
Franklin D. Roosevelt — “The Great Communicator”
The Master Speech Files, 1898, 1910-1945

Series 3: “The Four Freedoms” and FDR in World War II

File No. 1539

1944 October 5

Campaign Address from the White House

RADIO SPEECH OF THE PRESIDENT

THE WHITE HOUSE

OCTOBER 5, 1944

My fellow Americans -- I am speaking to you tonight from the White House. I am speaking particularly on behalf of those Americans who, regardless of party, very much hope that there will be recorded a large registration and a large vote this fall. I know from personal experience how effective precinct workers of all parties throughout the nation can be in assuring a large vote.

We are holding a national election despite all the prophecies of some politicians and a few newspapers who have stated, time and again in the past, that it was my sinister purpose to abolish all elections and to deprive the American people of the right to vote.

These same people, caring more for material riches than human rights, try to build up bogies of dictatorship in this Republic, although they know that free elections will always protect our nation against any such possibility.

Nobody will ever deprive the American people of the right to vote except the American people themselves -- and the only way they could do that is by not voting.

The continuing health and vigor of our democratic system depends on the public spirit and devotion of its citizens which find expression in the ballot box.

Every man and every woman in this nation -- regardless of party -- who have the right to register and to vote, and the opportunity to register and to vote, have also the sacred obligation to register and to vote. For the free and secret ballot is the real keystone of our American constitutional system.

The American Government has survived and prospered for more than a century and a half, and it is now at the highest peak of its vitality. This is primarily because when the American people want a change of Government -- even when they merely want "new faces" -- they can raise the old electioneering battle-cry of "throw the rascals out".

It is true that there are many undemocratic decrets in voting laws in the various States; and some of these produce injustices which prevent a full and free expression of public opinion.

The right to vote must be open to our citizens irrespective of race, color or creed -- without tax or artificial restriction of any kind. The sooner we get to that basis of political equality, the better it will be for the country as a whole.

Candidates in every part of the United States are now engaged in running for office.

All of us are actuated by a normal desire to win. But, speaking personally, I should be very sorry to be elected President of the United States on a small turnout of voters. And by the same token, if I were to be defeated, I should be much happier to be defeated in a large outpouring of voters. Then there could not be any question of doubt in anybody's mind as to which way the masses of the American people wanted this election to go.

The free and full exercise of our sacred right and duty to vote is more important than the personal hopes or ambitions of any candidate for any office in the land.

The administration which must cope with the difficult problems of winning the war, and of peace and reconstruction should be chosen by a clear majority of all the people and not a part of the people.

In the election of 1920 -- one of the most fateful elections in our history -- only forty-nine per cent of the potential voters actually voted.

Thus more than one half of American voters failed to do their basic duty as citizens.

We can be gratified that in recent years the percentage of potential voters in national elections who actually voted has been steadily going up.

In 1940, it was sixty-two and a half per cent.

But that still is not nearly good enough.

This year for many millions of our young men in the armed forces and the merchant marine and similar services, it will be difficult in many cases -- and impossible in some cases -- to register and vote.

I think the people will be able to fix the responsibility for this state of affairs, for they know that during this past year there were politicians who quite openly worked to restrict the use of the ballot in this election, hoping selfishly for a small vote.

It is, therefore, all the more important that we here at home must not be slackers on Registration Day or Election Day.

I wish to make a special appeal to the women of the nation to exercise their right to vote. Women have taken an active part in this war in many ways -- in uniform, in plants and ship yards, in offices and stores and hospitals, on farms and on railroads and buses -- that they have become more than ever a very integral part of our national effort.

I know how difficult it is, especially for the many millions of women now employed, to get away to register and vote. Many of them have to manage their households as well as their jobs. A grateful nation remembers that.

But all women whether employed directly in war jobs or not -- women of all parties and those not enrolled in any party -- this year have a double obligation to express by their votes what I know to be their keen interest in the

affairs of government -- their obligation to themselves as citizens, and their obligation to their fighting husbands, sons, brothers and sweethearts.

It may sound to you repetitious on my part but it is my plain duty to reiterate to you that this war for the preservation of our civilization is not won yet.

In the war our forces and those of our Allies are steadily, relentlessly carrying the attack to the enemy.

The Allied Armies under General Eisenhower have waged during the past four months one of the most brilliant campaigns in military history -- a campaign which has carried us from the beaches of Normandy and of Southern France into the frontiers of Germany itself.

In the Pacific, our naval task forces have advanced to attack the Japanese, more than five thousand miles west of Pearl Harbor.

But German and Japanese resistance remains as determined -- as fanatical -- as ever.

The guns of Hitler's Gestapo are silencing those German officers who have sense enough to know that every day that the fighting continues means that much more ruin and destruction for their beaten country. We shall have to fight our way across the Rhine -- we may have to fight every inch of the way to Berlin.

But we Americans and our British and Russian and French and Polish Allies -- all the massed forces of the United Nations -- will not stop short of our final goal.

Nor will all of our goals have been achieved when the shooting stops. We must be able to present to our returning heroes an America which is stronger and more prosperous, more deeply devoted to the ways of democracy, than ever before.

"The land of opportunity" -- that's what our forefathers called this country. By God's grace, it must always be the land of opportunity for the individual citizen -- ever broader opportunity.

We have fought our way out of economic crisis -- we are fighting our way through the bitterest of all wars -- and our fighting men and women -- our plain, everyday citizens -- have a right to enjoy the fruits of victory.

Of course all of us who have sons on active service overseas want to have our boys come home at the earliest possible moment consistent with our national safety. And they will come home and be returned to civilian life at the earliest possible moment consistent with our national safety.

The record is clear on this matter and dates back many months.

Bills to provide a national program for demobilization and postwar adjustment were introduced by Senator George and Senator Murray last February.

This legislation, since May 20, 1944, has contained the following provision: "The War and Navy Departments shall not retain persons in the armed forces for the purpose of preventing unemployment or awaiting opportunities for employment."

This provision was approved by the War Department and by this Administration.

On June twelfth, the Director of War Mobilization, Justice Byrnes, made a public statement in behalf of this bill. He said: "Our fighting men are entitled to first consideration in any plan of demobilization. Their orderly release at the earliest possible moment consistent with the effective prosecution of the war, has ever been the primary consideration of both the President and the Joint Chiefs of Staff".

On September sixth the War Department issued its plan for speedy demobilization, based upon the wishes of the soldiers themselves.

The George Bill has been passed by the Congress, signed by me, and is now the law.

That law is there, for all Americans to read -- and you do not need legal training to understand it.

It seems a pity that reckless words, based on unauthorized sources, should be used to mislead and to weaken the morale of our men on the fighting fronts and the members of their families here at home.

When our enemies are finally defeated, we all want to see an end at the earliest practicable moment to wartime restrictions and wartime controls.

Strict provisions for the ending of these inconveniences have been written into our wartime laws. Those who fear that wartime measures, like price and rent control and rationing, for example, might be continued indefinitely into peacetime, should examine these laws. They will find that they are all temporary -- to expire either at an early fixed date, or at the end of the war, or six months after the war, or sooner if the Congress or the President so determines.

The American people do not need, and no national administration would dare to ask them, to tolerate any indefinite continuance in peacetime of the controls essential in war time.

The power of the will of the American people expressed through the free ballot is the surest protection against the weakening of our democracy by "regimentation" or by any alien doctrines.

It is a source of regret to all decent Americans that some political propagandists are now dragging red herrings across the trail of this national election.

For example, labor baiters and bigots and some politicians use the term "communism" loosely, and apply it to every progressive social measure and to the views of every foreign-born citizen with whom they disagree.

They forget that we in the United States are all descended from immigrants (all except the Indians); and there is no better proof of that fact than the heroic names on our casualty lists.

I have just been looking at a statement by Representative Anderson, Chairman of the House Committee on Campaign Expenditures, about a document recently sent free, through the mails, by one Senator and twelve Representatives -- all of them Republicans. They evidently thought highly of this document, for they had more than three million copies printed by the Government Printing Office -- requiring more than eighteen tons of scarce and expensive paper -- and sent them through the mails all over the country at the taxpayers' expense.

Now -- let us look at this document to see what made it so important to thirteen Republican leaders at this stage of the war when many millions of our men are fighting for freedom.

Well -- this document says that the "Red spectre of communism is stalking our country from East to West, from North to South" -- the charge being that the Roosevelt Administration is part of a gigantic plot to sell our democracy out to the communists.

This form of fear propaganda is not new among rabble rousers and fomenters of class hatred -- who seek to destroy democracy itself. It was used by Mussolini's black shirts and by Hitler's brown shirts. It has been used before in this country by the silver shirts and others on the lunatic fringe. But the sound and democratic instincts of the American people rebel against its use, particularly by their own Congressmen -- and at the taxpayers' expense.

I have never sought, and I do not welcome the support of any person or group committed to communism, or fascism, or any other foreign ideology which would undermine the American system of government or the American system of free competitive enterprise and private property.

That does not in the least interfere with the firm and friendly relationship which this nation has in this war, and will, I hope, continue to have with the Soviet Union. The kind of economy that suits the Russian people is their own affair. The American people are glad and proud to be allied with the gallant people of Russia, not only in winning this war but in laying the foundations for the world peace which will follow the war -- and in keeping that peace.

We have seen our civilization in deadly peril. We successfully met the challenge, due to the steadfastness of our Allies, to the aid we were able to give to our Allies,

and to the unprecedented outpouring of American manpower, American productivity and American ingenuity -- and to the magnificent courage and enterprise of our fighting men and our military leadership.

What is now being won in battle must not be lost by lack of vision or by lack of faith or by division among ourselves and our Allies.

We must and we will continue to be united with our Allies in a powerful world organization which is ready and able to keep the peace -- if necessary by force.

To provide that assurance of international security is the policy, the effort and the obligation of this Administration.

We owe it to our posterity, we owe it to our heritage of freedom, we owe it to our God, to devote the rest of our lives and all of our capabilities to the building of a solid, durable structure of world peace.

Urg. reading copy

- Franklin Roosevelt

ADDRESS Of The President
From The White House
Broadcast Nationally
October 5, 1944
10.00 p.m., e.w.t.

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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.

To those in Congress, addressed to the Senate and now
please note -- this, to me, is the most important speech
delivered this week and when you -- last night
in your -- first what was really a less important speech
during which the chairman was reading from a bill to ban
cigarettes or some other old fashioned tobacco bill he said
and I don't know exactly what he said
but one sentence was quite interesting you know during
the course of that speech the chairman was quite
and extremely -- and without the help of anyone else
he said -- and I don't know who he was -- but he said
quite naturally without much effort have heard of a
lot of speeches by myself or others on the Senate floor that
are like animals and well you just look like children
gritting their teeths sitting there and I say --
and in other places where we sit down and the speeches
are -- ridiculous stupid foolish and stupid and so forth
and this is another one of the reasons why you can
understand me to say the old fashioned tobacco bill
got no audience here today either and no audience either

citizens which find expression in the ballot box.

Every man and every woman in this nation -- regardless of party -- who have the right to register and to vote, and the opportunity to register and to vote, have also the sacred obligation to register and to vote. For the free and secret ballot is the real keystone of our American constitutional system.

The American Government has survived and prospered for more than a century and a half, and it is now at the highest peak of its vitality. This is primarily because when the American people want a change of Government -- even when they merely want "new faces" -- they can raise the old electioneering battle-cry of "throw the rascals out."

It is true that there are many undemocratic defects in voting laws in the various States, almost forty-eight different kinds of defects, and some of these produce injustices which prevent a full and free expression of public opinion.

The right to vote must be open to our citizens irrespective of race and color or creed -- without tax or artificial restriction of any kind. The sooner we get to that basis of political equality, the better it will be for the country as a whole.

Candidates in every part of the United States are now engaged in running for office.

All of us who are doing it are actuated by a normal desire to win. But, speaking personally, I should be very sorry to be elected President of the United States on a small turnout of voters. And by the same token, if I were to be defeated,

I should be much happier to be defeated in a large outpouring of voters. Then there could not be any question of doubt in anybody's mind as to which way the masses of the American people wanted this election to go.

The full and free (free and full) exercise of our sacred right and duty to vote is more important in the long run than the personal hopes or ambitions of any candidate for any office in the land.

The administration which must cope with the difficult problems of winning the war, and of peace and reconstruction should be chosen by a clear majority of all the people and not a part of the people.

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Thus more than one-half of American voters failed to do their basic duty as citizens.

We can be gratified (that) in recent years that the percentage of potential voters in national elections who actually voted has been steadily going up, but it is a slow process.

In 1940, it was sixty-two and a half percent.

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I think the people will be able to fix the responsibility for this state of affairs, for they know that during this past year there were politicians and others who quite openly worked to restrict the use of the ballot in this election, hoping selfishly for a small vote.

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I wish to make a special appeal to the women of the nation to exercise their right to vote. Women have taken an active part in this war in many ways -- in uniform, in plants and ship yards, in offices and stores and hospitals, on farms and on railroads and buses. (that) They have become more than ever a very integral part of our national effort.

I know how difficult it is, especially for the many millions of women now employed, to get away to register and vote. Many of them have to manage their households as well as their jobs, and a grateful nation remembers that.

But all women, whether employed directly in war jobs or not -- women of all parties, and those not enrolled in any party -- this year have a double obligation to express by their votes what I know to be their keen interest in the affairs of government -- their obligation to themselves as citizens, and their obligation to their fighting husbands, and sons, and brothers and sweethearts.

