
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. 1552-A

1944 October 28

**Chicago, IL - Soldier's Field –
Campaign Address**

FIRST DRAFT

CHICAGO SPEECH
Oct. 28, 1944

The American people are now engaged in the greatest war in history -- and we are also engaged in a political campaign.

We are fighting this war -- and we are holding this election -- for the same essential reason: because we have faith in democracy.

And there is no force and there is no combination of forces powerful enough to shake that faith.

As you know, I have had some previous experience in war -- and I have also had a certain amount of previous experience in political campaigning.

But -- I must confess -- this is the strangest campaign I have ever seen.

I have listened to the various Republican orators who are urging the people to throw the present administration out and put them in. And what do they say?

Well, they say in effect, just this:

"Those incompetent bunglers in Washington have passed a ^{scandalous} lot of laws about social security and labor ~~relations~~ and farm relief and soil conservation -- and many others -- and we promise if elected not to change any of them.

^{They go on to say, "And, in the conduct of the war, these same communists,}

quarrelsome [blunderers -- these] tired old men ~~AM~~ have built the greatest military machine the world has ever known, which is fighting its way to victory; and, if you elect us, we promise not to change any of that, either."

"Therefore", say these Republican orators, "it is time for a change".

They also say in effect: "Those inefficient, worn out and dishonest men, by long and patient discussion and conferences in Moscow and Cairo and Teheran and Quebec and Dumbarton Oaks, have really begun to lay the foundations of a lasting world peace. If you elect us, we will not change any of that either".

"But", they whisper, "we'll do it in such a way that we won't lose the support of Gerald Rye and Gerald Smith -- or John L.

Lewis or Joseph Few ^{and} -- ~~or~~ -- and this is very important -- we won't

lose the support of
any isolationist campaign contributor. We will even be able

151 to satisfy the Chicago Tribune".

~~and~~ Tonight, [I shall not attempt to debate any political issues.] I shall talk simply about the future of America --

about this land of unlimited opportunity.

I shall give the Republican campaign orators some more opportunities to say "No too"

[I think my old friends here in Chicago and throughout Illinois and the Middle West will know that I speak the plain truth when I say that I have never lacked faith in America.]

Today everything we do is devoted to the most important job before us -- winning the war and bringing our men and women home as quickly as possible. We have astonished the world and confounded our enemies with our stupendous war production ^{with} and the overwhelming courage and fortitude and skill of our fighting men -- with the bridge of ships carrying our munitions and men through the seven seas -- with our gigantic fleet which has ^{pounded} ~~struck~~ the enemy all over the Pacific and has ^{driven through for a knock-down} just ~~hit a home run~~ in the Philippines.

But even as we fight the enemy -- and lick them -- we plan -- and we act -- for an organization which will give us a lasting peace. And we plan -- and we act -- for a peace time America which will provide for security and an ever-higher standard of living.

The American people are prepared to meet the problems of peace in the same bold way that they have met the problems of war. For the American people are resolved that when our men and women return home from this war, they shall come back to the best possible place on the face of this earth -- to a place where all persons, regardless of race, color, creed or place of birth, can live in peace, honor and human dignity --

free to speak and pray as they wish -- free from want -- and free from fear.

[My vision of America after victory is a clear one, -- an optimistic and confident one.

If ever there were doubts in the minds of little, fearful men about the immense resources of this country, they must surely be dispelled by the record of our spectacular war production.]

I know and you know that if we can produce an endless flow of ships and guns and planes and tanks, we can likewise produce an abundance of houses and cars, and airplanes, and ships, and highways, and airports and schools and hospitals and recreation centers -- and all of the other things [REDACTED] which make for the good life.

Last January, in my message to the Congress on the State of the Union, I outlined ~~the~~ an Economic Bill of Rights on which "a new basis of security and prosperity can be established for all -- regardless of station, race or creed":

"The right to a useful and remunerative job in the industries, or shops or farms or mines of the nation;

The right to earn enough to provide adequate food and clothing and recreation;

The right of every farmer to raise and sell his products at a return which will give him and his family a decent living;

The right of every business man, large and small, to trade in an atmosphere of freedom from unfair competition and domination by monopolies at home or abroad;

The right of every family to a decent home;

The right to adequate medical care and the opportunity to achieve and enjoy good health;

The right to adequate protection from the economic fears of old age, sickness, accident and unemployment;

The right to a good education.

All of these rights spell security. And after this war is won we must be prepared to move forward, in the implementation of these rights, to new goals of human happiness and well-being."

As America led the world in establishing a political democracy so must it now take lead in establishing an economic democracy.

Here take (A) from p. 8

This Economic Bill of Rights is the recognition of the simple fact that in America the future of the American worker and farmer lies in the well-being of American private enterprise; and that the future of American private enterprise lies in the well-being of the American worker and farmer.

The well-being of the nation as a whole is synonymous with the well-being of each and every one of its citizens.

[The first economic right -- "the right to a useful and remunerative job in the industries, or shops, or farms or mines of the nation" -- is the most important of all, for once that right is realized, we have gone a long way toward realizing the others.]

To assure the full realization of ^{the} ~~this~~ right to a useful ^{employment,} and remunerative ~~job~~, an adequate program must provide America with at least 60 million productive jobs. *[Signature]*

This necessary expansion of our peacetime productive capacity will require new facilities, new plants and new equipment -- capable of hiring millions more men.

273

FIRST DRAFT

- 7 -

That will require large outlays of money which should be raised through normal investment channels. [But while private capital should finance this expansion program, the Government should recognize its responsibility for sharing part of any special or abnormal risk of loss attached to such financing.]

I propose that the Government do its part in helping private enterprise finance this expansion of our industrial plant. It will be privately owned, privately operated and privately financed but the Government should share with the private investor the unusual and abnormal financial risks which may be involved in getting started.

For example, business men must be encouraged to expand their plants and to replace their obsolete or worn out equipment with new equipment. By substantially accelerating, for tax purposes, the rate of depreciation on new plants and facilities, we will provide business men with additional incentives to expand their plants, replace old and obsolete machinery with modern equipment. That means more jobs for the worker, increased profits for the business man, and lower cost to the consumer.

Thompson *tp 6*

Now I have the possibly old-fashioned theory that when you have problems to solve, objectives to achieve, you cannot get very far by just talking about them.

This is particularly true when all you have to offer is "double-talk".

You have got to go out and do something!

And it is my determination to do something about jobs for post-war America.

In 1933, when my Administration took ~~over responsibility~~ *offices and numbers of*
~~for the executive branch of the Government, we stood at one~~
~~great time of decision. Most of our economic resources were~~
~~running to waste.~~ *and there were* our industrial workers were unemployed,
 our plants idle, our farmers in distress, our monetary and
 banking system in ruins. *our economic resources were pouring to waste.*
P. Aug. 1940 - before Pearl Harbor
~~In eight years of peace,~~ *had* we increased our employment
 by 12 million workers. We *had* tripled our farm income. We *had*
 converted a corporate loss of ~~\$3.6~~ *3 1/2* billion *dollars* in 1932 to a
 corporate profit (after taxes) of ~~\$2.6~~ *2.6* billion *heavily in dollars* in 1940.
had We re-established the dollar as the strongest, most sought-
 after, currency in the world.

[We had not by 1940 -- and we have not yet -- solved all our domestic economic problems. Yet, in contrast with the demoralizing four years of depression that followed the Wall Street crash, our people found renewed grounds for a reasoned faith in the promise of American life.

That faith must be fully justified in the years to come.]

Obviously, to increase jobs after this war,
~~To provide these jobs,~~ we [shall have to take bold action. We] shall have to increase demand for our industrial and agricultural production not only here at home, but also abroad.

in the United States
Never again can we hope to isolate ourselves from the rest of humanity.

We cannot again make the mistake of putting our faith in high protective tariff walls -- *any more than in broad oceans.*

[There can be Pearl Harbor disasters in the economic field -- as we learned to our cost, in the black years of 1931 and '32.] We therefore must take steps, in cooperation with other countries to see that international trade and investment are resumed promptly on a sound basis.

The whole history of this Administration has been in the direction of international economic collaboration -- its reciprocal trade program, the establishment of the Export-Import Bank, *and the various conferences with other United Nations,* ~~the Bretton Woods Conference,~~

[But America must not be merely a seller of goods abroad. A truly prosperous America -- an America with jobs for all -- will be a tremendous buyer of raw materials and products from abroad.]

With Congressional approval of this program and with our program of jobs for all in this country -- the foreign trade of the United States can be trebled after the war. This increase in our foreign trade should mean millions of more jobs after the war.

I want to emphasize that such cooperative measures for expanding international trade is the soundest economic foundation for a lasting peace. [^a For/prosperous world is a world ~~from~~ which has the best chance to be free from both economic and political aggression.]

When we think of the America of tomorrow, we think of many things.

One of them is American homes. Millions of our people have never had a home worthy of American standards -- homes with light and air and electricity and plumbing and good sound materials, ^{[-} set in a well-planned community, with parks and playgrounds and broad streets free from through-traffic, with nearby shopping centers and places of employment. []]

The demand for homes and our capacity to build them -- once materials are no longer needed for war -- calls for a program of well over a million ^{homes} a year for at least ten years. Private industry can build and finance these homes. Government can and will assist and encourage private industry to do this, as it has for ^{many} years. Only for those very low income groups which cannot possibly afford decent homes, need government construct public housing projects. Add to these millions of new homes, the need and demand for repairs ^{and improvements for} existing homes -- and translate ^{all} ~~all~~ of it into ^{literally millions of} jobs.

In the future America we think of new highways ^{and parkways.} We think of thousands of new airports for the new commercial and private air travel which is bound to come after the war. We think of these new airplanes, new cheap automobiles with low maintenance

and operation costs. We think of new, fast, railroad trains. We think of new hospitals and new health clinics, a new merchant marine for our expanded world trade.

Think of all ^{these} ~~are~~ vast possibilities for [that vast] industrial expansion -- and translate them into ^{more millions of} jobs.

We are not talking about jobs for all for next year or for the year after that. We are talking about jobs for all as a permanent part of our American way of life.

It is inevitable that an economy of free enterprise like ours will have some fluctuation in the number of jobs it can provide. For these ~~minor~~ fluctuations, this administration has provided unemployment insurance, and will go right on doing so. And we do not delude ourselves into thinking of unemployment insurance as any real substitute for employment.

It has been our policy -- and it will be our policy -- that whenever the number of employed in this country falls unduly your Government will take prompt steps to see that new jobs are made available.

