about these things and we now know what the American people want. Don't leave the task of making the peace to those old men who first urged it and who have already laid the foundations for it, and who had to fight all of us inch by inch during the last five years to do it -- just turn it all over to us. We'll do it so skillfully -- that in doing it we won't lose a single isolationist vote."

Now we shall welcome all sincere converts to the cause of effective world collaboration in the making of a lasting peace. It

should be a bi-partisan peace, of course. Millions of Republicans all over the nation are with us -- and have been with us -- in our unshakable determination to work out the means of peace. And they too will resent this campaign talk by those who first woke up to the facts of life -- international life -- when they began to study the polls of public opinion.

When I saw you four years ago, I expressed to you the confidence which the people of the United States felt in American labor.

I then said: "I know that America will never be disappointed in its expectation that labor will always continue to do its share of the job we now face, and do it patriotically and effectively and unselfishly".

Today we know that America has not been disappointed.

There is no need to cite statistics to prove it. Eloquent testimony has been given by the thousands and thousands of miles of weapons and equipment which have poured by ships and by planes across both oceans, and into Britain and Africa and Italy and France and Russia, and into the islands of the Pacific. The brave men and the well-trained officers who are now crushing the Germans and beating the Japs have fought and won the battles; but in the words of General Eisenhower in his Order of the Day when his men landed in Normandy: "Our home fronts have given us overwhelming superiority in weapons and munitions of war".

Those weapons came from America's factories and shipyards and from its farms and mines, and they have stood the test of battle on every continent and every sea.

I know that there are those labor baiters among the opposition who, instead of calling attention to the accomplishments of labor in this war, will always pick on the occasional flare-ups and strikes which occur -- strikes which have been condemned by every responsible national labor leader -- every national leader except one. And that one labor leader, incidentally, is certainly not among my supporters.

Newspapers, or the majority of them, seldom mention the day-by-day and month-by-month production of implements of war. They do not mention the airplanes which at the height of production were being turned out at the rate of _____ per year, or the tanks at _____ per year, or the cargo ships at _____ per year, or the combat vessels at _____ per year, or the ammunition at the rate of _____ per year. No! That is not news. But they will put every strike into shrieking headlines -- and, of course, they say labor is always to blame. It is no more than fair to say that less than _____ percent of man-hours have been lost by strikes since Pearl Harbor -- and the vast majority have been wild-cat, unauthorized strikes. And of these strikes _____% came as a result of the refusal of the employer to obey the directions of the War Labor Board - set up by law to pass on these labor disputes.

But even those who burst out in quadrennial affection for social legislation and for labor in general, still think you ought to be good boys and stay out of politics. And above all, they hate to see you contribute a dollar bill to any wicked political party. Of course, it is all right for large financiers and industrialists and monopolists to contribute tens of thousands of dollars -- but their solicitude for that dollar which the men and women in the ranks of labor contribute is always very touching.

They are, of course, perfectly willing to let you vote -- unless you happen to be a soldier or sailor overseas or a merchant mariner, carrying the munitions of war. In that case they have made it pretty hard for you to vote. I know several merchant marine sailors and Red Cross and USO workers, for example, who will be on the sea or on foreign fronts between now and election day. They happen to be residents and citizens of the State of New York. They want to vote for Federal officers at least, but they cannot vote because the executive and legislative branches of the State of New York -- although they talked about it a great deal -- did nothing to permit them to vote.

And while I am on the subject of voting let me urge every American citizen -- men and women -- to use your sacred privilege of voting, no matter which candidate you expect to support. It will

be a sign of weakness in democracy if there is not an outpouring of voters at this election, which will be so important to the future of America. Our six or seven million soldiers and sailors and merchant mariners have been handicapped or prevented from voting by those politicians and candidates who think they stand to lose by such votes. Those of you who are at home -- irrespective of party -- can make up for this by your own votes. Be sure that you register and enable yourself to vote this November. That is a matter of good citizenship -- though some people think it may not be a matter of good party politics.

Words come easily, but they don't change the record. Most of the members of this audience, I am sure, are old enough to remember the "yellow dog" contract, the labor spy, the bullets of organized strike breakers, the unlimited work week at sweatshop wages, the little children working in the mills and factories and mines. You know what it meant to organize a shop in those days. You are old enough to remember the long hard fight before social security and the right of collective bargaining were written into the statutes - by this Administration.

And you are old enough to remember what things were like for labor in 1932, when the entire country was flat on its back.

You and I are realists - not opportunists. We remember the closed banks and the breadlines and the starvation; the foreclosures of homes and farms, and the bankruptcies of business; the

Hoovervilles, and the young men and women of the nation riding around in freight cars; the closed factories and mines and mills; the ruined and abandoned farms; the stalled railroads and the empty docks; the hopelessness and despair of a whole nation -- and the utter futility of our Federal Government.

You and I are realists -- not opportunists. We remember the long hard road, with its gains and its setbacks, which we have traveled together since those days.

Now there are some of our junior ^{officers} ~~citizens~~, of course, who do not remember that far back, and some who, though they do remember, find it convenient to forget. But the record is not to be washed away that easily.

[We have come far together -- but the objective which we seek has not yet been attained. For we shall not be satisfied until we have reached the standard of living and the feeling of security for every man, woman and child which the vast natural resources and the unlimited skill and efficiency of America make possible.]

In this election, fair partisan debate and truthful discussion of public issues are helpful to the democratic process -- indeed essential. However, campaigning based on misrepresentation of fact -- in the press, and on the air, and in campaign speeches -- is dangerous -- and has no proper place in American political life.

Yet the opposition has already imported into this campaign the propaganda technique invented by the dictators abroad. The technique was all set out in Hitler's book -- and it was copied by the aggressors of Italy and Japan. Never use a small falsehood; always a big one, for its very fantastic nature will make it more credible -- if only you keep repeating it over and over again.

I am not speaking of the great mass of Republican voters who time and again have placed above partisanship their own ideals of what serves the nation best. I am talking about certain leaders who have retained and still retain control of the party machinery and who seek by any means to perpetuate and increase that control and their own power.

[I stated in my speech of acceptance that although I did not expect to be able to find the time to campaign in the usual partisan sense, I would nevertheless feel free to point out and answer any campaign misrepresentations. I propose to point out a few of the more important ones tonight, and to brand them for what they are -- deliberate attempts to deceive the American people and to fill their minds with fear.]

The Republican campaign leaders will learn this year -- as they learned four years ago and eight years ago -- that in a democracy where the radio and a part of the press are open to both sides, this kind of Hitlerian propaganda technique cannot succeed.

They tried it in the election of 1932, again in 1936 and again in 1940, but they did not deceive the American people.

This year, they have started again. You will hear them over and over again -- because it is by repetition that they hope to impress and deceive.

For example, although I rubbed my eyes when I read it, we have been told that it was not a Republican depression, but a Democratic depression from which this nation has been saved -- that this Administration is responsible for all the suffering and misery that the history books and the American people always thought had been brought about in 1929, during the twelve ill-fated years when the Republican party was in power.

Now, there is an old and somewhat lugubrious adage which says: "Never speak of rope in the house of one who has been hanged." In the same way, if I were a Republican leader speaking to a Republican audience, the last word in the whole dictionary that I think I would use is the word "depression".

I know that the American people will never be fooled by that one; but I warn you that you will hear it over and over again -- because it is by repetition that they hope to impress and deceive.

For another example, I learned -- much to my amazement -- that the policy of this Administration was to keep men in the Army when the war was over, because there might be no jobs for them in civil life.

In June of this year, when victory in Germany first became really imminent, the policy of this Administration was publicly announced that discharges from the Army and Navy would come as soon as possible after hostilities were over.

And the very day before this fantastic charge was first made, a formal plan for the method of speedy discharge from the Army had already been announced by the War Department -- a plan based upon the votes of the soldiers themselves.

This gross and brazen misrepresentation was an effort to play upon the fears and hopes of American mothers -- to try to catch votes here and there by instilling in their minds some doubt of the good-faith of their Government.

The American people will never be fooled by that -- but you will hear it over and over again because it is by repetition that they hope to impress and deceive.

Perhaps the most callous of these campaign falsifications is the one that this Administration failed to prepare for the war which was coming. I doubt whether even Goebbels would have tried

that one. For even he would never have dared hope that the voters of this nation had already forgotten that every attempt which this Administration made to warn our people of the need for defense against attack and to arm the nation, was thwarted and blocked by the Republican leaders in the Congress and by the leaders of the Republican Party outside of Congress. Many of those very same leaders who fought every measure we proposed to that end are still in control of the Party, were in control of its National Convention in Chicago, and will be in control of the machinery of the Congress and of the Republican Party in the event of a Republican victory this Fall.

Have we forgotten our old friends -- Martin, Barton and Fish? Only one member of that trio is not running for re-election this Fall -- but there are plenty of others running who are fully qualified to take his place.

Can they really expect you to forget that those leaders branded me as an alarmist and war-monger every time that I called attention to the threat of aggression in Europe and Asia, and urged a quarantine upon all aggressors -- every time I used funds to help our national defense? Or that they voted against me when I asked the Congress in January 1938 for naval expansion; or that they voted in March 1939 against increasing naval aviation? Or that in June 1939

they voted to reduce appropriations for the Army Air Corps? Or that they voted against repeal of the Embargo Law so that we could sell war supplies to the victims of aggression? Or that they opposed the over-age destroyer transfer for bases, which saved Britain and secured our own defense? Or that they voted against the extension of the Selective Service Law in August 1941, which passed by only one vote in the House of Representatives three months before Pearl Harbor? Or that they voted against the Lend-Lease Act in March 1941 -- which did more than anything else to sustain Russia and Britain and China until our full American might could be thrown against the enemy?

No, the American people will never be fooled by that one, but you will hear it over and over again in this campaign, for it is by repetition that they hope to impress and deceive.

These attacks upon us have not stopped with me, or with my wife, or with my sons -- they now include my little dog, Fala. Unlike the family, he resents this. Being a Scottie as soon as he learned from the Republican fiction-writers that I had left him behind on a large ^{lone} Aleutian Island for two days, and then had sent a destroyer back to find him -- at a cost to the taxpayers of two or three or ten or twenty million dollars -- his Scotch soul was furious. He has not been the same dog since. For myself, I'm accustomed to hearing malicious falsehoods -- such as that I have ever represented myself as indispensable. But I think I have a right to object to deliberate lies about my dog.

But enough of the past for tonight. The people of this country know it too well to forget -- or to be deceived into forgetting. Too much is at stake to forget. There are tasks ahead of us which we must now face and do with the same will and intelligence and devotion which have already led us so far on the road to victory.

The task of preparing for the peace falls into two parts.

There is the task we share with all the other United Nations -- the task of setting up international machinery to assure that the peace once established, will not again be broken.

And there is the task which we face here at home, the task of reconverting our economy from the purposes of war to the purposes of peace.

We faced these twin tasks once before, nearly a generation ago. We faced them and we botched them -- both of them. That must not happen this time. It won't happen this time.

Fortunately, we do not begin from scratch. Much has been done. Much more is under way. The fruit of victory this time will not be apples to be sold on the corners.

To this greatest war in all history, we have devoted more of our manpower, our treasures, our skill than ever before. Yet, as we

fight with every American resource, the American people at home are better fed than ever before -- in peace or in war. Our farmers are better off than at any time in our history. Wage earners are able to consume the record production of food because of high wages. Business profits are at the highest level since 19 _____. And yet there has been no inflation - the American dollar is still the soundest currency in the world. Our civil liberties are all secure. Our democratic rights and privileges have all been preserved.

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We shall consolate our gains. We shall organize the logistics of the peace as today General Eisenhower, General MacArthur and Admiral Nimitz are organizing the logistics of this war.

And then we shall take the high road and march forward to the new objectives -- the ultimate purposes for which the whole people of these United States and these United Nations have fought and worked so magnificently, so triumphantly, for so long -- the peace and security and happiness of the good people who have earned it all over the world.

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- 1 -

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[I know that you and I understand each other, and have had quite a chuckle over some of the Republican campaign oratory we have been hearing recently. You and I have worked together, and fought together, day in and day out. And we know those who have been against *the people* us -- day in and day out.]

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Many of the Republican leaders and Congressmen, ^{and candidates,} who shouted enthusiastic approval of that plank in that Convention Hall, had personally spent years of effort and energy — and much money — in fighting every one of those laws in the Congress, in the press, and in the courts ever since this Administration began to advocate them and enact them into legislation. *That is a fair sample of the sincerity and of their determination*

I need not recount to you the centuries of history which have been crowded into those four years since I saw you last. Our progress since then can best be summed up in a statement of what we did last week at Quebec:

First, we made the final plans for the crushing defeat and the complete disarmament of Germany.

Secondly, we made the plans for the all-out, large-scale attacks which will lead to the crushing defeat and complete disarmament of Japan.

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For there were men in America who saw the danger and who warned against it time and again. They saw aggression coming years before 1940. They first called for a quarantine to stop the aggressors, and then called for armed force to stop them.

America carried on through the early years of the European war, keeping the peace down to the last shred of hope — but building our *and strengthen our friends* gigantic armament industry — in case of attack.

And those who had the responsibility of buttressing the defense of Great Britain, who was standing alone in all the world against the Nazi terror, were not helped by men who filled the press and the radio with hysterical attacks against the Lend-Lease bill, the foundation of all our assistance to those who were resisting aggressors. Some of the attackers of Lend-Lease even said it ^{would} ~~was~~ mean the end to free government in the United States, and would abolish the Congress for all practical purposes.

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of our armed forces and our military resources between the Atlantic and Pacific, between the Army and the Navy, and among the Commanding Generals of our different theatres of war.

Even as our armed forces have advanced across the oceans to attack our enemies in the Pacific and in the Mediterranean and across the English Channel and over the roof-tops of Germany, we have held conferences for the purpose of winning the war and laying the firm foundations for a lasting peace. We have held conferences in which all the United Nations - large and small - have participated, and in which the United States has been represented by members of the executive and legislative branches, members of both political parties.

In preparations for peace -- as in preparations for war -- we have, from the very beginning, sought out the advice and assistance of leaders of both parties. We of this Administration would appear pretty small in the eyes of history if we attempted to monopolize the credit for the tremendous job that has been done in this war ^{and will be done in the peace}. That credit belongs to all of the United States of America - to all of the United Nations. ~~And all of us must and will follow through until this war is totally won and we have built a peace which means an end to~~

war.

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We of the United Nations have already come to agreement on many vital international problems of food and agriculture, relief and rehabilitation, currency and banking, education and security. Even as I talk to you tonight, the details of the machinery and the organization to keep the peace of the world -- by force if necessary -- are being worked out at Dumbarton Oaks.

~~In those conferences which are of course preliminary, most of the peace machinery has been worked out. There is still work to be done before the completed proposals go for study to all the United Nations and other peace-loving nations associated with them in the war. Then there will be a conference with all such nations - large and small - taking part. Doubtless that next conference will not be the final one. It will, however, represent definite progress toward permanent peace.~~

Through these past twelve years Republican leaders have fought against and ridiculed and tried to sabotage the great domestic, ^{But} [social] reforms of this Administration. And then - by a funny strange coincidence, whenever an election comes up - these same Republican orators class these same reforms to their bosoms and claim them as their own. ¶ We have become accustomed to those sudden claims of parentage on the domestic scene. I am wholly willing to leave ^{to the nation} the question of just who the parents were. Americans are not in the habit of hanging their own Father and Mother.

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But this year we have a new spectacle. It is in the international field. All of a sudden, many of those very isolationist leaders who kept their heads buried deep in the sand while the storms of Europe were headed our way, who refused to have anything to do with Britain and Russia, who even denounced our recognition of Russia, who called the lend-lease bill the death-knell of American ^{who voted against every measure for defense,} democracy, ^{who} urged that the great peoples of Europe opposing the Axis should stew in their own juice, who even thought that we could always do business with Hitler, and acquiesced in the doctrine that maybe Nazism was the wave of the future -- these men are now turning up as the great internationalists of the day.

"Oh, just forget what we used to say", they urge you, "we have changed our minds now -- we have been reading the public opinion polls about these things and we now know what the American people want. Don't leave the task of making the peace to those old men who first urged it and who have already laid the foundations for it, and who had to fight all of us inch by inch during the last five years to do it -- just turn it all over to us. We'll do it so skillfully -- ^{and} that in doing it we won't lose a single isolationist vote."

Now we shall welcome all sincere converts to the cause of effective world collaboration in the making of a lasting peace and

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to the cause of social progress here at home. It should be a ~~NA~~ - partisan peace, of course. Millions of Republicans all over the nation are with us -- and have been with us -- in our unshakable determination to work out the means of peace and of a higher standard of living. And they too will resent this campaign talk by those who first woke up to the facts ~~of life~~ ~~of~~ international life and national life -- when they began to study the polls of public opinion.

When I saw you four years ago, I ~~expressed to you the con-~~
~~fidence which the people of the United States felt in American labor.~~

~~I then~~ said: "I know that America will never be disappointed in its expectation that labor will always continue to do its share of the job we now face, and do it patriotically and effectively and unselfishly".

Today we know that America has not been disappointed.

There is no need to cite statistics to prove it. ~~eloquent~~
~~testimony has been given by the thousands and millions of tons of~~
~~unbeatable weapons and equipment which have poured by ships and by~~
~~planes to all the distant battlefields of this war.~~ The brave, well-
 trained men who are now driving back the Germans and the Japs have
 fought and won the battles; but in the words of General Eisenhower
 in his Order of the Day when the allied armies first landed in

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Normandy: "Our home fronts have given us overwhelming superiority in weapons and munitions of war". Those superior weapons came from America's factories and shipyards and from its farms and mines, and they have stood the test of battle on every continent and every sea.