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The record is clear on this matter and dates back month on month (many months).

Bills to provide a national program for demobilization and postwar adjustment -- and I take an example -- were introduced by Senator George and Senator Murray last February -- nearly a year ago.

This legislation, since May 20, 1944, has contained the following provision, and I quote: "The War and Navy Departments shall not retain persons in the armed forces for the purpose of preventing unemployment or awaiting opportunities for employment."

And that (This) provision was approved by the War Department and by this Administration months ago.

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Justice Byrnes, made a public statement in behalf of this bill. He said: "Our fighting men are entitled to first consideration in any plan of demobilization. Their orderly release at the earliest possible moment consistent with the effective prosecution of the war, has ever been the primary consideration of both the President and the Joint Chiefs of Staff."

And (On) on September sixth, the War Department issued its plan for speedy demobilization, based on (upon) the wishes of the soldiers themselves.

Well, (The) the George Bill has been passed by the Congress. It has been signed by me. (and) It is now the law.

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It seems a pity, a deep pity, that reckless words, based on unauthoritative sources, should be used by anyone to mislead and to weaken the morale of our men on the fighting fronts and the members of their families here at home.

When our enemies are finally defeated, we all want to see an end at the earliest practicable moment to wartime restrictions, to (and) wartime controls.

Strict provisions for the ending of these inconveniences have been written into our wartime laws. It seems to me it is largely a question of knowing the truth. Those who fear that wartime measures, like price and rent control and rationing, for example, might be continued indefinitely into peacetime, ought in common decency to (should) examine these laws. They will find that they are all temporary -- to expire either at

an early fixed date, or at the end of the war, or six months after the war, or even sooner if the Congress or the President so determines.

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And likewise (It) it is a source of regret to all decent Americans that some political propagandists are now dragging red herrings across the trail of this national election.

For example, labor baiters, (and) bigots and some politicians use the term "communism" loosely, and apply it to every progressive social measure as (and to) the views of every foreign-born citizen with whom they disagree.

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I have just been looking at a statement by a Member of the Congress, Representative Anderson, Chairman of the House Committee on Campaign Expenditures, about a document recently sent free, through the mails, by one Senator and twelve Representatives -- all of them Republicans. They evidently thought

highly of this document, for they had more than three million copies printed free by the Government Printing Office -- requiring more than eighteen tons of scarce (and expensive) paper -- and sent them through the mails all over the country at the taxpayers' expense.

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I have never sought, and I do not welcome the support of any person or group committed to communism, or fascism, or any other foreign ideology which would undermine the American system of government, or the American system of free competitive enterprise and private property.

That does not in the least interfere with the firm and friendly relationship which this nation has in this war, and will, I hope, continue to have with the people of the Soviet Union. The kind of economy that suits the Russian people, I take it it is their own affair. The American people are glad and proud to be allied with the gallant people of Russia, not only in winning this war but in laying the foundations for the world peace which I hope will follow this (the) war -- and in keeping that peace.

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We must and I hope we will continue to be united with our Allies in a powerful world organization which is ready and able to keep the peace -- if necessary by force.

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STATEMENTS FILE

HOLD FOR RELEASE

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OCTOBER 5, 1944

CAUTION: The following address of the President MUST BE HELD IN CONFIDENCE until released.

NOTE: Release to editions of all newspapers appearing on the streets NOT EARLIER THAN 10:00 o'clock, P.M., E.W.T., Thursday, October 5, 1944. The same release also applies to radio announcers and news commentators.

*from
SAC-NH*
CARE MUST BE EXERCISED TO PREVENT PREMATURE PUBLICATION.

STEPHEN EARLY
Secretary to the President

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The record is clear on this matter and dates back many months. ~~much~~ ^{and I take an example -}

Bills to provide a national program for demobilization and postwar adjustment were introduced by Senator George and Senator Murray last February, ~~— nearly a year ago.~~

and I work:

This legislation, since May 20, 1944, has contained the following provision: "The War and Navy Departments shall not retain persons in the armed forces for the purpose of preventing unemployment or awaiting opportunities for employment."

Another ~~One~~ provision was approved by the War Department and by this Administration ~~month ago~~.

On June twelfth, the Director of War Mobilization, Justice Byrnes, made a public statement in behalf of this bill. He said: "Our fighting men are entitled to first consideration in any plan of demobilization. Their orderly release at the earliest possible moment consistent with the effective prosecution of the war, has ever been the primary consideration of both the President and the Joint Chiefs of Staff".

And on September sixth the War Department issued its plan for speedy demobilization, based upon the wishes of the soldiers themselves.

Well, ~~The~~ George Bill has been passed by the Congress, signed by me, and is now the law.

That law is there, for all Americans to read -- and you do not need legal training to understand it.

a deep pity ~~by anyone~~
It seems a pity, that reckless words, based on unauthoritative sources, should be used, to mislead and to weaken the morale of our men on the fighting fronts and the members of their families here at home.

When our enemies are finally defeated, we all want to see an end at the earliest practicable moment to wartime restrictions, ~~and~~ wartime controls.

Strict provisions for the ending of these inconveniences have been written into our wartime laws. Those who fear that wartime measures, like price and rent control and rationing, for example, might be continued indefinitely into peacetime, should examine these laws. They will find that they are all temporary to expire either at an early fixed date, or at the end of the war, or six months after the war, or sooner if the Congress or the President so determines.

The American people do not need, and no national administration would dare to ask them, to tolerate any indefinite continuance in peacetime of the controls essential in wartime.

The power of the will of the American people expressed through the free ballot is the surest protection against the weakening of our democracy by "regimentation" or by any alien doctrines.

And likewise, It is a source of regret to all decent Americans that some political propagandists are now dragging red herrings across the trail of this national election.

For example, labor baiters, ~~and~~ bigots and some politicians use the term "communism" loosely, and apply it to every progressive social measure and to the views of every foreign-born citizen with whom they disagree.

Original document

They forget that we in the United States are all descended from immigrants (all except the Indians); and there is no better proof of that fact than the heroic names on our casualty lists.

a Member of the Congress,

I have just been looking at a statement by Representative Anderson, Chairman of the House Committee on Campaign Expenditures, about a document recently sent free, through the mails, by one Senator and twelve Representatives — all of them Republicans. They evidently thought highly of this document, for they had more than three million copies printed, by the Government Printing Office — requiring more than eighteen tons of scarce and expensive paper — and sent them through the mails all over the country at the taxpayers' expense.

Now — let us look at this document to see what made it so important to thirteen Republican leaders at this stage of the war when many millions of our men are fighting for freedom.

I am writing —
Well — this document says that the "Red spectre of communism is stalking our country from East to West, from North to South" — the charge being that the Roosevelt Administration is part of a gigantic plot to sell our democracy out to the communists.

This form of fear propaganda is not new among rabble rousers and fomenters of class hatred — who seek to destroy democracy itself. It was used by Mussolini's black shirts and by Hitler's brown shirts. It has been used before in this country by the silver shirts and others on the lunatic fringe. But the sound and democratic instincts of the American people rebel against its use, particularly by their own Congressmen — and at the taxpayers' expense.

I have never sought, and I do not welcome the support of any person or group committed to communism, or fascism, or any other foreign ideology which would undermine the American system of government or the American system of free competitive enterprise and private property.

That does not in the least interfere with the firm and friendly relationship which this nation has in this war, and will, I hope, continue to have with the Soviet Union. The kind of economy that suits the Russian people is their own affair. The American people are glad and proud to be allied with the gallant people of Russia, not only in winning this war but in laying the foundations for the world peace which will follow the war — and in keeping that peace.

We have seen our civilization in deadly peril. *We have successfully met the challenge, due to the steadfastness of our Allies, to the aid we were able to give to our Allies, and to the unprecedented outpouring of American manpower, American productivity and American ingenuity — and to the magnificent courage and enterprise of our fighting men and our military leadership.*

That is now being won in battle must not be lost by lack of vision, or lack of faith, or by division among ourselves and our Allies.

or lack of knowledge, *I take it it is*

Hope

We must and we will continue to be united with our Allies in a powerful World organization which is ready and able to keep the peace -- if necessary by force.

To provide that assurance of international security is the policy, the effort and the obligation of this Administration.

We owe it to our posterity, we owe it to our heritage of freedom, we owe it to our God, to devote the rest of our lives and all of our capabilities to the building of a solid, durable structure of world peace.

RUTHJANE:

I think the only thing to include would be
the Generals, etc., on p. 3. Even this could be
left out.

TDB

"W" "X" "Y" "Z"

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

September 25, 1944

MEMORANDUM TO MR. EARLY:

Here is Jack Roseagna's stenographic report on the speech. Do you want to have a new stencil cut, with the interpolations?

T. D. B.

Draft (1)

SPEECH OF THE PRESIDENT
THE WHITE HOUSE
OCTOBER 5, 1944

SOME THOUGHTS

In speaking to you tonight on a political subject, I want to make it clear that I am addressing you politically but not partisanly, and the only partisan remark I will make I will make right now.

When I make a quotation I will give you the whole of the quotation and not just part of it. Just as an example, I will quote the whole of what I said in my Acceptance Speech: "I will not campaign, in the usual sense, for the office. In these days of tragic sorrow, I do not consider it fitting. Besides, in these days of global warfare, I shall not be able to find the time". In the very same paragraph, and right at that point, I added at that time "I shall, however, feel free to report to the people the facts about matters of concern to them and especially to correct any misrepresentations".

I have a rather old-fashioned notion that there is an element of fairness in stating the whole case rather than part of it. But then again, I may be old-fashioned in thinking this.

I have often thought that writers on history, if you like, but especially writers on theories of government, overlook one of the principle reasons for the of the American constitutional system.

I see governments all over the world which are based, more or less, on our system. They are called democratic in form. They are based on the ballot. They are based on the right of every citizen to take part in the government through a thing called "election". Some of these governments have a King at the top -- not an absolute monarch but a constitutional monarch. Some of them have Parliaments, others have Congresses, but they are supposed to be free and independent people. Yet, as you and I know, they very often come croppers. In most cases such governments fall by a revolution -- a silent and bloodless revolution or a bitter and bloody revolution, with the result that the governments themselves are changed -- not necessarily in form but at least in personnel.

Analyze for a moment why these revolutions. Why don't they wait until the next election day and, as many people would say here, "turn the rascals out - put in the other party" -- "let us have a change of faces" and this great objective is

SOME THOUGHTS

-3-

obtained bloodlessly and without revolution by the processes of the secret ballot box.

Most of us realize that the American Government can well be called the oldest unchanged form of government in the whole world.

Since the formation of our own government, France has passed through a couple of Empires, a couple of Kingdoms and three or four different kinds of Republics. In a sense, England still has its same form of government, for there have been no revolutions there, but the British Government has been greatly changed in its whole complexion by the extension of the electoral privilege, the ending of what used to be called "rotton borough", the ending of plural voting, and other changes which a hundred years or more ago made the British democracy far more closely akin to our democracy.

What underlay all the changes in popular or democratic government in the past two centuries or less? It was undoubtedly the fact that the ballot was secret. Where there have been revolutions a careful study will show that the ballot was not useable for the expression of public opinion. Or a study will show that illiteracy in particular countries made the use of the ~~the~~ ballot of no real effective use in the expression of public opinion.

SOME THOUGHTS

-4-

Talk about intelligent voting and facility of voting, which means that it must be possible for the average person to vote without too many restrictions. I think we can cite the case of one state which says that the insane cannot vote, which is probably a necessary limitation. The same state also says that Army and Navy officers cannot vote. That happens to be the State of Virginia. Then go on and say there are a great many quirks in state laws.

The quicker we can get to the idea that any person who is sane, and is not a moron, can vote without further restrictions, the better it will be for the country in the long run.

People in every part of the United States are engaged in running for office -- various kinds of offices from local offices all the way up to the highest national offices. They are probably, nearly all of them, actuated by a normal desire to win, but a few of them are also actuated by the question of how they shall win.

Some of these would like, if they are to win, to be elected by a very large expression of public opinion, while others are not much concerned as to how they shall win as long as they win. I must confess that I belong to the first school of thought. I am just using myself as an example.

I should be very sorry to be elected President of the United States on a very small turnout of voters. I should like to be elected on the largest possible turnout of voters. In the same way, if I were defeated, I should dislike a defeat if a very small percentage, or smaller than in past years, were to prove that a majority of this small number were against me. At the same time, if I were to be defeated, I would be much happier if I were defeated in a large outpouring of voters. Perhaps this is merely a personal preference but I think it does comport with our democratic system.

SOME THOUGHTS

-6-

You know that in Australia there is a head tax on every qualified voter which, however, is remitted to him and not collected if he does vote. The result is that well over 90% of the electorate in Australia actually do vote and Australia has a higher percentage of the expression of the people's opinion than any other country that I know of. Our percentage in 1936 and 1940 of qualified voters who had voted was ____% of the total. That is a mighty bad showing, and I have always been disappointed that I had never been able to accomplish much in getting people to the polls and getting them to voter whether they were in my favor or against me.

We are holding a national election this fall despite all prophecies to the contrary. And you and I know what just which politicians and what newspapers have stated, time and again in the past, that it was my sinister purpose to deprive the American people of the right to vote, and to abolish all elections.