We must have a reservoir of planned and approved federal, state and local projects ready to be tapped. And when employment falls too severely, this reservoir of planned and approved public works should be opened up to provide more jobs and take up the

slack until private industry can resume its full function.

Such useful and essential public works will produce private jobs. This is possible because this construction *constructed by private firms,* should be ~~done~~ under contract with the Government, by private firms employing labor at the prevailing rate of wages and under standard labor conditions. This Government will accept the responsibility of maintaining a floor under jobs to act as a stabilizing force for the whole industrial structure.

A added The second economic right is a corollary of the first:

"the right to earn enough to provide food and clothing and recreation."

America must remain the land of high wages, strong unions, and efficient production. Every ^{full-time} job in America must provide enough for a decent living.

That is wise economics. But it is also sound humanity - to prevent human distress and suffering!

(A) → Our Economic Bill of Rights -- like the sacred Bill of Rights of our Constitution itself -- must be applied to all our citizens, irrespective of race, creed or color.

This Administration is proud of its record in providing economic and political opportunity for all. Pursuant to that general policy, six months before Pearl Harbor, I appointed a Fair Employment Practice Committee to prevent discrimination in war industry and government employment. The work of the Committee and the results obtained more than justify its creation.

FIRST DRAFT

- 24 -

There are now nearly 900,000 Negroes in the Armed Forces. Their contribution has been whole-hearted and heroic. They are, of course, entitled -- and must receive -- equal treatment with all veterans after this war.

I believe that the Congress should by law make the Committee ~~permanent~~ permanent -- not only for the war emergency, but for the peace as well.

FIRST DRAFT

- 14 -

*And that goes for whole ~~other~~
jobs in mines, offices, factories,
stores, canneries -- and
everywhere where men and
women are employed.*

During the war we have been compelled to limit wage and salary increases for ^{and} the great objective -- to prevent runaway inflation. [By price and wage control measures, America succeeded in holding the line against inflation.] You all know ^{how successfully we have held the line} it by the way the cost of living has been kept down -- in food ^{and} in rent, ^{and} in nearly all the necessities of life.

However, at the end of the war there will be more goods available, and it is only good common sense to see that the working man is paid enough and that the farmers earn enough to buy these goods and keep our factories running.

[The surest guarantee of well-paid jobs for all is provided by the prosperity of the consumer. And the consumer is everybody.]

In the late 1920's -- the days of the "Big Boom" that busted -- there was one important section of our population which was overlooked by those responsible for our government.

I refer to those Americans who live and work on farms. There are something like fifty million of them. That's quite a lot of Americans.

In this war, the American farmer has been called upon to do far and away the biggest ^{food} production job in history.

The American farmer has met that challenge triumphantly.

Despite all manner of difficulties -- shortage of farm labor and of new farm machinery because of the war -- the American farmer has achieved a total of food production which is one of the wonders of the world.

The American farmer has fed this nation -- he has fed the men of our armed forces -- and he has fed countless masses of people throughout the world who otherwise would have starved.

The American farmer is a great producer and he must have the means to be a great consumer. More farm income means more jobs.

[That underlines the importance of the third economic right: "the right of every farmer to raise and sell his products at a rate which will give him and his family a decent living."]

Let us look back for a moment to 1933. [I think all of us will agree, farmers were in bad shape then.] During the twelve years of three preceding Republican Administrations, most of the rest of the country had seemed to be waxing fat while ^{the farmers} ~~they themselves~~ were what the economists call "deflated."

Long before the terrible crash of 1929, they had been "deflated" several times over.

When the great Depression of 1929 set in, things went from bad to worse under the Republican Administration. All of us remember the spreading tide of farm foreclosures, 4 cent hogs, 20 cent wheat, 5 cent cotton.

But we remember, too, what happened when this Administration began to do something about the trouble the farmers were in -- the Agricultural Adjustment Act, the Farm Credit Administration, the Farm Security Administration, the Soil Conservation Act, the Rural Electrification Administration, the Commodity Credit Corporation -- nearly all of which were opposed by the majority of the Republican members of Congress.

[I could talk to you all night about programs and policies and theories, but the straight-thinking farmer knows that he now has good prices, that his property value is up, that his debt is going down -- that his farm is safe and his soil is protected.

[Through this Administration's farm programs, the income of American farmers has been raised to the highest point in history. These programs, also, have brought new security and better meals and housing and clothing and education to hundreds of thousands of tenants and sharecroppers.

These programs have marked the end of our waste of that most precious of all natural resources, the soil.

They have meant a tremendous advance in bringing to farmers the comforts of city dwellers. Two and a half million farmers

now use electricity in homes and barns, where ten years ago only 618,000 did.

And in a thousand and one other ways -- in reduction of farm debts, in access to roads, by flood control, by irrigation, reclamation, and power development, in school buildings and in length of school term -- the prosperity of the countryside has meant that farmers under this Administration are not treated as second-class citizens.]

The farmers and ranchers of this nation are in the road to prosperity and we propose to keep that road open. As we look ahead, it seems to me that there are three things which farmers want and which they should not be denied.

First, they want to maintain full production not only in order that their own families may have a better standard of living, but also in order that every family in the nation may have adequate food and clothing.

Second, they want adequate markets at home and abroad for their produce which means that we must have full domestic employment and an active foreign trade.

Third, they want the right to work together and with their government toward the solution of difficulties which, acting

alone and separately, they are often not able even to touch.

[Our farm program must have a sound base in industrial and commercial prosperity if it is to have even a chance of success. The day when part of the economy could be well-off and another part in distress is gone forever.]

We must conserve the enormous gifts with which an abundant Providence has blessed our country -- our soil, our forests, our water.

That is why I think that the TVA is an essential part of the national farm program, and that the farm program of the future must have in it a place for similar developments which I have recommended in the valley of the Missouri -- in the valley of the Arkansas -- and in the Columbia River Basin.

And incidentally -- and as an aside -- I cannot resist the temptation to point to the gigantic contribution to our war effort made by the power generated at TVA and Bonneville and Grand Coulee.

Do you remember when the building of these great public works was ridiculed as New Deal "boondoggling".

Through the Democratic Party, farmers have put into the law of the land their long dream of parity prices.

We are now going to widen this whole conception so that it does not mean just parity prices but that it also means parity and equality and justice for farmers in income, in comforts and, yes, in city conveniences.

[In other words, we want and farmers want parity of citizenship.] During the war we [have used prices in a new and different way. We] have placed a support under prices so that farmers could count on a certain income, [if they did their part and if the weather cooperated. [We propose to go right ahead in this same direction, seeing to it that

~~This administration has~~ already assured the farmers *We have* of support prices for their products for at least two years after the war. This is to protect farmers from what happened to them at the end of the last war.

[There are plenty of other people who need the excess foods and fibres we can produce. And we will see to it that they get them, get them without "dumping" and without revival of international economic war that leads to military war.

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And we propose, too, that the government will cooperate when the weather will not -- by a genuine crop insurance program.

[There are plenty of other people who need the excess foods and fibres we can produce. And we will see to it that they get them, get them without "dumping" and without revival of international economic war that leads to military war.

We will make them available under fair and just international agreements. In fact, Secretary Hull and I have already made a good beginning on that.

[And along with these broad income and production policies will go still another policy, the policy of giving to as many farmers as possible the chance of owning their own farms, and of earning a fair and decent livelihood from farming.] That is of ^{particular} importance to those veterans who left their farms to fight for their country.

on their own farms
They will have the opportunity to grow ~~their~~ apples instead of having to sell apples on street corners.

P
~~the~~ This Administration adopted and will continue —

Every American man, woman and child has a right to adequate protection from the economic fears of old age, sickness, accidents, and unemployment.

We must expand our social security system.

We must provide ^{adequate} unemployment benefits in every state. [adequate to maintain our families in health and decency. Obviously there must be incentives to work rather than to remain unemployed. But this added incentive must be high wages rather than starvation wages fortified by mere pittance during periods of unemployment.]

We must extend the period of unemployment benefits.

We must raise our present ~~xx~~ inadequate old-age and survivor benefits, [to a level which will permit our older men and women to live in comfortable homes and have adequate food, clothing and medical care and the other necessities of life. This much, at the very least, they are entitled to for the years of service they have contributed toward making a better America.]

Some folks are trying to make you believe that this program is new and original with them. The facts are that this program, together with a recommendation for universal coverage of social security, was presented by this administration to the Congress many months ago. Indeed, most of it is embodied in a bill that was introduced last year by three liberal Democrats -- and, so far, I have seen no rush of Republican Congressmen to help pass it!

In the fields of health and education, we ^{must strive for} will insure the means to acquire ^{the objection of} adequate medical care and education to every one. [No one in our democracy of plenty will be denied these basic necessities.] Within the framework of the present organization of medical practice. [we can provide the means of acquiring adequate medical care.]

Sket → To these things I insist all Americans are entitled. [With full employment it will be easy to guarantee them to the American people.]

Moreover, they are essential merely as a good business proposition. They are necessary to fortify the continued flow of purchasing power. They are needed to help

And this can be done

6
FIRST DRAFT

21C
--226--

[maintain continuously the markets for the goods and services
our nation must produce.]

[In our post-war America, we will not tolerate
slums and congested living conditions for our people.]

Now I want to ask you one question: does
all this sound to you like communism?

To my way of thinking, it is the logical,
sensible development of the kind of American progress for
which eleven million American boys are now fighting.

I believe in free enterprise. *P* I believe in the profit system. *P* I believe in exceptional rewards for daring innovation, skill and risk-taking. I am convinced that -- given appropriate policies on the part of business, labor and government -- we can normally give full employment to our people, in private enterprises. [I believe, therefore, that government policies should be designed to encourage the maximum employment of our workers by private business.]

[Private business gives jobs when there is adequate market demand, at a profit which justifies necessary business risks. Far larger markets than any we have ever had before in peacetime are necessary if private business is to give jobs to all our people. Mass production cannot continue for long without mass consumption.]

[A great deal of nonsense has been spoken about the attitude of this Administration towards profits. *What are the facts?* In 1933 we inherited a regime of staggering business losses. In 1932 corporate ^{HAD} business suffered a loss of three and a half billion dollars. By 1934 we had pulled business out of the red, and from then on profits expanded until in 1940 -- the year before our entry into the war -- corporate business showed a profit, after taxes, of

nearly six billion dollars. In the year 1943, corporate business made a profit, after taxes, of nearly nine billion dollars. In each of the past three years corporate business has made far greater profits, after taxes, than in any other years of our national history. Does that look like the record of an administration determined to eliminate reasonable profits?