I know that there are those labor baiters among the opposition who, instead of calling attention to the accomplishments of labor in this war, prefer to pick on the occasional flare-ups and strikes which have occurred -- strikes which have been condemned by every responsible national labor leader -- every national leader except one. And that one labor leader, incidentally, is certainly not among my supporters.

We seldom read or hear about
~~Newspapers or the majority of them seldom mention~~ the day-

by-day and month-by-month production of implements of war. *It is not considered*

News to
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109 000 _____ per year, or the tanks at 57 000 per year, or the cargo ships

at 1800 per year, or the combat vessels at 573 per year, or

Small arms
 the ammunition at the rate of 23 billion rounds _____ per year. ~~Next~~ *They consider*

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percent of man-hours have been lost by strikes since Pearl Harbor -- and the vast majority have been wild-cat, unauthorized strikes. ^{and} of these strikes ¹⁰ % came as a result of the refusal of the employer to obey the directions of the War Labor Board - set up by law to pass on these labor disputes.

But even those who burst out in election-year-ecstasy for social legislation and for labor in general, still think you ought to be good boys and stay out of politics. And above all, they hate to see any working man or woman contribute a dollar bill to any wicked political party. Of course, it is all right for large financiers and industrialists and monopolists to contribute tens of thousands of dollars -- but their solicitude for that dollar which the men and women in the ranks of labor contribute is always very touching.

They are, of course, perfectly willing to let you vote -- unless you happen to be a soldier or sailor overseas or a merchant mariner, carrying the munitions of war. In that case they have made it pretty hard for you to vote. ^P For example, there ~~are~~ ^{are} thousands of merchant marine sailors and Red Cross and USO workers ~~who~~ will be overseas between now and election day ^{who} ~~they~~ happen to be residents and citizens of the State of New York. They want to vote for Federal officers at least, but they cannot vote because the executive and legislative branches of the State of New York -- although they talked about it a great deal -- did nothing to permit them to vote.

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And while I am on the subject of voting let me urge every American citizen -- men and women -- to use your sacred privilege of voting, no matter which candidate you expect to support. ~~It will be a sign of weakness in democracy if there is not an outpouring of voters at this election, which will be so important to the future of America.~~ Our ~~(eleven)~~ ^{or} million soldiers and sailors and merchant mariners have been handicapped or prevented from voting by those politicians and candidates who think they stand to lose by such votes. Those of you who are at home ^{have not been handicapped as much, and} -- irrespective of party -- ^{can} make up for this by your own votes. Be sure that ^{should} you register and ^{enable your-}self to vote this November. That is a matter of good citizenship -- though there are some political candidates who think they may have a chance of winning if only the vote is small enough.

Words come easily, but they don't change the record. Most of the members of this audience, I am sure, are old enough to remember the "yellow dog" contract, the labor spy, the bullets of organized strike breakers, the unlimited work week at sweatshop wages, the little children working in the mills and factories and mines. You know what it meant to organize a shop in those days. You are old enough to remember the long hard fight before social security and the right of collective bargaining were written into the statutes - by this Administration.

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And you are old enough to remember what things were like for labor in 1932, when the entire country was flat on its back.

You and I are realists - not opportunists. We remember the closed banks and the breadlines and the starvation; the foreclosures of homes and farms, and the bankruptcies of business; the Hoovervilles, and the young men and women of the nation facing a hopeless, jobless future; the closed factories and mines and mills; the ruined and abandoned farms; the stalled railroads and the empty docks; the blank despair of a whole nation -- and the utter impotence of our Federal Government.

You and I are realists -- not opportunists. We remember the long hard road, with its gains and its setbacks, which we have traveled together since those days.

Now there are some of our junior politicians, of course, who do not remember that far back, and some who, though they do remember, find it convenient to forget. But the record is not to be washed away that easily.

In this election, fair partisan debate and truthful discussion ^{the real} of public issues are helpful to the democratic process -- indeed essential. However, campaigning based on misrepresentation of fact -- in

And incidentally - this falsehood
was hardly calculated ~~to~~
bolster the morale of our
soldiers and sailors and
airmen fighting ^{on battle} all over the
world & ~~not in the~~

Insert B

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the press, and on the air, and in campaign speeches -- is dangerous -- and has no proper place in decent American political life.

Yet the opposition has already imported into this campaign the propaganda technique invented by the dictators abroad. The technique was all set out in Hitler's book -- and it was copied by the aggressors of Italy and Japan. According to that technique, you should never use a small falsehood; always a big one, for its very fantastic nature will make it more credible -- if only you keep repeating it over and over again.

[I am not speaking of the great mass of Republican voters who time and again have placed above partisanship their own ideals of what serves the nation best. I am talking about certain leaders who have retained and still retain control of the party machinery and who seek by any means to perpetuate and increase that control to fortify their own power.]

[The Republican campaign leaders will learn this year -- as they learned four years ago and eight years ago -- that in a democracy where the radio and a part of the press are open to both sides, this kind of Hitlerian propaganda technique cannot succeed.]

For example, although I rubbed my eyes when I read it, we have been told that it was not a Republican depression, but a Democratic depression!

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depression from which this nation has been saved -- that this Administration is responsible for all the suffering and misery that the history books and the American people always thought had been brought about [in 1969] during the twelve ill-fated years when the Republican party was in power.

Now, there is an old and somewhat lugubrious adage which says: "Never speak of rope in the house of one who has been hanged." In the same way, if I were a Republican leader speaking to a Republican audience, the last word in the whole dictionary that I think I would use is the word "depression".

I know that the American people will never be fooled by that one; but I warn you that you will hear it over and over again -- because it is by repetition that they hope to impress and deceive.

For another example, I learned -- much to my amazement -- that the policy of this Administration was to keep men in the Army when the war was over, because there might be no jobs for them in civil life.

[In June of this year, when victory in Germany first became really imminent, the policy of this Administration was publicly announced that discharges from the Army and Navy would come as soon as possible after hostilities were over.]

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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Most Americans
have already studied
that plan and approved it -
although there are one or
two, I am afraid, who have
not.

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^{Why,}
^{has}
And the very day before this fantastic charge was first made, a formal plan for the method of speedy discharge from the Army had already been announced by the War Department -- a plan based upon the votes of the soldiers themselves. *Insert (A)*

This callous and brazen falsehood about demobilization was an effort to play upon the fears and hopes of American mothers -- to try to catch votes here and there by instilling in their minds some doubt of the good-faith of their Government. *Insert (B)*

[The American people will never be fooled by that one -- but you will hear it over and over again because it is by repetition that they hope to impress and deceive.]

Perhaps the most ridiculous of these campaign falsifications is the one that this Administration failed to prepare for the war which was coming. I doubt whether even Goebbels would have tried that one. For even he would never have dared hope that the voters of this nation had already forgotten that every attempt which this Administration made to warn our people ~~[of the need for defense against attack]~~ and to arm the nation, was thwarted and blocked by the Republican leaders

in the Congress and by the leaders of the Republican Party outside of the Congress. Some during Thomas even called our 5000 plane program fantastic and said that it was impossible.

~~Congress~~. Many of those very same leaders who fought every measure we proposed to that end are still in control of the Party, were in control of its National Convention in Chicago, and would be in control of the machinery of the Congress and of the Republican Party in the event of a Republican victory this Fall.

Have we forgotten our old friends -- Martin, Barton and Fish? One member of that immortal trio is not running for re-election this Fall -- but there are plenty of others running who are fully qualified to take his place in the ranks of obstruction and sabotage.

Can they really expect you to forget that those leaders branded me as an alarmist and war-monger every time that I called attention to the threat of aggression in Europe and Asia, and urged a quarantine upon all aggressors -- every time I used funds to help our national defense? Or that they voted against me when I asked the Congress in January 1938 for naval expansion; or that they voted in March 1939 against increasing naval aviation? Or that in June 1939 they voted to reduce appropriations for the Army Air Corps? Or that they voted against repeal of the Embargo Law so that we could sell war supplies to the victims of aggression? Or that they opposed the over-age

Has they
voted against measure after measure designed to prepare this nation against the menace of the Germans and the Japs right down to Pearl Harbor.

[destroyer transfer for bases, which helped mightily to save Britain and to secure our own defense? Or that they voted against the original Selective Service Law in 1940, and, in 1941, against the extension of military service under the Selective Service Law[^] which passed by only one vote in the House of Representatives three months before Pearl Harbor?]

No, the American people will never be fooled by that one, but you will hear it over and over again in this campaign, for it is by repetition that they hope to impress and deceive.

These Republican leaders have not been content with attacks upon me, or my wife, or my sons -- they now include my little dog, Fala. Unlike the members of my family, he resents this. Being a Scottie, as soon as he learned from the Republican fiction-writers that I had left him behind on an Aleutian Island for two days, and then had sent a destroyer back to find him -- at a cost to the taxpayers of two or three or ten or twenty million dollars -- his Scotch soul was furious. He has not been the same dog since. For myself, I am accustomed to hearing malicious falsehoods -- such as that old, worm-eaten chestnut that I have represented myself as indispensable. But I think I have a right to object to deliberate lies about my dog.

But enough of the past for tonight. The people of this country know it too well to forget -- or to be deceived into forgetting.

Too much is at stake to forget. There are tasks ahead of us which we must now complete with the same will and skill and intelligence and devotion which have already led us so far on the road to victory.

There is the task of winning this most terrible of all wars -- *as speedily as possible and with the least cost in lives.*
There is the task we share with all the other United Nations --

✓ the task of setting up international machinery to assure that the peace once established, will not again be broken.

And there is the task which we face here at home, the task of reconverting our economy from the purposes of war to the purposes of peace.

[We faced] ^{we faced} These peace-building tasks, once before, nearly a generation ago. ^{They were botched by a Republican Administration.} ~~We faced them and we botched them -- both of them.~~
We ^{let it} ~~will not~~ happen this time. That must not happen this time.

Fortunately, we do not begin from scratch. Much has been done. Much more is under way. The fruit of victory this time will not be apples to be sold on the street corners. *Insert A*

[To this, we have devoted more of our manpower, our treasures, our skill than ever before. Yet, as we fight with every American resource, the American people at home are better fed than ever before -- in peace or in war. Our farmers are better off than at

Insert (A) p. 17
ALTERNATIVE ENDING.

Many months ago, ^{this Administration} we set up the necessary machinery for an orderly ^{peace-time} demobilization [an Office of ^{War} Demobilization, an Office of Contract Termination, a Surplus Property Disposal Administration, and an Office of Reemployment and Retraining.] I recommended to the Congress and the Congress ^{has} passed legislation continuing these ^{needed for demobilization} agencies - with additional powers and funds to carry out their functions.

The keynote of all that we propose to do in reconversion can be found in the ^{one} word "jobs". I know that the American people - business and labor and agriculture - have the same will to do for peace what they have done for war. And I know that they can ^{sustain} ~~attain~~ a national income which will assure full production and full employment ^{under our democratic system of} private enterprise with government encouragement and aid whenever and wherever it is necessary. We shall lease or dispose of our government-owned plants and facilities and our surplus war property and land on the basis ^{be operated by private enterprise to} of how they can best give jobs to the greatest number.

We shall always follow a wage policy which will prevent any sharp curtailment of wages, and which shall sustain the purchasing power of labor - for that means ^{more} production and more jobs. Our pricing policy for civilian goods will be fixed so as to promote greater sales and greater production - for that means more jobs. Our tax policy after the war will encourage

production not only by giving greater incentive for private profit, but by encouraging industry through liberal tax depreciation allowances on new equipment and machinery - for that means more jobs.

The present policies on wages and prices were conceived to serve the needs of the great masses of the people. They stopped inflation. They kept prices on a stable level. They raised the standard of living. As we cautiously feel our way through the demobilization period, those policies will be changed from time to time with the same objective in mind -- to serve the needs of the great masses of the people.

This is not the time in which men can be forgotten as they were in the Republican catastrophe which we inherited. The returning soldier, the worker by his machine, the farmer in the field, the men and women in offices and shops, do not *intend* [^] ~~mean~~ to be forgotten ~~in the bookkeeping of unimaginative economists and the speculations of junk dealers and men with junk-dealer minds.~~

They know

[^] They are not surplus.

Because they know that

[^] They are America.

any time in our history. Wage earners are able to consume the record production of food because of high wages. Business profits are at the highest level since 19___. And yet there has been no inflation - the American dollar is still the soundest currency in the world. Our civil liberties are all secure. Our democratic rights and privileges have all been preserved.]

I shall, from time to time before Election Day, inform the American people of what we have done and what we shall do -- and pay my respects to those who have tried to create the false impression that we have done nothing in the past, and have no program for the future.

[During our triumphant progress through France this summer we have seen how well trained, well equipped armies may advance at a bewildering rate of speed.

But when an army reaches its objectives, it must pause for a while -- and consolidate its gains.

That means clearing out the remaining enemy pockets of resistance -- the snipers -- the saboteurs. It means reestablishing law and order in the liberated territory -- giving the war-ravaged victims a chance to regain the good life, the peaceful life.

After 1918 [we failed to consolidate] our gains, [we reached] our objectives, ^{we not consolidated.} -- and then we quit -- we quit cold. ^{we reached}]

And, during the 1920's, the snipers and the saboteurs came out of their hiding places and -- well, the tragic story of those years is too well known to need retelling.

But -- we shall not make those mistakes again.

~~We shall consolidate our gains.~~ We shall organize the logistics of the peace as today *General MacArthur,* General Eisenhower, ~~General MacArthur,~~ and Admiral Nimitz are organizing the logistics of this war.

And then we shall take the high road and march forward to the new objectives -- the ultimate purposes for which the whole people of these United States and these United Nations have fought and worked so magnificently, so triumphantly, for so long -- the peace and security and happiness of the good people who have earned it all over this nation and all over this world.

Well, here we are together again -- after four years -- and what years they have been! I am actually four years older -- which seems to annoy some people and disturb others. In fact, millions of people are more than eleven years older than when we started in to clear up the debris dumped in our laps in 1933.

We all know certain people who make it a practice to depreciate the accomplishments of labor -- who even attack labor as unpatriotic. They keep this up usually for three years and six months. But then, for some strange reason, they change their tune -- every four years -- just before election day. When votes are at stake, they suddenly discover that they really love labor, and wish to foster it, and to protect it from its old friends.

I got quite a laugh, for example, -- and I am sure that you did -- when I read this plank in the Republican platform adopted at their National Convention in Chicago last July:

"The Republican party accepts the purposes of the National Labor Relations Act, the Wage and Hour Act, the Social Security Act and all other Federal statutes designed to promote and protect the welfare of American working men and women, and we promise a fair and just administration of these laws".

Many of the Republican leaders and Congressmen and candidates, who shouted enthusiastic approval of that plank in that Convention

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Hall, had personally spent years of effort and energy -- and much money -- in fighting every one of those laws in the Congress, in the press, and in the courts ever since this Administration began to advocate them and enact them into legislation. That is a fair example of their sincerity and of their consistency. *Insert (A)*

I need not recount to you the centuries of history which have been crowded into those four years since I saw you last. [Our progress since then can best be summed up in a statement of what we did last week at Quebec:

First, we made the final plans for the crushing defeat and the complete disarmament of Germany.

Secondly, we made the plans for the all-out, large-scale attacks which will lead to the crushing defeat and complete disarmament of Japan.]

There were some -- in the Congress and out -- who raised their voices against the preparation of defenses before and after 1939, as hysterical war mongering, who cried out against our help to the Allies as provocative and dangerous. We remember the voices. They would like to have us forget them now. But in 1940 and 1941 they were loud voices. Happily they were a minority and -- fortunately for ourselves, and for the world -- they could not stop America.

[America carried on through the early years of the European war, keeping the peace down to the last shred of hope -- but building our gigantic armament industry and strengthen^{ing} our friends -- in case of attack.]

[Those who had the responsibility of buttressing the defense of Great Britain, who was standing alone in all the world against the Nazi terror, were not helped by men who filled the press and the radio with hysterical attacks against the Lend-Lease bill, the foundation of all our assistance to those who were resisting aggressors. Some of the attackers of Lend-Lease even said it would mean the end to free government in the United States, and would abolish the Congress for all practical purposes.]

[And those who today have the military responsibility for waging this war in all parts of the globe are not helped by the statement of men who without responsibility and without knowledge of the facts, lecture the Chiefs of Staff of the United States as to the best means of dividing our armed forces and our military resources between the Atlantic and Pacific, between the Army and the Navy, and among the Commanding Generals of our different theatres of war.]

Even as our armed forces have advanced across the oceans to attack our enemies in the Pacific and in the Mediterranean and across the English Channel and over the roof-tops of Germany, we have held conferences for the purpose of laying the firm foundations for a lasting peace. We have held conferences in which all the United Nations - large and small - have participated, and in which the United States has been represented by members of the executive and legislative branches -- members of both political parties.

In preparations for peace -- as in preparations for war -- we have, from the very beginning, sought out the advice and assistance of leaders of both parties. We of this Administration would appear pretty small in the eyes of history if we attempted to monopolize the credit for the tremendous job that has been done in this war -- and will be done in the peace. That credit belongs to all of the United States of America - to all of the United Nations.

We of the United Nations have already come to agreement on many vital international problems of food and agriculture, relief

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4-a

and rehabilitation, currency and banking, education and security.

Even as I talk to you tonight, ^{many of} the details of the machinery and the organization to keep the peace of the world -- by force if necessary -- are being worked out at Dumbarton Oaks.

Through these past twelve years Republican leaders have fought against and ridiculed and tried to sabotage the great domestic reforms of this Administration. But - by a strange coincidence, whenever an election comes up - these same Republican orators clasp these same reforms to their bosoms and claim them as their own.

We have become accustomed to those sudden claims of parentage on the domestic scene. I am wholly willing to leave to the American people the question of just who the parents were. Americans are not in the habit of denying their own Father and Mother.