Nobody will ever deprive the American people of the right to vote except the American people themselves - and the only way they could do that is by not voting.

In accepting the nomination in this campaign I said: "I will not campaign, in the usual sense, for the office".

Apparently the Republican campaign orators came to the conclusion that ^{that} meant that they were free to say anything they wanted without contradiction ^{and} that they could make up any kind of misrepresentation without fear of having their falsehoods exposed. And they proceeded to do just that!

But in their habit of tearing sentences from the context —

which they seem to do in their campaign speeches with great facility, they decided to overlook what I said in the same paragraph, ^{of that speech} ~~the as what I said:~~ ~~I~~ ~~want~~ this: "I shall, however, feel free to report to the people the facts about matters of concern to them and especially to correct ~~me~~ any misrepresentations".

FIRST DRAFT

-1a-

carrying out that definite statement,

So last week, I exposed their misrepresentations. And the people understood. And the campaign orators got very angry, and ~~highly~~ ^{fiercely} ~~unwilling~~ silent and complained, that I had not let them get away with it.

But I am afraid they will continue to misrepresent. For remember, it is the old Hitler technique to keep repeating falsehoods - big ones, not little ones - because if you only keep repeating them often enough, maybe you can get some of the people to believe you. [I warn them that every time they seek to misrepresent and deceive, I'll tell the American people the truth.]

Tonight, I want to discuss some other matters of importance - but it just possible that I may speak again to the nation before election day and ~~I may take time to~~ shall certainly feel free to correct any ~~of the~~ misrepresentations with they may use to poison the air-waves.

Despite all prophecies to the contrary, we Americans
are holding a national election this fall. You and I know
what politicians and what newspapers have made such prophecies
of despair.

> We are holding this election in the midst of a great
war which - despite ^{April} ~~other~~ wishful thinking ~~prophecy~~ - is not
yet won.

Today the American flag is flying over German soil -
but we can relax no part of our total effort until our flag and
the flags of our fighting Allies are flying over Berlin and ~~all~~
~~middle of Germany~~.

The American flag is flying over islands that had been
heavily fortified and defended by the Japanese. But there can
be no real peace for any of us until the Allied flags are flying
over Tokyo and ~~all of Japan~~

The brave men who have carried our flag thus far on the
road to victory know how much farther they must go - and how
great the price that must still be paid.

We have armed those men and equipped them with the best
that America can produce. This war has been a supreme test of
the working power as well as the fighting power of our democratic
system.

The continuing health and vigor of that democratic system

* FIRST DRAFT

-2-

depends, in the final analysis, on a plentiful supply of votes.

We have produced bulletts at the rate of twenty three billion a year.

We cannot now afford to fail in the production of ballots.

Every man and every woman in this nation - regardless of party - who has the right to register and to vote, and the opportunity to register and to vote has also the sacred obligation to register and to vote.

Insert (A)

[I have often thought that writers on history, if you like, but especially writers on theories of government, overlook one of the principle reasons for the success of the American constitutional system.]

[I see governments all over the world which are based, more or less, on our system. They are called democratic in form. They are based on the ballot. They are based on the right of every citizen to take part in the government through a thing called "election". Some of these governments have a King at the top -- not an absolute monarch but a constitutional monarch. Some of them have Parliaments, others have Congresses, but they are supposed to be free and independent people. Yet, as you and I know, they very often come croppers. In most cases such governments fall by a revolution -- a silent and bloodless

Insert A
p.v

by our citizens
at regular,
stated intervals

People are inclined to forget what is
the real ^{keystone} ~~cornerstone~~ of our American
constitutional system. It is the secret ballot -
the free ballot - exercised without coercion;
without intimidation. #

I realize that some of our enemies think
we must be insane to hold elections in this
war. But I also recall that some of these
same enemies once stated that the American
and British strategy was ^{controlled by} ~~in the hands of~~
"military idiots" - and others of our
enemies once said they could dictate the
^{terms} peace from the White House.

③ ~~#~~

economic, ~~and~~ political and
social

The American Government is the oldest unchanged form of government in the world. It has survived and prospered for more than a century and a half, and it is now at the highest peak of its power and vitality. This is primarily because we have been able to achieve ~~peacefully~~ ^{the} change without revolutions.

When American people want a change of Government - even when they merely want "new faces" - they can raise the old electioneering battle-cry of "throw the rascals out."

FIRST DRAFT

revolution or a bitter and bloody revolution, with the result that the governments themselves are changed -- not necessarily in form but at least in personnel.

Analyze for a moment why these revolutions. Why don't they wait until the next election day and, as many people would say, here, "turn the rascals out - put in the other party" -- "let us have a change of faces" and this great objective is obtained bloodlessly and without revolution by the processes of the secret ballot box.

Most of us realize that the American Government can well be called the oldest unchanged form of government in the whole world.

Since the formation of our own government, France has passed through a couple of Empires, a couple of Kingdoms and three or four different kinds of Republics. In a sense, England still has its same form of government, for there have been no revolutions there, but the British Government has been greatly changed in its whole complexion by the extension of the electoral privilege, the ending of what used to be called "rotton borough", the ending of plural voting, and other changes which a hundred years or more ago made the British democracy far more closely akin to our democracy.

④

It is true that

There are many different quirks in voting laws in the various States, and some of these produce injustices which prevent a full and free expression of public opinion.

Every adult, ^{man or woman} who is not ~~an~~ insane or criminal should have the right to vote without restriction. The sooner we get to that basis the better it will be the country as a whole.

What underlay all the changes in popular or democratic government in the past two centuries or less? It was undoubtedly the fact that the ballot was secret. Where there have been revolutions a careful study will show that the ballot was not ~~useable~~ for the expression of public opinion. Or a study will show that illiteracy in particular countries made the use of the ballot of no real effective use in the expression of public opinion.

Talk about intelligent voting and facility of voting, which means that it must be possible for the average person to vote without too many restrictions. I think we can cite the case of one state which says that the insane cannot vote, which is probably a necessary limitation. The same state also says that Army and Navy officers cannot vote. That happens to be the State of Virginia. Then go on and say there are a great many quirks in state laws.

The quicker we can get to the idea that any person who is sane, and is not a moron, can vote without further restrictions, the better it will be for the country in the long run.

People in every part of the United States are engaged in running for office -- various kinds of offices from local offices all the way up to the highest national offices. ~~They are probably~~
~~probably mostly~~ ^{are probably} ~~all of them~~ actuated by a normal desire to win, and many ^{concerned} ~~few of them~~ are also actuated by the question of how they shall win.

Some of these would like, if they are to win, to be elected by a very large expression of public opinion, while others would be perfectly content to squeak through with a small ~~are not much concerned as to how they shall win at least by their vote.~~

I must confess that I belong to the first school of thought. I believe it is a healthy thing to roll up big votes, ~~for just using myself as an example~~ particularly at a time like this when the eyes of all mankind are looking toward our country.

I should be very sorry to be elected President of the United States on a ~~very~~ small turnout of voters. [I should like

to be elected on the largest possible turnout of voters. In the same way, if I were defeated, I should dislike a defeat if a very

small percentage, or smaller than past years, were to prove that

a majority of this small number were against me.] ^{and by} ~~at the same time,~~ ^{should} ~~to be~~

then, if I were to be defeated, I ~~would~~ ^{be} much happier if ~~more~~ ^A decisively,

defeated in a large outpouring of voters. Perhaps this ~~is~~ merely

a personal preference but I think it does comport with our

democratic system. Then there could not be any question as to which way the mass of the American people wanted this election to go.

People in every part of the United States are engaged in running for office -- various kinds of offices from local offices all the way up to the highest national offices. They are probably, nearly all of them, actuated by a normal desire to win, but a few of them are also actuated by the question of how they shall win.

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In the election of 1920 -- one of the most fateful elections in our history -- only ____% of the qualified voters actually voted.

Thus _____ American voters out of every ten failed to do their basic duty as citizens.

We can be gratified that in the past twelve years the percentage of voters in national campaigns has been steadily going up.

In 1932, it was ____%

In 1936, it was ____%

In 1940, it was ____%

But that still is not nearly good enough.

Of course, this year many millions of our young men are in the armed forces, and it will be difficult, in many cases -- and impossible in some cases -- for them to register and vote.

All the more reason that we here at home must not be slackers on Registration Day or Election Day. Our votes can be the assurance that all the sacrifices made in this war shall not have been made in vain.

Janet (A)

[In 1920 the Republican Party knew that the overwhelming majority of the American people approved and supported the foreign policy of Woodrow Wilson. The Republicans, while condemning the League of Nations, as such, said they favored an Association of

In so many ways,

I wish to make a special appeal to the women of the nation to use the franchise which they have ~~and~~ another exercise their right to vote. ~~Elect~~
 Millions of the men in uniform have been practically deprived of their ~~right to vote~~ by those who were afraid of their votes. You women have taken the places of those who have worn their country's uniform — in the ~~war plants~~ farms and shipyards, in offices and stores, in the ~~farms~~ fields and in the mines, on the railroads and buses. It is now your duty to take their place at the ballot box.

I know how difficult it is especially for the — million women now employed to get away to register and vote. Many of you have to ~~now~~ manage your household as well as your job. A grateful nation remembers that a grateful nation has tried to help in this emergency to make your burden lighter by ~~elect~~ ^{care centers} ~~and~~ ^{in their homes} providing decent war housing and child care centers, by food priorities and other facilities for rest and comfort in war plants.

~~We know the special interest which women have — those who work and those who don't.~~

and in a great many other ways. But at present still be held ~~and the opinion of the nation is a~~ a special interest in too ~~much~~ of the ^{alarm} progressive measures of the last ~~two~~ years. —

~~in health and housing, in minimum wages
and the abolition of child labor, in education
and social security, in child welfare and
maternity aids.~~

Your interest in government is
measured by what you do for all others - your
votes.

For the women who are not employed
in war plants, it is easier to register and
vote. But all women, of ~~whatever~~ party all
parties and those not enroled in any
party should this year above all others
~~show their interest in~~ express
what I know to be their keen interest
in the affairs of government - by their
votes.

Nations, which would be more practical than the League.

Warren G. Harding, in his campaign speeches, said "I favor such an Association with all my heart."

But even as he spoke, Republican Senators were conspiring to sabotage Wilson's whole policy. And after Harding's election, the so-called Association of Nations was never heard of again.

Instead, our whole postwar policy was set by the isolationist minority.

We cannot and we will not permit that to happen again. []

In the war, in Europe and in the Far Pacific, our forces and those of our Allies are steadily, relentlessly carrying the attack to the enemy.

The Allied Armies under General Eisenhower have waged during the past four months one of the most brilliant campaigns in military history -- a campaign which has carried us from the beaches of Normandy and of Southern France to the very banks of the Rhine.

In the Pacific, our naval task forces have advanced to the Japanese and attack Manila, more than five thousand miles west of Pearl Harbor.

But German and Japanese resistance remains as determined -- as fanatical -- as ever.

It now seems doubtful that there will be any complete

surrender by the German high command. The guns of Hitler's Gestapo are silencing those German officers who have sense enough to know that every day that the fighting continues means that much more ruin and destruction for their beaten country. We shall have to fight our way across the Rhine -- we may have to fight every inch of the way to Berlin.

But we Americans and our British and Russian and French and Polish Allies -- all the massed forces of the United Nations -- will not stop short of our final goal.

I do not think that the American people will look with favor on any attempts to make a partisan political issue of the deeply serious question of bringing our boys home. I have seen great numbers of letters from our soldiers and sailors and I know that they have no intention of quitting until this job is finished.

Of course all of us who have sons on active service overseas want to have our boys come home at the earliest possible moment. And they will come home ^{and be returned to civilian life} at the earliest possible moment consistent with our national safety. I give my personal assurance on ~~that~~. I give such assurance as President of the United States and the Constitutional Commander in Chief. I am supported completely in this by the Secretaries of War and Navy and by the Chiefs of Staff, General Marshall, Admiral King and General Arnold. No statements from any other sources on this subject have any vestige of official authority behind them. ~~and~~ (A)

(A)

~~and so it goes~~

George A.

f

The bill ~~to~~ to provide a national program for demobilization and post-war adjustment was introduced in the Senate by Senator George last February ^{and approved by Navy} and by the War Departments, the Chiefs of Staff, and by the Director of War Mobilization of this Administration.

~~Section 201~~ ^{of} that Bill ~~was enacted~~ and ^{as enacted} approved and passed by the Congress and signed by me contained ~~the~~ the following provision: [Sec. 201]

On June 12th last, the Director of War Mobilization ~~transferred~~ ^{transferred} made a statement in behalf of this bill. He said:

"Our fighting men are entitled to first consideration in any plan of demobilization. Their orderly release at the earliest possible moment consistent with the effective prosecution of the war has ever been the primary consideration of both the President and the Joint Chiefs of Staff. Fair standards for their discharge in such numbers as the defeat of Hitler will permit have already been established, not arbitrarily, ^{but} in a highly creditable democratic way."

The George - Murray Bill ~~including~~ ^{including} ~~has been enacted into law.~~

That ~~law~~ ^{law} is there, for all Americans to read - and you ^{do not} need legal training to understand it.

That law is the reputation of all political

have attempted
officer seekers who, quoting unauthoritative
sources, ~~endeavor~~ to alarm and weaken the
morale of our fighting men and their families.