[As soon as the burden of financing the war has been lifted, and the danger of inflation has passed, we shall abolish the excess profits tax. We shall give more generous exemptions from the individual income tax. We shall remove the special war-time excises on consumers' durable goods, on entertainment, on transportation and communication. These goods and services are luxuries in war-time, but they must be things of mass consumption in post-war America. ^{As soon as they are no longer needed,} ~~we~~ ¹ shall lift ~~the~~ production and price controls, encouraging private business to produce more of the things to which we are accustomed, and thousands of new products, in ever-increasing volume, under conditions of free and open competition.

[Where this Administration is to be distinguished most sharply from some others is in its refusal to curry favor with big business or entrenched monopoly. ¹ No special class of business deserves to be the spoiled darling of government. ^P This

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~~FOR JUDGE ROSENMAN FROM LUBIN.~~

~~PAGE 8 OF DRAFT 2, SUBSTITUTE THE FOLLOWING:~~

(A) p. 3

OUR TAXES CAN AND WILL BE CUT **BELOW** THEIR WARTIME LEVELS. AS SOON AS THE DANGER OF INFLATION HAS PASSED, WE SHALL ABOLISH THE EXCESS PROFITS TAX. EXCESS PROFIT TAXES ARE THE PRODUCT OF THE WAR EMERGENCY. IT WAS NEVER THE INTENTION OF MY ADMINISTRATION OR OF THE CONGRESS THAT THEY BE CONTINUED AS PART OF OUR PEACE TIME TAX POLICY.

THOSE EXCISE TAXES, WHICH FALL MOST HEAVILY UPON THE LOWER INCOME GROUPS, MOST BE ELIMINATED.

WE MUST EXEMPT FROM THE INCOME TAX SUFFICIENT EARNINGS TO PERMIT A BASIC, DECENT STANDARD OF LIVING FOR EVERYONE. AND THE RATE AT TOP MUST NOT BE TOO HIGH TO DISCOURAGE THE ASSUMPTION OF RISK BY INVESTORS.

WE ALWAYS HAVE AND ALWAYS WILL FOLLOW THE POLICY OF GREATER REWARDS FOR GREATER EFFORTS. OUR TAXES AFTER THE WAR MUST BE FIXED AT A LEVEL WHICH WILL ENCOURAGE INVESTMENT THAT GIVES EMPLOYMENT. THEY MUST BE FIXED ON A BASIS WHICH GIVES JUST REWARDS FOR INNOVATION, SKILL AND RISK-TAKING. WE WILL HAVE A POST-WAR TAX PROGRAMME THAT WILL EXPAND FREE ENTERPRISE.

END

215P

Administration has been mindful from its earliest days, and will continue to be mindful, of the problems of small business as well as large.

Small business played a very substantial part in producing thousands of items needed for our armed forces. When the war broke out, they were mobilized into war production. Money was loaned to them for machinery. Over one million prime and subcontracts have been distributed among 60,000 smaller plants of the nation. In addition some 45,000 enemy patents and patent applications which the Alien Property Custodian took over have been placed within the reach of small companies for their use.

We shall [be vigilant to assure] ^{make sure} that small business is given every facility to buy government-owned plants, equipment and inventories. The special credit and capital requirements of small business will be met. [In an expanding economy, there will be room for thousands of additional small firms both in the supply of older products and in developing new products. These new expanding areas ^{They} must be kept free of the constricting hand of monopoly. [There must be a place in them -- as everywhere in our economy -- for enterprising small firms.]

✓ This Administration is determined to continue to protect free enterprise against monopolies and cartels, through continued vigorous enforcement of the anti-trust laws. [Private enterprise yields its full advantage to the consuming public and to other business only when it is genuinely free and competitive.] Beware of that profound enemy of the private enterprise system who pays lip-service to competition but also labels every anti-trust prosecution a "persecution".

[Out Economic Bill of Rights -- like the sacred Bill of Rights of our Constitution itself -- must be applied to all our citizens, irrespective of race, creed or color.

This Administration is proud of its record in providing economic and political opportunity for all. Pursuant to that general policy, six months before Pearl Harbor, I appointed a Fair Employment Practice Committee to prevent discrimination in war industry and government employment. The work of the Committee and the results obtained more than justify its creation.]

There are now nearly 900,000 Negroes in the Armed Forces. Their contribution has been whole-hearted and heroic. They are, of course, entitled -- and must receive -- equal treatment with all veterans after this war.

I believe that the Congress should by law make the Committee ~~permanent~~ permanent -- not only for the war emergency, but for the peace as well.

The future of America, like its past, must be made by deeds, not words.

The best words that mortal man can write or speak will not win wars and they will not relieve human suffering unless they are expressed in terms of action.

The words of King Canute would not hold back the sea.

And, when we were in the midst of grave economic crisis, prosperity could not be brought back merely by saying it was "just around the corner".

America has always been a land of action -- a land of adventurous pioneering -- a land of growing and building.

America always will be such a land.

[I believe that this nation will have a great future because the American people have the energy and courage and imagination to make it so.]

I believe that our future will be won, as this war is being won, by all the people working together for the common interest of all the people.

FIRST DRAFT

~~ILLUSTRATION-B~~

28

The creed of our democracy is that liberty is acquired and kept by men and women who are strong and self-reliant and possessed of such wisdom as God may give to mankind -- men and women who are just and understanding and kindly to others -- men and women who are capable of disciplining themselves. For they are the rulers and they must rule themselves.

I believe in our democratic faith and in the future of our country which has ~~that~~ that faith live.

*Strength and enduring given eternal
strength and vitality to*

SECOND DRAFT

SPEECH OF THE PRESIDENT

SOLDIER FIELD

OCTOBER 28, 1944

126

*Great country
no more*

The American people are now engaged in the greatest war in history -- and we are also engaged in a political campaign.

We are fighting this war ~~for~~ and we are holding this election ^{for} for the same essential reason: because we have faith in democracy.

And there is no force and there is no combination of forces powerful enough to shake that faith.

As you know, I have had some previous experience in war -- and I have also had a certain amount of previous experience in political campaigning.

But -- I must confess -- this is the strangest campaign I have ever seen.

I have listened to the various Republican orators who are urging the people to throw the present Administration out and put them in. And what do they say?

Well, they say in effect, just this:

"Those incompetent bunglers in Washington have passed a lot of excellent laws about social security and labor and farm relief and soil conservation -- and many others -- and we promise if elected not to change any of them.

And they go on to say: "These same ~~communistic~~, quarrelsome tired old men have built the greatest military machine the world has ever known, which is fighting its way to victory; and, if you elect us, we promise not to change any of that, either".

"Therefore", say these Republican orators, "it is time for a change".

They also say in effect: "Those inefficient, worn-out ^{and} ~~and dishonest men~~ ^{crack-pots} ^{after} long and patient discussion and conferences in ^{Casablanca,} ~~Dumbarton Oaks~~ Cairo and Teheran and Quebec and Dumbarton Oaks, have really begun to lay the foundations of a lasting world peace. If you elect us, we will not change any of that either". "But", they whisper, "we'll do it in such a way that we won't lose the support of Gerald Nye and Gerald Smith -- or John L. Lewis or Joseph Pew -- and -- and this is very important -- we

57
SECOND DRAFT

-3-

won't lose the support of any isolationist campaign contributor.
We will even be able to satisfy the Chicago Tribune*.

Tonight, I shall talk simply about the future of
America -- about this land of unlimited opportunity. I
shall give the Republican campaign orators some more
opportunities to say "me too".
^

Today everything we do is devoted to the most important job before us -- winning the war and bringing our men and women home as quickly as possible. We have astonished the world and confounded our enemies with our stupendous war production, with the overwhelming courage and [fortitude and] skill of our fighting men -- with the bridge of ships carrying our munitions and men through the seven seas -- with our gigantic fleet which has pounded the enemy all over the Pacific and has just driven through for a touch-down, [in the Philippines.]

But even as we fight the enemy, ~~and~~ and lick them, ~~we~~ we plan -- and we act -- for an organization which will give us a lasting peace. And we plan -- and we act -- for a peace time America which will provide for security and an ever-higher standard of living.

The American people are prepared to meet the problems of peace in the same bold way that they have met the problems of war. *P* For the American people are resolved that when our men and women return home from this war, they shall come back to the best possible place on the face of this earth -- to a place where all persons, regardless of race, color, creed or place of birth, can live in peace, honor and human dignity -- free to speak and pray as they wish --

free from want -- and free from fear.

[I know and you know that if we can produce an endless flow of ships and guns and planes and tanks, we can likewise produce an abundance of houses and cars, and airplanes, and ships, and highways, and airports and schools and hospitals and recreation centers -- and all of the other things which make for the good life.]

Last January, in my message to the Congress on the state of the Union, I outlined an Economic Bill of Rights on which " a new basis of security and prosperity can be established for all -- regardless of station, race or creed":

Repeat them now:

"The right to a useful and remunerative job in the industries, or shops or farms or mines of the nation;

The right to earn enough to provide adequate food and clothing and recreation;

The right of every farmer to raise and sell his products at a return which will give him and his family a decent living;

The right of every business man, large and small,
to trade in an atmosphere of freedom from unfair competition
and domination by monopolies at home or abroad;

The right of every family to a decent home;

The right to adequate medical care and the opportunity
to achieve and enjoy good health;

The right to adequate protection from the economic
fears of old age, sickness, accident and unemployment;

The right to a good education.

All of these rights spell security. And after this
war is won we must be prepared to move forward, in the
implementation of these rights, to new goals of human
happiness and well-being."

(A)

(A) p. 6 Some people have sneered at these ideals as well as the ideals of the Atlantic Charter and the Four Freedoms - ~~saying~~ saying they were the dreams of starry-eyed New Dealers - that it is silly to talk of them because we cannot attain these ideals to-morrow or the next day. ~~Long~~ The American people have greater faith than they ~~are~~ they are with these objectives. That they demand them that they are determined to get them, and that they are going to get them.

P With the same lack of faith in America, ~~Some people also said, in 1940,~~
when I called for the ~~that it would take us four years~~
~~to make good my demand for~~
production of 50,000 warplanes per year, ~~it was a mere "publicly stated"~~
And yet - in ~~these~~ ~~four~~ ~~years~~ ~~then~~ this nation has produced
240,000 warplanes - and has
reached a peak of 109,000 ^{warplanes} per year.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

There are always timid, skeptical people who say, "You can't do that. It's impossible."

But the American people have a habit of going right ahead and accomplishing the impossible.