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[But this year we have a new spectacle. It is in the international field.]

[~~All of a sudden~~ ^{AM} many of those very isolationist leaders who kept their heads buried deep in the sand while the storms of ^{and their} Europe were headed our way, who refused to have anything to do with Britain and Russia, who even denounced our recognition of Russia, who called the lend-lease bill the ^{end of free government in the United States} ~~death knell of American democracy~~, and who said that only hysteria would believe ^{that the} who voted against every measure for defense, — these men are now ^{are} turning up as the great internationalists of the day. ^{contemplate war upon us}]

"Oh, just forget what we used to say", they urge you, "we have changed our minds now — we have been reading the public opinion polls about these things and we now know what the American people want. Don't leave the task of making the peace to those old men who first urged it and who have already laid the foundations for it, and who had to fight all of us inch by inch during the last five years to do it — just turn it all over to us. We'll do it so skillfully — and in doing it we won't lose a single isolationist vote ^{or a single} *isolationist campaign contribution.*" (A)

Now we shall welcome all sincere converts to the cause of effective world collaboration in the making of a lasting peace and to the cause of social progress here at home. It should be a non-

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

INSERT A - PAGE #5

Unfortunately I am too old
for one thing -- I cannot talk
out of both sides of my mouth at
the same time.

FOREIGN DRAFT

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partisan peace, of course. Millions of Republicans all over the nation are with us -- and have been with us -- in our unshakable determination to work out the means of peace and of a higher standard of living. And they too will resent this campaign talk by those who first woke up to the facts of international life and national life -- *a few short months ago*
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Labor-baiters seldom
 We seldom read or hear about the day-by-day and month-by-month production of implements of war. It is not considered news to mention the airplanes which have been turned out at the rate of 109,000 per year, or the tanks at 57,000 per year, or the cargo ships *19 million tons* at 1990 per year, or the combat vessels at 575 per year, or the landing vessels at the rate of 51,000 per year, or small arms ammunition at the rate of 25 billion rounds per year. ~~Not to be concerned about~~

~~these figures are not new~~ But a strike is news and generally appears in shrieking headlines — and, of course, they say labor is always blame. *This fact is* [It is no more than fair to say that only one-tenth of one percent of man-hours have been lost by strikes since Pearl Harbor] *relatively few strikes* [and the vast majority have been wild-cat, unauthorized strikes.]

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And you are old enough to remember what things were like for labor in 1932, [when the entire country was flat on its back.]

[You and I are realists -- not opportunists.] ^{people} Remember the closed banks and the breadlines and the starvation; the foreclosures of homes and farms, and the bankruptcies of business; the Hoovervilles, and the young men and women of the nation facing a hopeless, jobless future; the closed factories and mines and mills; the ruined and abandoned farms; the stalled railroads and the empty

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never use a small falsehood; always a big one, for its very fantastic nature will make it more credible -- if only you keep repeating it over and over again.

For example, although I rubbed my eyes when I read it, we have been told that it was not a Republican depression, but a Democratic depression from which this nation has been saved -- that this Administration is responsible for all the suffering and misery that the history books and the American people always thought had been brought about during the twelve ill-fated years when the Republican party was in power.

Now, there is an old and somewhat lugubrious adage which says: "Never speak of rope in the house of one who has been hanged." In the same way, if I were a Republican leader speaking to a Republican audience, the last word in the whole dictionary that I think I would use is that word "depression".

[I know that the American people will never be fooled by that one; but I warn you that you will hear it over and over again -- because it is by repetition that they hope to impress and deceive.]

For another example, I learned -- much to my amazement -- that the policy of this Administration was to keep men in the Army when the war was over, because there might be no jobs for them in civil life.

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Why, the very day that this fantastic charge was first made, a formal plan for the method of speedy discharge from the Army had already been announced by the War Department -- a plan based upon the votes of the soldiers themselves.

Most Americans have already studied that plan and approved it -- although there are one or two, I am afraid, who have not.

This callous and brazen falsehood about demobilization was an effort to play upon the fears and hopes of American mothers

[to try to catch votes here and there by instilling in their minds some doubt of the good faith of their Government.] And, incidentally ^{in order to} ~~for~~ ^{to} ~~authenticate~~ ^{authenticate} it [this falsehood] was hardly calculated to bolster the morale of our soldiers and sailors and airmen fighting our battles all over the world.

Perhaps the most ridiculous of these campaign falsifications is the one that this Administration failed to prepare for the war which was coming. I doubt whether even Goebbels would have tried that one. For even he would never have dared hope that the voters of this nation had already forgotten that every attempt which this Administration made to warn our people and to arm the nation, was thwarted and blocked by the Republican leaders in the Congress and by the leaders

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of the Republican Party outside of the Congress. Some [doubting
 Thomases even ^{of them} called our 50,000 ^{air} plane program fantastic, [and said that
 it was impossible.] Many of those very same leaders who fought every *defense*
 measure we proposed [to that end] are still in control of the Party,
 were in control of its National Convention in Chicago, and would be
 in control of the machinery of the Congress and of the Republican
 Party in the event of a Republican victory this Fall.

Have we forgotten our old friends, -- Martin, Barton and
 Fish? One member of that immortal trio is not running for re-election
 this Fall -- but there are plenty of others running who are fully
 qualified to take his place in the ranks of obstruction and sabotage.

[Can they really expect you to forget that those leaders
 branded me as an alarmist and war-monger every time that I called
 attention to the threat of aggression in Europe and Asia, and that
 they voted against measure after measure designed to prepare this
 nation against the menace of the Germans and the Japs -- right down
 to Pearl Harbor.]

[No, the American people will never be fooled by that one,
 but you will hear it over and over again in this campaign, for it is
 by repetition that they hope to impress and deceive.]

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These Republican leaders have not been content with attacks upon me, or my wife, or my sons — they now include my little dog, Fala. Unlike the members of my family, he resents this. Being a Scottie, as soon as he learned from the Republican fiction-writers that I had left him behind on an Aleutian island for two days, and then had sent a destroyer back to find him — at a cost to the taxpayers of two or three or ten or twenty million dollars — his Scotch soul was furious. He has not been the same dog since. For myself, I am accustomed to hearing malicious falsehoods — such as that old, worm-eaten chestnut that I have represented myself as indispensable. But I think I have a right to object to deliberate lies about my dog.

But enough of the past for tonight. The people of this country know it too well to forget — or to be deceived into forgetting. Too much is at stake to forget. There are tasks ahead of us which we must now complete with the same will and skill and intelligence and devotion which have already led us so far on the road to victory.

There is the task of winning this most terrible of all wars as speedily as possible and with the least cost in lives.

There is the task [we share with all the other United Nations —]

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[the task] of setting up international machinery to assure that the peace once established, will not again be broken.

And there is the task which we face here at home, the task of reconverting our economy from the purposes of war to the purposes of peace.

These peace-building tasks were faced once before, nearly a generation ago. They were botched by a Republican Administration. That must not happen this time. We will not let it happen this time.

Fortunately, we do not begin from scratch. Much has been done. Much more is under way. The fruits of victory this time will not be apples to be sold on the street corners.

Many months ago, this Administration set up the necessary machinery for an orderly peace-time demobilization. [I recommended to the Congress, and] The Congress has now passed legislation continuing the agencies needed for demobilization -- with additional powers and ~~scope~~ to carry out their functions.

The keynote of all that we propose to do in reconversion can be found in the one word "jobs". I know that the American people -- business and labor and agriculture -- have the same will to do for

peace what they have done for war. And I know that they can sustain a national income which will assure full production and full employment under our democratic system of private enterprise with government encouragement and aid whenever and wherever it is necessary.

We shall lease or dispose of our government-owned plants and facilities and our surplus war property and land on the basis of how they can best be operated by private enterprise to give jobs to the greatest number.

We shall always follow a wage policy which will prevent any sharp curtailment of wages, and which shall sustain the purchasing power of labor -- for that means more production and more jobs.

War pricing policy for civilian goods will be fixed so as to promote greater sales and greater production -- for that means more jobs.

Our tax policy after the war will encourage production not only by giving greater incentive for private profit, but by encouraging industry through liberal tax depreciation allowances on new equipment and machinery -- for that means more jobs.

The present policies on wages and prices were conceived to serve the needs of the great masses of the people. They stopped

inflation. They kept prices on a stable level. ~~They raised the standard of living.~~ AS we cautiously feel our way through the demobilization period, those policies will be changed from time to time with the same objective in mind -- to serve the needs of the great masses of the people.

This is not the time in which men can be forgotten as they were in the Republican catastrophe which we inherited. The returning soldier, the worker by his machine, the farmer in the field, the men and women in offices and shops, do not intend to be forgotten.

They know they are not surplus. Because they know that they are America.

Insert A [I shall, from time to time before Election Day, inform the American people of what we have done and what we shall do -- and pay my respects to those who have tried to create the false impression that we have done nothing in the past, and have no program for the future.]

and even now
We ~~shall~~ ^{are} ^{ing} organizing the logistics of the peace ^{just} as today

General MacArthur, General Eisenhower, and Admiral Nimitz are organizing the logistics of this war.

when the war ends,
And then we shall ^{again} take the high road and march forward to the new objectives -- the ultimate purposes for which the whole people

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of these United States and these United Nations have fought and worked so magnificently, so triumphantly, for so long -- the peace and security and happiness of the good people who have earned it, all over this nation, and all over this world.

Well, here we are together again -- after four years -- and what years they have been! I am actually four years older -- which seems to annoy some people ~~and disturb others~~. In fact, millions of ^{us} ~~people~~ are more than eleven years older than when we started in to clear up the debris dumped in our laps in 1933.

We all know certain people who make it a practice to deprecate the accomplishments of labor -- who even attack labor as unpatriotic. They keep this up usually for three years and six months. But then, for some strange reason, they change their tune -- every four years -- just before election day. When votes are at stake, they suddenly discover that they really love labor, ^{help} and wish to ~~feet~~ ^{it}, and ^{are eager} to protect it from its old friends.

I got quite a laugh, for example, -- and I am sure that you did -- when I read this plank in the Republican platform adopted at their National Convention in Chicago last July:

"The Republican party accepts the purposes of the National Labor Relations Act, the Wage and Hour Act, the Social Security Act and all other Federal statutes designed to promote and protect the welfare of American working men and women, and we promise a fair and just administration of these laws".

Many of the Republican leaders and Congressmen and candidates, who shouted enthusiastic approval of that plank in that Convention

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would not even recognize these progressive laws if they met them in broad daylight. Indeed, they label

Hall, had personally spent years of effort and energy -- and much money -- in fighting every one of those laws in the Congress, in the press, and in the courts, ever since this Administration began to advocate them and enact them into legislation. That is a fair example of their sincerity and of their consistency.

The whole purpose of Republican oratory these days seems to be to switch labels. The object is to persuade the American people that the Democratic party was responsible for the 1929 crash and depression, and that the Republican party was responsible for all social progress under the New Deal.

Imitation may be the sincerest form of flattery -- but I am afraid that in this case it is the most obvious common or garden variety of fraud.

There are enlightened, liberal elements in the Republican party, and they have fought hard and honorably to bring the party up to date and to get it in step with the forward march of American progress. But these liberal elements [~~try as they would~~] were not able to ~~they could not~~ drive the Old Guard Republicans from their entrenched positions.

Can the Old Guard pass itself off as the New Deal?

I think not.

We have all seen many marvelous stunts performed in the circus,
^{no performing elephant could}
 but ~~we have never yet seen an elephant try to~~ turn a hand-spring without
 falling ^{flat} squarely on his back.

I need not recount to you the centuries of history which have
 been crowded into ^{these} ~~these~~ four years since I saw you last.

There were some -- in the Congress and out -- who raised their
 voices against ^{our} ~~the~~ preparation ^{of} ~~of~~ defenses before and after 1939, as
 hysterical war mongering, who cried out against our help to the Allies
 as provocative and dangerous. We remember the voices. They would like
 to have us forget them now. But in 1940 and 1941 they were loud voices.
 Happily they were a minority and -- fortunately for ourselves, and for the
 world -- they could not stop America.

^{These are some politicians}
~~Many of these very isolationist leaders~~ who kept their heads
 buried deep in the sand while the storms of Europe and Asia were headed
 our way, ~~who refused to have anything to do with Britain and Russia, who~~
~~even denounced our recognition of Russia,~~ ^{said that} who called the lend-lease bill
 "wrecking on our end to
 the end of free government in the United States," ~~who voted against every~~
~~measure for defense,~~ and who said that only hysteria ~~could believe that~~
~~the Axis contemplates war upon us,~~ ^{I say} these men are now turning up as
 the great internationalists of the day.]

entertains the idea that Germany, Italy or Japan contemplate
 war upon us.

asking the American people to entrust to them the
 conduct of our foreign policy and our military policy.

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Republican leaders
What the one now saying in effect is this: 265

"Oh, just forget what we used to say, ~~that we were~~ we have changed our minds now — we have been reading the public opinion polls about these things, and we now know what the American people want. Don't leave the task of making the peace to those old men who first urged it, and who have already laid the foundations for it, and who ^{have} had to fight all of us inch by inch during the last five years to do it — just turn it all over to us. We'll do it so skillfully -- ~~and so cheaply~~ ^{that} we won't lose a single isolationist vote or a single isolationist campaign contribution."

There is one thing
Unfortunately I am too old for ~~one thing~~ -- I cannot talk out of both sides of my mouth at the same time.

Supporters of
Now, ~~we should~~ welcome all sincere ~~supporters~~ ^{supporters of} to the cause of effective world collaboration in the making of a lasting peace, ~~and to the cause of social progress here at home.~~ ^{It should} be a non-partisan peace, of course. Millions of Republicans all over the nation are with us — and have been with us — in our unshakable determination to ^{build the solid structure} ~~work out the~~ means of peace, ~~and of a higher standard of living.~~ And they too will resent this campaign talk by those who first woke up to the facts of international life ~~(and national life)~~ a few short months ago, when they began to study the polls of public opinion.

Those who today have the military responsibility for waging this war in all parts of the globe are not helped by the statements

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of men who without responsibility and without knowledge of the facts, lecture the Chiefs of Staff of the United States as to the best means of dividing our armed forces and our military resources between the Atlantic and Pacific, between the Army and the Navy, and among the Commanding Generals of ~~our~~ ^{the} different theatres of war.

addressed

When I ~~saw~~ ^{addressed} you four years ago, I said: "I know that America will never be disappointed in its expectation that labor will always continue to do its share of the job we now face, and do it patriotically and effectively and unselfishly."

Today we know that America has not been disappointed. In

[the words of General Eisenhower in] his Order of the Day when the allied armies first landed in Normandy ^{General Eisenhower said} "Our home fronts have given us overwhelming superiority in weapons and munitions of war."

I know that there are those labor baiters among the opposition who, instead of calling attention to the ^{achievements} ~~accomplishments~~ of labor in this war, prefer to pick on the occasional [flare-ups and] strikes which have occurred -- strikes which have been condemned by every responsible national labor leader -- every national leader except one. And that one labor leader, incidentally, is certainly not among my supporters. *to name*

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at our peak,

Labor-baiters ~~will~~ ^{forget that American labor and management} mention the airplanes which have been

^{airplanes}
~~have~~ turned out ^{at} the rate of 109,000 per year; ~~on~~ ^{the} tanks ~~at~~ 57,000

per year; ~~on~~ ^{the} combat vessels ~~at~~ 573 per year; ~~on~~ ^{the} landing vessels --
at ~~the rate of~~ 31,000 per year; ~~on~~ ^{the} cargo ships ~~at~~ 19 million tons
per year; ^{and} ~~on~~ ^{the} small arms ammunition ~~at the rate of~~ 23 billion rounds per
year. ^P But a strike is news, and generally appears in shrieking head-
lines -- and, of course, they say labor is always to blame. The fact
is that ~~only one-tenth of one percent of man-hours have been lost by~~
strikes, since Pearl Harbor.

But even those candidates who burst out in election-year ~~affection~~
affection for social legislation and for labor in general, still think
you ought to be good boys and stay out of politics. And above all,
they hate to see any working man or woman contribute a dollar bill to
any wicked political party. Of course, it is all right for large
financiers and industrialists and monopolists to contribute tens of
thousands of dollars -- but their solicitude for that dollar which the
men and women in the ranks of labor contribute is always very touching.

They are, of course, perfectly willing to let you vote --
unless you happen to be a soldier or sailor overseas, or a merchant
~~seaman~~
~~seaman~~ carrying the munitions of war. In that case they have made

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it pretty hard for you to vote ^{for there are some political}
~~candidates who think they may have a chance if only the vote is small enough.~~

And while I am on the subject of voting let me urge every

^{man and woman}
American citizen -- ~~man and woman~~ -- to use your sacred privilege of

voting, no matter which candidate you expect to support. Our millions

of soldiers and sailors and merchant ^{seamen} ~~seafarers~~ have been handicapped or

prevented from voting by those politicians and candidates who think

they stand to lose by such votes. ~~Those of~~ ^{here} You who ~~are~~ at home have the
^{freedom of the ballot.}
~~not been handicapped as much, and~~

~~irrespective of party,~~ you

should register and vote this November. That is a matter of good

citizenship. ~~Even though there are some political candidates who think~~

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~~they may have a chance of winning if only the vote is small enough.~~

Words come easily, but they do not change the record. You are old enough to remember what things were like for labor in 1932.

You remember the closed banks and the breadlines and the starvation wages; the foreclosures of homes and farms, and the bankruptcies of business; the ⁺Hoovervilles⁺, and the young men and women of the nation facing a hopeless, jobless future; the closed factories and mines and mills; the ruined and abandoned farms; the stalled railroads and the empty docks; the blank despair of a whole nation -- and the utter impotence of our Federal Government.