Such ~~efforts~~ attempts ~~baseless~~ are
downright disgraceful and will be repudiated
by all decent Americans, Republicans and
Democrats and Independents alike.

Those of us who have young children or grandchildren are concerned about the world in which they will grow up. We are determined to take every measure now and in the future to ensure that these children will not be condemned to war fifteen or twenty years hence.

The American people - soldiers and civilians alike - insist that this time we must finish the job completely and that is the most important mandate upon the Administration, regardless of party, which will serve throughout the next four years.

We all want to see an end to wartime restrictions, wartime controls, and strict provisions for the ending of these inconveniences are written into our wartime laws.^P For instance, rationing. The agency which administers this, the OPA, is on a year-to-year basis, subject to renewal by the Congress. It was renewed last June by the Congress without a dissenting voice in spite of the complaints about it. And that statute and all the ~~and /~~^{and} ~~all of the~~ ^{the} ~~wartime statutes~~ boards and restrictions under it will expire six months after the war ends, or sooner, if the Congress wishes. No one but the Congress can extend the OPA one minute thereafter.

-like the other war time boards -
The OPA is run on a nonpartisan basis. The local rationing boards - like the local Selective Service Boards - are appointed on the recommendation of the Governors of the various

states. They are patriotic citizens, representing both major parties, who are rendering essential service in this war and who deserve the nation's gratitude.

I can promise you that those loyal men and women of the Rationing Boards are not "bureaucrats" eager to entrench themselves in their jobs. In fact, they will be among the first to celebrate when the need for those disagreeable jobs is ended.

That is true of all the wartime controls which were necessary to set up.

I myself believe there is one wartime measure which should not be ended. I believe that every able-bodied young man in this country should have one year's military training. Some of my friends wish I would not say that. They think it is politically dangerous in the midst of a campaign.

But I believe that such military training is of vital importance to the future security of our nation - and, incidentally, it would do no harm to the health of our nation, either. And our national security is a consideration far above all questions of mere politics.

Janet A

Inset A) p. 10

That security requires full participation by the American people in the nation's business, in peace and in war. It requires full and free use by the people of the power of the ballot.

The power of the will of the American people, forcibly expressed, is the surest protection against the weakening of our democracy by any alien "isms" from abroad.

[The vote of every man and woman in any election is important. But it never has been more important in any other election than in this one. For at the polls this year, you are going to help determine the course of the war from now on, the kind of peace which will follow the war, and the kind of America which your grandchildren are going to have.

The ballot should be as much a part of our American life as baseball or as our system of free American enterprise. Remember, the strategy of the opposition will be to keep down the number of votes, to make it as difficult as possible for soldiers and sailors and merchant seamen to vote. For they hope to win only by a show of weakness in our democracy -- by a failure on the part of our citizens to do their job in good citizenship -- and vote.

Only by an outpouring of ballots can we at home show the world the strength of American democracy -- the power of the voice of the American people. That is one of the surest ways to show how impervious the American spirit is to any of the "isms" from abroad.]

[The Republican leaders and campaign strategists are again using one of these "isms" as a regular four year red herring which they drag across the trail of every national election. Labor baiters and bigots and some politicians use the term loosely and apply it to every progressive social measure and to every citizen

who was born abroad. They forget that we in the United States are all descended from immigrants, and that there is no better proof of that fact than the names on the casualty lists coming in every day from all the theaters of war. — *Answers A*

The American people know that it was this Administration which saved our American system of private capital and free enterprise in 1933 at a time when Republican misrule had brought it to the brink of disaster. They know that this Administration has nurtured that system through those dark days to a point where business and corporate profits are the highest in our history and farmers and labor are enjoying incomes never experienced by them before.

I have never sought and I do not now seek -- in fact I repudiate the support of any person or group who are connected with communism or any other foreignism which would change the American system of government or the American system of private property.

That does not in the least interfere with the firm and friendly relationship which this nation has in this war and will, I hope, continue to have with the Soviet Union. I am sure that a great many of these politicians who seek election on this red herring issue are doing their best to interfere with ^{our good} ~~the~~ relationships ^{with Russia}. But the American people are glad and proud to be allied with the gallant

(The kind of economy that the Russian people want is their own affair.)

•
INSERT A p. 12

just been looking at one example of those
I have before me one further "misrepresentation" - and

one on rather a large and costly scale - which seems to require
some attention.

It is a report of the House of Representatives Campaign
Expenditures Committee on a document recently sent free, through
the mails, by one Senator and twelve Representatives - all of them,
strangely enough, Republicans. They evidently thought highly
of this document for they had more than three million copies
printed by the Government Printing Office - requiring eighteen
tons of expensive Government paper - and sent through the mails
at the taxpayers' expense.

Now - let us look at this ~~expensive~~ document to see
what made it so important to thirteen Republican leaders at this
stage of the war.

" Well - this document says that "the Red spectre of
communism is stalking our country from East to West, from North
to South" - the implication being that the Roosevelt Administration
is one gigantic plot to sell our democracy out to the communists.

Where have we heard that one before?

We have heard that about every reform that has been
instituted in the past eleven years - Social Security, Wages and

Hours, and all the other progressive measures which some Republican politicians now clutch to their bosoms and claim as their own.

We heard the same thing about all the measures taken for our preparedness - such as Selective Service and Lend Lease.

And we have heard precisely the same thing, day after day, from Nazi propaganda. The Nazis believe in achieving "Strength Through Fear".

I do not think such tactics will go very far in this country. Americans do not scare easily. ^{But it's just possible they might} when such obvious propaganda comes to them from their own Congressmen and at their own expense.

The American people know that etc. (SECRET DRAFT, page 12)

to some extent arranged

people of Russia not only in winning this war but in laying the foundations for the world peace which will follow the war—and in keeping that peace.

The Democratic Platform is very clear about our American system of free enterprise. It says:

"We reassert our faith in competitive private enterprise free from control by monopolies, cartels, or any arbitrary private or public authority".

That is the faith of your Democratic Convention and that is the faith of your Government.

And as I said in 1938 in presenting to the Congress a program to curtail the concentration of economic power in this country:

"It is not intended as the beginning of any ill-considered 'trust busting' activity which lacks proper consideration for economic results.

"It is a program to preserve private enterprise for profit by keeping it free enough to be able to utilize all our resources of capital and labor at a profit.

"It is a program whose basic purpose is to stop the progress of collectivism in business and turn business back to the democratic competitive order.

"It is a program whose basic thesis is not that the system of free private enterprise for profit has failed in this generation, but that it has not yet been tried.

"Once it is realized that business monopoly in America paralyzes the system of free enterprise on which it is grafted, and is as fatal to those who manipulate it as to the people who suffer beneath its impositions, action by the Government to eliminate these artificial restraints will be welcomed by industry throughout the Nation.

For idle factories and idle workers profit no man.

I know that in that system of free enterprise lies the

hope of an America with opportunities for full employment for workers. The great goal of government in the years to come is to insure maximum employment of workers by private business.

If those jobs are to come there must be a market for the goods employers produce. That market is impossible unless our people have money to spend for the necessities and comforts of life. Both wages and farm income must be high enough to provide the mass purchasing power which is necessary for full production and full employment.

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3/8/79 *mailed*

SECOND DRAFT

- 1 -

We are holding a national election this fall despite all prophecies to the contrary. And you and I know just which politicians and which newspapers have stated, time and again in the past, that it was my sinister purpose to deprive the American people of the right to vote and to abolish all elections.

Nobody will ever deprive the American people of the right to vote except the American people themselves -- and the only way they could do that is by not voting.

[In accepting the nomination in this campaign I said: "I will not campaign, in the usual sense, for the office".

Apparently the Republican campaign orators came to the conclusion that that meant that they were free to say anything they wanted without contradiction, and that they could make up any kind of misrepresentation without fear of having their falsehoods exposed. And they proceeded to do just that!

But in their habit of tearing sentences from the context -- which they seem to do in their campaign speeches with great facility -- they decided to overlook what I said in the same paragraph of that speech. This is what I said: "I shall, however, feel free to report to the people the facts about matters of concern to them and especially to correct any misrepresentations".

[So last week carrying out that definite statement, I exposed their misrepresentations. And the people understood. And ~~But~~ the campaign orators got very angry, and complained bitterly that I had not remained silent and let them get away with it.]

But I am afraid they will continue to misrepresent. For remember, it is the old Hitler technique to keep repeating falsehoods - big ones, not little ones - because if you only keep repeating them often enough, maybe you can get some of the people to believe you.

Tonight, I want to discuss some other matters of importance - ^{is} but it/just possible that I may speak again to the Nation before election day and I shall certainly feel free to correct any misrepresentations which they may use to poison the air-waves.]

We are holding this election in the midst of [a great war which - despite some wishful thinking - is not yet won.] ^{the greatest} crisis in our history

Today the American flag is flying over German soil - but we can relax no part of our total effort until our flag and the flags of our fighting Allies are flying over Berlin and all of Germany.

The American flag is flying over islands that had been heavily fortified and defended by the Japanese. But there can be no real peace for any of us until the Allied flags are flying over Tokyo and all of [Japan.] ^{The Japanese Empire}

The brave men who have carried our flag thus far on the road to victory know how much farther they must go [and how great the price that must still be paid.]

We have armed those men and equipped them with the best that America can produce. This war has been a supreme test of the working power as well as the fighting power of our democratic system.

The continuing health and vigor of that democratic system depends, in the final analysis, [on a plentiful supply of votes] ^{the public spirit and devotion of its citizens which} find expression ^{in the ballot box.} [We have produced ballots at the rate of twenty-three billion a year.

We cannot now afford to fail in the production of ballots.] Every man and every woman in this nation - regardless of party - who ^{has} the right to register and to vote, and the opportunity to register and to vote, ^{has} also the sacred obligation to register and to vote.

People are inclined to forget what is the real keystone of our American constitutional system. It is the secret ballot - the free ballot - exercised by our citizens at regular, stated intervals without coercion, without intimidation.

To Nazis and the Japs
I realize that some of our enemies think we must be insane

to hold elections in this war. But I also recall that some of these same enemies once stated that the American and British strategy was controlled by "military idiots" - and others of our enemies once said they would dictate the peace terms from The White House.

The American Government is the oldest unchanged form of government in the world. It has survived and prospered for more than a century and a half, and it is now at the highest peak of its power and vitality. This is primarily because [we have been able to achieve the change - economic, political and social change peacefully, without revolutions.]

[When the American people want a change of Government - even when they merely want "new faces" - they can raise the old electioneering battle-cry of "throw the rascals out."]

It is true that there are many [different quirks] in voting laws in the various States; and some of these produce injustices which prevent a full and free expression of public opinion.

and hence the right
Every adult man or woman, who is not insane or criminal, should have the right to vote without restriction. The sooner we get to that basis the better it will be for the country as a whole.

(The right to vote must be open to our citizens irrespective of race color or creed + without artificial restriction of any kind.)

Candidate *P.C.W.*
People in every part of the United States are engaged in
running for office [various kinds of offices from local offices all
the way up to the highest national offices.] All of them are [probably]
actuated by a normal desire to win, [and many of them are also concerned
by the question of how they shall win.]

WTP *and* Some of ~~these~~ would like, if ~~they~~ are to win, to be elected
by a very large and thoroughly representative expression of public
opinion, while others would be perfectly content to [sneak (?) through
~~an~~ *and* election with a small vote. I must confess that I belong to the
first school of thought. I believe it is a healthy thing to roll up
big votes, particularly at a time like this when the eyes of all mankind
are looking toward our country.]

- I should be very sorry to be elected President of the United
States on a small turnout of voters. And by the same token, if I were
to be defeated, I should be much happier to be defeated in a large out-
pouring of voters. Then there could not be any question of doubt in
anybody's mind as to which way the masses of the American people wanted
this election to go.

*and let me say this in the
greatest frankness! I want every
qualified voter to vote. It may be, you
will not vote for me. But the free and
full exercise of our sacred right and duty
to vote trumps all personal hopes or*

ambition of any candidate for any
office in the land

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desenvolver o modelo. Essas regras contêm os resultados da análise de

using organic or inorganic ad or technical dyes or bleaches I have tried all of

There is a new language to learn, yet it's the new code it is able

* І вролуq ре дейл волл го ре штадеб ѣмкеніи оз тра пози

Если Торкват зовется еще одним

птических лореев' звукогенератора не в силах устроить звуки, кроме звука звука от звука.

Let's say you're writing a program to do something. I bet you'll be a better developer if you do it this way:

It's been a great year for me personally, and I'm looking forward to what the future holds.

абсолютно, если время между двумя последовательными сокращениями не превышает 10 минут (т.е. времени

ပုံစံများကို အသေခြင်းနှင့် အလျင်များ ဖြစ်နေရန် အတွက် အမြတ်ဆင့် အကြောင်း ဖြစ်ပါသည်။

because of the lack of time. It would take weeks to go through all the details.

ph. ext. 600000 or 100,000,000,000,000.

recunoscere și a prezenta capacitatea de a înțelege și să se adapteze la situații noi.

THE BIBLE AS THE PREDOMINANT CULTURE. VII. ON WHAT THE BIBLE IS

ыншади 105 000 000 тг. Альбатр күйінде олардың 10% таңын алған.

leads to much less os curricular effort via shifting to

In the election of 1920 -- one of the most fateful elections in our history -- only ____% of the qualified voters actually voted.