And the people today who know that best are the Nazis and the Japs.

As America led the world in ^{fighting for} ~~establishing~~ a political democracy so must it now take lead in ^{working for} ~~establishing~~ an economic democracy.

Now I have the possibly old-fashioned theory that when you have problems to solve, objectives to achieve, you cannot get very far by just talking about them.

This is particularly true when all you have to offer is "double-talk".

You have got to go out and do something!

~~And it is my determination to do something about jobs for post-war America.~~

This Economic Bill of Rights is the recognition of the simple fact that in America the future of the American worker and farmer lies in the well-being of American private enterprise; and that the future of American private enterprise lies in the well-being of the American worker and farmer.

The well-being of the nation as a whole is synonymous with the well-being of each and every one of its citizens.

To assure the full realization of the right to a useful and remunerative employment, an adequate program must provide America with ^{close to} ~~at least~~ 60 million productive jobs.

This necessary expansion of our peacetime productive capacity will require new facilities, new plants and new equipment -- capable of hiring millions more men.

~~That will require large outlays of money which should be raised through normal investment channels.~~

I propose that the Government do its part in helping private enterprise finance this expansion of our industrial plant. It will be privately owned, privately operated and privately financed, but the Government should share with the private investor the unusual and abnormal financial risks which may be involved in getting started.

For example, business men must be encouraged to expand their plants and to replace their obsolete or worn out equipment with new equipment. By substantially accelerating, for tax purposes, the rate of depreciation on new plants and facilities, we will provide business men with additional incentives to expand their plants, replace old and obsolete machinery with modern equipment. That means more jobs for the worker, increased profits for the business man, and lower cost to the consumer.

In 1933, when my Administration took office, vast numbers of our industrial workers were unemployed, our plants and

businesses were idle, our farmers in distress, our monetary and banking system in ruins -- our economic resources were running to waste.

By 1940⁴ -- before Pearl Harbor -- we had increased our employment by ~~ten~~^{ten} million workers. ~~We had tripled~~^{almost} our farm income. ~~We had converted a corporate loss of three and one-half~~^{was nearly tripled.} billion dollars in 1932 to a corporate profit (after taxes) of nearly ~~one~~^{five and one-half} billion dollars in 1940. [We had re-established the dollar as the strongest, most sought-after, currency in the world.]

SECOND DRAFT

-10-

Obviously, to increase jobs after this war, we shall have to increase demand for our industrial and agricultural production not only here at home, but also abroad.

Never again can we in the United States hope to isolate ourselves from the rest of humanity.

We cannot again make the mistake of putting our faith in high protective tariff walls -- any more than in broad oceans.

[We therefore must take steps, in cooperation with other countries, to see that international trade and investment are resumed promptly on a sound basis.]

already made
~~The whole history of~~ This Administration has been *encompassed advances in the field*
 [in the direction] of international economic collaboration -- *with the*

~~the~~ reciprocal trade program, the establishment of the Export-Import Bank, and the various conferences with the other United Nations.

With Congressional approval of this program and with our program of jobs for all in this country -- the foreign trade of the United States can be trebled after the war, *providing* ~~This increase in our foreign trade should mean~~
 millions of more jobs, ~~after the war~~

SECOND DRAFT

-11-

[I want to emphasize that] Such cooperative measures *find*
for expanding international trade is] the soundest economic
foundation for a lasting peace.

When we think of the America of tomorrow, we think
of many things.

One of them is American homes. Millions of our
people have never had ~~a home~~ worthy of American standards — *well built*
homes with ~~light and air and~~ electricity and plumbing and *air and*
sunlight ~~good sound materials~~.

The demand for homes and our capacity to build them [—
once materials are no longer needed for war —] call for a
program of well over a million homes a year for at least ten
years. Private industry can build and *the vast majority of* finance these homes.
Government can and will assist and encourage private industry
to do this, as it has for many years. *Only* for those very
low income groups which cannot possibly afford decent homes, *the*
Federal need Government ~~construct public housing projects~~. Add to
these millions of new homes the need and demand for repairs
and improvements for existing homes — *you will foresee the* ~~and translate it all~~
opportunity for ~~some~~ literally millions of jobs.

*should continue to assist local
housing authorities in meeting
that need.*

In the future America we think of new highways and parkways. We think of thousands of new airports ^{to service} ~~for~~ the new commercial and private air travel which is bound to come after the war. We think of ~~these~~ new airplanes, new cheap automobiles with low maintenance and operation costs. We think of ~~new~~, fast ^{new} railroad trains. We think of new hospitals and new health clinics ^{We think of} a new merchant marine for our expanded world trade.

Think of all these vast possibilities for industrial expansion -- and ^{you will foresee opportunities for} ~~translate them into~~ more millions of jobs.

We are not talking about jobs for all for next year or for the year after that. We are talking about jobs for all as a permanent part of our American way of life.

[It is inevitable that an economy of free enterprise like ours will have some fluctuation in the number of jobs it can provide. For these fluctuations, this Administration has provided unemployment insurance, and will go right on doing so. And we do not delude ourselves into thinking of unemployment insurance as any real substitute for employment.]

165

[It has been our policy -- and it will be our policy -- that whenever the number of employed in this country falls unduly your Government will take prompt steps to see that new jobs are made available.

We must have a reservoir of planned and approved *projects -* federal, state and local ~~projects~~ ^{if} ready to be tapped. ~~When~~ ^{should} employment falls too severely, this reservoir of planned and approved public works should be opened up to provide more jobs and take up the slack until private industry can resume its full function.

Such useful and essential public works should be constructed by private firms, under contract with the Government, employing labor at the prevailing rate of wages and under standard labor conditions.

That is wise economics. But it is also sound humanity -- to prevent human distress and suffering!

Our Economic Bill of Rights -- like the sacred Bill of Rights of our Constitution itself -- must be applied to all our citizens, irrespective of race, creed or color.

When it becomes desirable or useful for Government - federal, state, or local - to build new public works, the construction should be done

[This Administration is proud of its record in providing economic and political opportunity for all. Pursuant to that general policy, [six months before Pearl Harbor] In 1941, I appointed a Fair Employment Practice Committee to prevent discrimination in war industry and government employment. The work of the Committee and the results obtained more than justify its creation.

There are now nearly 900,000 Negroes in the Armed Forces. Their contribution has been whole-hearted and heroic. They are, of course, entitled ^{to} -- and must receive -- equal treatment with all veterans after this war.

I believe that the Congress should by law make the ^{Fair Employment Practice} Committee permanent, [not only for the war emergency, but for the peace as well.]

America must remain the land of high wages, strong unions, and efficient production. Every full-time job in America must provide enough for a decent living.

And that goes for jobs in mines, offices, factories, stores, canneries -- and everywhere where men and women are employed.

During the war we have been compelled to limit wage and salary increases for one great objective -- to prevent runaway inflation. You all know how successfully we have held the line by the way your cost of living has been kept down. [in food and in rent, and nearly all the necessities of life.]

However, at the end of the war there will be more goods available, and it ~~is~~ is only good common sense to see that the working man is paid enough and that the farmers earn ~~enough~~ enough to buy these goods and keep our factories running.

[In the late 1920's -- the days of the "Big Boom" that busted -- there was one important section of our population which was overlooked by those responsible for our government.

I refer to those Americans who live and work on farms. There are something like fifty million of them. That's quite a lot of Americans.]

As some friends after the war we shall of course remain the control of wages and leave their determination to free collective bargaining between trade unions and employers.

In this war, the American farmer has been called upon to do far and away the biggest food production job in history.

The American farmer has met that challenge triumphantly.

Despite all manner of difficulties -- shortage of farm labor and of new farm machinery because of the war -- the American farmer has achieved a total of food production which is one of the wonders of the world.

[The American farmer has fed this nation -- he has fed the men of our armed forces -- and he has fed countless masses of people throughout the world who otherwise would have starved.]

The American farmer is a great producer and he must have the means to be a great consumer. More farm income means more jobs.

Let us look back for a moment to 1933. [During the twelve years of three preceding Republican Administrations, most of the rest of the country had seemed to be waxing fat while the farmers were what the economists call "deflated".

Long before the terrible crash of 1929, they had been "deflated" several times over.

When the great Depression of 1929 set in, things went from bad to worse under the Republican Administration. } All of us remember the spreading tide of farm foreclosures, 4 cent hogs, 20 cent wheat, 5 cent cotton.

SECOND DRAFT

-18-

But we remember, too, what happened when this Administration began to do something about the trouble the farmers were in — the Agricultural Adjustment Act, the Farm Credit Administration, the Farm Security Administration, the Soil Conservation Act, the Rural Electrification Administration, the Commodity Credit Corporation — nearly all of which were opposed by the majority of the Republican members of Congress.

To many
The straight-thinking farmer knows that ~~he now~~ ^{in the last few years his} has good prices, ~~that his~~ ^{and his income had} property value ~~is up~~ ^{has gone up,} that his debt ~~is going~~ ^{has gone} down. ~~He knows~~ ^{that} that his farm is safe and his soil is protected.

The farmers and ranchers of this nation are on the road to prosperity and we propose to keep that road open. As we look ahead, it seems to me that there are three things which farmers want and which they should not be denied.

First, they want to maintain full production not only in order that their own families may have a better standard of living, but also in order that every family in the nation may have adequate food and clothing.

(A)

It is a simple fact that I want you who work on farms to use the broadness of vision that will show you that the greatly increased production of food ^{and fibre} on the farms ^{can} will be consumed by the people who work in industry only if those people who work in industry have the money to buy food ^{and clothing}. You are cutting off your own noses. If ~~you want~~ industrial wages ~~greatly~~ go to come down, if they do, the ~~prices you get for~~ farm prices food crops will ~~go~~ ^{go} down too. [Work it out for yourselves, and I think you will agree with me.] I ~~too~~ ^{myself} am a bit hard-headed, ~~with~~ ^{maybe that's due to the fact that I have} a great deal of ~~Scottish~~ ^{and Scotch} blood and a great deal of Dutch blood in my veins. [That makes rather a hard-headed combination.]

That is a hard-headed truth.

Second, they want adequate markets at home and abroad for their produce which means that we must have full domestic employment and an active foreign trade.

Third, they want the right to work together and with their Government toward the solution of difficulties which, acting alone and separately, they are often not able even to touch.

We must conserve the enormous gifts with which an abundant Providence has blessed our country -- our soil, our forests, our water.