You remember the long hard road, with its gains and its setbacks, which we have traveled together since those days.

Now there are some politicians, of course, who do not remember that far back, and some who remember but find it convenient to forget. But the record is not to be washed away that easily.

The opposition has already imported into this campaign the propaganda technique invented by the dictators abroad. The technique was all set out in Hitler's book -- and it was copied by the aggressors of Italy and Japan. According to that technique, you should never use a small falsehood; always a big one, for its very fantastic nature

will make it more credible — if only you keep repeating it over and over again.

For example, although I rubbed my eyes when I read it, we have been told that it was not a Republican depression, but a Democratic depression from which this nation has been saved — that this Administration is responsible for all the suffering and misery that the history books and the American people always thought had been brought about during the twelve ill-fated years when the Republican party was in power.

Now, there is an old and somewhat lugubrious adage which says: "Never speak of rope in the house of one who has been hanged." In the same way, if I were a Republican leader speaking to a Republican audience, the last word in the whole dictionary that I think I would use is that word "depression".

For another example, I learned — much to my amazement — that the policy of this Administration was to keep men in the Army when the war was over, because there might be no jobs for them in civil life.

Why, the very day that this fantastic charge was first made, a formal plan for the method of speedy discharge from the Army had already been announced by the War Department — a plan based upon the votes of the soldiers themselves. [Most Americans have already studied]

[that plan and approved it — although there are one or two, I am afraid, who have not.]

This callous and brazen falsehood about demobilization was an effort to ~~play upon the fears and hopes of~~ ^{stimulate fear among} American mothers, wives and sweethearts. And, incidentally, it was hardly calculated to bolster the morale of our soldiers and sailors and airmen fighting our battles all over the world.

Perhaps the most ridiculous of these campaign falsifications is the one that this Administration failed to prepare for the war which was coming. I doubt whether even Goebbels would have tried that one. For even he would never have dared hope that the voters of ^{American} ~~this nation~~ had already forgotten that every attempt which this Administration made

to warn our people and to ~~arm~~ ^{the} ~~the~~ nation, was thwarted and blocked by

^{many of} ~~A~~ Republican leaders in the Congress and ~~other~~ ^{many of the} leaders of the ~~Republican Party~~ outside of the Congress. ^{tried to thwart and block nearly} Some of them called our

50,000 airplane program fantastic. Many of those very same leaders who fought every defense measure we proposed are still in control of the ^{Republican} Party, were in control of its National Convention in Chicago, and would be in control of the machinery of the Congress and of the Republican Party in the event of a Republican victory this Fall.

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[Have we forgotten our old friends -- Martin, Barton and Fish? One member of that immortal trio is not running for re-election this Fall -- but there are plenty of others running who are fully qualified to take his place in the ranks of obstruction and sabotage.]

These Republican leaders have not been content with attacks upon me, or my wife, or my sons -- they now include my little dog, Fala. Unlike the members of my family, he resents this. Being a Scottish, as soon as he learned ^{that} ~~from~~ the Republican fiction-writers ^{had concocted a story} that I had left him behind on an Aleutian Island ~~for two days~~, and ~~then~~ had sent a destroyer back to find him -- at a cost to the taxpayers of two or three or ~~ten~~ twenty million dollars -- his Scotch soul was furious. He has not been the same dog since. ~~for myself~~, I am accustomed to hearing malicious falsehoods ^{about myself} -- such as that old, worn-eaten chestnut that I have represented myself as indispensable. But I think I have a right to ^{libelous statements} object to ~~deliberate lies~~ about my dog. ^{But not all recognize the old technique.} But enough of the past for tonight. The people of this country ^{to past} know me too well to [forget -- or to] be deceived into forgetting. Too much is at stake to forget. There are tasks ahead of us which we must now complete with the same will and skill and intelligence and devotion which have already led us so far on the road to victory.

There is the task of ~~planning~~ ^{finishing victoriously} this most terrible of all wars as speedily as possible and with the least cost in lives.

There is the task of setting up international machinery to assure that the peace, once established, will not again be broken.

And there is the task which we face here at home [^] the task of reconverting our economy from the purposes of war to the purposes of peace.

These peace-building tasks were faced once before, nearly a generation ago. They were botched by a Republican Administration. That must not happen this time. We will not let it happen this time.

Fortunately, we do not begin from scratch. Much has been done. Much more is under way. The fruits of victory this time will not be apples to be sold on ~~the~~ street corners.

Many months ago, this Administration set up the necessary machinery for an orderly peace-time demobilization. The Congress has now passed legislation continuing the agencies needed for demobilization — with additional powers to carry out their functions.

~~The keynote of all that we propose to do is reconversion can be found in the one word "jobs".~~ I know that the American people — business and labor and agriculture — have the same will to do for peace what they have done for war. And I know that they can sustain a national income which will assure full production and full employment under our

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democratic system of private enterprise, with government encouragement and aid whenever and wherever it is necessary.

The keynote of all that we propose to do in conversion can be found in the one word - jobs.

We shall lease or dispose of our government-owned plants and facilities and our surplus war property and land, on the basis of how they can best be operated by private enterprise to give jobs to the greatest number.

We shall follow a wage policy which will ~~prevent any sharp curtailment of wages, and which shall~~ sustain the purchasing power of labor — for that means more production and more jobs.

The present policies on wages and prices were conceived to serve the needs of the great masses of the people. They stopped inflation. They kept prices on a stable level. ~~As we cautiously feel our way~~ Through the demobilisation period, ~~these~~ policies will be ~~changed~~ *carried out* ~~from time to time~~ with the same objective in mind — to serve the needs of the great masses of the people.

This is not the time in which men can be forgotten as they were in the Republican catastrophe which we inherited. The returning soldier, the worker by ~~the~~ *these* machines, the farmer in the field, ~~the~~ *the mind,* the men and women in offices and shops, do not intend to be forgotten.

They know they are not surplus. Because they know that they are America.

We must set targets and objectives for the future which will seem ~~incredible and~~ impossible to those who live in and are weighted down by the dead past.

[Government must keep pace with the objective of an expanding American economy -- by research in new products, new processes, new industries, by new highways and thousands of new airports, by a health program of hospitals, medical centers, by improved education, by regional development of natural resources, by cheap electricity for farms and shops and industries, by encouraging private industry to build millions of new homes. That is the nature of the design of post-war America.]

We are even now organizing the logistics of the peace just as *Marshall, King, Arnold*
General MacArthur, General Eisenhower, and ~~Admiral~~ Nimitz are organizing the logistics of this war.

Respect Brant A
[And when the war ends, we shall again take the high road and march forward to the new objectives *P We shall realize* the ultimate purposes for which the whole people of these United States and these United Nations have fought and worked so magnificently, so triumphantly, for so long -- the peace and security and happiness of the good people who have earned it, all over this nation, and all over this world.]

~~Insert A~~ Insert A p 14

The victory of the American people and their Allies in this war will be far more than a victory against fascism and reaction and the dead hand of despotism and of the past. The victory of the American people and their Allies in this war will be a victory for democracy. It will constitute such an affirmation of the strength and power and vitality of government by the people as history has never before witnessed.

~~democratic peoples - this people - have proved to all the world that a free, self-governing nation can gather its strength and unite its counsels and build an army ^{and} a navy, an industrial production so vast, so consistent, so wisely commanded by its officers in the field, its leaders of labor and industry at home, that it can overwhelm any combination of aggressors, whatever their initial advantage, however great their head-start,~~

With that affirmation of the vitality of democratic government behind us, that demonstration of its resilience ^{and} its capacity for decision and for action, - with that knowledge of our own strength and power - we move forward ^{with God's help} to the greatest epoch of free achievement by free men the world has ever known or imagined possible. ~~It is now in our power, and we know it is in our power,~~

~~in cooperation with the people of the world to build a free world of free men to which the founders of~~

SPEECH OF THE PRESIDENT
INTERNATIONAL TEAMSTERS' UNION DINNER
STATLER HOTEL
SEPTEMBER 23, 1944

Well, here we are together again -- after four years -- and what years they have been! I am actually four years older -- which seems to annoy some people. In fact, millions of us are more than eleven years older than when we started in to clear *new that was* up the debris dumped in our laps in 1933.

We all know certain people who make it a practice to depreciate the accomplishments of labor -- who even attack labor as unpatriotic. They keep this up usually for three years and six months. But then, for some strange reason, they change their tune -- every four years -- just before election day. When votes are at stake, they suddenly discover that they really love labor, and are eager to protect it from its old friends.

I got quite a laugh, for example -- and I am sure that you did -- when I read this plank in the Republican platform adopted at their National Convention in Chicago last July:

"The Republican party accepts the purposes of the National Labor Relations Act, the Wage and Hour Act, the Social Security Act and all other Federal statutes designed to promote and protect the welfare of American working men and women, and we promise a fair and just administration of those laws".

Many of the Republican leaders and Congressmen and candidates, who shouted enthusiastic approval of that plank in that Convention Hall would not even recognize these progressive laws, if they met them in broad daylight. Indeed, they have personally spent years of effort and energy -- and much money -- in fighting every one of those laws in the Congress, in the press, and in the courts, ever since this Administration began to advocate them and enact them into legislation. That is a fair example of their ⁱⁿ sincerity and of their ⁱⁿ consistency.

The whole purpose of Republican oratory these days seems to be to switch labels. The object is to persuade the American people that the Democratic party was responsible for the 1929 crash and depression, and that the Republican party was responsible for all social progress under the New Deal.

Imitation may be the sincerest form of flattery -- but I am afraid that in this case it is the most obvious common or garden variety of fraud.

There are enlightened, liberal elements in the Republican party, and they have fought hard and honorably to bring the party up to date and to get it in step with the forward march of American progress. But these liberal elements were not able to drive the Old Guard Republicans from their entrenched positions.

Can the Old Guard pass itself off as the New Deal?

I think not.

We have all seen many marvelous stunts in the circus, but no performing elephant could turn a hand-spring without falling flat on his back.

I need not recount to you the centuries of history which have been crowded into these four years since I saw you last.

There were some -- in the Congress and out -- who raised their voices against our preparations for defense -- before and after 1939 -- as hysterical war mongering, who cried out against our help to the Allies as provocative and dangerous. We remember the voices. They would like to have us forget them now. But in 1940 and 1941 they were loud voices. Happily they were a minority and -- fortunately for ourselves, and for the world -- they could not stop America.

There are some politicians who kept their heads buried deep in the sand while the storms of Europe and Asia were headed our way, who said that the lend-lease bill "would bring an end to free government in the United States", and who said "only hysteria entertains the idea that Germany, Italy or Japan contemplate war upon us". These very men are now asking the American people to intrust to them the conduct of our foreign policy and our military policy.

What the Republican leaders are now saying in effect is this: "Oh, just forget what we used to say, we have changed our minds now -- we have been reading the public opinion polls about these things, and we now know what the American people want. Don't leave the task of making the peace to those old men who first urged it, and who have already laid the foundations for it, and who have had to fight all of us inch by inch during the last five years to do it -- just turn it all over to us. We'll do it so skillfully -- that we won't lose a single isolationist vote or a single isolationist campaign contribution".

There is one thing I am too old for -- I cannot talk out of both sides of my mouth at the same time.

This government

We welcome all sincere supporters of the cause of effective world collaboration in the making of a lasting peace. Millions of Republicans all over the nation are with us -- and have been with us -- in our unshakeable determination to build the solid structure of peace. And they too will resent this campaign talk by those who first woke up to the facts of international life a few short months ago -- when they began to study the polls of public opinion.

Those who today have the military responsibility for waging this war in all parts of the globe are not helped by the statements of men who, without responsibility and without knowledge of the facts, lecture the Chiefs of Staff of the United States as to the best means of dividing our armed forces and our military resources between the Atlantic and Pacific, between the Army and the Navy, and among the Commanding Generals of the different theatres of war.

When I addressed you four years ago, I said: "I know that America will never be disappointed in its expectation that labor will always continue to do its share of the job we now face, and do it patriotically and effectively and unselfishly".

Today we know that America has not been disappointed. In his Order of the Day when the allied armies first landed in Normandy General Eisenhower said: "Our home fronts have given us overwhelming superiority in weapons and munitions of war".

I know that there are those labor baiters among the opposition who, instead of calling attention to the achievements of labor in this war, prefer to pick on the occasional strikes which have occurred -- strikes which have been condemned by every responsible national labor leader -- every national leader except one. And that one labor leader, incidentally, is certainly not among my supporters.

Labor-baiters forget that, at our peak, American labor and management have turned out airplanes at the rate of 109,000 per year; tanks -- 57,000 per year; combat vessels -- 573 per year; landing vessels -- 31,000 per year; cargo ships -- 19 million tons per year; and small arms ammunition -- 23 billion rounds per year.

But a strike is news, and generally appears in shrieking headlines -- and, of course, they say labor is always to blame. The fact is that, since Pearl Harbor, only one-tenth of one per cent of man-hours have been lost by strikes.

But even those candidates who burst out in election-year affection for social legislation and for labor in general still think you ought to be good boys and stay out of politics. And above all, they hate to see any working man or woman contribute a dollar bill to any wicked political party. Of course, it is all right for large financiers and industrialists and monopolists to contribute tens of thousands of dollars --

but their solicitude for that dollar which the men and women in the ranks of labor contribute is always very touching.

They are, of course, perfectly willing to let you vote -- unless you happen to be a soldier or sailor overseas, or a merchant seaman carrying the munitions of war. In that case they have made it pretty hard for you to vote -- for there are some political candidates who think they may have a chance if only the ^{total} vote is small enough.

And while I am on the subject of voting let me urge every American citizen -- man and woman -- to use your sacred privilege of voting, no matter which candidate you expect to support. Our millions of soldiers and sailors and merchant seamen have been handicapped or prevented from voting by those politicians and candidates who think they stand to lose by such votes. You here at home have the freedom of the ballot. Irrespective of party you should register and vote this November. That is a matter of good citizenship.

Words come easily, but they do not change the record. You are old enough to remember what things were like for labor in 1932.

You remember the closed banks and the breadlines and the starvation wages; the foreclosures of homes and farms, and the bankruptcies of business; the "Hoovervilles", and the young men and women of the nation facing a hopeless, jobless future; the closed factories and mines and mills; the ruined and abandoned farms; the stalled railroads and the empty docks; the blank despair of a whole nation — and the utter impotence of our Federal Government.

You remember the long hard road, with its gains and its setbacks, which we have traveled together since those days.

Now there are some politicians, of course, who do not remember that far back, and some who remember but find it convenient to forget. But the record is not to be washed away that easily.

The opposition has already imported into this campaign the propaganda technique invented by the dictators abroad. The technique was all set out in Hitler's book -- and it was copied by the aggressors of Italy and Japan. According to that technique, you should never use a small falsehood; always a big one, for its very fantastic nature will make it more credible -- if only you keep repeating it over and over again.

For example, although I rubbed my eyes when I read it, we have been told that it was not a Republican depression, but a Democratic depression from which this nation has been saved -- that this Administration is responsible for all the suffering and misery that the history books and the American people always thought had been brought about during the twelve ill-fated years when the Republican party was in power.

Now, there is an old and somewhat lugubrious adage which says: "Never speak of rope in the house of one who has been hanged". In the same way, if I were a Republican leader speaking to a ^{mixed} Republican audience, the last word in

the whole dictionary that I think I would use is that word "depression".

For another example, I learned -- much to my amazement -- that the policy of this Administration was to keep men in the Army when the war was over, because there might be no jobs for them in civil life.

Why, the very day that this fantastic charge was first made, a formal plan for the method of speedy discharge from the Army had already been announced by the War Department. -- a plan based upon the votes of the soldiers themselves.

This callous and brazen falsehood about demobilization was an effort to stimulate fear among American mothers, wives and sweethearts. And, incidentally, it was hardly calculated to bolster the morale of our soldiers and sailors and airmen fighting our battles all over the world.

Perhaps the most ridiculous of these campaign falsifications is the one that this Administration failed to prepare for the war which was coming. I doubt whether even Goebbels would have tried that one. For even he would never have dared hope that the voters of America had already forgotten that many of the Republican leaders in the Congress and outside the Congress tried to thwart and block nearly every attempt which this Administration made to warn our people and to arm this nation. Some of them called our 50,000 airplane program fantastic. Many of those very same leaders who fought every defense measure we proposed are still in control of the Republican Party, were in control of its National Convention in Chicago, and would be in control of the machinery of the Congress and of the Republican Party in the event of a Republican victory this fall.

These Republican leaders have not been content with attacks upon me, or my wife, or my sons -- they now include my little dog, Yala. Unlike the members of my family, he resents this. Being a Scottie, as soon as he learned that the Republican fiction-writers had concocted a story that I had left him behind on an Aleutian Island and had sent a destroyer back to find him -- at a cost to the taxpayers of two or three or twenty million dollars -- his Scotch soul was furious. He has not been the same dog since. I am accustomed to hearing malicious falsehoods about myself -- such as that old, worm-eaten chestnut that I have represented myself as indispensable. But I think I have a right to object to libelous statements about my dog.

But we all recognize the old technique. The people of this country know the past too well to be deceived into forgetting. Too much is at stake to forget. There are tasks ahead of us which we must now complete with the same will and skill and intelligence and devotion which have already led us so far on the road to victory.

There is the task of finishing victoriously this most terrible of all wars as speedily as possible and with the least cost in lives.

There is the task of setting up international machinery to assure that the peace, once established, will not again be broken.

And there is the task which we face here at home -- the task of reconverting our economy from the purposes of war to the purposes of peace.

These peace-building tasks were faced once before, nearly a generation ago. They were botched by a Republican Administration. That must not happen this time. We will not let it happen this time.

Fortunately, we do not begin from scratch. Much has been done. Much more is under way. The fruits of victory this time will not be apples to be sold on street corners.