Thus _____ American voters out of every ten failed to do their basic duty as citizens. - - - - 15

We can be gratified that in the past twelve years the percentage of voters in national campaigns has been steadily going up.

In 1932, it was ____%

In 1936, it was ____%

In 1940, it was ____%

But that still is not nearly good enough.

Of course, this year many millions of our young men are in the armed forces, and it will be difficult, in many cases -- and impossible in some cases -- for them to register and vote.

All the more reason that we here at home must not be slackers on Registration Day or Election Day. Our votes can be the assurance that all the sacrifices made in this war shall not have been made in vain.

I wish to make a special appeal to ~~the~~ women of the nation to exercise ~~your~~ right to vote. [Millions of the men in uniform have been practically deprived of their franchise by those who were afraid of their votes.] In so many ways, you women have

taken the places of those who now wear their country's uniform -- in the war plants and shipyards, in offices and stores, on farms and in mines, on railroads and buses. It is now your duty to take their place at the ballot box.

I know how difficult it is especially for the _____ million women now employed to get away to register and vote. Many of you have to manage your household as well as your job. A grateful nation remembers that. A grateful nation has tried to help in this emergency to make your burden lighter by providing decent war housing for ~~their~~ ^{your} homes and child care centers, by food priorities and extra facilities for rest and comfort in war plants, and in a great many other ways.

For the women who are not employed in war plants, it is easier to register and vote. But all women, of all parties and those not enrolled in any party, should this year above all others express what I know to be their keen interest in the affairs of government -- by their votes.

In the war, in Europe and in the far Pacific, our forces and those of our Allies are steadily, relentlessly carrying the attack to the enemy.

The Allied Armies under General Eisenhower have waged during the past four months one of the most brilliant campaigns in military history -- a campaign which has carried us from the beaches of Normandy and of Southern France to the very banks of the Rhine.

In the Pacific, our naval task forces have advanced to attack the Japanese at Manile, more than five thousand miles west of Pearl Harbor.

But German and Japanese resistance remains as determined -- as fanatical -- as ever.

It now seems doubtful that there will be any complete surrender by the German high command. The guns of Hitler's Gestapo are silencing those German officers who have sense enough to know that every day that the fighting continues means that much more ruin and destruction for their beaten country. We shall have to fight our way across the Rhine -- we may have to fight every inch of the way to Berlin.

But we Americans and our British and Russian and French and Polish Allies -- all the massed forces of the United Nations -- will not stop short of our final goal.

I do not think that the American people will look with favor on any attempts to make a partisan political issue of the

(A) p. 8

All of the sacrifices we have made in this war - all of the incalculable sorrow that this war has caused to our people - ~~will~~ will be justified only if we can present to our returning heroes an America which is stronger and more prosperous, more deeply devoted to the ways of democracy, than ever before.

"The land of opportunity" that's what our forefathers called this, ~~country~~. By God's grace, it must forever be the land of opportunity - even broader opportunity for the individual citizen.

We have fought our way out of economic crisis - we are fighting our way through the most terrible of all wars - and our fighting men and women - our plain, everyday citizens - have a right to enjoy the fruits of victory.

But - this victory must not be belittled or diminished by needless political dissension here at home.

or misrepresentation

deeply serious question of bringing our boys home. I have seen great numbers of letters from our soldiers and sailors and I know that they have no intention of quitting until this job is finished.

Of course all of us who have sons on active service overseas want to have our boys come home at the earliest possible moment. And they will come home and be returned to civilian life at the earliest possible moment consistent with our national safety. I give my personal assurance on that. I give such ~~that~~ assurance as President of the United States and ^{and} the Constitutional Commander in Chief. I am supported completely in this by the Secretaries of War and Navy and by the Chiefs of Staff, General Marshall, Admiral King and General Arnold. No statements from any other sources on this subject have any vestige of official authority behind them.

The record is clear on this matter:

The bill to provide a national program for demobilization and postwar adjustment was introduced in the Senate by Senator ^{and Senator Murray} George last February.

It was reviewed and approved by the War and Navy Departments, the Chiefs of Staff, and by the Director of War Mobilization of this Administration.

That Bill as drafted and approved and passed by the

Congress and signed by me contained the following provision: "The War and Navy Departments shall not return persons in the armed forces for the purpose of preventing unemployment or awaiting opportunities for employment." ~~(Section 202)~~

As long ago as
On June 12th last, the Director of War Mobilization, Justice

Dynes, made a statement in behalf of this bill. He said: "Our fighting men are entitled to first consideration in any plan of demobilization. Their orderly release at the earliest possible moment consistent with the effective prosecution of the war has ever been the primary consideration of both the President and the Joint Chiefs of Staff. Fair standards for their discharge in such numbers as the defeat of Hitler will permit have already been established, not arbitrarily, but in a highly creditable democratic way."

The War Department specifically approved that bill on June 14, 1944. It has ^{already} ~~ashed~~ its plan for speedy demobilization, based upon the wishes of the soldiers themselves.

The George Murray Bill has ^{now} been enacted into law.

That law is there, for all Americans to read - and you do not need legal training to understand it.

That law is the refutation of all ^{political office} ~~seekers~~ ^{these} who, quoting unauthoritative sources, have attempted to alarm and weaken the morale of our fighting men and their families.

[Such attempts in time of war are downright disgraceful.]

[and will be repudiated by all decent Americans, Republicans and Democrats and Independents alike.]

[Those of us who have young children or grandchildren are concerned about the world in which they will grow up. We are determined to take every measure now and in the future to ensure that these children will not be condemned to war fifteen or twenty years hence.]

The American people - soldiers and civilians alike - insist that this time we must finish the job completely and that is the most important mandate upon the Administration, regardless of party, which will serve throughout the next four years.

When our enemies are finally defeated,
We all want to see an end to wartime restrictions, wartime controls, and strict provisions for the ending of these inconveniences are written into our wartime laws.

For instance, rationing. The agency which administers this, the OPA, is on a year-to-year basis, subject to renewal by the Congress. *When it did expire* It was renewed last June by the Congress without a dissenting voice *in spite of the complaints about it.* And that statute and all the boards and restrictions under it and all of the wartime statutes will expire six months after the war ends, or sooner, if the Congress wishes. No one but the Congress can extend the OPA one minute thereafter.

The OPA - like the other wartime boards - is run on a nonpartisan basis. The local rationing boards - like the local Selective Service Boards - are appointed on the recommendation of the Governors of the various states. They are patriotic citizens, representing both major parties, who are rendering essential service in this war and who deserve the nation's gratitude.

I can promise you that those loyal men and women of the Rationing Boards are not "bureaucrats" eager to entrench themselves in their jobs. In fact, they will be among the first to celebrate when the need for those disagreeable jobs is ended.

b. J. T. A.
That is true of all the wartime controls which were necessary to set up.

[I myself believe there is one wartime measure which should not be ended. I believe that every able-bodied young man in this country should have one year's military training. Some of my friends wish I would not say that. They think it is politically dangerous in the midst of a campaign.

But I believe that such military training is of vital importance to the future security of our nation - and, incidentally, it would do no harm to the health of our nation, either. And our national security is a consideration far above all questions of mere politics.]

SECOND DRAFT

-13-

~~That security requires full participation by the American people in the nation's business, in peace and in war. It requires full and free use by the people of the power of the ballot.~~

(A) ~~The power of the will of the American people [forcibly expressed] through the free ballot is the surest protection against the weakening of our democracy by any alien "issue" from abroad.~~

~~It is a sound request to all decent Americans that some political ^{To} ~~and campaign strategists are again~~ ~~propagandists are now~~ use one of these "issues" as a regular four-year red herring which~~

~~they drag across the trail of ~~every~~ national election. Labor baiters and bigots and some politicians use the term loosely and apply it to every progressive social measure and to every citizen who was born abroad. They forget that we in the United States are all descended from immigrants, and that there is no better proof of that fact than the names on the casualty lists coming in every day from all the theaters of war.~~

I have just been looking at one example of this ~~[--]~~ and one on rather a large and costly scale -- which seems to require some attention.

It is a report of the House of Representatives Campaign Expenditures Committee ~~as~~ a document recently sent free, through

A p13

- The American people ^{natural} do not need and ^{the} administration would ^{done to} ask them to ~~will not~~ tolerate any continuance ^{in peace time} of the essential war time controls

the mails, by one Senator and twelve Representatives -- all of them, strangely enough, Republicans. They evidently thought highly of this document for they had more than three million copies printed by the Government Printing Office -- requiring more than eighteen ^{feet} tons of expensive Government paper -- and sent through the mails at the taxpayers' expense.

Now -- let us look at this document to see what made it so important to thirteen Republican leaders at this stage of the war.

Well - this document says that the "Red spectre of communism is stalking our country from East to West, from North to South" -- the ~~imperialist~~ ^{change} being that the Roosevelt Administration is one gigantic plot to sell our democracy out to the communists.

[Where have we heard that one before?]

[We have heard that about every reform that has been instituted in the past eleven years -- Social Security, Wages and Hours, and all the other progressive measures which some Republican politicians now clutch to their bosoms and claim as their own.]

[We heard the same thing about all the measures taken for our preparedness -- such as Selective Service and Lend Lease.]

And we have heard precisely the same thing, day after day, from Nazi propaganda. The Nazis believe in achieving "Strength

Through Fear".

I do not think such tactics will go very far in this country. Americans do not scare easily. But ~~it's~~ just possible ~~that many Americans~~ ^{they} might become somewhat annoyed when such obvious propaganda ~~is printed~~ comes to them ^{by} their own Congressmen and at their own expense.

[The American people know that it was this Administration which saved our American system of private capital and free enterprise in 1933 at a time when Republican misrule had brought it to the brink of disaster. They know that this Administration has nurtured that system through those dark days to a point where business and corporate profits are the highest in our history and farmers and labor are enjoying incomes never experienced by them before.]

I have never sought and I do not now seek -- in fact I repudiate the support of any person or group who are ~~committed to~~ ^{fascism or} communism or any other foreign ~~ideology~~ ^{which} would change the American system of government or the American system of private property.

That does not in the least interfere with the firm and friendly relationship which this nation has in this war and will, I hope, continue to have with the Soviet Union. The kind of economy that the Russian people want is their own affair.

/1.3

I am sure that a great many of these politicians who seek election on this red herring issue are doing their best to interfere with our good relations with Russia. But the American people are glad and proud to be allied with the gallant people of Russia not only in winning this war but in laying the foundations for the world peace which will follow the war - and in keeping that peace.

The Democratic Platform is very clear about our American system of free enterprise. It says,

"We reassert our faith in competitive private enterprise free from control by monopolies, cartels, or any arbitrary private or public authority".

That is the faith of your Democratic Convention and that is the faith of your Government.

*R. W. Greene
K. P. S.*

17

It is the future which is of deepest concern to every American. ^P We have seen our civilization in deadly peril -- and it is difficult for us today to appreciate how grave that peril was in 1940 and 1941, and even in 1942, or how close our civilization came to terrible defeat.

We successfully met the challenge, due to the steadfastness of our Allies, to the aid we were able to give to our Allies, and to the unprecedented outpouring of American manpower, American

productivity ^{and}, American ingenuity — and to the magnificent courage and enterprise of our fighting men and our military leadership. ^{But the next time if there were to be a new one --} ~~If there were to be another war, we might not again be given sufficient time to mobilize our national resources. We~~ ^{our nation} and our Allies might be so hopelessly divided, so

obsessed with isolationism and a false sense of security, that our enemies might be able to seize the decisive advantage which they so nearly ^{gained} ~~seized~~ in this war.

We must not and we will not run that risk.

~~Start~~ We must and we will continue to be united with our Allies in a powerful world organization which is ready and able to keep the peace by force. ^{— if necessary}

^{Smart} is the obligation of this Administration and for every succeeding administration, regardless of party label, from now on.

^P To provide that assurance of ~~#~~ international security

16

We owe it to our people, we owe it to our heritage of
freedom, we owe it to our God, to make sure that, within the
span of our lives on earth, and within the utmost limits of
our capabilities, [we have built] a solid, durable structure of
world peace.

(A)

We are holding a national election this fall despite all ~~the~~
prophecies ~~to the contrary.~~ And you and I know just which ~~of some~~
~~some who~~
and ~~which~~ ~~newspapers~~ have stated, time and again in the past, that it
was my sinister purpose to deprive the American people of the right to
vote and to abolish all elections.

Nobody will ever deprive the American people of the right to
vote except the American people themselves — and the only way they
could do that is by not voting.

We are holding this election in the midst of ~~the greatest~~
crisis in our history.

Today the American flag is flying over German soil — but
we can relax no part of our total effort until our flag and the flags
of our fighting Allies are flying over Berlin and all of Germany.

The American flag is flying over islands that had been
heavily fortified and defended by the Japanese. But there can be no
real peace for any of us until the Allied flags are flying over Tokyo
and all of the Japanese Empire.

The brave men who have carried our flag thus far on the road
to victory know how much farther they must go.

(A) p. ①

My fellow Americans — I am speaking to you tonight from the White House. I am speaking particularly to those Americans who ~~are interested~~ ^{regardless of party,} ~~are taking~~ ^{repeating} a large registration and a large vote this fall.

(we determined that there will be recorded)

We have armed those men and equipped them with the best
that America can produce. This war has been a supreme test of the
working power as well as the fighting power of our democratic system.