That is why I think that the TVA is an essential part of the national farm program, and that the farm program of the future must have in it a place for similar developments which I have recommended in the valley of the Missouri -- in the valley of the Arkansas -- and in the Columbia River Basin.

And incidentally -- and as an aside -- I cannot resist the temptation to point to the gigantic contribution to our war effort made by the power generated at TVA and Bonneville and Grand Coulee.

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PAGE #19 - ~~FOURTH EDITION~~

-3-

The people who do not live on farms -- the people who live in distribution and ^{manufacturing} ~~processing~~ communities, -- like Chicago and thousands of other cities -- know that their prosperity is ^{knocked up with} ~~helped~~ by the farmers' prosperity, which is now at the high level of all time. Certainly they don't want the farmers to go back to the crop prices ^{and conditions} of 1932, ~~and~~ they do not want to go back to a Government owned by the moguls of 1932 -- and ^{their} direct descendants. It would be an interesting thing to find out just what the Republicans of 1944 want to do with the farmers. Take it from me, first, that they have no plan -- second, that if they did they would give first consideration to the fatcats who today, as always, have owned the Republican Party -- the ten per cent at the top instead of to the ninety per cent who make up the bulk of the American people.

for the farmers would then have no money with which to buy the products of the cities. Certainly

let us bear it constantly in mind that these same moguls ^{are} still control the destinies of the Republican Party.

142

Do you remember when the building of these great public works was ridiculed as New Deal "boondoggling"?

Through the Democratic Party, farmers have put into the law of the land their long dream of parity prices.

[We are now going to widen this whole conception so that it does not mean just parity prices but that it also means parity and equality and justice for farmers in income, in comforts and, yes, in city conveniences.

During the war we have placed a support under prices so that farmers could count on a certain income. We have already assured the farmers of support prices for their products for at least two years after the war. This is to protect farmers from what happened to them at the end of the last war.]

And we propose, too, that the Government will cooperate when the weather will not — by a genuine crop insurance program.

171

This Administration adopted -- and will continue -- the policy of giving to as many farmers as possible the chance of owning their own farms. That is of particular importance to those veterans who left their farms to fight for their country. They will have the opportunity to grow apples on their own farms instead of having to sell apples on street corners.

[Every American man, woman and child has a right to adequate protection from the economic fears of old age, sickness, accidents, and unemployment.

We must expand our social security system.

We must provide adequate unemployment benefits in every state.

We must extend the period of unemployment benefits.

We must raise our present inadequate old-age and survivor benefits.

Some folks are trying to make you believe that this program is new and original with them. The facts are that this program, together with a recommendation for universal coverage of social security, was presented by this administration to the Congress many months ago. Indeed, most of it is embodied in a bill that was introduced last year by

178

[three liberal Democrats -- and, so far, I have seen no rush of Republican Congressmen to help pass it]

[In the fields of health and education, we must strive for the objective of adequate medical care and education to every one. And this can be done within the framework of the present organization of medical practice.

To these things I insist all Americans are entitled.

Now I want to ask you one question: does all this sound to you like communism?

To my way of thinking, it is the logical, sensible development of the kind of American progress for which eleven million American boys are now fighting.

I believe in free enterprise.

I believe in the profit system.

I believe in exceptional rewards for daring innovation, skill and risk-taking. I am convinced that -- given appropriate policies on the part of business, labor and government -- we can normally give full employment to our people, in private enterprises.

[Our taxes can and will be cut below their wartime levels. As soon as the danger of inflation has passed, we shall abolish

[the excess profits tax. Excess profit taxes are the product of the war emergency. It was never the intention of my administration or of the Congress that they be continued as part of our peace-time tax policy.

Those excise taxes, which fall most heavily upon the lower income groups, must be eliminated.

We must exempt from the income tax sufficient earnings to permit a basic, decent standard of living for everyone. And the rate at top must not be too high to discourage the assumption of risk by investors.

We always have and always will follow the policy of greater rewards for greater efforts. Our taxes after the war must be fixed at a level which will encourage investment that gives employment. They must be fixed on a basis which gives just rewards for innovation, skill and risk-taking. We will have a postwar tax program that will expand free enterprise.]

As soon as they are no longer needed, we shall lift production and price controls, encouraging private business to produce more of the things to which we are accustomed, and thousands of new products, in ever-increasing volume, under

CONDITIONS OF free and open competition.

This Administration has been mindful from its earliest days, and will continue to be mindful, of the problems of small business as well as large.

Small business played a very substantial part in producing thousands of items needed for our armed forces. When the war broke out, they were mobilized into war production. Money was loaned to them for machinery. Over one million prime and subcontracts have been distributed among 60,000 smaller plants of the nation. In addition some 45,000 enemy patents and patent applications which the Alien Property Custodian took over have been placed within the reach of small companies for their use.

We shall make sure that small business is given every facility to buy government-owned plants, equipment and inventories. The special credit and capital requirements of small business will be met. They must be kept free of the constricting hand of monopoly.

154

Through continued vigorous enforcement of the anti-trust laws, this Administration is determined to continue to protect free enterprise against monopolies and cartels. Beware of that profound enemy of the private enterprise system who pays lip-service to ^{free} competition but also labels every anti-trust prosecution a "persecution".

The future of America, like its past, must be made by deeds, not words.

The best words that mortal man can write or speak will not win wars and they will not relieve human suffering unless they are expressed in terms of action.

The words of King Canute would not hold back the sea.

And, when we were in the midst of grave economic crisis, prosperity could not be brought back merely by saying it was "just around the corner".

America has always been a land of action -- a land of adventurous pioneering -- a land of growing and building.

America always will be such a land.

SECOND DRAFT

-26-

I believe that our future will be won, as this war is being won, by all the people working together for the common interest of all the people.

The creed of our democracy is that liberty is acquired and kept by men and women who are strong and self-reliant and possessed of such wisdom as God may give to mankind -- men and women who are just, and understanding, and kindly to others -- men and women who are capable of disciplining themselves. For they are the rulers and they must rule themselves.

I believe in our democratic faith and in the future of our country which has given eternal strength and vitality to that faith.

DRAFT NO. 1

CHICAGO SPEECH

October 26, 1944

My fellow Americans:--

Today our energies are fully devoted to winning the war and bringing our men and women home as quickly as possible. For the second time in twenty-five years America has proved her capacity to meet the challenge of total war. We have astonished the world and confounded our enemies with the stupendous number of planes, tanks and guns rolling off our assembly lines -- with the bridge of ships carrying our munitions and fighting men thru the seven seas - with our gigantic fleet which has struck the enemy in the Philippines a crippling blow. Above all we share in the glory of the magnificently trained and equipped officers and men in our armed forces, who are fighting the enemy -- and licking them -- thruout the world.

I believe the American people are prepared to meet the problems of peace in the same inspiring way that they have met the problems of war. [The American people are resolved that we shall insure that the youth of this nation will never again be called upon to fight in another war.] And the American people are [equally] resolved that when our boys return home from this war, they shall come back to [the brightest possible] the freest ^{and} [possible] the best possible place on the face of this earth - to a place

where all persons, regardless of race, color, creed or place of birth, shall live in peace, honor and dignity - free from want - and free from fear. To do otherwise would betray the faith of every soldier, every worker, every businessman, every farmer in this country who is giving his best for America.

[Yet, while we strive and fight in war, we must look ahead with boldness and courage to the long and fruitful days of peace which must be achieved if our war-time sacrifices are not to be in vain.]

Tonight I am going to talk about something which is in the hearts and minds of every American -- jobs and work. While our gallant young men are flying our planes, fighting on the seas, and attacking on the ground, they do some hard thinking of what the future holds in store for them. [While our business men are driving for ever-increased production of armaments, they too are wondering about the future business situation. As our farmers till the fields and produce record-breaking crops to feed our fighters and our workers, they too are mindful of the problems of peace which will follow the war. While our working men and women everywhere are giving their utmost to hasten victory, they, too, ponder upon the kind of America we are going to have after this war.]

My vision of America after victory is a clear one. It is an optimistic and confident one. This country of ours — this America of vigor and youth — will emerge from this war with greater strength [with increased freedom and with more abundance] than ever before. We have boundless horizons which give to each of us a great feeling of power and opportunity. We have a brilliant future within our grasp. [I know that every American shares with me the conviction and the determination that poverty and denial of opportunity be forever banished from our land.]

If ever there were doubts of the immense resources of this country, they are surely dispelled in the record of our spectacular war production. We take renewed strength from the fact that America today is producing nearly as much munitions as all of the rest of the world put together.

I know and you know that if we can produce an endless flow of ships and guns and planes and tanks [in vast numbers] we can likewise produce an abundance of houses and cars and clothing and all of the other good things of life. We have the raw materials and soil and climate of a bountiful land. We have the skills and genius and perseverance of free men. We have the plant and equipment of a wealthy, industrialized country.

As America led the world in establishing a political democracy so must it lead the world in establishing an economic democracy. We must establish an Economic Bill of Rights endowed with the dignity and vital force of our sacred Bill of Political Rights.

The key to an Economic Bill of Rights is as self-evident as are the rights themselves. The key is the wholehearted recognition by all our people of the simple fact that in America the future of the American worker and farmer lies in the well-being of American private enterprise; and the future of American private enterprise lies in the well-being of the American ^{worker and} farmer. The greatest single thing that this war has demonstrated on the home front is that when the American worker and the American business man and the American farmer work together as one team, there are no limits on what America can accomplish.

But to work together as a team, however, there must be a common goal. In this war that goal has been the defeat of our enemies in the shortest possible period of time. In the peace to come the goal must be the well-being of America - and that is synonymous with the well-being of every American.

When I enunciated this Economic Bill of Rights last January I said that after this war is won we must be prepared to move forward, [in the implementation of these rights,] to new goals of human happiness and well-being. [I asked the Congress to explore the means of implementing these rights and stated that from time to time I would have more to say on the subject.]

Tonight, I want to discuss essential parts of this Economic Bill of Rights with all of you. I want to outline how the adoption of concrete measures to implement these rights represents the very foundation of American prosperity in the years to come.

And I also want to emphasize what the implementation of these rights will mean to our service men and women. They have given America the opportunity to work out its destiny as a free nation in a free world. The America to which they return must be a land of economic opportunity in which they will find full opportunities not only for jobs but for economic advancement ^{and} independent enterprise, in industry, commerce, agriculture and the professions. [A grateful nation can do no less for her returning service men and women.]

The first economic right I wish to discuss is "the right to a useful and remunerative job in the industries, or shops, or farms or mines of the nation."

To assure the full realization of this right to a useful and remunerative job, an adequate program must provide America with at least 60 million productive jobs.