Many months ago, this Administration set up the necessary machinery for an orderly peace-time demobilization. The Congress has now passed legislation continuing the agencies needed for demobilization -- with additional powers to carry out their functions.

I know that the American people -- business and labor and agriculture -- have the same will to do for peace what they have done for war. And I know that they can sustain a national income which will assure full production and full employment under our democratic system of private enterprise, with government encouragement and aid whenever and wherever it is necessary.

The keynote of all that we propose to do in reconversion can be found in the one word -- "jobs".

We shall lease or dispose of our government-owned plants and facilities and our surplus war property and land, on the basis of how they can best be operated by private enterprise to give jobs to the greatest number.

We shall follow a wage policy which will sustain the purchasing power of labor -- for that means more production and more jobs.

The present policies on wages and prices were conceived to serve the needs of the great masses of the people. They stopped inflation. They kept prices on a stable level. Through the demobilisation period, policies will be carried out with the same objective in mind -- to serve the needs of the great masses of the people.

This is not the time in which men can be forgotten as they were in the Republican catastrophe which we inherited. The returning soldiers, the workers by their machines, the farmers in the field, the miners, the men and women in offices and shops, do not intend to be forgotten.

They know they are not surplus. Because they know that they are America.

We must set targets and objectives for the future which will seem impossible to those who live in and are weighted down by the dead past.

We are even now organizing the logistics of the peace just as Marshall, King, Arnold, MacArthur, Eisenhower and Nimitz are organizing the logistics of this war.

The victory of the American people and their Allies in this war will be far more than a victory against fascism and reaction and the dead hand of despotism and of the past. The victory of the American people and their Allies in this war will be a victory for democracy. It will constitute such an affirmation of the strength and power and vitality of government by the people as history has never before witnessed.

With that affirmation of the vitality of democratic government behind us, that demonstration of its resilience and its capacity for decision and for action -- with that knowledge of our own strength and power -- we move forward with God's help to the greatest epoch of free achievement by free men the world has ever known or imagined possible.

SPEECH OF THE PRESIDENT

SEPTEMBER 23, 1944

And I do not mind it at all when people get out so-called history books which are, of course, written for campaign purposes. I think most Americans know them for what they are. Books, for instance, by so-called historians like Charles and Mary Beard, who try to make an isolationist out of me; books like the one written by one of the editors of LIFE, Mr. Niven Busch, in which he says that way back in my first term it was perfectly possible for me to do something about the impending war in Europe and that I ignominiously failed to do so; and another book placing the entire blame for Pearl Harbor entirely on my unfortunate head. There are lots more along the same line quite aside from similar lucubrations by certain types of papers and certain types of Congressmen.

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On my recent trip in the Pacific, which we now see did have something to do with the recent Quebec Conference, they did not stop with me, or with my wife, or with my sons -- they brought in my puppy dog Fala. Unlike the family, he resents this. Being Scotch he does not like publicity and as soon as he learned from the politicians that I had left him behind on a lone Aleutian Island, had forgotten him for two days and then had sent a destroyer back to find him -- at a cost to the taxpayers of two or three or ten or twenty million dollars -- his Scotch soul was furious. He has not been the same dog since, for he resents the unnecessary spending of money, and resents even more the fact that the whole story was made out of whole cloth.

SPEECH OF THE PRESIDENT

SEPTEMBER 23, 1944.

I am here in part because I like to come to your meetings -- but in part also because I am superstitious. Your President and I were talking of this meeting nearly a month ago and we both agreed that your Convention in 1940 brought me good luck, for it was there that I made the first speech of that campaign.

When I returned from Alaska and told of my trip there and to Hawaii, I was accused of making a political speech. I thought of speaking to you tonight about the planting and growing and harvesting and shipping by truck of Christmas trees, but I was sure that this, too, would be considered political. And in fact any reference by me to the condition of the nation or the future of the nation would be considered political so we all decided that this talk which I am making tonight could well be listed as political because the opposition leaders would insist

anyway on equal amount of time on the air.

So this speech is going to touch on things which have something to do with the welfare of the country, and I may once or twice call attention to a level to which some of our politicians have descended in this year of grace 1944.

And I will make only one comment that really has anything to do with the campaign. That comment is a very simple one. The bigger the vote on November seventh, the more chance I have of winning. The smaller the vote on November seventh, the less will be my chance of winning. If that prophesy turns out to be true, I am glad I am not in the shoes of the other fellow. I should hate to feel that I had been successful because of the smallness of the vote cast. That is why I think everybody -- Republicans and Democrats alike -- should register. That is a matter of good citizenship, though it may not be a matter of good party politics.

We know, for example, who the people are who can be accused and are accused of making it difficult for six or seven million men, American citizens, to vote in this election, and to disfranchise many large elements who are helping to win the war, such as merchant seamen who are carrying our munitions to our troops at the front.

I resent that attitude as un-American though it may very well be smart politics.

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SPEECH OF THE PRESIDENT

SEPTEMBER 23, 1944

It is good for all of us to know of the great success which attended last week's Conference in Quebec. Once more plans were laid by the Combined Staff for the prosecution of the war against Germany and Japan.

We must not -- any of us -- get it into our heads that the war is over.

In Germany we all recognize that we are making splendid progress and have definitely won the position of the offensive. But we cannot assume that the fighting is over, and the daily progress of the advance along a line which runs from the English Channel to the Adriatic must (though some people individually do not wholly visualize it) be supported with reinforcements and the thousands of kinds of munitions at a steadily flowing rate.

In the Far Eastern area the steady progress of the last two years continues and it is only the amateur strategists, who forget their geography, who do not realize that from the Pacific Coast we are confronted by an ocean twice as wide and twice as long as the Atlantic which must be crossed and where operations must be conducted after we come into touch with the enemy under circumstances just as difficult, and even more

difficult, than in Europe. There we look forward to the day when a large part of the equipment, naval, air and ground, will be supplemented greatly when Germany surrenders, and we look forward to the complete cooperation of Great Britain and her Colonies.

On the whole the newspaper accounts of the Conference were accurate except for the stories which said we were discussing the question of the choice of a Commander for all operations from the far North Pacific to the extreme South Pacific and for all the operations from Hawaii to China and Burma -- an area, to any person who knows his geography, utterly incapable of command by one individual. No human being has yet acquired second sight. We have learned by this time, of course, that we cannot believe all we read.

I was concerned only once by the inference of politics into the conduct of the war. Back seat driving is not helpful. On this occasion it was alleged that the present Administration had "absolutely no military preparation" and that "as a matter of fact, we had an Army of only 75,000 men in 1941.

I think the records will show that we had at that very time in the regular Army alone more than half a million men and in the Reserves and National Guard over a million more. Some people try to write history thus. He went on to suggest "that adequate recognition and supplies commensurate with General MacArthur's great talents is long overdue". Such a statement is another

perversion of fact. It is unfortunate that the war in the Pacific is not being run to his satisfaction. General MacArthur, who was my first Chief of Staff of the Army, has done a magnificent job and has had the complete support of all of our military and naval leaders. He and I saw eye to eye in our recent conference in Hawaii -- a conference, by the way, which did not bring Presidential politicks into the picture.

The political angle is not helpful to the campaigns in either Europe or the Far East, and American politics can bring pleasure only to Hitler and Hirohito. It is inevitable that they will scent disunity in the United States.

Partisan political statements of an untrue variety are I suppose permissible under the American campaign systems, but this particular variety calls for resentment on our part. We trust it was due solely to ignorance or carelessness.

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MEMORANDUM FOR SPEECH OF SEPTEMBER 23rd.

I am a realist. That is a far cry from being like some people -- just an opportunist.

A recollection of the day on March 4, 1933 when thousands of people, who had come to an Inauguration in Washington, could not cash a check to buy a railroad ticket home. The banks had closed.

People did get home because they had renounced fear and believed what their government said.

At that time this very fact of believing what their government said saved us from bankruptcy.

I am a realist. I always believe that banks should be safe places to keep your money. The Congress set up a system for insuring deposits. For twelve years the system has worked and there have been far fewer bank failures than in any similar period in our national history.

I am a realist. Very many people had talked about unemployment insurance. Now we have had it for several years and we are not going back to the old pathetic conditions.

I am a realist. In the South there was no purchasing power largely because of lack of decent wages. People could not buy northern made necessities of life for lack of money. Workers in the South were encouraged to organize and the more far-seeing people in the South accepted the idea. Today the purchasing power of the South has made it possible for their people to join with the north in better standards of living.

I am a realist. In those days hundreds of thousands of our young people, lacking any hope of work, wandered the highways, stole rides on freight trains and were setting up Hoovervilles in hundreds of communities. They were the members of an Administration which told us that prosperity was just around the corner. They were glib talkers -- very glib. If they had remained in office, prosperity would still be around the corner.

This Administration established a work program which, through the years, accomplished all kinds of desirable works projects in every state and every community in the country. The C.C.C., Soil Conservation program and others kept the bodies and souls of millions together and reestablished honest private industry.

I am a realist. Private organizations had done little, for example, to bring electricity to hundreds of thousands of farm homes. They had had every chance in the world and they muffed it. Today the families who lived in these homes have light and power -- and, by the way, the electric utility companies are more solvent than they were then -- still making good money. That is realism.

INSERT

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The whole purpose of Republican oratory these days seems to be to switch labels.. The object is to persuade the American people that the Democratic party was responsible for the 1929 crash and despression, and that the Republican party was responsible for all social progress under the New Deal.

Imitation may be the sincerest form of flattery -- but I am afraid that in this case it is ~~also~~ the most obvious [kind of]

common or garden variety of
fraud

There are enlightened, liberal elements in the Republican party, and they have fought hard and honorably to bring the party up to date and to get it in step with the forward march of American progress. But these liberal elements ^{— try as they should were not able to} could not drive the Old Guard Republicans from their entrenched positions.

Can the Old Guard pass itself off as the New Deal?

I think not.

We have all seen many marvelous stunts performed in the circus, but we have never yet seen an elephant ^{try to} turn a ~~complete~~ hand-spring ^{without falling} ~~and land~~ ^{again} on his back.

Excerpt from letter from Col. Elliott Roosevelt to his
mother, August 16, 1944

"One of my groups received a Presidential citation
the other day. I am very pleased with the job they have
all done. We've had terrificly heavy losses lately, but
morale is high and the boys are very eager. Losing so
many very able young men is hard on one's own personal
morale, but if it could be brought home as closely to
our world leaders of the next few generations as it is
to all of us, I am sure we wouldn't need another war for
a long time."

long
A

INSERT FOR
SPEECH OF SEPTEMBER 23, 1944.

About three weeks ago you will have read that the Government issued a list of foods, mostly canned foods, to be taken immediately off the ration list. This is an important step in the permanent national policy which has existed for a long time.

It has resulted in what we expected -- a tremendous political attack upon the government for doing it at this time. The political critics assert untruthfully that it was done for political reasons -- to aid in the election. These newspapers and these speakers unfortunately do not realize that there is such a thing as a higher purpose in government. They do not realize that there can be and is in government a higher, more decent motive. If they were in government, they probably would not have a motive of ordinary decency. Probably they cannot understand that there is such a thing as the people of the United States. As politicians, especially in a year like this, they would not give credit to anybody in another party which had had the courage to institute the rationing of food for the primary benefit of American soldiers and sailors and who, at the very first opportunity, regardless of politics relaxed this rationing for the good of the population of the United States.

This is a small point to make perhaps, but it is perfectly illustrative of the methods which are being put forward by the unfortunate creatures who forget the plight and hunger of the American people in 1932 and ask that they be believed that those who restored the national well-being at that time and that the

same people are now trying to create unnecessary hardships. This attitude on their part, decent thinking people can only be sorry for.

INSERT FOR
SPEECH OF SEPTEMBER 23, 1944.

I do not think we need fancy language or the discussion of details instead of principles when we talk about the future.

This country is overwhelmingly against future wars and this country is tired of quibbles and political arguments.

The same is true to an even greater degree among the members of our armed forces -- soldiers, sailors, marines and fliers.

One of my own boys put it this way in a letter home the other day from Europe:

"One of my groups received a Presidential citation the other day. I am very pleased with the job they have all done. We've had terrifically heavy losses lately, but morale is high and the boys are very eager. Losing so many very able young men is hard on one's own personal morale, but if it could be brought home as closely to our world leaders of the next few generations as it is to all of us, I am sure we wouldn't need another war for a long, long time."

The American Government echoes that thought and stands at the forefront today in leading the world toward that goal.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

September 7, 1944

Dear Judge:

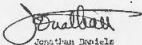
On the basis of your suggestion that I try my hand on a speech for the President at our last Monday session, I have done just that and am enclosing a draft of a possible speech for the President at the Teamsters Union meeting on September 25. I hope very much that this speech will be useful, but particularly, I would like to know your feeling about it because I want, if possible, to be of assistance to you and the President in helping him with his speeches in the campaign. I would be grateful, therefore, if you would let me have your reaction to it whether you use any of this speech or not.

The speech runs to about 3500 words, which is approximately 500 words longer than the speech the President made to the Teamsters Union in the 1940 campaign.

We have gotten cooler weather here in the last twenty-four hours, but you were lucky to get to Poland Springs and out of the heat we had the first part of the week.

Everybody here sends their regards to you.

Sincerely,


Jonathan Daniels

Honorable Samuel I. Rosenman
Union House
Poland Springs, Maine

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in American history across the roads of France with General Patton.

I hope I may speak also of your reputation for humor and hard fists and



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From the Papers of
Samuel I. Rosenman

I feel good tonight.

As Citizen of these United States in this world tonight, I believe I am justified in feeling good. He is a poor American who does not feel strong and joyous, humble as he should, but happy as he has a right to be, in the demonstration we are making everywhere on this earth that the dynamic quality remains in the American democracy.

There is no group to whom I would rather speak in this spirit than the International Brotherhood of Teamsters. I hope you do not mind if I regard you not only as men but as symbols as well. Indeed, I can think of no men, past or present, who are better symbols for what must be the mood of America today than the men who move the goods of war and will move, in the increasing volume of our powers, the goods of peace in a productive America.

I like to think of America as a race of teamsters, the sons of the wagonmen, the pioneers of the covered wagons, the 40-mule-team men and the thousand-horsepower-engine drivers. As President of a nation at war, I know your record deserving national praise for patience and persistence. But as American, I rejoice, also, in the combination of toughness and flamboyance which roared straight out of your tradition in American history across the roads of France with General Patton. I hope I may speak also of your reputation for humor and hard fists and



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From the Papers of

Samuel I. Rosenman

recall you as men in jeans and overalls with the wind and the dust and the rain in your faces, but always, in America, with your eyes on the road. And always - and above everything else, from the wilderness wagon to the armored column - men concerned with destinations and capable of achieving them.

It is good to say to such men that we move to destination now and we call it victory.

You know the long road it has been. Fortunately, when I spoke to you four years ago, a year and three months before we were treacherously attacked, we had begun to prepare for this toughest job.

It has been a tough job. I can tell you now more about the dark distances in miles and materials we faced when the aggressor nations struck not only in stealth but in power. It seems still a little strange to be able to speak without grimness of the world as General Marshall and Admiral King drew it on the maps in my study in the first months of 1942. Suddenly, we had been driven back 3000 miles. Our British Allies were still a people under siege. The Russians fought 1300 miles from the borders which the Germans had attacked - a distance on our map which would have meant invasion as deep as from New York to Des Moines.

It has been a long haul back. To speak your language, which is in fact the language of what was done - you remember the delivery job to Africa. There were deliveries also to Australia, to Russia, to China. We made them. We are making them now. We still have long distances to go and we measure them soberly because we know we must measure them in men's lives. I know we can count their accomplishment



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From the Papers of

Samuel I. Rosenman

in men's labor for we have made a team-work, never equalled, of the production of arms and the valiant use of them. And we made also in unity, in skill, in power and in promise, a more magnificent America in the process. We have no greater business than to keep it.

That is victory. And yet, as we approach our destination, we know that there are men who begin to look at our triumph with fears.

I do not minimize those fears. We are working - and I think working successfully - to create a pattern for a determined and lasting peace on this earth. Americans, I believe, have made up their minds that this time no Harding's and Lodges, or men who pursue their old purposes in more plausible modern masks, shall prevent that. But I would not be the President who had faced with you the home fears of 1933, if I did not understand that much as men fear the return of war for their sons in the future, their fears are more immediate as they concern jobs tomorrow.

Of course a meaningful victory is not a fruit to fall into our laps. It certainly must not be an apple for victorious men to sell on street corners. Victory is not only a major achievement, it is even more a major opportunity for the solution of mankind's greatest problems: the use of his multiplied powers to provide for his security. You know that has been no easy problem in the past. You have seen your trucks idle between the plants and the people, between the farms and a fear almost like famine, between production and use, plenty and need. What I propose is not an easy job now, but it is a job worthy of Americans. The simple arithmetic of our dangers is not to be concealed.

At the high point of our production for war, there were nine million more men and women at work in our plants and facilities than



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there were when war began in Europe in 1939. And that was so in spite of the fact that a good many more than ten million men had moved from production to participation in our military and naval forces. That will bring us to victory with 20,000,000 more people trained and skilled, able to work and eager to earn, than had jobs in 1939 - and 1939 was a good year. It was, indeed, exceptionally good as America had counted good years in terms of men in jobs bringing home decent pay envelopes to the women and children whose welfare was to them the only sensible measure of the welfare of America.

Such men in jobs, such pay envelopes, such women and children in security remain the only measure of the meaning of peace. Any man who misunderstands that, misunderstands America. He has lost in any other bookkeeping understanding of the forces which brought men - teamsters like you in the beginning - to drive their tears into the wilderness, across the prairie, who delivered a continent to a people who not only dreamed of a chance but determined upon decency.