The continuing health and vigor of that democratic system
depends, in the final analysis, /the public spirit and devotion of its
citizens which find expression in the ballot box.

Every man and every woman in this nation - regardless of
party - who have the right to register and to vote, and the opportunity
to register and to vote, have also the sacred obligation to register
and to vote.

People are inclined to forget what is the real keystone of
our American constitutional system. It is the secret ballot - the free
ballot - exercised by our citizens at regular, stated intervals without
coercion, without intimidation. — *protected by the assurance* *that*

I realize that the Nazis and the Japs think we must be insane
to hold elections in this war. But I also recall that some of these
same enemies once stated that the American and British strategy was
controlled by "military idiots" - and others of these enemies once said

*The ballots cast will be correctly
and honestly counted and
recorded.*

THIRD DRAFT

- 5 -

they would dictate the peace terms from The White House.

The American Government is the oldest unchanged form of government in the world. It has survived and prospered for more than a century and a half, and it is now at the highest peak of its power and vitality. This is primarily because when the American people want a change of Government - even when they merely want "new faces" - they can raise the old electioneering battle-cry of "throw the rascals out."

It is true that there are many undemocratic defects in voting laws in the various States; and some of these produce injustices which prevent a full and free expression of public opinion.

The right to vote must be open to our citizens irrespective of race, color or creed - without tax or artificial restriction of any kind. The sooner we get to that basis the better it will be for the country as a whole.

Inset N(B)

INSERT A

It is also the assurance that the ballots cast
will be correctly and honestly recounted and recorded.

B

INSERT ~~A-1~~ on Page 3

Sometimes better rascals have been put in —
but sometimes worse rascals have appeared. Personally
after some years of experience I am inclined to think
although on occasion the set of "rascals" has been
short the decency of Americans who are either the "ins"
has maintained a
or the "outs" is-of-a pretty high level.
A

replaced by
another set of
"rascals", in the
long run

THIRD DRAFT

- 4 -

Candidates in every part of the United States are now engaged in running for office.

All of us are actuated by a normal desire to win. *But, naturally* Some of us would like, if we are to win, to be elected by a very large and thoroughly representative expression of public opinion, while others would be perfectly content to win an election with a small vote.

Personally, I should be very sorry to be elected President of the United States on a small turnout of voters. And by the same token, if I were to be defeated, I should be much happier to be defeated in a large out-pouring of voters. Then there could not be any question of doubt in anybody's mind as to which way the masses of the American people wanted this election to go.

And let me say this in the greatest frankness. I want every qualified voter to vote. It may be you will not vote for me. But the free and full exercise of our sacred right and duty to vote *transcends* the personal hopes or ambitions of any candidate for any office in the land.

In the election of 1920 -- one of the most fateful elections in our history -- only ____% of the qualified voters actually voted. Thus _____ American voters out of every ten failed to do their basic duty as citizens.

We can be gratified that in the past twelve years the percentage of voters in national campaigns has been steadily going up.

In 1938, it was ____%

In 1936, it was ____%

In 1940, it was ____%

But that still is not nearly good enough.

Of course, this year many millions of our young men are in the armed forces, and it will be difficult, in many cases --- and impossible in some cases -- for them to register and vote. *(Signature)*

All the more reason that we here at home must not be slackers on Registration Day or Election Day. Our votes can be the assurance that all the sacrifices made in this war shall not have been made in vain.

I wish to make a special appeal to ~~your~~ women of the nation
~~to exercise your right to vote.~~ ^{the} In so many ways, you women have taken the places of those who now wear their country's uniform -- in the war plants and shipyards, in offices and stores, on farms and in mines, on railroads and buses. It is now your duty to take their place at the ballot box.

INSERT B PAGE 5

I will not try to explain why it is impossible for them to register and vote -- because this is obviously a non-partisan appeal to people of all parties and all inclinations. The situation differs in every state and you individually must work out the blame for this practical fact in accordance with the individual inability to vote.

In so many ways women have taken an active participation in this war -- some in uniform, some in plants and ship yards, some in offices and stores, some on farms and some on railroads ^{and} ~~or~~ buses ^{more than ever} that ~~you~~ have become a very integral part of ~~the machinery of our civilization~~.
Therefore, it is even more ^{than} ~~your~~ opportunity than it was in the past to go to the ballot boxes.

(That they play ~~the~~ a full part in this national election.)

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I know how difficult it is especially for the million
 15
women now employed to get away to register and vote. Many of you have
to manage your households as well as your jobs. A grateful nation remem-
bers that. [A grateful nation has tried to help in this emergency to
make your burden lighter by providing decent war housing for your homes
and child care centers, by food priorities and extra facilities for rest
and comfort in war plants, and in a great many other ways.]

[For the women who are not employed in war plants, it is easier
to register and vote.] whether employed directly or indirectly not-women
But all women of all parties and those not en-
rolled in any party should this year above all others express what I
know to be their keen interest in the affairs of government -- by their
votes.

In the war, in Europe and in the far Pacific, our forces and
those of our Allies are steadily, relentlessly carrying the attack to the
enemy.

The Allied Armies under General Eisenhower have waged during
the past four months one of the most brilliant campaigns in military
history -- a campaign which has carried us from the beaches of Normandy
and of Southern France to the very banks of the Rhine.

In the Pacific, our naval task forces have advanced to attack the Japanese at Trincomalee, more than five thousand miles west of Pearl Harbor.

But German and Japanese resistance remains as determined — as fanatical — as ever.

It now seems doubtful that there will be any complete surrender by the German high command. The guns of Hitler's Gestapo are silencing those German officers who have sense enough to know that every day that the fighting continues means that much more ruin and destruction for their beaten country. We shall have to fight our way across the Rhine — we may have to fight every inch of the way to Berlin.

But we Americans and our British and Russian and French and Polish Allies — all the massed forces of the United Nations — will not stop short of our final goal.

All of the sacrifices we have made in this war — all of the ~~hopeful~~ brought infinite sorrow that this war has ~~ended~~ to our people — will be justified only if we can present to our returning heroes an America which is stronger and more prosperous, more deeply devoted to the ways of democracy, than ever before.

"The land of opportunity" — that's what our forefathers called this country. By God's grace, it ^{always} must ~~ever~~ be the land of opportunity — ever broader opportunity for the individual citizen.

We have fought our way out of economic crisis — we are fighting our way through the ~~most~~ ^{bitter} ~~severity~~ of all wars — and our fighting men and women — our plain, everyday citizens — have a right to enjoy the fruits of victory.

But — that victory must not be bedeviled or besmirched by ~~need~~ ^{irreversible} here less political dissension or misrepresentation/at home.

I do not think that the American people will look with favor on any attempts to make a partisan political issue of the deeply serious

question of bringing our boys home. I have seen great numbers of letters from our soldiers and sailors and I know that they have no intention of quitting until this job is finished.

Of course all of us who have sons on active service overseas want to have our boys come home at the earliest possible moment. And they will come home and be returned to civilian life at the earliest possible moment consistent with our national safety. I give my personal assurance on that. I give that assurance as President of the United States

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and as the Constitutional Commander in Chief. I am supported completely in this by the Secretaries of War and Navy and by the Chiefs of Staff, General Marshall, Admiral King and General Arnold. No statements from any other sources on this subject have any vestige of official authority behind them.

The record is clear on this matter:

The bill to provide a national program for demobilization and postwar adjustment was introduced in the Senate by Senator George and Senator Murray last February.

It was reviewed and approved by the War and Navy Departments, the Chiefs of Staff, and by the Director of War Mobilization of this Administration.

That Bill as drafted and approved and passed by the Congress and signed by me contained the following provision: "The War and Navy Departments shall not retain persons in the armed forces for the purpose of preventing unemployment or awaiting opportunities for employment."

As long ago as June 12th, the Director of War Mobilization, Justice Byrnes, made a statement in behalf of this bill. He said: "Our

fighting men are entitled to first consideration in any plan of demobilization. Their orderly release at the earliest possible moment consistent with the effective prosecution of the war has ever been the primary consideration of both the President/the Joint Chiefs of Staff. [Fair standards for their discharge in such numbers as the defeat of Hitler will permit have already been established, not arbitrarily, but in a highly creditable democratic way.]

The War Department specifically approved that bill on June 14, 1944. It has already issued its plan for speedy demobilization, based upon the wishes of the soldiers themselves.

→ The George-Murray Bill has now been enacted into law.

That law is there, for all Americans to read -- and you do not need legal training to understand it. *Insert D*

That law is the refutation of all those who, quoting unauthorized sources, have attempted to alarm and weaken the morale of our fighting men and their families. *Insert D*

This factual record

INSERT D p. 10

P It seems a pity that any words should be used
to misinform ^{or} any of the mothers or families of America
or misinform any of our men on the fighting fronts or the
members of their families here at home

[The American people - soldiers and civilians alike - insist
that this time we must finish the job completely and that is the most
important mandate upon the Administration, regardless of party, which will
serve throughout the next four years.]

When our enemies are finally defeated, we all want to see an end
to wartime restrictions ^{and} wartime controls, ~~and~~ strict provisions for the
ending of these inconveniences ^{have been} written into our wartime laws.

In set A
[For instance, rationing. The agency which administers this,
the OPA, is on a year-to-year basis, subject to renewal by the Congress.
Last June when it did expire it was renewed by the Congress without a
dissenting voice. And that statute and all the boards and restrictions
^{indeed} under it, and all of the wartime statutes ~~will~~ will expire six months after the
war ends, or sooner ~~/~~ if the Congress wishes. No one but the Congress can
extend the OPA one minute thereafter.

The OPA - like the other wartime boards - is run on a nonpartisan
basis. The local rationing boards - like the local Selective Service Boards -
are appointed on the recommendation of the Governors of the various states.
They are patriotic citizens, representing both major parties, who are rendering
essential service in this war and who deserve the nation's gratitude.]

(A) p. 11

~~that applies to rationing,~~

Those who fear that war time
measures like price control and
rationing, for example, ~~will be withdrawn~~
~~immediately continued indefinitely~~, into
peace time, should examine those
laws. They will find that they are all
temporary - to dispel when the war is
over or sooner if the Congress determines.

I can promise you that those loyal men and women of the Rationing Boards are not "bureaucrats" eager to entrench themselves in their jobs. In fact, they will be among the first to celebrate when the need for those disagreeable jobs is ended.

That is true of practically all the wartime controls which were necessary to set up.]

The American people do not need and no National Administration would dare to ask them to tolerate any continuance in peacetime of the essential wartime controls.

The power of the will of the American people expressed through the free ballot is the surest protection against the weakening of our democracy by any alien "isms" from abroad.

It is a source of regret to all decent Americans that some political propagandists are now using one of these "isms" as ^{Agenda} ~~as~~ red herrings to drag across the trail of this national election. Labor baiters and bigots, and some politicians use the term loosely and apply it to every progressive social measure and to ^{The views of living foreign-born} ~~every~~ citizen who was born abroad. They forget that we in the United States are all descended from immigrants, and that there is no better proof of that fact than the names on the casualty lists coming in every day from all the theaters of war.

with whom they
disagree.

I have just been looking at one example of this.

It is a report of the House of Representatives Campaign Expenditures Committee about a document recently sent free, through the mails, by one Senator and twelve Representatives — all of them, strangely enough, Republicans. They evidently thought highly of this document for they had more than three million copies printed by the Government Printing Office — requiring more than eighteen tons of expensive Government paper — and sent them through the mails at the taxpayers' expense.

Now — let us look at this document to see what made it so important to thirteen Republican leaders at this stage of the war.

Well — this document says that the "Red spectre of communism is stalking our country from East to West, from North to South" — the charge being that the Roosevelt Administration is one gigantic plot to sell our democracy out to the communists.

Where have we heard that one before?

And ~~We~~ have heard precisely the same thing, day after day, from Nazi propaganda. The Nazis believe in achieving "Strength Through Fear".

I do not think such tactics will go very far in this country. Americans do not scare easily. But it is just possible that many Americans might become somewhat annoyed when such obvious propaganda is mailed to them by their own Congressmen -- and at their own expense.

I have never sought and I do not now seek -- in fact I repudiate -- the support of any person or group ~~whatever~~ committed to communism or fascism or any other foreign ideology which would ~~and~~ change the American system of government or the American system of private property.

3 / That does not in the least interfere with the firm and friendly relationship which this nation has in this war and will, I hope, continue to have with the Soviet Union. The kind of economy ^{parts} that the Russian people ~~want~~ is their own affair. I am sure that a great many of these politicians who seek election on ~~this~~ ^{the} ~~red~~ herring issue are doing their best to interfere with our good relations with Russia. But the American people are glad and proud to be allied with the gallant people of Russia, not only in winning this war but in laying the foundations for the world peace which will follow the war -- and in keeping that peace.

[It is the future which is of deepest concern to every American.]

We have seen our civilization in deadly peril — and it is difficult for us today to appreciate how grave that peril was in 1940 and 1941, and even in 1942, or how close our civilization came to disastrous defeat.

We successfully met the challenge, due to the steadfastness of our Allies, to the aid we were able to give to our Allies, and to the unprecedented outpouring of American manpower, American productivity and American ingenuity — and to the magnificent courage and enterprise of our fighting men and our military leadership.

However, if there were to be another war, we might not again be given sufficient time to master our national resources.