This necessary expansion of our peace⁴ time productive capacity will require new facilities, new plants and new equipment.

It will require large outlays of money which should be raised through normal investment channels. But while private capital should finance this expansion program, the Government should recognize its responsibility for sharing part of any special or abnormal risk of loss attached to such financing.

[This will provide new and expanding industry with plenty of private credit at reasonable interest rates. Through this program we will merely be extending to the financing of old and new business the principles which have proved so successful in our experience with the Federal Housing Administration loans.]

A comprehensive investment program dedicated to expanding the peace² time productive capacity of America is the very epitome of the American way of raising our standard of living.

[In a nutshell,] If we are going to have remunerative jobs for all, we must have an expanded private industry capable of hiring millions more men. I propose that the Government do its part in helping private enterprise finance this expansion of our industrial plant. It will be privately owned, privately operated and privately financed but the Government will share with the private investor the unusual and abnormal financial risks which may be involved in getting started.

* * * *W* * *

But, in providing jobs for everyone, we shall not only have to increase demand for our industrial and agricultural production here at home; but also abroad. Some parts of our industrial and agricultural production demand a high level of foreign trade to be efficient and prosperous. This is particularly true in our heavy equipment industries where our war demand will fall sharply but whose output will be needed by other countries for reconstruction and development. The foreign demand for such farm commodities as cotton, tobacco and wheat will also be great if other countries have the opportunity to buy. We therefore must take steps, in cooperation with other countries to see that international trade and investment are resumed promptly on a sound basis.

This Administration has pioneered in the direction of international economic collaboration with its reciprocal trade program and the establishment of the Export-Import Bank. It has again taken the lead in suggesting international monetary stabilization and sound international investment measures. [measures that are a fundamental prerequisite to healthy foreign trade and commerce.] At the Bretton Woods Conference, forty-four countries agreed upon plans for an International Monetary Fund and an International Bank for Reconstruction and Development.

The International Monetary Fund, when approved by Congress, will aid the nations of the world in establishing sound currencies. It will clear the channels of foreign trade of discriminatory restrictions and controls so that there can be a genuine expansion of world trade.

With the help of the International Bank, American capital can play a great constructive role - and a profitable role - in the development of the economies of other countries. It will provide us with enormous post-war foreign markets.

But America must not be merely a seller of goods abroad. A truly prosperous America - an America with jobs for all - will be a tremendous buyer of raw materials and products from abroad.

With Congressional approval of this program and with our program of jobs for all in this country - the foreign trade of the United States can be trebled after the war. This increase in our foreign trade should mean 3 million more jobs after the war than we had before the war.

[Nor are the benefits of increased foreign trade and investment confined to increasing our prosperity.] I want to emphasize that such cooperative measures for expanding international trade and investment are at the same time the economic foundation for a lasting peace. A prosperous world will be a world free of both economic and political aggression.

Insert
A-P.9

*** now **

There is one further phase of this program of providing jobs for all which must be made an integral part of any long range program. That is the task of seeing to it that there are not just jobs for all next year - or for the year after that. No, we are talking about jobs for all as a permanent part of our American way of life.

Page 2
Insert
A-P9

Our taxes can and will be lowered after the war as compared with the wartime levels. In the process of reduction, we have the opportunity to strengthen and improve our entire tax system. Both from humanitarian and economic points of view, we must adhere to the principle of ability to pay. Excise taxes, which fall most heavily upon the lower income groups, must be eliminated. The exemptions on income taxes must be high enough and the bottom rates low enough, to permit a basic decent standard of living for all of us. Nor must taxes at the top be assessed at such high rates as to discourage the assumption of risk.

We always have and always will believe in greater rewards for greater efforts and our taxes will not destroy incentives. We will modify our corporate taxes so as to avoid duplication and allow reasonable profits, but at the same time to protect ourselves against the accumulation of idle surplusses.

I shall work with the state and local governments of America in an effort to develop an integrated tax program at all levels of government which will encourage consumption and investment. Taxation by all taxing authorities is an important instrument of government policy which can either stimulate and expand free enterprise, or can stifle enterprise. We must have a post-war tax program that will expand free enterprise.

*Insert A
continued*

[But] it is inevitable [however] that an economy of free enterprise like ours will have some fluctuation in the number of jobs it can provide. Adjustments in employment are an essential part of an expanding free economy. And for these minor fluctuations, we provide unemployment insurance. But we must not allow such fluctuations ever to deteriorate into panic or depression. We cannot again be caught in that vicious downward spiral of unemployment, wage cuts and stagnated business.

I say to you that whenever the number of gainfully employed in this country falls ^{seriously} your Government ^{in full co-operation with local and state governments} must and will take prompt steps to see that new jobs are made available.

The basic function of your Government in taking care of any such slack in jobs is to see to it that private enterprise is assisted until it can absorb this slack. [This is entirely possible.] During the war the federal, state and local governments have [found it necessary to] put aside the construction of roads, buildings and public facilities to the value of many billions of dollars.

Some of this construction will have to be undertaken immediately after the war. A good deal of it, however, can be postponed so that its construction could be timed with periods when the volume of employment that industry, commerce and agriculture can offer begins to fall. We must have a reservoir of planned and approved federal, state and local projects ready to be tapped. And when employment falls ^{too severely} this reservoir of planned and approved public works should be opened up to provide more jobs and take up the slack.

Such useful and essential public works will produce private jobs. This is possible ^{because} [if we insist that] this construction ^{should} be done by private firms under contract with the Government; private firms employing labor at the prevailing rate of wages and under standard labor conditions.

This assurance of a reserve of private jobs, through constructive public works when needed [to take up the slack] will have a profound effect on the whole direction of our economy. [In fact] the knowledge that Government accepts ~~the~~ responsibility of maintaining a floor under jobs will act as an immense stabilizing force on the whole economy.

The second economic right I wish to discuss tonight is "the right to earn enough to provide food and clothing and recreation."

America must remain pre-eminently the land of high wages and efficient production. Every job in America must provide enough for a decent living.

During the war we have been compelled to ^{limit} hold down wage increases that might have provoked runaway inflation. By ^{centralizing} resorting to drastic price and wage control measures I am proud to report that America ^{has} ^{ed} ~~is~~ succeeding in holding the line against inflation.

However, the end of the war, ^{even the end of the war} in Europe } will change this picture. Then there will be more goods available for America to buy and it is only good common sense to see that the working man is paid enough to buy these goods.

[The gains made by labor during the war must be retained in full.] After the last war, as part of the process of returning to "normalcy", the old guard of the Republican Administration adopted the slogan "labor must be deflated." This won't happen again. This time we must

make sure that ^{hourly} wage rates are not reduced when the wartime demand for labor is diverted into peace time channels. We must make sure that the labor market is not broken by unemployment and wage slashes.

*Insert A
P. 113*

[I can say now that so long as I am in the White House, American labor can be assured that I will do everything I can to see that there are not going to be any wage cuts. What is even more important - I am going to see that when the worker's hours are cut back to peace time levels a real attempt is made to adjust wage rates upward.]

Here

An expanding American economy can continue to expand only if the increased productivity is divided equitably between business and the worker and the ^{farmer} [producer.]

A third economic right is "the right of every farmer to raise and sell his products at a rate which will give him and his family a decent living."

Insert A
p. 13

And let me say this right now.

There are ~~some~~ who think that after
this war, ^{there} will be ^{a golden} ~~the~~ opportunity ~~times~~
to put our great labor unions in

their place. Well I don't belong to that
school. For I believe in ^{the right of} collective bargaining.

And this Administration over the almost
united opposition of the Republican leaders
wrote that right into the laws of the
land.

The farmers of America have good reason to be proud of what they have done in this war, and the rest of us have good reason to be proud of them, too. [We are proud of them.] The Congress has reflected this pride of all Americans in their fellow-citizens of the farms and ranches by adopting a law that assures farmers that the prices of their products will not be allowed to drop below 90 per cent of the parity price. This was regarded as simple justice, as a tangible way of saying, "Well done". The American people, and the Congress and myself, acting for the people, will see to it that that commitment is kept. Farmers can rely upon this promise of their government.

They have earned such a guarantee. During the war our farmers, like the rest of us, have had much to contend with. Fighting a war is never easy. Fighting this greatest war in history has made greater demands than any previous war. [Farmers have been forced to get along without the help they formerly had. Many of them have had to patch old equipment or do without.] [Some of them have not had as much gasoline as they needed.] [They have worked under many handicaps.]

But they have achieved magnificently. This year they have pushed up their production to a point more than one-third above that of the years just before the war. The remarkable nature of that achievement is emphasized ^{because, know} [when we consider] that [the cycle of] farm production [is a]

[much greater cycle than that of industrial production. It] must be planned months ahead, in some cases, years ahead. You cannot convert a farm overnight to war. [You cannot streamline the processes of nature.] All of us should realize, therefore, that our farmers [have borne their share of the burden in the home front war, and that they] *a magnificent job* have done [their full share] in bringing about [what has been called] the miracle of American war production.

Farmers in the Last Decade

But they would not have been able to put that skill and energy to work as quickly and as creatively as they did if it had not been for the achievements of the last decade, the ten years during which the great national farm programs of today were [being] brought out.

Let us look back for a moment to 1933. *farmers were in bad shape then* I think all of us will agree, During the twelve years of three preceding Republican Administrations, most of the rest of the country had seemed to be waxing fat while they themselves were what the economists call "deflated."

Long before the terrible crash of 1929, they had been "deflated" several times over.

Small and average farmers by the scores of thousands lost their farms. That was what "deflating" meant.

When the great Depression set in, things went from bad to worse. ¹⁹²⁹ Under the ~~Republican~~ *Republican* Administration. All of us remember the spreading tide of new foreclosures, of farmstuffs backed up in warehouses [and terminals] [on loading platforms] ^{and} on farms. [All of us remember the foreclosures and the "shotgun" auctions.] All of us remember 4 cent hogs, 20 cent wheat, 5 cent cotton. All of us remember the steadily falling farm prices that finally engulfed the Federal ^{Farm} Board itself, the ill-conceived sole remedy that three previous Republican Administrations had been able to devise to meet the legitimate needs of farmers.

But we remember, too, what happened when we all began to pull together to do something about the trouble we found ourselves in. The Congress passed as its first item of business the original Agricultural Adjustment Act, the broad base from which we have gone forward ever since toward the construction of an enduring national farm program. After that followed the other great agricultural charters of our present farm legislative system. The Farm Credit Administration was set up, and later came the Farm Security Administration. The Soil Conservation Service was brought into being, as were the Rural Electrification Administration and the Commodity Credit Corporation.