Let me say now, that so far as the power lies in your President, so far as faith is in you, that dream and that determination are what peace must mean to America.

In the time we have lived, only fools and blind men have been free from fear. But only the fool, the spent, the willing slave accept its domination. Certainly, such acceptance has no place in the character of the American.

That character of the American and the American nation is not always understood. Fortunately for us, that misunderstanding was the basic fault and weakness of our enemies. In the future the historians



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will go over the battlefields, the seas of contest, all the embattled skies, and point out the strategic errors of our enemies. There will be, as there always have been, both ordinary and erudite people who play a sort of parlor game around the "ifs" of History: if Hitler had moved to England from Dunkirk, if Hitler had held back from the invasion of Russia, if Japan had not moved in fanged folly at Pearl Harbor. You know the game. I used to play it as a boy when I read about sea battles. I have listened to old gentlemen in Georgia talk of the Confederate failure to march on into Washington after Bull Run, when retreating Union soldiers were only outraced back to the Capital by the Congressmen and other dignitaries who went in their carriages to watch the spectacle, and turned their city nags into lashed race horses on the way home.

There never was an "if" in this war. From the beginning to the end, the outcome has been based upon one arrogant stupidity of our enemies. They made other errors of course. They under-estimated the courage of the British people. They did not understand the quality of the Russians by which they grew strong in withdrawal and accepted the death of their brothers as the basis of implacable determination to strike back. I am sure they never understood how France could be enslaved and yet keep, under brutality and corruption, the clean spirit of French freedom. Not only our enemies, but we, ourselves, must marvel now at the long endurance in unequal struggle of the men and women of China. Obviously, those tyrannies which had contempt for the human spirit moved from the beginning in entire misunderstanding of human heroism.

Basically, however, the error of our enemies was a complete



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misunderstanding of the productive power of America. They had warning. Their agents had seen our plants and our people. They had direct warning a year before this nation was attacked that it was engaged in the task of becoming the great arsenal of democracy. They did not believe it. They doubted our courage, our unity, our willingness to sacrifice. The masters of slaves misunderstood the meaning of free labor. Well, they do not doubt it now. Even now, however, the volume and the quality of the items of power we have produced, the weapons we have put into the hands of our fighting men, and the men of our allies, must be a miracle of material incredible on the torn roads of Europe and in the crumbling islands around Japan.

It is a miracle, but a miracle only in terms of the miraculous spirit of America. I am not sure whether old Paul Bunyan of the American legend was a teamster or not. He might well have been. You remember that he was the tall-tale American who coved West. Where he spat is the Great Salt Lake. The Grand Canyon is where he dragged his pick-axe. Well, Paul Bunyan is still with us; He is the American at work. Look at his job:

(Figures on our total production for war)

The Hitlers and Tojos, and the admirals and the generals, and herr doktor statisticians made one basic mistake. It is best put in the old language of the old stock market.

They sold America short.

Old Charlie Schwab, who was not a military expert nor a planner for the public welfare, knew better than that twenty years ago. The Germans and the Japanese know better now. I believe Americans who knew



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that first also know that better now. They are unwilling to accept fears as the future. They know what America can do. The only pattern they want for America is doing it.

As citizen or President, I want a share in that greatest free enterprise of a free people. If my old friend and your distinguished President, Dan Tobin, will let me, I want to be a tearster - a man whose job it is to move. And I want it clearly understood with no ifs, ands or buts that I do not want to be elected President to dismantle and liquidate the productive power and the productive plant which the American people have made in this war.

I hear the fears about peace in America. I hear, also, the nonsense enunciated by one or two of our industrial leaders. One, you may remember, suggested that the way to "re-convert" what they call our surplus plant facilities would be to pull off the roofs and let the rain fall in where there were men and jobs before. I am not interested in any such "reconversion" for the benefit of bats and termites. Nor for the bats and termites of the human species. The truth is that sometimes there seems a strange kinship between those who fought the right of labor to organize, who scoffed at your government's concern for the underprivileged, and those today who speak with scarcely concealed hope of a time when labor may stand as surplus again, with hat in hand, asking for a job as a favor. Well, we have met such men before. As a people, we are quite capable of dealing with them again. But we must respect the fears of little men who hear such idiotic talk above them. Fortunately, such nonsense talk comes from men whose history is bad and whose economics is worse.

One of the ablest men in American production - in or out of



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government - spoke recently of the monumental paradox in history, which is that the splendor of a creative age should follow close upon a nightmare of destruction. But history provides no stranger paradox than present loose talk of surplus productive power in a nation whose own needs are far from filled. In the truest sense there are no surplus plants in America. There are some facilities, especially built for war, which will not be useable in the great tanks of peace. There will be - as there must be - change in plants as there will be change in jobs. But what we actually face is not to be labeled "reconversion", but is, in fact, the resumption of the creative production for decency and plenty for all our people. We are not going back; we are going on. Peace is not an end in stagnation but a new chance with new powers to do the great American job which from the beginning Americans glimpsed as the American destiny.

Of course, we must begin with primary safeguards against the injury to people which would be cumulative injury to the nation in the process of change from production for war to production for peace. As a very minimum, the American people mean to see to it that there shall be security for the returning soldiers. Similar plans must be made for the basic security of American industrial and other workers. Adequate unemployment compensation, based upon the conception of uniform security for Americans in every part of America, must be provided. We made no state or regional differences in sacrifice; we recognized no state or regional differences in production. The economic health of the nation and simple justice to the worker require equality of security at a time when that security involves the security of the nation as a whole.

Surely, however, nobody seriously suggests that such pro-



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tections are in themselves a pattern for our future. Undoubtedly, some of those who seek adequate unemployment compensation for soldier and worker fear much unemployment. Obviously, those who think that such protection for Americans would be too costly expect much unemployment. But what the American people want is not protected idleness but useful jobs in a system in which adequate social insurance of every sort only serves the nation, as it serves the business-man, as protection against those hazards which might halt or interrupt the basic productive task.

I don't know how we ever built up the sense that America was a completed job - the sense that it was the established patrimony of a few who had grabbed it and the poorhouse of the many whose labors enriched it. Somehow, nevertheless, there was a feeling that when the frontier reached the Pacific, America had been accomplished. When there were no more acres to cross, there began to be talk as if America had been consumed by an earlier, more voracious people than ourselves. We began to talk with both wisdom and a new sense of poverty of conservation. Much of America had been hacked and wasted and misused. But what we faced - and face now - is not the necessity of rationing out of scarcity but the creative job of ordering and developing for the whole nation and all the people in it the great - the almost miraculous - plenty which remains, a plenty enhanced by the skill and labor of thinking and working men. Indeed, he is blind who does not realize that in everything the American needs for his good living on this earth today, he is potentially vastly richer in his heritage than those first Americans were who took this continent fresh from nature.

When I came back last month from the Pacific, where I saw the



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ingenuity, the skill and the courage of Americans in uniform from the tropics to the sub-arctic Aleutians, I spoke of Alaska as a place for American pioneers today. Already planning goes forward to aid such pioneers. But I hope no American drew from what I said any sense of the necessity for movement from the States to a greater chance elsewhere. I should hate to see the time when Americans did not move toward a new chance - to new jobs, to new inventions, and to new enterprise. But opportunity remains on the old home-lands, too. No agricultural period in America ever equalled the production of food we have produced in these years of war. You know the work we had done before war came in beginning the job of saving and serving and improving the fertility of our soil, our forests and our great river basins. You remember the dust bowl and the shelter belts of trees which helped turn dust into fertile land again. The world knows about such an essentially American enterprise as the Tennessee Valley Authority.

I shall have to wait until all the secrets of war are secret no longer to tell you all the meaning of TVA in this war, but I do want to say something about TVA in the past as a story for our future. Most of us know something of the meaning of TVA in giving sense and order and power to a vast river basin in the Southeast. There was more publicity, as there was more controversy, about its electric power. But it has had meaning also in terms of controlling the floods which once ravaged its valley, in building the soil of the farmers in its region, in providing research for its old and new industries. In one State in the Tennessee Valley area, Mississippi, the number of electrified farms, in the last seven years before war, increased more than a thousand per



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cent as a part of one task which has meaning for our future.

But here is the fact which I think few people remember: The seed of TVA was a so-called surplus war plant. It was a plant where people had jobs making explosives. Then both the war ended and the jobs. There was a 15 year long argument about what to do with Muscle Shoals. Once it was about to be sold for a song to a great industrialist. Once it was about to be sold along with control of most of the power sites along the Tennessee to an industrial interest which was not so much interested in using it itself as in preventing its use by others in the government or outside it. While the argument flourished, speculators flourished also - even though jobs had disappeared. [B]ankers sold building lots near it to suckers on Broadway. Real estate speculators laid out paper towns and even laid out empty flats with paved streets. The weeds grew but the value of the lots did not.

This month a great American died - the great George Norris. He did not come from Tennessee. His residence was Nebraska but his home was America. His only interest in the Tennessee Valley was a better, more productive United States. He understood the creative security for man which could be made of the power in menacing rivers. He believed in the equality of a chance for the people in all the states and regions of America. He was concerned about the productiveness and the prosperity of men in the undeveloped and almost forgotten places. I was happy soon after I came into office to sign the legislation he had fathered to create TVA. No man today has a more glorious monument. What has happened to that valley is the sort of thing I can hope for America. Not everywhere will the pattern be the same. But everywhere the aim can be the free



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development of all regions tied together by new, fair transportation for the people in them and with something of the TVA spirit of accomplishment by the people and government together. It is a spirit which, close to the people themselves, joins the energies in Federal and local government, free enterprise and public service to make a happy valley in a busy, free America.

Americans may differ about the pattern of development in their regions but everywhere there are tasks in the utilization of resources, the continued use of plants and the continuation of the jobs in them. The real free enterprise of free men demands that no distant companies be allowed to take and shut the working places of Americans without giving true enterprise an opportunity in their use. In order to provide the arms and materials we have needed, we have found it necessary to build factories and shops in states and regions which before had people but not plants. In war, that dispersal of facilities has strengthened America as a whole nation. In peace, they must be the plants of the new industrial America. Not only neglected regions but neglected little enterprisers must be strengthened now in the chance which war gave them to serve and prosper.

Obviously, this is a job for free business and free labor as well as government. Indeed, a large part of our planning in government now is to aid business in having the freedom essential to its success. Obviously, the tax laws will require downward revision with peace in order to permit risk capital to become expanding capital for future growth. Steadily with peace, so far as the safety of our economic order itself permits it, the necessary war regulations must be relaxed. This does not mean a return to unrestricted monopoly or to unregulated, unfair



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trade practices. We want no economic freedom in which the powerful are free to destroy the small or in which the employer, great or small, can oppress those who staff his plant. If free enterprise, however, has learned anything in our times, it is this: the impossibility of successful business in this mass production age without the support of the mass consuming power of a people - a people not only secure from starvation but as able as they are eager to share in the good things of life which American labor, management and agriculture can now so lavishly produce. The enterprise for us all is plenty. There are no profits in our time of either the purse or the spirit which can be based on the poverty of the people.

When I spoke to you four years ago, I repeated a pledge to which all Americans who understood the meaning of the dangers we faced could subscribe. I repeat it now:

We must make sure in all that we do that there be no break-down or cancellation of any of the great social gains that we have made in these past years There is nothing in our present emergency to justify a retreat from any of our social objectives - conservation of resources, assistance to agriculture, better housing, and help to the underprivileged.

I repeat that now. I repeat it with pride. We are fighting the greatest war in the history of mankind. We have devoted more of our manpower, more of our skill, more of our treasure to this war than to any in our history. We move toward victory at the ends of the earth, yet,



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as we fight with every American resource, the American people at home are better fed than ever before in their history - in peace or in war. Our civil liberties are secure. Our democratic privileges have been preserved. Indeed, if this be called a political speech, we can rejoice in the fact that this very campaign does proceed in a world in which no other great nation has held a national political election in eight years.

No American dares say anywhere in America that we do not fight a good fight.

Only those who never shared the faith of Americans in the worth and strength and goodness of all their fellows doubt that we have kept the faith. But those of us who do believe in America know that the essence of its democracy is that it is the unceasing, dynamic march of man determined upon the fulfillment of all their powers for all the people. In terms of such a knowledge we know that victory is a beginning - by a people confident of the rich quality of their destiny.

This is not the time in which man can be forgotten. Nothing can take from us the proud memory of our powers. The returning soldier, the worker by his machine, the farmer in the field, the men and women in offices and shops do not mean to be forgotten in the bookkeeping of unimaginative economists and the speculations of junk dealers and men with junk-dealer minds. They are not surplus. They are America. They are not interested in any program designed to compress their powers to the dimensions of the past, or their living to the standards of scarcity. They know, as they made it, the possibility of plenty. It is their free purpose to possess it. Indeed, America can be alive as a nation, still capable of growth, only as they do possess it.

For myself, I do not wish to live or lead in a victory which is



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a dead-end street for heroes. That we have accomplished is a bridge-head to our birthright.

We thank God and move forward.



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Sparks' original

MEMORANDUM

TO: JUDGE ROSENMAN
FROM: MR. LUBIN
SUBJECT: PRESIDENT'S SPEECH

I do not, of course, know just what line the President wants to ^{say} follow in his speech before the Teamsters on Saturday night.

I do feel that he ought to pay a lot of attention to the miracle of war production and the part that labor played in making possible the brilliant accomplishments on the production front. Specific data should be given showing what we have actually accomplished. ⁴ Four years ago the entire world looked upon the German military machine as one of the miracles of this age. Four years ago the United States was engaged in a peacetime economy. It had very little capacity to produce munitions of war. In this short time we have reconverted our productive capacity to the point where we are today producing almost as many munitions of war as the rest of the world (our allies and our enemies) put together. We have done this despite the fact that we have taken eleven million producers out of industry and equipped them for active warfare.

"Our success in mobilizing for war is now a matter of history.



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It is a glorious record of which we can justly be proud. Indeed, it is equal in brilliance to the accomplishments of our fighting men all over the world.⁸

After dealing with the miracle of production and giving labor full credit for its share, I think the President ought to point out that our accomplishments of the last four years furnish a bench-mark from which to measure our potentialities and our realistic expectations for the future. We know how much we can produce. We know how many people can be given full employment. In other words, our productive achievement is a demonstration of what our future can and should be like.

At this point, I think the President ought to come out without any hesitation for a program of full employment. He should make it perfectly clear that we can attain full employment in this country under a democratic system of private ownership and free enterprise. The superior results of the democratic process and free enterprise have been proven during this war. The fact is that the extent of control and regulation that has been imposed in the United States during the war is indeed small. The fundamental fact is that we have maintained in



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effect all of the important basic principles of democracy. Relatively few people have had to sacrifice very much and none have had to forego any of the basic privileges of the Bill of Rights.

It is because we have insisted upon maintaining these fundamentals that it has been necessary to create what on the surface may appear to some to be overlapping agencies. In order that the rights of labor might be protected, we have created a Labor Division in the Office of Price Administration so that the great mass of working people would have a hand in determining rationing and price-fixing policies. In order to secure the maximum output of labor, we created a Labor Division in the War Production Board. We have labor representation and advisory groups on the War Manpower Commission, both in Washington and in all the regional and local branches. Indeed, we ought to be proud of the so-called multiplicity of the agencies that have to do with labor. We have ^{now} ~~over~~ 5000 ^{Production} labor-management committees. These committees make it possible for management and labor to sit down and discuss problems of production and agree upon methods for increasing output. They have been a tremendous factor in stimulating the production of war materials.

In short, the modest degree of control that has been in effect



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during this war has been of the democratic type wherein the people affected by controls have played a part in formulating policy and in administering the controls themselves.

"As we come nearer to victory, it is going to be possible to relax even those modest controls that we have had to impose as part of the war effort. Among the first of the controls to be relaxed should be those which affect the relation between the worker and the employer. Immediately upon the fall of Germany, it is our intention to go back to the days of free, collective bargaining in those industries which will no longer be required for war production.

"The fall of Germany will bring to an end the production of many items which will not be necessary for the Japanese war. In some industries, however, the requirements for war materials will still be as great as ever. We must remember that our present plans for the war with Japan call for more men and greater expenditures than were required for the defeat of Germany and her satellites in World War I. Despite this fact, the cutbacks that will come with the defeat of Germany will make necessary serious readjustments, both for employers and for workers.



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In the period of transition from the production of war goods to civilian goods, we must realistically face the fact that many workers will be temporarily unemployed. In anticipation of such a situation, I recommended to the Congress, through the Director of War Mobilization, as far back as last May, that unemployment benefits be increased and that the period for which unemployment benefits ~~would be~~ ^{are} payable should be lengthened. I recommended further that we have uniform minimum standards throughout the country, so that ~~f~~ all workers who are temporarily laid off during the reconversion period could get similar treatment irrespective of the State in which they happened to be. Certainly there is no justice in having ~~an~~ employees who have worked side by side during the war receiving different unemployment benefits merely because they return to their homes in different States, during the period of reconversion unemployment. Nor is there any justice in making the millions of workers who are employed by the United States Government in navy yards, arsenals and in other branches of the ~~United States~~ Government bear ~~the~~ out of their own pockets the burden of the unemployment that must follow when we cut down the production of army and navy items and curtail war activities in the various Government agencies. To prevent such injustices, I also recommended through the Director of War Mobilization that these workers be



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covered by unemployment compensation at the expense of the Federal Government.

" It is the intention of this Administration to keep reconversion unemployment to the lowest level possible. We have been doing everything possible -- and we shall continue to do everything that we can -- to speed the flow of materials and labor and the retooling necessary to the quick reconversion to civilian production. On the day that Germany collapses, the limitations on the use of materials and manpower for civilian production will be removed. Priorities will be applicable only to those items which are essential to meeting the needs of our fighting forces. All facilities not required for carrying on the war with Japan will be made available at the earliest possible moment for asking the things that our civilian population needs.