Caution
We and our Allies might be so hopelessly divided, so obsessed with isolationism and a false sense of security, that our enemies might be able to seize the decisive advantage which they so nearly gained in this war.

We must not and we will not run that risk.

We must and we will continue to be united with our Allies in a powerful world organization which is ready and able to keep the peace — if necessary by force.

To provide that assurance of international security is
the obligation of this Administration and ^{of} ~~and~~ every succeeding
administration, regardless of party label, from now on.

We owe it to our posterity, we owe it to our heritage
of freedom, we owe it to our God, to ~~build, within the spans of~~
^{devote the rest of} ~~and all of our capabilities to the building of~~
~~our lives on~~
a solid, durable structure of world peace.

FOURTH DRAFT

- 1 -

My fellow Americans — I am speaking to you tonight from the
on behalf of
White House. I am speaking particularly to those Americans who, regardless of party, are determined that there will be recorded a large registration and a large vote this fall.

We are holding a national election [this fall] despite all the prophecies of some politicians and some newspapers who have stated, time and again in the past, that it was my sinister purpose to deprive the American people of the right to vote, [↑] ~~and to abolish all elections, and~~
Nobody will ever deprive the American people of the right to vote except the American people themselves — and the only way they could do that is by not voting.

[We are holding this election in the midst of a very great crisis in our history.]

Today the American flag is flying over German soil — but we can relax no part of our total effort until our flag and the flags of our fighting Allies are flying over Berlin and all of Germany.

The American flag is flying over islands that had been heavily fortified and defended by the Japanese. But there can be no real peace for any of us until the Allied flags are flying over Tokyo and all of the Japanese Empire.

The brave men who have carried our flag thus far on the road to victory know how much farther they must go.]

[We have armed these men and equipped them with the best that America can produce. This war has been a supreme test of the working power as well as the fighting power of our democratic system.]

The continuing health and vigor of ^{that} democratic system depends, in the final analysis, on the public spirit and devotion of its citizens which find expression in the ballot box.

Every man and every woman in this nation - regardless of party - who have the right to register and to vote, and the opportunity to register and to vote, have also the sacred obligation to register and to vote.

People are inclined to forget what is the real keystone of our American constitutional system. It is the secret ballot - the free ballot - exercised by our citizens at regular, stated intervals without coercion, without intimidation -- protected by the assurance that the ballots cast will be correctly and honestly counted and recorded.

[I realize that the Nazis and the Japs think we must be insane to hold elections in this war. But I also recall that some of these same enemies once stated that the American and British strategy was controlled by "military idiots" - and others of these enemies once said they would dictate the peace terms from The White House.]

The American Government has survived and prospered for more than a century and a half, and it is now at the highest peak of its power and vitality. This is primarily because when the American people want a change of Government - even when they merely want "new faces" - they can raise the old electioneering battle-cry of "throw the rascals out."

[Personally after some years of experience I am inclined to think ~~that~~, although on occasion one set of "rascals" has been replaced by another set of "rascals," in the long run the decency of Americans who are either the "ins" or the "outs" has maintained a pretty high level.]

It is true that there are many undemocratic defects in voting laws in the various States; and some of these produce injustices which prevent a full and free expression of public opinion.

The right to vote must be open to our citizens irrespective of race, color or creed - without tax or artificial restriction of any kind.
of political equality,
The sooner we get to that basis, ^A the better it will be for the country as a whole.

Candidates in every part of the United States are now engaged in running for office.

All of us are actuated by a normal desire to win. But, speaking personally, I should be very sorry to be elected President of the United States on a small turnout of voters. And by the same token, if I were to be defeated, I should be much happier to be defeated in a large out-pouring of voters. Then there could not be any question of doubt in anybody's mind as to which way the masses of the American people wanted this election to go.

[And let me say this in the greatest frankness. I want every qualified voter to vote. It may be you will not vote for me. But the free and full exercise of our sacred right and duty to vote is more important than the personal hopes or ambitions of any candidate for any office in the land.

Insert A
In the election of 1920 — one of the most fateful elections in our history — only 44 % of the ^{fotential} qualified voters actually voted.

Thus more than one half of American voters out of every ten failed to do their basic duty as citizens.

We can be gratified that in the past twelve years the percentage of voters in national campaigns has been steadily going up.

[In 1932, it was 57%

In 1936, it was 61%

In 1940, it was 62%

But that still is not nearly good enough.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Joint A PAGE 4

The administration which must cope with the difficult problems of peace and reconstruction should be chosen by a clear majority of all the people and not a part of the people.

*Draft A
p5*

Of course, this year many millions of our young men are in the armed forces, and it will be difficult, in many cases -- and impossible in some cases -- for them to register and vote.

All the more reason that we here at home must not be slackers on Registration Day or Election Day. [Our votes can be the assurance that all the sacrifices made in this war shall not have been made in vain.]

I wish to make a special appeal to the women of the nation to exercise their right to vote. [In so many ways] Women have taken an active part in many ways participation in this war -- some in uniform, some in plants and ship yards, and hospitals, some in offices and stores, some on farms and some on railroads and buses -- that they have become more than ever a very integral part of our industrial machinery. [Therefore, it is even more than ever important that they play a full part in this national election.]

I know how difficult it is especially for the _____ million women now employed to get away to register and vote. Many of them have to manage their households as well as their jobs. A grateful nation remembers that.

But all women whether employed directly in war jobs or not -- women of all parties and those not enrolled in any party -- should this year have a double obligation to exercise by their vote ~~expresses~~ what I know to be their keen interest in the affairs of government -- ~~expresses~~ this obligation to themselves as citizens, and this obligation to the fighting husbands, sons, brothers and sweethearts.

Inset A b-5

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

I know from personal experience
how effective precinct workers of all
parties throughout the nation can be
in assuring a large vote.

In the war, in Europe and in the far Pacific, our forces and those of our Allies are steadily, relentlessly carrying the attack to the enemy.

The Allied Armies under General Eisenhower have waged during the past four months one of the most brilliant campaigns in military history — a campaign which has carried us from the beaches of Normandy and of Southern France to the very banks of the Rhine.

In the Pacific, our naval task forces have advanced to attack the Japanese, more than five thousand miles west of Pearl Harbor.

But German and Japanese resistance remains as determined — as fanatical — as ever.

[It now seems doubtful that there will be any complete surrender by the German high command.] The guns of Hitler's Gestapo are silencing those German officers who have sense enough to know that every day that the fighting continues means that much more ruin and destruction for their beaten country. We shall have to fight our way across the Rhine — we may have to fight every inch of the way to Berlin.

But we Americans and our British and Russian and French
and Polish Allies — all the massed forces of the United Nations —

will not stop short of our final goal. Nor will all our goals have
been achieved when the shooting stops. We must be able to
All of the sacrifices we have made in this war -- all of

the profound sorrow that this war has brought to our people — will
be justified — only if we can present to our returning heroes an
America which is stronger and more prosperous, more deeply devoted
to the ways of democracy, than ever before.

"The land of opportunity" — that's what our forefathers
called this country. By God's grace, it must always be the land of
opportunity for the individual citizen — ever broader opportunity.

We have fought our way out of economic crisis — we are
fighting our way through the bitterest of all wars — and our fighting
men and women — our plain, everyday citizens — have a right to enjoy
the fruits of victory.

[But — that victory must not be clouded or besmirched by
irresponsible political dissension or misrepresentation here at home.

I do not think that the American people will look with favor
on any attempts to make a partisan political issue of the deeply serious]

[question of bringing our boys home. I have seen great numbers of letters from our soldiers and sailors, I have talked to many of them in various theatres of war and I know that they have no intention of quitting and I know that they do not mean to quit this job until it is finished.]

Of course all of us who have sons on active service overseas want to have our boys come home at the earliest possible moment, and they will come home and be returned to civilian life at the earliest possible moment consistent with our national safety. [I give my personal assurance on that. I give that assurance as President of the United States and as the Constitutional Commander in-Chief. I am supported completely in this by the Secretaries of War and Navy and by the Chiefs of Staff, General Marshall, Admiral King and General Arnold. No statements from any other sources on this subject have any vestige of official authority behind them.]

The record is clear on this matter, and dates back many months. The bill to provide a national program for demobilization and postwar adjustment was introduced [in the Senate] by Senator George and Senator Murray last February.

[It was reviewed and approved by the War and Navy Departments, the Chiefs of Staff, and by the Director of War Mobilization of this Administration.]

That Bill as drafted and approved and passed by the Congress and signed by me contained the following provision: "The War and Navy Departments shall not retain persons in the armed forces for the purpose of preventing unemployment or awaiting opportunities for employment."

As long ago as June 12th, the Director of War Mobilization, Justice Byrnes, made a statement in behalf of this bill. He said:

"Our fighting men are entitled to first consideration in any plan of demobilization. Their orderly release at the earliest possible moment consistent with the effective prosecution of the war has ever been the primary consideration of both the President and the Joint Chiefs of Staff."

The War Department specifically approved that bill on June 14, 1944. [On September 6 the War Department It has already issued its plan for speedy demobilization, based upon the wishes of the soldiers themselves.

This factual record is the refutation of all those who, quoting unauthoritative sources, have attempted to alarm and to weaken the morale of our fighting men and their families.

The George-Murray Bill has now been enacted into law.

That law is there, for all Americans to read — and you do not need legal training to understand it.

It seems a pity that reckless words should be used to mislead our men on the fighting fronts or the members of their families here at home.

When our enemies are finally defeated, we all want to *as the earliest practicable moment* see an end to wartime restrictions and wartime controls. Strict provisions for the ending of these inconveniences have been written into our wartime laws.

Those who fear that wartime measures like price control and rationing, for example, might be continued indefinitely into peacetime, should examine these laws. They will find that they are all temporary — to expire *six months after* ^A when the war is over or sooner if the Congress determines.

The American people do not need and no National Administration would dare to ask them to tolerate any continuance in peacetime of the essential wartime controls ^{indefinite} ~~essential in war time~~.

The power of the will of the American people expressed through the free ballot is the surest protection against the weakening of our democracy by any alien ^{"agents"} ~~from abroad~~ doctrines.

It is a source of regret to all decent Americans that some political propagandists are now [using some of these "issues"]
and red herring [to drag] across the trail of this national election.

P For example, labor baiters, and bigots and some politicians use the term "communism" loosely and apply it to every progressive social measure and to the views of every foreign-born citizen with whom they disagree. P They forget that we in the United States are all descended from immigrants, and that there is no better proof of that fact than the names on the casualty lists coming in every day from all the theaters of war.

I have just been looking at one example of this.

A statement by Representative Andrew J. Cannon, Chairman of the House Committee on Expenditures [Committee] about a document recently sent free, through the mails, by one Senator and twelve Representatives -- all of them, [strangely enough,] Republicans. They evidently thought highly of this document for they had more than three million copies printed by the Government Printing Office -- requiring more than eighteen tons of expensive Government paper -- and sent them through the mails at the taxpayers' expense.

Now — let us look at this document to see what made it so important to thirteen Republican leaders at this stage of the war — when many millions of our men are fighting for freedom.

Well — this document says that the "Red spectre of communism is stalking our country from East to West, from North to South" — the charge being that the Roosevelt Administration is one gigantic plot to sell our democracy out to the communists.

Insert (A)

[Where have we heard that one before?

We have heard precisely the same thing, day after day, from Nazi propaganda. The Nazis believe in achieving "Strength Through

Fear."]

[I do not think such tactics will go very far in this country. Americans do not scare easily. But it is just possible that many Americans might become somewhat annoyed when such obvious propaganda is mailed to them by their own Congressmen — and at their own expense.]

I have never sought, and I do not now seek — in fact I repudiate — the support of any person or group committed to communism, or fascism, or any other foreign ideology which would undermine the American system of government or the American system of private property.

free competition enterprise
and

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Inset A

PAGE 12

This sort of thing is not new among rabble rousers and fomenters of class hatred. This sort of thing is not new in countries which have been frightened and cheated out of their democracies by red-baiting dictators. It was used by Mussolini's black shirts and Hitler's brown shirts. It has been used before in this country by the silver shirts and others on the lunatic fringe. but the sound and democratic instincts of the American people rebel against its use particularly by their own Congressman and at their own expense

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That does not in the least interfere with the fine and friendly relationship which this nation has in this war and will, I hope, continue to have with the Soviet Union. The kind of economy that suits the Russian people is their own affair. [I am sure that a great many of those who drag out this red herring issue are doing their utmost to interfere with our good relations with Russia. But] the American people are glad and proud to be allied with the gallant people of Russia, not only in winning this war but in laying the foundations for the world peace which will follow the war -- and in keeping that peace.

We have seen our civilisation in deadly peril. [and it is difficult for us today to appreciate how grave that peril was in 1940 and 1941, and even in 1942, or how close our civilisation came to disastrous defeat.]

We successfully met the challenge, due to the steadfastness of our Allies, to the aid we were able to give to our Allies, and to the unprecedented outpouring of American manpower, American productivity and American ingenuity -- and to the magnificent courage and enterprise of our fighting men and our military leadership.

What is now being won in battle must not be lost by lack of vision or by lack of faith or by division among ourselves and our Allies.

[However, if there were to be another war, we might not again be given sufficient time to muster our national resources. We and our Allies might be caught so hopelessly divided, so obsessed with isolationism and a false sense of security, that our enemies might be able to seize the decisive advantage which they so nearly gained in this war.

We must not and we will not run that risk.]