Paraphrasing, I should say that a majority of the Republican members of Congress voted against all of these measures.

Insert A
P. 17 But *this Administration*
 Through these ~~and other~~ programs, [I think we can all agree, again] the

p19 income of American farmers has been raised to the highest point in history; it climbed from \$7 billions in 1933 to \$22.7 billions in 1943, and to an estimated \$23.5 billions in 1944. Through these programs, again, hundreds of thousands of tenants and sharecroppers and small owners gained new security and better meals and housing and clothing and education.

These programs have marked the end of our waste of that most precious of all natural resources, the soil, and through them the Nation entered the war period with its agricultural plant in immeasurably better shape than it had been a decade earlier. [The story is told in columns of figures on increased yields of nearly all crops, in acres now under cover crops, in use of phosphate, and [even] is reflected in the higher incomes now enjoyed by farmers.]

All of this has meant, [too] a tremendous advance in bringing to farmers the comforts of city dwellers. Two and a half million farmers now use electricity in homes and barns, where ten years ago only 618,000 did.

And in a thousand and one other ways--in reduction of farm debts, in access to roads, in school buildings and in length of school term--the prosperity of the countryside has meant that farmers no longer were to be treated as second-class citizens but that real progress was being made toward giving them and their children the comforts and advantages that other citizens take as a matter of course.

Wichard

- 6 -

Political
Decisions
Vital to
Farmers

We need to go back to the past primarily to show how closely the agricultural future of our country is bound up with its political future.

There will be many, of course, to point out that the agricultural policy of our Nation is above political partisanship. [I will agree that it should be. I have tried to make it so.]

Some probably will remind me that there are members of the Republican party in the Congress who have a sound understanding of farm problems and who vote their convictions, putting agricultural welfare above party expediency. I am glad to agree that there are such statesmen. I only wish there were more of them.

There may be a few who will maintain that farm issues are not at stake in the coming election, and who will cite the farm plank of the Republican party's platform for 1944 to prove their optimistic contention. Here I can agree only that this might be true if we could take the words of that smoothly-sanded plank for exactly their face value.

[That, unfortunately, is a most difficult task. It is just about an impossible one.]

[IV THE REPUBLICAN RECORD FOR AGRICULTURE]

What reason is there for believing that any kind of real support, on a national basis, can be expected from the Republican party?

I know, of course, that the Old Guard can work up a fine indignation over the mere mention of such an uncharitable thought.

They will point to that farm plank they wrote last summer.

And sure enough, it is a lovely plank, one of the nicest I have ever seen. Let me read parts of it to you.

Inset A
p. 17
Put at top of
page

GOP Plank
for 1944

Just listen to these aims it indorses: "...independence of operation and bountiful production, fair and equitable market prices for farm products, and a sound program of conservation and use of our soil and natural resources."

[Or listen to this: "An American market price to the American farmer and protection of such price by means of support prices, commodity loans, or a combination thereof, together with such other economic means as will assure an income to agriculture that is fair and equitable in comparison with labor, business, and industry."⁽¹³⁾]

["Sound extension" of rural electrification service also is on the list. So is elimination of the basic evils of tenancy wherever they exist. There even is a kind word for crop insurance—at least the principle of crop insurance.]

Yes, those are parts of the Republican farm plank for 1944.

GOP Plank
for 1920

Now, let me read you a paragraph from another plank: "The farmer is the backbone of the Nation. National greatness and economic independence demand a population distributed between industry and the farm, and sharing on equal terms the prosperity which is wholly dependent upon the efforts of both. Neither can prosper at the expense of the other without inviting joint disaster."⁽¹⁴⁾

That also is from a Republican farm plank--the Republican farm plank of 1920.

Farm Price
Slump 1920-21

Farmers whose memories go back a quarter of a century don't need to be told what happened when farmers trusted their weight to that plank. From November, 1920 to November, 1921, the farm price of hogs in Iowa fell from \$11.70 a hundredweight to \$6.10. Illinois corn in the same devastating year dropped from 68 cents a bushel

to 36 cents. Kansas wheat went from \$1.54 to 93 cents; and Pennsylvania milk prices sank from \$3.40 a hundredweight to \$2.45.⁽¹⁵⁾ In that first single year of Republican solicitude for the backbone of the Nation, net income to farm operators fell from 6 and 3/4 billion dollars to little better than 3 and a half billion.⁽¹⁶⁾

Republican
Inaction

Need we go into the long, unhappy record of Republican administrations--a record that finally brought American agriculture to the brink of utter disaster in 1932? Do we need to call over the long roll of fine Republican promises to farmers and Republican indifference and inaction when the time came for honoring those campaign pledges? I think not. I shall not even pause for long to recall the fate of the two workable farm relief measures that finally were driven through Congress with the aid of an active Democratic minority. You know, of course, what did become of them--vetoed by a Republican President.

Now I know some members of the Old Guard will ask indignantly why I am so unkind as to bring up so much ancient history. They may say that all the past neglect of farmers is water over the dam--that this time it's really true what they say about farmers.

I wish we could believe them. But one awkward set of facts gets in the way. It's the record of votes on agricultural issues cast in Congress in recent years.

The GOP
Voting Record

The Agricultural Adjustment Act was the original charter of economic equality for agriculture. It carried out the main ideas of the great farm organizations and of other farm leaders. In 1933, when the original Adjustment Act was under consideration, the Republicans in Congress--House and Senate combined--voted against the

Farmers and Non-Farmers

I think we will not find much disagreement about these facts.

They are not cold facts but warm facts, warm with the new opportunity and new wellbeing for which they stand. But we cannot stand still.

[Unless we advance, we retreat.] [That is the inexorable law of progress.]

Therefore, we must take stock of our resources and see what ^{yet} needs to be done [to make sure that we continue ^{on} the road along which we already have made a good start.] In brief, let us look at the future and the kind of farm program that the future will demand.

For one thing, [of course] this farm program must have a sound base in industrial and commercial prosperity if it is to have even a chance of success. The day when part of the economy could be well-off and another part in distress is gone forever.

Just as all our people are bound together by ties of mutual interest, just as we cannot afford to let any of our people live in hopelessness and poverty, so we cannot afford to ignore the essential unity of all our natural resources. We have learned that soil and water and air can give us the materials for health and comfort and well-being only if we use them carefully. We must be truly conservative of the gifts with which an abundant Providence has endowed our country. For if we let our soil erode, if we cut our forests beyond capacity, then we will have floods. If we do not save our water, in turn it will wash away soil

and become a force of destruction instead of a creative force.

Farmers realize all this better than most people. Of all people they live most closely with nature. What happens to soil and water is of immediate and overwhelming importance to them, as is the use of the power and fertilizer and transport that they produce. Thus, I think it may be said truly that the TVA is an essential part of the national farm

program, and that any right conception of the farm program of the future must have ^{in it} ~~it~~ ^{in the valley of the Missouri -} ~~in a place for other TVA's wherever they see necessary.~~

in the valley of the Arkansas and in the Columbia River Basin.

[The time will come soon to take these great projects down from the shelf, and to that end I have asked the Congress to proceed at once to the establishment of authorities in the valley of the Missouri, in the valley of the Arkansas, and in the Columbia River Basin. The great success of the TVA makes it certain that such projects will be fruitful, that the due rights of States and communities will be safeguarded, and that all the people of these river valleys will benefit from unified development of their resources.]

[What are] the great objectives [then] of our national agricultural policy? [You and I know them very well.] They are simple and not to be obscured by all the tricks and dodges of some politicians.

The first goal toward which we strive is to give all of our farmer citizens -- not just a favored few -- the same privileges, rights and opportunities that other citizens have.

The next great goal is to assure the Nation of the food and fibres that it needs, in the kinds and amounts that it needs. And this means, my friends, that we want a Nation better-fed, better-clothed and better-housed than we have ever had. ^{to} It means ^{too} that our farmers must be able to produce all they can, and the best they can, in the firm knowledge that their fellow citizens not only need what they produce but that their fellow citizens will be able to get that produce.

And, finally, ^{we must} [the third great objective toward which we move is] the preservation ^a forever of all our farmland and forest land and grazing land as the ever-renewing base of our American democracy. We have put a stop to shortsighted waste and destruction of that base of all life, the soil. Now we join in the creative job of construction. [We propose now to do more than just to save what we have in our soil resources.] We propose to march ahead into an era [of resource improvement] of adding ^{soil} to fertility, of building up our forests, of ever-increasing yields, of greater and greater rewards ^{the farmers} for ^{our} toil.

We have the tools at hand in the great programs that were born of our efforts to repair the neglect, the cynical disregard of human values and hopes, and the exploitation that crushed farmers under the weight of depression during three long Republican Administrations.

[It seems to me that a great deal of nonsense has been repeated about the desire of farmers for higher and higher prices, for bloated profits. To hear a few talk you would think that the farmers of America had changed places with the monopolists of industry who for years have fed upon them. I do not believe they are right.] What the ^{of America} great majority of farmers want, I am sure, is a decent, honorable living and the assurance that they and their families are not going through any more wringers of deflation such as the one culminating in the late 'twenties and early 'thirties. [They are very suspicious of the get-rich-quick formulas of any political quacks.]

[There are just two points to be remembered about prices. The first is that the ordinary working farmer ought to be able to get the cash he needs to give his family the comforts and necessities to which they are entitled. The other thing to remember about prices is that they ought to be high enough to give all of our citizens the farm products they must have for a good life.] Through the Democratic Party, farmers have put into the law of the land their long dream of parity prices. Parity and equality and justice are all different words for the same thing. We are now going to widen the idea of parity so that it does not mean just parity prices but that it also means parity and equality and justice for farmers in income, in comforts and, yes, in city conveniences that some

die-hard reactionaries call luxuries even though city people take them for granted.

In other words, we want and farmers want not just parity of prices. They also want parity of citizenship. The way to do that lies ready to hand. During the war we have used prices in a new and different way. We have put the weight of government's influence back of prices far enough ahead so that farmers could count on a certain income, if they did their part and if the weather cooperated. We propose to go right ahead in this same direction, seeing to it that farmers who do their just share for the Nation will in return receive a just share for their work. We will keep a floor under those prices to make sure that he does get that income. And we propose too that the government cooperate when the weather won't, by a genuine crop insurance program.

But we will also see to it that these prices are those that will yield the Nation the kind of production and the volume of production of farmstuffs that it needs for food for all of its citizens and as raw materials for business and industry. Never again must we worry about growing too much. The Nation and the world need the abundance that its farmers can give it.