" There are a few among us who look to the future with alarm. They would have you believe that the tremendous increase in our capacity to produce steel, aluminum, magnesium, chemicals, plastics and thousands of other materials are evidences of surpluses ^{and} idle inventories in the future. They look upon the new plants and industrial equipment that we have built as signs of unused capacity and closed plants in the days



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to come. They would have you believe that the millions of men in uniform who will soon be returning home will be the source of unemployment and frustration. Such peddlers of poison and pessimism discredit the intelligence, the imagination and the vigor of our free people.

"We have learned great lessons in recent years. These lessons, derived from the deprivation of depression and the hardships of war, have been costly. The ways of peace and prosperity are not going to be easy, but we in America have grown strong and powerful by doing those things which are not easy.

We are going to apply the fruits of our knowledge and our genius ^tis the creation of opportunity and abundance for all. For us who have faith in our country, the increased capacity that has resulted from wartime expansion, millions of additional men and women trained and made skilled as a result of war production, the thousands of new plants constructed for industrial mobilization, are sources of hope and optimism. They are evidences of the opportunities for tremendous production which will make it possible to banish poverty from our midst. Just as we have built fantastic quantities of guns and ammunition, of battleships and submarines, of airplanes and bombs, of tanks and jeeps, so in the future



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we can and will produce ^{and} abundance of new and comfortable homes; clothing; educational adequate food; ~~adequate~~ opportunities for both children and adults; adequate medical care for everyone who needs it; recreational facilities which will permit the enjoyment of ever-growing leisure. All of these things are within our grasp. We shall not permit stupidity or greed or fear to keep us from realizing them.

We now know that unemployment and want have no place in an efficient economic system. We have achieved full employment and high incomes in time of war. We can ^{and will} achieve them also in times of peace. By making use of our great human and natural resources, we can demonstrate the inherent strength of ~~the~~ free man and the democratic processes. We can assure the continuation of our system of free enterprise, profits and opportunity for all. We must and we will take the necessary steps to assure to our returning heroes, to our war workers, and to all of our people who want to work, adequate jobs and decent incomes. They must all share in an ever-increasing standard of living ~~and in the abundance~~ which ^{is within our grasp} ~~is now in~~ ^{but he} ~~we are~~ ^{realizing} determined to ~~achieve~~ it.



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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

September 21, 1944

MEMORANDUM

TO: JUDGE ROSENMAN
FROM: MR. LUBIN

In view of the plank in the Democratic Platform and the statement made by Dewey at Seattle, I think that the President should say something about FEPC.

I am enclosing two possible versions of an approach to this problem.



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In developing full production for war, we learned how to develop full employment which must continue into the peace. In that full employment economy which we now are building equal job opportunities must be available to every American regardless of color or creed. The fair employment practices which during the war added new skills, new efficiency, new energies to our industrial and military power must likewise prevail everywhere in the peace in order to broaden the base of our Democracy and to preserve and extend our national prosperity.

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II

It is the essence of the Democratic faith that a man's economic opportunity be based upon character and capacity and not upon color. The Negro is not your rival for a job. The real threat to your security and to the size of your pay envelope is the unemployment which arises from a "let's return to normalcy" attitude instead of a "let's build a job for all" attitude. The Negro soldier, by myriad instances has proven his skill and courage in combat. He cannot be allowed to come back to a country that accepts his blood sacrifice but denies him a fair chance to use his highest abilities in the calling of his choice. We defeated racism. We are not going to adopt it. We dishonor our fight for a free man's freedom if business, government, or unions discriminate against the Negro. We must establish a Permanent Fair Employment Practice Committee now.



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Samuel J. Rosenman

Spencer Trust

WAR DEPARTMENT
OFFICE OF THE UNDER SECRETARY
WASHINGTON, D. C.

September 21st, 1944.

Honorable Samuel I. Rosenman,
Executive Office of the President,
The White House Office,
Penn. Av. bet. 15th & 17th Sts., N.W.,
Washington, D. C.

Dear Sam:

I showed the President the letter I received from
the six labor leaders whom we sent to France and to Britain
to visit the fighting front.

After reading it he said that I should send the letter
to you, in the thought that you might find the letter, or parts
of it, suitable for use in his speech Saturday. I am enclosing
a copy.

Sincerely yours,

RLP

Robert P. Patterson,
Under Secretary of War.

rpp:lm
Enc.



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Letter 7

Washington, D.C.
29 August 1944

NOTED 10:30 A.M.
4/25

Honorable Robert P. Patterson
Under Secretary of War
War Department
Washington, D.C.

Dear Judge Patterson:

Our first desire on returning from our visit to the European Theater of Operations is to express to you and, through you, to the Secretary of War our appreciation for the unparalleled opportunity we have had to learn first-hand the awful significance of total war.

It has not been a pleasant experience. What we have seen in the ravaged villages of France and in the evacuation hospitals and cemeteries where too many of our soldiers lie has left us with a firm resolve to see to it that the perpetrators of this fiendish conflict be brought to justice with all possible speed.

Nothing we had previously seen or read was adequate to prepare us for the horrible reality of this war. We return with a new comprehension of its destructiveness and of the extent to which superiority in supplies and equipment can reduce the toll of human lives.

We were greeted everywhere as friends and partners whose efforts on the production line had contributed in a major degree to the advancement of our military plans and to the safety and well-being of our troops. The production record of American labor received praise from all we met, from generals to privates.

But we are not disposed to rest on our past accomplishments or to count the war as already won. We realize more sharply than ever before how small we must count our own sacrifices and contributions by comparison with those of our soldiers. We have seen them undergo superhuman suffering with a smile. We marvel at their courage, their resourcefulness, their strength and, above all, at their uncompromising determination to see this job through to final victory, no matter how great the cost.

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Honorable Robert P. Patterson

- 2 -

29 August 1944

We are equally determined to see the job through. It shall be our mission to see to it that our Army never lacks for the things it needs. Through our effort we shall strive to bring the war to the earliest possible conclusion so that the enemy may be crushed and our troops may come home alive and whole.

Sincerely yours,

Sgd: R. J. THOMAS.

Sgd: FRANK P. FENTON

Sgd: SHERMAN H. DALRYMPLE

Sgd: ERIC PETERSON

Sgd: DAVID J. McDONALD

Sgd: A. L. WEGENER

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Original Copy to H.A.R.A.



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Samuel I. Rosenman

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

September 22, 1944

MEMORANDUM

TO: JUDGE ROSENMAN
FROM: MR. LUBIN

I think that the most telling blow made thus far in the campaign was the statement by Dewey last night that it is the responsibility of government to provide work for anybody who cannot be employed by private industry. In saying this, Dewey went terribly far. He threw out a real challenge. I am convinced that the President ought to take up this theme tomorrow night.

I have run off a couple of paragraphs that may give you the necessary inspiration.



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As to this matter of jobs for all: The American people are going to be glad to know that the Republican leadership, and, I hope, such members of Congress as the Republican Party still has after November 7, will cooperate with me in giving effect to the Government's responsibility to make sure that there are jobs for all. We must not forget that it was only a few days ago that leading contributors to the Republican Campaign Fund insisted that we would have to have large numbers of unemployed. ⁷ Large numbers of unemployed, they said, were necessary to force labor back into its proper place. And don't let anyone fool you into believing that these people ~~will~~ ^{determine the policies of} ~~do not support~~ the responsible leadership of the party. They pay the bills.

Isn't it wonderful how, after twelve years, some of our opponents have finally come to appreciate the soundness of what we have been trying to do ever since we entered office -- with an inheritance of fifteen million unemployed from the last Republican president. At last they accept the great fundamental fact - we cannot tolerate mass unemployment. At last they realize that there must be jobs for all. At last they pay homage to the principles that have guided all of our economic policies ever since 1933 -- that it is the responsibility of government to create



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a broad framework within which private enterprise may give a maximum number of jobs and within which the Government undertakes to create jobs directly if at any time private enterprise is unable to carry the full load.

This Administration is going to underwrite full employment for everyone who wants a job. We are going to give business the assurance of markets so that it can make new investments and take on an increasing number of workers with confidence.



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Mr. President

My Contribution
is serious ;

SP.

DEPARTMENT OF LABOR
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY
WASHINGTON

*Teamsters
Speech*

September 21, 1944

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT
FROM THE SECRETARY OF LABOR

Perhaps Sam Rosenman has already told you that I think it would be a big mistake to make a full-dress labor speech when you address the Teamsters on Saturday night of this week. First, it is far too early in the campaign to make such a speech, and second, coming so close on the heels of Dewey's great labor speech in Seattle it will inevitably be thought of as a reply to his and that is a mistake. You should not be replying and arguing with him. He has put the whole question on a very picayune and low level. Other people have sufficiently taken care of correcting his misstatements, notably the New York Times editorial and others following it. ^{And} when you speak on labor you want it to be later, near the end of the campaign and to be ^a warm, emotional, forward-looking, hopeful speech. More an invitation to continued mutual confidence between Roosevelt and the working people than of measurements and analysis of the effect of any particular Executive Order or rule or even law made during the exigencies and emergencies of wartime. We can provide you with some first-class material, both as to what has been done, as a sample of what the Roosevelt Administration and labor have done together to improve the life of the country, and second, what is actually projected in plan, in blue print and ready to operate in order to provide and maintain a high standard of living and continuity of high levels of employment. The tone of your labor speech in Columbus, Ohio, in the campaign of 1936 can be the tone, but we will



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point it, of course, to the present.

As for your speech to the Teamsters on Saturday night, I would take that occasion when addressing a group of labor people to emphasize (1) that working people in the United States are and have been increasingly for the last 12 years a part of the general democratic community, concerned about everything that affects the nation and that affects the world and the peoples of the world. Make an appeal to their generous sympathies. The teamsters have them. Make it clear that you know that the working people are not interested exclusively in their own pocketbooks, in their own comfort, in their own advantage and interest. That that is the smallest part of their concern. That they want to live in a peaceful world and in an expanding economy, high standards of civilization, with opportunity for everybody to go to school and to make a living, to keep their health at a high level and to enjoy the arts and pleasures of life. (2) Point out that the teamsters and all people engaged in transportation are peculiarly aware, since their daily work brings it into their very lives, of the need of high levels of production in order to maintain the economy and civilization of the United States and of the world.

Then launch into a description of what we expect and invite the industrialists and the investors and the working people of the United States to do in order to put the push behind this expanding economy in the very first months of the transition from war activity to civilian production. "Maximize production" is a phrase that was used at the ILO Conference by a Government delegate as the basis for high levels of employment, high levels of nutrition,



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and high standards of living. Indicate the enormous sums of cash and capital available for investment at the close of the war. Emphasize the Government's program as developed by the reconversion, both to pay up on contracts promptly and to control release of military supplies for the purpose of making it easy for industrialists to move into use of their capital in civilian production. Indicate your idea of making one of the factors for the use and rental of Government-owned plants the opportunity to divide and subdivide for small industries and using the probable amount of employment to be given by each industry as one of the factors in determining priority of claims to easy-term rentals or purchases of Government plants. Indicate the pent-up purchasing power of the American people, particularly wage earners who have made enormous savings during the war when no goods were available. Indicate this as an internal market and encourage reasonable and practical spending rather than run-away spending. Indicate the Government's policy, already in operation, of releasing reasonable quantities of materials and tools for starting civilian industries in harmony with the cutback. Use the phrase "Coordinate the conversion program with the cut-back program". It has special appeal in many minds. Indicate the Federal, State and Municipalities' dammed-up need for expenditures on public improvements. This is not public works to relieve unemployment, but just indicates the ready market for a great variety of supplies which have been deliberately held back for every public need, from hospital equipment and roads to water supply and sewers. Indicate the reports of Paul Hoffman of the Committee on Economic



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Development, which expresses a considered opinion that the American industrial drive can and will be very large. (Hoffman has indicated that without much help from anyone, American industry can provide 50 million jobs annually). Most Government economists believe that in order to achieve our objective of continuing high levels of employment and a high standard of living, that there ought to be nearer 58 or 60 million, but I would be cautious about that figure as it is debatable and may kick back on us in 1945, 1946 and 1947. Indicate, however, the Government's intention to support and assist the drive for high levels of employment through the activities of private enterprise. Indicate the intention of the Government to utilize public works programs intelligently and promptly to supply, ^{fill} gaps in the private employment programs and to keep opportunities for employment alive in every area by assisting in community planning, by Federal assistance when necessary and when serving a national need, such as highways. Indicate the opportunity for exporting, for the rebuilding of devastated areas, in raising standards of living in depressed parts of the world. Refer to your current conversations with Churchill and the current UNRRA deliberations.

Talk to them about the returning soldiers who will come back to be a part of our life and community. I have thought a great deal about this and am convinced that "our poor dear boys" note is outdated and detested by the troops. I would say something like this: Before very long many of our men who have been in the military service will be coming back to us. Coming back to take part in every phase of American life, and I ask you to do your part, not only in receiving them with noisy welcomes which will be inevitable



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and will seem appropriate to us all, but to receiving them into the very heart and life of American society. Not to be petted, but to be continued in the opportunity of ~~a~~ living for their country on a civilian basis. Many of these soldiers I know went overseas as boys, but everyone of them will return to us as men. Not only because of the lapse of time, but because of the experience through which they have passed, and as ~~men~~ and adults we must remember that they are not babies crying for candy, but men like our forefathers who made this country with their own labor and their own intelligence, who carved a nation out of a wilderness with their hands and backs, and who, by self-discipline, intelligence, generosity and an insistence upon the great value of each human being, made this nation a democratic society with a free representative form of Government, which has served us well up to this very time. These men coming back have much to contribute that they could not possibly have had to contribute had they stayed here in the ordinary comfortable American society. I know all about how they write home and say they want to go to the corner drugstore and see a baseball game and eat some of mother's cooking. That is natural and it is also natural to write about that kind of thing. But these men want something more. We admire them prodigiously for their courage and their intelligence and their capacity to play the game as a team, for their insistence on mutual help and protection, and for the American type of kindness which they have shown to all the peoples with whom they have been in contact. But if we stop with that admiration and then think of them only as a separate group who went to war, we shall do our whole country a great



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Samuel I. Rosenman

disservice, for these men have more to give to the upbuilding of this country than either they or we yet realize. Of course they want a job. Every one of them, and of course they are going to have it. Not only their former employers and teachers and friends and relatives will be quick to find the jobs, but so will the Government offer systematic and practical methods of finding a job for those who don't find them themselves, and provide the supplemental training and medical care which may be needed or wanted in some cases. All that is to be taken as a matter of course. But they want something more and we, the people of this country, need something more from them. These men and women who have been in the armed services are the very flower of their generation and they must enter into the planning of the future life of this country at every level. And from the point of view not only of their military experience but of their personal training and life experience, we need to evoke their imagination and insight into the social problems, the economic problems, the political problems and, yes, the problems of culture, of religion, of poetry, or art, of human behavior. You and your union and the men and women in every union in the United States need the counsel of the returning men and women of the armed forces about your future policies and about the general over-all policies of the labor movement in the United States. These men and women have had a rough experience, a hard experience, perhaps, but an immensely developing and stimulating experience. Now they are coming home to serve their country for the rest of their lives, I hope with a new sense of what it means to be a citizen of these United



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States. The opportunity to give rather than get, the opportunity to build rather than wait, the opportunity to think conscientiously and with nobility about the problems of all of the people and not only their own group. And so I say to you who have sons and brothers and daughters and associates, and to all the people of the United States whose human and family affections are with the men and women of the armed services, prepare yourself to consult with them rather than telling them and let them know, as I shall try to, that we in the United States long to have their moral purpose, their high ideals, their physical strength and competence, their sharpened minds and vigorous spirits applied once more to the problems of life here and now, and that we ask their participation with full vigor in the efforts to make this a better country for our own people, a better, more noble, more useful country in the counsels of the world, and one in which the will to peace with decency is as strong as the will to prevent indecency as a world force has proved to be.

Franklin D. Roosevelt



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from the Papers of

Samuel T. Boardman

FROM THE DESK OF
RICHARD V. GILBERT
ECONOMIC ADVISOR TO THE ADMINISTRATOR
OFFICE OF PRICE ADMINISTRATION

P.O. B. No. 1
Room 4184

Republic 7108
Extension 4502

September 16, 1944

Mr. Hopkins:

This is a copy of the material sent Judge Rosenman for the 23rd.

✓
 , late September. In less than
election. The American people
act Congressmen and Senators
ent. I wish I could join fully
s of these coming weeks, for
ter than the give and take of
know I can take it. And you
 . But all over the globe events
during the next six weeks I
I shall not be able to allow
perhaps five, addresses before

1-12200

In these few talks, however, I think it will be possible to say all I need to say. For after all, I have been in public life some time. The American people know pretty well what I stand for. They know what I have said, and they know what I have done. They know what I can be counted on to say, and to do, in the future. It is only necessary, therefore, to make clear what I can give to be the major issues that confront the Nation in this election and to make clear just where I stand on those issues. I can do that in four or five speeches and find the time as well to correct a misrepresentation or two of the wilder sort that always creep into a campaign.



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This is September, late September. In less than seven weeks there'll be an election. The American people will go to the polls and elect Congressmen and Senators and Governors, and a President. I wish I could join fully in the political discussions of these coming weeks, for there is nothing I like better than the give and take of a political campaign. You know I can take it. And you know I can dish it out, too. But all over the globe events are moving very swiftly and during the next six weeks I shall be kept pretty busy. I shall not be able to allow myself more than four, or perhaps five, addresses before election.

In these few talks, however, I think it will be possible to say all I need to say. For after all, I have been in public life some time. The American people know pretty well what I stand for. They know what I have said, and they know what I have done. They know what I can be counted on to say, and to do, in the future. It is only necessary, therefore, to make clear what I can give to be the major issues that confront the Nation in this election and to make clear just where I stand on those issues. I can do that in four or five speeches and find the time as well to correct a misrepresentation or two of the wilder sort that always creep into a campaign.