We must and we will continue to be united with our Allies in a powerful world organization which is ready and able to keep the peace -- if necessary by force.

To provide that assurance of international security is the obligation of this Administration and of every succeeding administration, regardless of party label, from now on.

We owe it to our posterity, we owe it to our heritage of freedom, we owe it to our God, to devote the rest of our lives and all of our capabilities to the building of a solid, durable structure of world peace.

STATE OF THE UNION ADDRESS

OCTOBER 5, 1964

FIFTH DRAFT

- 1 -

My fellow Americans — I am speaking to you tonight from the White House. I am speaking particularly on behalf of those Americans who, regardless of party, ^{very much like} are determined that there will be recorded a large registration and a large vote this fall. (X)

We are holding a national election despite all the prophecies of some politicians and ^{a few} newspapers who have stated, time and again in the past, that it was my sinister purpose to abolish all elections and to deprive the American people of the right to vote. (A)

Nobody will ever deprive the American people of the right to vote except the American people themselves — and the only way they could do that is by not voting. (X)

The continuing health and vigor of our democratic system depends, in the final analysis, on the public spirit and devotion of its citizens which find expression in the ballot box.

Every man and every woman in this nation — regardless of party — who have the right to register and to vote, and the opportunity to register and to vote, have also the sacred obligation to register and to vote. For the free and secret ballot [people are inclined to forget what] is the real keystone of our American constitutional system. It is the secret ballot — the free ballot — exercised by our citizens at regular, stated intervals without coercion, without intimidation -- protected by the assurance that the ballots cast will be correctly and honestly counted and recorded.

INSERT A PAGE 1

These are the same people who, with their tongues in
their cheeks, talk of American dictatorships, although they know that
fail to mention that the maintenance of free elections every
four years will always protect our nation against any such
possibility. [As a matter of fact, most of us know that the
real danger lies in the rise of a fascism in this country
which will turn over our government to a small group who

Caring more for material riches than human rights
try to build up forms of dictatorship
(in this Republic)

FIFTH DRAFT

- 2 -

The American Government has survived and prospered for more than a century and a half, and it is now at the highest peak of its power-and-vitality. This is primarily because when the American people want a change of Government - even when they merely want "new faces" - they can raise the old electioneering battle-cry of "throw the rascals out."

It is true that there are many undemocratic defects in voting laws in the various States; and some of these produce injustices which prevent a full and free expression of public opinion.

The right to vote must be open to our citizens irrespective of race, color or creed - without tax or artificial restriction of any kind. The sooner we get to that basis of political equality, the better it will be for the country as a whole.

Candidates in every part of the United States are now engaged in running for office.

All of us are actuated by a normal desire to win. But, speaking personally, I should be very sorry to be elected President of the United States on a small turnout of voters. And by the same token, if I were to be defeated, I should be much happier to be defeated in a large outpouring of voters. Then there could not be any question of doubt in anybody's mind as to which way the masses of the American people wanted this election to go.

FIFTH DRAFT:

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The free and full exercise of our sacred right and duty to vote is more important than the personal hopes or ambitions of any candidate for any office in the land.

The administration which must cope with the difficult problems of
~~waging the war, and of~~
peace and reconstruction should be chosen by a clear majority of all the
people and not a part of the people.

In the election of 1920 -- one of the most fateful elections in our history -- only 49% of the potential voters actually voted.

Thus more than one half of American voters failed to do their basic duty as citizens.

We can be gratified that in [the past twelve] years the percentage
of voters in national campaigns has been steadily going up.

In 1940, it was 62%.

But that still is not nearly good enough.

Of course, ^{for} this year many millions of our young men are in the armed forces, and it will be difficult in many cases — and impossible in some cases — ~~for them~~ to register and vote.

~~It is a matter of simple fact, which anybody can prove, that in some states officers and men of the armed services cannot vote if they are absent from their peacetime residences. This applies also to war workers who are in some war factory far from home.~~

~~It is a matter of fact that in many other states, the state provision for the armed forces are so complicated or badly timed that it will be very difficult for many soldiers and sailors to vote. It is a matter of fact that many classes of people engaged in war work -- members of the merchant marine, red cross workers, USO workers, cannot vote if they are absent from home.~~

The responsibility for these and similar existing restrictions can well be placed by the electorate as a whole. The greatest single fact is, however, that during this past summer and spring there existed a body of politicians and press who quite openly worked to restrict the ballot this year hoping selfishly for a small vote.

I think the people will be able to pick the responsibility for this state of affairs; for they know that during this past year there were politicians who ~~were~~ quite openly worked to restrict the use of the ballot ~~there~~ in this election, hoping selfishly for a small vote.

FIFTH DRAFT

All the more reason that we here at home must not be slackers
on Registration Day or Election Day. I know from personal experience
how effective precinct workers of all parties throughout the nation can
be in assuring a large vote.

I wish to make a special appeal to the women of the nation to
exercise their right to vote. Women have taken an active part in this
war in many ways -- some in uniform, some in plants and ship yards,
some in offices and stores and hospitals, some on farms and some on
railroads and buses -- that they have become more than ever a very
integral part of our industrial machinery.

I know how difficult it is especially for the _____ million
women now employed to get away to register and vote. Many of them have
to manage their households as well as their jobs. A grateful nation
remembers that.

But all women whether employed directly in war jobs or not --
women of all parties and those not enrolled in any party -- this year
have a double obligation to express by their votes what I know to be
their keen interest in the affairs of government -- their obligation
to themselves as citizens, and their obligation to ~~the~~ fighting husbands,
sons, brothers and sweethearts.

FIFTH DRAFT

*It is, therefore, all the more important
for the more serious, that we here at home must not be slackers
on Registration Day or Election Day. [I know from personal experience
how effective precinct workers of all parties throughout the nation can
be in assisting their governments.]*

I wish to make a special appeal to the women of the nation to exercise their right to vote. Women have taken an active part in this war in many ways -- some in uniform, some in plants and ship yards, some in offices and stores and hospitals, some on farms and some on railroads and buses -- that they have become more than ever a very integral part of our industrial machine.

A. T. and S. F. A.
I know how difficult it is especially for the ~~many~~ millions of women now employed to get away to register and vote. Many of them have to manage their households as well as their jobs. A grateful nation remembers that.

But all women whether employed directly in war jobs or not -- women of all parties and those not enrolled in any party -- this year have a double obligation to express by their votes what I know to be their keen interest in the affairs of government -- their obligation to themselves as citizens, and their obligation to ~~the~~ fighting husbands, sons, brothers and sweethearts.

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FIFTH DRAFT

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In the war ~~in Europe and in the far East~~, our forces
and those of our Allies are steadily, relentlessly carrying the
attack to the enemy.

The Allied Armies under General Eisenhower have waged
during the past four months one of the most brilliant campaigns
in military history -- a campaign which has carried us from the
beaches of Normandy and of Southern France ^{With the junction of Army staff} ~~to the very banks of~~
~~the Rhine.~~

In the Pacific, our naval task forces have advanced to
attack the Japanese, more than five thousand miles west of Pearl
Harbor.

But German and Japanese resistance remains as determined --
as fanatical -- as ever.

The guns of Hitler's Gestapo are silencing those German
officers who have sense enough to know that every day that the fighting
continues means that much more ruin and destruction for their
beaten country. We shall have to fight our way across the Rhine --
we may have to fight every inch of the way to Berlin.

But we Americans and our British and Russian and French
and Polish Allies -- all the massed forces of the United Nations --
will not stop short of our final goal.

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It may sound to you repetitious on my part but it
is my plain duty to reiterate to you that this war for
the preservation of our civilization is not won yet.

Nor will all of our goals have been achieved when the shooting stops. We must be able to present to our returning heroes an America which is stronger and more prosperous, more deeply devoted to the ways of democracy, than ever before.

"The land of opportunity" -- that's what our forefathers called this country. By God's grace, it must always be the land of opportunity for the individual citizen -- ever broader opportunity.

We have fought our way out of economic crisis -- we are fighting our way through the bitterest of all wars -- and our fighting men and women -- our plain, everyday citizens -- have a right to enjoy the fruits of victory.

Of course all of us who have sons on active service overseas want to have our boys come home at the earliest possible moment consistent with our national safety. And they will come home and be returned to civilian life at the earliest possible moment consistent with our national safety.

The record is clear on this matter and dates back many months. ~~the~~ Bills to provide a national program for demobilization and postwar adjustment ^{and} ~~was~~ introduced by Senator George and Senator Murray last February.

This
The legislation since May 2, 1944 has contained the following provision: "The War and Navy Departments shall not retain persons in the armed forces for the purpose of preventing unemployment or awaiting opportunities for employment."

This provision
That regulation was approved by the War Department and by this Administration.

In
As long ago as June 12th, the Director of War Mobilization, Justice Byrnes, made a public statement in behalf of this bill. He said: "Our fighting men are entitled to first consideration in any plan of demobilization. Their orderly release at the earliest possible moment consistent with the effective prosecution of the war, has ever been the primary consideration of both the President and the Joint Chiefs of Staff."

On September 6th the War Department issued its plan for speedy demobilization, based upon the wishes of the soldiers themselves.

[This factual record is the refutation of all those who, quoting unauthoritative sources, have attempted to alarm and to weaken the morale of our fighting men and their families.]

has been
The George Bill was passed by the Congress, signed by me, and is now the law.

based on unauthoritative
sources;

That law is there, for all Americans to read -- and you do not need legal training to understand it.

It seems a pity that reckless words should be used to and to weaken the morale of mislead our men on the fighting fronts and the members of their families here at home.

When our enemies are finally defeated, we all want to see an end at the earliest practicable moment to wartime restrictions and wartime controls. Strict provisions for the ending of these inconveniences have been written into our wartime laws.

Those who fear that wartime measures, like price control and rationing, for example, might be continued indefinitely into peacetime, should examine these laws. They will find that they are either atom early freed date, or at the end of the war, or all temporary — to expire six months after the war, however, or if the President so sooner if the Congress determines.

The American people do not need, and no National administration would dare to ask them, to tolerate any indefinite continuance in peacetime of the controls essential in war time.

The power of the will of the American people expressed through the free ballot is the surest protection against the weakening of our democracy by "regimentation" or any alien doctrines.

FIFTH DRAFT

- 9 -

It is a source of regret to all decent Americans that some political propagandists are now dragging red herrings across the trail of this national election.

For example, [Labor baiters] and bigots, and some politicians use the term "communism" loosely, and apply it to every progressive social measure and to the views of every foreign-born citizen with whom they disagree.

They forget that we in the United States are all descended from immigrants, and ~~that~~ there is no better proof of that fact than ~~from~~ the names on ~~the~~ casualty lists, coming in every day from all the theatres of war.

I have just been looking at a statement by Representative Anderson, Chairman of the House Committee on Campaign Expenditures, about a document recently sent free, through the mails, by one Senator and twelve Representatives — all of them, Republicans. They evidently thought highly of this document, for they had more than three million copies printed by the Government Printing Office — requiring more than eighteen tons of ^{scarce and} expensive Government paper — and sent them through the mails all over the country at the taxpayers' expense.

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Now — let us look at this document to see what made it so important to thirteen Republican leaders at this stage of the war when many millions of our men are fighting for freedom.

Well — this document says that the "Red spectre of communism is stalking our country from East to West, from North to South" — the charge being that the Roosevelt Administration is ^{part of a} one gigantic plot to sell our democracy out to the communists.

This ^{form of fear propaganda} ~~part of a~~ is not new among rabble rousers and fomenters of class hatred. ~~[This sort of thing is not new in countries which have been frightened and cheated out of their democracy by red-baiting dictators.]~~ It was used by Mussolini's black shirts and Hitler's brown shirts. It has been used before in this country by the silver shirts and others on the lunatic fringe. But the sound and democratic instincts of the American people rebel against its use, particularly by their own Congressmen and at ^{by} ~~their~~ ^{their} own expense.

I have never sought, and I do not ~~now seek — in fact I now~~ ^{welcome} ~~welcome~~ the support of any person or group committed to communism, or fascism, or any other foreign ideology which would undermine the free competitive enterprise and American system of government or the American system of private property.

FIFTH DRAFT

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That does not in the least interfere with the firm and friendly relationship which this nation has in this war, and will, I hope, continue to have with the Soviet Union. The kind of economy that suits the Russian people is their own affair. The American people are glad and proud to be allied with the gallant people of Russia, not only in winning this war but in laying the foundations for the world peace which will follow the war — and in keeping that peace.

We have seen our civilization in deadly peril,

We successfully met the challenge, due to the steadfastness
of our Allies, to the aid we were able to give to our Allies, and to the unprecedented outpouring of American manpower, American productivity and American ingenuity — and to the magnificent courage and enterprise of our fighting men and our military leadership.

What is now being won in battle must not be lost by lack of vision or by lack of faith or by division among ourselves and our Allies.

We must and we will continue to be united with our Allies in a powerful world organization which is ready and able to keep the peace — if necessary by force.

To provide that assurance of international security is the ~~policy~~,
~~this effort and the~~
~~obligation of this Administration, and of every succeeding administration,~~
~~regardless of party label, from now on.~~ Every ~~right~~ ~~knows that~~

FIFTH DRAFT

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We owe it to our posterity, we owe it to our heritage of freedom, we owe it to our God, to devote the rest of our lives and all of our capabilities to the building of a solid, durable structure of world peace.