Michael A. Bishop
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On this matter of where I stand, it seems to me a curious thing that after all these years there are still some people who don't know what to expect of me, who are at this very minute biting their nails and wondering what "that old fox" ("that man") has up his sleeve now, what he's going to say to Labor this time.

I haven't anything up my sleeve. You know that. What I have to say tonight won't be new. I long ago set my course. I long ago decided where I stood and which way I faced. And these decisions were never kept secret from anyone. You know, everybody knows, what I am for and what I am against. That is why, I think, you who are members of this great union have asked me to speak to you and through you to all labor. And that is why I am glad to be here. We've come a long way together.

Now an election year is a time of easy promises and new-found friends. Candidates go up and down the land saying "We love the farmers. O, how we love the farmers! We love small business. My, how we love small business! And we love labor. Now we do love labor!"

Now, I suppose that there is nothing easier, in an election year anyway, than to say "We love labor." It's only three words, they have a pleasant sound, and some people



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Isidore L. Hopkins

count on labor's memory being so short that they won't be embarrassed after election. But, oddly enough, the very candidates who find it most easy — and most necessary — to say "We love labor find it quite impossible to stop there. They always say "We love labor, but . . ."

And those "buts" are endless.

"But labor leaders are a bunch of racketeers and communists."

"But labor has no business mixing in politics."

"But unions fly in the face of supply and demand. You can't raise wages artificially."

"But social gains will just have to be shelved during the war."

"But time and a half for overtime is uneconomic and un-American."

"But after the war labor will have to cooperate and take some wage cuts."

"But, but, but . . ." But why should I go on? You have heard the refrain often enough.

Words come easily, but they don't change the record. The members of this audience, I am sure, are old enough to remember the record, the record since 1933, and the record before 1933. You are old enough to recall the "yellow dog" contract, the labor spy, the unlimited work week at sweatshop wages. You know what it meant to organize a shop in those



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days. You are old enough to remember the long hard fight before social security and the right of collective bargaining were written into the statutes. And you are old enough to remember what things were like for labor in 1932, how the entire country was flat on its back. And you remember the long hard road, with its gains and its setbacks, which we have traveled together since.

Now there are some of our junior citizens, of course, who do not remember that far back, and some who, though they do remember, find it convenient to forget. But the record isn't to be washed away that easily. What was said and what was done — all are part of the record. I think you and I are pretty well agreed on what that record adds up to. I think we understand each other.

Much has happened in the four years since I last talked to you. In September 1940 we had just awakened to the peril in which we stood. The overnight occupation of Denmark and Norway and the blitzkrieg which had swept through the Low Countries and brought France to her knees had done what I had been unable to do — had opened the eyes of the country to the dangers that surrounded us. Our great defense program was just getting under way.

If I recall correctly, even then there were some, however, who thought I was seeing ghosts under the bed. There were some who went so far as to call the national defense



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program a gigantic VFA project, an especially foxy VFA project, which I had asked for some with an eye on November then on the tragic and ominous events in Europe. Fortunately, these views were few and ineffectual. The Nation, once aroused, was not to be swayed from its course.

How vastly different is our situation today. Where four years ago there were only the beginnings of defense, today we stand in towering strength, poised to strike the final blow which will forever smash the German war machine and the German will to war. Today in the Pacific we come ever closer to the final showdown with the Empire of Japan, the showdown which will forever eliminate that menace to our peace and security and the peace and security of all the world.

This has been a mighty achievement, won by a mighty national effort. And just as no contribution to that effort has been greater than labor's, so no one has a greater right than labor to take pride in that achievement. Your sons and your brothers are among the millions who have gone forth from American homes to man the guns and tanks and ships and planes that are bringing destruction to the enemy. And yours are the hands that built these tools of war and that sped them to the far-flung battle lines.

I know that there are a few small, mean-spirited, scolding men who have belittled labor's mighty contribution and have magnified out of all proportion the occasional flareups



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which labor has had, like everyone else working under great strain. To these the swift developments of the last few months provide the answer. Never have we placed such forces in the field. Never have armies been so completely, so powerfully equipped. Come here at home may choose to overlook this, but I don't think the men at the front will overlook it. They know that it takes men to get production from blast furnaces and assembly lines, just as it takes men to win battles with tanks and guns.

We stand today in sight of victory. We have moved on from the end of the beginning to the beginning of the end. But let no one forget the price that is still to be paid, the suffering and heartache that are still to be borne, before victory is finally ours. To speed the day of victory remains our first task, our foremost task, our supremely critical task. Until we have reached the end of the furrow, let no man take his hand from the plow.

There is another task, however, a task second only to that of winning the war which now claims our attention. It is the task of preparing for the peace that is to come.

The task of preparing for the peace falls into two parts. There is the task we share with all the other United Nations, the task of setting up international machinery to assure that the peace, once established, will not again be shattered. And there is the task which we face here at home,



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the task of reconverting our economy from the purposes of war to the purposes of peace.

We faced these twin tasks once before, nearly a generation ago. We faced them and we botched them — both of them. That must not happen this time. If I have anything to do with it, it won't happen this time.

After the last war we turned our back on the world organization for the preservation of the peace, the League of Nations. We chose to rely, not on machinery specifically designed to keep the peace, but instead on the vain delusion that, if only we minded our own business, we could remain at peace whatever happened elsewhere in the world. The second world war has taught us our lesson. Everyone has learned it and the issue fortunately stands above politics. Today the Nation is united in its determination that this time peace shall be made secure. This time we are not leaving it to chance. This time we are setting up machinery specifically designed to keep the peace.

After the last war we pursued the same policy on the home front. We left things to chance. We chose to believe that a war economy could become a peace economy simply by canceling war contracts, shutting down Government bureaus, and letting nature take its course. The result was a wild inflation which in 18 months after the Armistice did as much damage as was



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done in the four years of war. And this was inevitably followed by a paralyzing collapse in which millions of workers lost their jobs, hundreds of thousands of farmers lost their farms, and bankruptcies spread among businessmen like a prairie fire.

It seems to me that the lesson on this score is just as clear as the lesson on the other, the lesson that we can't leave prosperity and jobs to chance any more than we can leave peace to chance. But unfortunately not everyone has learned this lesson. There still are people who think that reconversion, with good jobs at good wages for our returning fighting men and for our war workers, good prices for our farmers, and good profits for our businessmen, large and small, that all these are just a matter of having faith that everything will work out all right.

In the light of the collapse after the last war, when the problems of post-war adjustment were as nothing compared to those we face this time, anyone who is willing to rely on faith to see us through is not just an optimist, he simply isn't very bright. Is he?

Machinery is needed to assure and protect prosperity and jobs at home, just as it is needed to assure and protect peace abroad. I propose that machinery be provided in the one case as it will be in the other.

Fortunately, we do not begin from scratch. Much has



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already been done. Much more is under way. We have the machinery that has effectively prevented inflation during the war. We shall use that machinery to prevent inflation after the war is won. There won't be any post-war skyrocketing of the cost of living this time.

But, while remaining on guard against the perils of inflation, we must not neglect the fact that in the reconversion period there will be strong deflationary forces to contend with as well. And we have not neglected this fact. Government machinery has been set up to deal with these dangers too. We shall not be found unprepared.

On the farm front, guarantees have been provided that farm prices will be supported for a period of two years following the cessation of hostilities. On the basis of this guarantee, never before provided, the farmer knows that he will not again be called upon to face the tragedy of price collapse and foreclosure. This means not only protection of farmers' incomes and of their standard of living. It means that farm families can continue to buy the products of the factory. And that means jobs in the factories to produce these goods. Good farm prices mean good city jobs. Never forget that.

On the wage front comparable guarantees have not yet been provided. They must be provided. They will be provided. They must be provided not only to prevent a collapse of workers'



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incomes and their standard of living, such as we had after the last war — though that is reason enough. But they must be provided also to maintain the buying power without which neither farm nor factory can find a market for its products.

As I see it, a threefold program is called for, dealing with wages, with unemployment compensation, and with jobs.

Pages

First, we must rule out wage cutting after the war. Unless we do so we simply cannot have a prosperous economy. For wage cutting does not create jobs — it destroys them. When men earn less they spend less and markets shrink and jobs evaporate. Let me say again, therefore, wage cutting must be ruled out. In the organized industries and trades, unless I am very much mistaken, the unions will see to that. It is in the unorganized industries and the partially organized industries that the danger lies. Government must stand ready to protect those who cannot protect themselves. Authority to provide this protection is embodied in the Stabilization Act. I propose to exercise it — in full.

Second, we are faced with the fact that when overtime disappears, as it will when the war ends and as it should, weekly take-home wages will fall sharply, in many cases by more than one-quarter. They will fall both because men will be working fewer hours and because of the loss of overtime premiums. Workers'



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families will have less to spend. While a return to greater leisure will be doubly welcome after the strain of wartime, these cuts in weekly wages will create problems for the family budget. It is essential that these cuts be no greater than is absolutely necessary. Much can be done to hold up weekly wages.

For one thing, basic wage rates can be increased, effective upon restoration of the normal work week, to offset the loss of overtime premiums and to maintain average hourly earnings. For example, in an industry whose work-week has been increased to 48 hours, full-time pay is on a 52-hour basis, time-and-a-half being paid for the 8 hours of overtime. In this case, average earnings per hour are 8-1/3 percent above the straight-time rate. Here, therefore, to prevent a reduction in average hourly earnings, an increase of 8-1/3 percent in basic wage rates is necessary when overtime disappears. This can be done and it should be done, for it entails no increase in labor costs; it simply prevents a decrease. Since prices are already fully adjusted to current wage costs, these wage increases will not mean price increases.

In spite of the increase in basic wage rates to offset the loss of overtime premium payments, weekly earnings will still be cut one-sixth due to the reduction in the number of hours worked. This too must be prevented so far as is practicable. I have instructed the War Labor Board and the Office of Economic Stabilization, in all cases that are brought before the Board, to consider the capacity of the industry to absorb increases going beyond those I have just mentioned, and to take steps to stabilize



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the level of weekly earnings so far as this can be done without forcing an increase of prices.

In spite of the gains which labor has made during war-time, there are still large numbers of workers who are earning wages below levels of decency, let alone comfort. During the war, with its strains and pressures, it has not been possible to correct this situation as fully as we should have liked. Once the war is over, we must not only face this problem, but move promptly to provide adequate remedies for it. Specifically, wage increases at the low end of the income scale to bring wages up to decency should be provided even though they require price increases. A price that is based on a sweatshop wage is a sweatshop price. The one cannot be defended any more than the other.

Measures which I have proposed will prevent any collapse of wages such as occurred after the last war. By maintaining purchasing power they will sustain the markets for the output of factory and farm and thus create jobs to replace those which will disappear with the end of the war. But we cannot stop with these measures. During the period when our factories are retooling, a substantial number of men and women, 4 to 5 million, will necessarily be laid off. We must be prepared to deal with this reconversion unemployment. This brings me to the second part of the program which we must have.



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Unemployment Compensation

Our present State systems of unemployment compensation are wholly inadequate to meet the problem. In our war effort we have called upon workers of the entire Nation to get into essential war production. This they have done. In every war production center today there are workers from every State in the Union. They are there because that is where the Nation has needed them most. When the war is over, when war production is cut back and these workers return to their homes, it would be unjust in the extreme if, having worked side by side during the war, they did not receive the same protection, whatever the State of their residence, during the period of reconversion unemployment. But our State systems of unemployment compensation do not provide anything like equality of treatment, either as to the amount of the benefit or as to their duration. This must be remedied.

Second, the coverage of the State systems is inadequate. Not only are important groups of workers excluded -- farm and domestic workers and Government employees -- but almost 3 million men and women are excluded because they work in small establishments. I can see no justification in denying the protection of unemployment insurance to any of our people. If it is right for some, it is right for all.

Third, the benefits provided for in the State system are still geared to the wage levels and to the cost of living



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which prevailed before the war. Even if they were adequate then, these benefits are clearly inadequate now. Unless they are increased, they must work great hardship and at the same time operate to pull wages back toward their pre-war levels.

Fourth, unemployment benefits generally take no account of the number of dependents in any family. This is wrong in principle. The need of a worker with dependents is greater than the need of the worker without dependents.

The Congress has considered these problems and made important advances toward their solution. The George bill, which I recently signed, does not, however, go far enough and I have asked that the Congress reconsider its decision. The broadening of unemployment compensation until it provides adequate protection to all is urgent, not only to prevent hardship and injustice, but also as an essential element in our broad program to sustain the levels of national income and production and employment. Adequate unemployment compensation is needed by the Nation no less than by the workers directly affected.

Employment

I think all reasonable people will agree that as we enter the reconversion period, machinery is needed to protect wages and to provide compensation for the unemployment that must be expected. But important as this machinery is, and important as is its contribution to sustaining incomes and



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production and employment, we must be prepared to take still further action if it proves necessary. For the heart of our problem will be jobs, productive jobs, good jobs. High wages mean nothing to a man who doesn't earn them. And unemployment compensation is only a cushion against lack of a job, it is no substitute for a job itself.

Our first, our most important concern is that there shall be jobs for all who want them. While there will always be some men looking for jobs, there must be an equal number of jobs looking for men, so that for any worker unemployment is temporary, lasting only until he locates the job opportunity that is waiting for him. That is what we mean by full employment, and that is what our goal must be.

Now we simply must recognize that in the past and throughout our history and the history of every other industrial nation, periods of high employment have been followed by periods of unemployment. Periods of prosperity have been followed by periods of depression. Unless we do something to change this pattern, this is what we must expect in the future. We must expect it not only during the period of retooling, we must expect it when reconversion is complete.

There are few who come out boldly and say that permanent unemployment is necessary to our free enterprise



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system, but there are some. Discipline, they say, is greatly improved when men wait before the factory gate, hat in hand, to learn whether there is a job today. Unions are much easier to deal with when there are five workers to every four jobs. Mills, as I say, there are few who would say this boldly, there are many who think it.

The issue of employment is as important as the issue of the peace and its preservation. On this issue too men must stand up and be counted. And it is not enough to say we would like to see jobs for all who want them. Pious hopes and protestations of good will won't do. The issue is whether we are willing to take whatever steps are necessary to see that the jobs are always there to be had. I for one am willing to take those steps.

Once retooling has taken place, I am hopeful that the men who are laid off when war production is cut back will find jobs producing the thousands of items that have been out of production since Pearl Harbor, building the houses that we so sorely need, and expanding our exports to a world that is hungry for our goods and equipment. I am hopeful that employment in all these lines will expand rapidly and that the Nation will experience only a brief and moderate dip of employment.

Hopeful though I am, however, I am not willing, and I do not believe the Nation is willing, to enter the uncertain



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period ahead armed only with hopes. We must be prepared with programs for public works, for housing and slum clearance; for the construction, modernization, and relocation of highways; for the construction of schools and hospitals and the extension of medical service; for rural electrification; for all the host of good things which we as a people need and which we have denied ourselves during the war because of the greater needs of our armed forces and our Allies.

We must be prepared to use these programs to supplement the jobs provided by industry if that should prove necessary. We need not have unemployment. There is no excuse for unemployment. And by the wise and bold use of these programs we can prevent unemployment. I propose to prevent it.

Let no one say that we cannot afford to prevent unemployment. I say that it is unemployment we cannot afford. In the weeks ahead, unless I am very much mistaken, there will be a fog of argument on this point. To cut through this fog, let me give you a simple proposition: This Nation cannot be richer by producing less, and it cannot be poorer by producing more. The welfare of the Nation cannot be impaired by providing men with opportunity for productive work, and it cannot be enhanced by denying them that opportunity.

And let no one believe that this means the end of our free enterprise system. I say that free enterprise cannot



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survive another great depression such as our policies after the last war made inevitable. What I propose is not that the Government weaken the system of free enterprise but that it strengthen it, strengthen it by keeping it operating at full blast at all times. What I propose is that the Government rule out depression, which in the past has not only periodically meant unemployment and bankruptcies, privation and despair, but the fear of which has poisoned the very years of prosperity themselves.

For, mark you, in the years of prosperity management has always been held back by the fear of coming depression. Management has had to be cautious when it might have been bold. Investment plans, plans for expansion, that might have provided jobs and sustained the national income have been shelved because of the fear that markets would dry up, that sooner or later collapse must come. Once the fear of collapse is removed, once management is assured a sustained market for all that industry can produce, no one can say how many more jobs industry will provide than it has ever provided in peacetime. The knowledge that the Government stands ready to support the national income, through prompt and adequate expansion of its own program whenever necessary, will provide this assurance, will release industry's full job-making potential.

Never before in our history has the promise of America been richer than it is today. During the war we have vastly increased our productive capacity, which even before the war was the



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greatest the world has ever seen. When we have fully harnessed this vast productive capacity to the pursuits of peace, the American people can enjoy a standard of living double that we knew before the war. And that will be only the beginning. For we stand only at the threshold of science and technology. If we manage our affairs so as to take full advantage of what science and technology have to offer, there is no limit to what this Nation can achieve.

This, then, is the promise of America. I propose that we fulfill that promise, that we fulfill it by facing up to our economic problems — as we did not face up to them after the last war — and this time providing the machinery for their solution. This time we must not leave things to chance. This time we must reject the counsel of those who are willing to face the future armed only with faith that somehow or other what has happened to us before will not happen to us again.

I yield to no man in my faith in America, but mine is a faith not in an inexorable law of supply and demand, not in the blind forces of the market. Mine is a faith in the people of America and in the capacity of the people to meet and master every difficulty, faith that they can build a life with opportunity, with freedom, with security, and with justice for all.



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