Wheeler
for
R

There are plenty of other people who need these foods and fibres if we don't. And we will see to it that they get them, get them without "dumping" and without revival of international economic war that leads to military war. We will make them available under fair and just international agreements. Through multilateral trade agreements, through our working partnership with our allies, we have learned the ways of international neighborliness. We will go forward in those ways. [And we will see to it that American farmers do not suffer in the process.]

And along with these broad income and production policies will go still another policy, the policy of giving to as many farmers as possible the chance of owning their own farms and of earning a fair and decent livelihood from farming. We propose to adjust this program so that farmers who need more land in order to make that kind of a living will be able to get that land. That, my friends, is what we will offer those veterans who left their farms to fight for their country. Instead of offering them a chance to sell apples on street corners we will offer them a chance to grow apples.

[In other words, we will really make American farming an agriculture of family-type farmers.] We will not rest content, [as have some people I know and you know,] with solemn declarations that family farms are the backbone of the country, [that they are the American way of life.] We know that. What we propose to do is to see to it that, as nearly as we can make it so, every American farm is a secure, prosperous, happy family home.

[Those are the guiding principles that we will follow in our advance toward two of our three great objectives in agriculture. To see to it, first, that all farmers have parity as citizens and parity shares of the national wealth and, second, that the Nation is able to count on them to produce what it needs.]

[What about our third great goal, ^{for agriculture} the goal of conservation and reconstruction of soil resources? Well, I think it is pretty clear to us all now that the achievement of this objective will go hand in hand with achievement of the other two.]

Farmers do not willfully waste away the soil of their farms, any more than they or anybody else willfully throws away hard-earned cash. It is easy enough to blame the orneriness of human nature, as our enemies are all too inclined to do, for the recklessness with which our soil resources have been dissipated in the past.

Just as they were inclined to say that everyone who was forced to stand in a breadline was "shiftless," so they have been inclined to say that every eroded gully on a farm was due to laziness on the part of the farmer. Those who have wrestled with the problem of trying to feed and clothe farm children from the hard acres and the poor rewards of marginal farming know that the facts of the case are far different. We know that when the farm is too small, when the middleman takes most of the profit, when economic collapses occur-- we know that when these things happen the soil suffers just as do the people who must earn their living from the soil.

And so we propose that the Nation's farmers, as caretakers of the Nation's lands, be given a real opportunity at the income they need, as a first step in a soil conservation program. When the dire pressure of earning a bare subsistence is relieved, then all farmers are eager to keep life in the soil and to pour renewing life into it every season. Moreover, we propose that the farmers who need them be given an opportunity to get the tools they need, and the technical advice they need, in order to do such a job of saving our soil as has never been done before in this country.

Opponents

I know, of course, what our *Opponents* are going to say about this. I can almost hear them now. I can almost see the tears -- not crocodile tears this time, but real alligator tears -- I can almost see them weeping for the poor farmers who must put up with being helped by their government, the poor farmers who are going to be in this fruitful partnership with their government. This is what our opponents will say:

"Don't touch that. That's government help. It will ruin your initiative. It is all right for you to be helped by the bankers. It is all right for you to put your faith in monopolists. It is all right for you to depend on the Republican Party. But for heaven's sake don't have anything to do with the government because that will be bad for your character."

What we want to ask them in reply is this:

"Whose government is this government, anyway? Is this a government of the people, or isn't it? And if this government does belong to all of the people, why shouldn't they use it to make their country a great country for all of them?"

There is nothing mysterious about government or about government officials. They are people just like other people. They come off of farms and out of towns and city homes just like the rest of us. [And there

is nothing mysterious about their jobs. They are servants. They are your servants, my friends, from the top ones down to the bottom ones. Any time they are not doing a good job for you, you can get rid of them. And so we propose to make full use of them for the good of all.

That is why I am sure my friends that we will understand each other when I say that I hope to see a democratically-built farm plan for the United States, just as many of my farmer listeners have farm plans for their own farms right now. That democratic farm plan for the United States ought to be made up of millions of individual farm plans, a farm plan for every farm.

All of these things that I have talked about with you tonight are of course important only because they are the instruments with which we are going forward to a new and greater freedom, toward wider and wider boundaries of personal liberty, toward an ever-expanding frontier of democracy. There can be no freedom where the people suffer, where children are in want, where there is fear and insecurity. Our first task is to remove those fears and uncertainties forever from American life. They are anachronisms, they are left-overs from the ages and ages of scarcity. They are as out of date now as the dinosaur or those other prehistoric monsters in the history books. There is no longer any reason for their existence, and we must bury them for good and all.

P28 For the aged, the sick, the disabled, and the temporarily unem-

ployed, we must expand our social security system [so that there will be an

uninterrupted flow of buying power to every person] A more comprehensive and

will not only provide decent account, as an economic right but

adequate social security system will fortify the flow of buying power. It is

needed to help maintain the markets continuously for the goods and services ~~we~~

our nation must produce

*Insert A
Page 28*

Unemployment insurance benefits should be of longer duration and should provide benefits in every state adequate for minimum decent standards of living. Obviously, there must be incentives to work rather than to remain unemployed but this added incentive should be high wages rather than starvation wages fortified by mere pittance during periods of unemployment.

In the fields of health and education, we will insure the means to acquire adequate medical care and education to every man, woman and child in America. No one in our democracy of plenty will be denied these basic necessities. Within the framework of the present institution of medical practice, we can provide the means of acquiring adequate medical care.

In our post-war America, we will not tolerate slums and congested living conditions for large numbers of our people.

P 29 Within the next decade we shall eliminate and so far as possible with private funds all the slums and all the substandard dwellings in cities and the rural areas throughout America. Such large scale construction is not only justified by our productive capacity but is necessary if we are to provide jobs for all our workers. New homes, modern homes, modern kitchens and all the conveniences which present day technology

permits, is a realizable goal for every family - and surely is an important plank in any economic Bill of Rights.

Yet the way we do these things is important, too, for the act of achieving freedom from want and fear and insecurity can in itself give us more and more democracy as we go about the job.

And a very important part of doing this job is to make the partnership of the farmer and his government a real, living, creative relationship. ^{*The worker, the business man*} The day is gone when the people would allow their government to remain something far away and aloof. ^{*The American people*} The time has come when [farmers] want their government to be as real to them and as useful as a singletree or a tractor tire. [Some of us have been bothered by the complexity of our economic life today and by the demand of the people for government action to deal with these complexities. I say to you that we need not fear so long as we trust the people enough to bring them into the functioning of that government.]

[That is why we propose not only to go ahead with this partnership of farmer and government, but we also propose to keep the farmer as a good citizen into the daily functioning of this partnership. Throughout the operation of our present farm programs, farmers themselves have been drawn into the workings of the programs. The AAA committees, the Soil Conservation Districts, the Farm Security county committees, and the others, have not only been successful, they have been indispensable.]

We know
 [They have shown] that democracy as a system of government and of society can draw upon the loyalty and energy and ability of its citizens as can no other system, and that when it opens up the channels for them to participate fully the result is miraculous. Our tremendous war effort has set the seal upon that demonstration. [Only a democracy could have wrought the wonders of production that our country has wrought.] And the measure of the achievement is simply the measure of this participation. [The nearer we come to giving every citizen the chance to use his talents fully, so much nearer do we come to the complete fulfillment of the American dream, the truly democratic dream.]

And so we believe that *a program of economic rights which* [this new kind of farm program] I have discussed tonight *must* [ought also to be the kind of [farm] program that] enlist^{city} the energy and support of every [farmer]. [We believe that we should entrust the responsibility for its success to farmers themselves. We believe that the final factor in this program must be supplied by local committees, elected by the farmers of their community and county.]

We know, you and I, that we are all neighbors together now. We know that the whole United States must be one big neighborhood, bound together by ties of mutual self-interest. And government itself must be a neighborly thing, [as close and real to the farmer as his well-being.] [That is why we must entrust to our farmer neighbors, through these farmer committees I have been talking about, the supervision of the great state

and
/national farm programs that will reach every farm.]

Write paragraphs summarizing other Economic Rights.

In this New America of abundance, we shall apply the principles of free people, democracy and individual opportunity. We shall protect with ever increased vigilance the equality of opportunity for every person in this country regardless of race, creed or color. There is no place in a free democracy for discrimination. There is no place for special privileges. There is no place for any economic pressures upon any group..

[I am proud of the work that has been done by this administration to prevent the denial of jobs on the grounds of race, national origin or religion. We have done much to protect ourselves against the backwash of prejudice coming in large part from the enemy we are defeating on the battlefield.]

Democracy never fails except when it is incomplete. The cure for the ills of democracy is simply more democracy. We must always trust the people. So long as we remember that first lesson, we will not fail.

And we are not going to fail, for we have founded our faith on an everlasting rock. When we touch that rock, like the magic we used to read about as children, it yields refreshment and guidance and new courage. Let me read you what is inscribed on that everlasting rock:

"We, the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect Union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America."

All we need to do is to walk in the way that our forefathers
With God's help
blazed with those words of the preamble to the Constitution. We will not
miss the trail.

7

DRAFT NO. 2

CHICAGO SPEECH

October 26, 1944

My fellow Americans:—

Today our energies are fully devoted to winning the war and bringing our men and women home as quickly as possible. For the second time in twenty-five years America has proved her capacity to meet the challenge of total war. We have astonished the world and confounded our enemies with the stupendous number of planes, tanks and guns rolling off our assembly lines — with the bridge of ships carrying our munitions and fighting men thru the seven seas — with our gigantic fleet which has struck the enemy in the Philippines a crippling blow. Above all we share in the glory of the magnificently trained and equipped officers and men in our armed forces, who are fighting the enemy — and licking them — thruout the world.

I believe the American people are prepared to meet the problems of peace in the same inspiring way that they have met the problems of war. And the American people are resolved that when our boys return home from this war, they shall come back to the freest and the best possible place on the face of this earth — to a place where all persons, regardless of race, color, creed or place of birth, shall live in peace, honor and dignity — free from want — and free from fear. To do otherwise would betray the faith of every soldier, every worker, every businessman, every farmer in this

country who is giving his best for America.

Tonight I am going to talk about something which is in the hearts and minds of every American — jobs and work. While our gallant young men are flying our planes, fighting on the seas, and attacking on the ground, they do some hard thinking of what the future holds in store for them.

My vision of America after victory is a clear one. It is an optimistic and confident one. This country of ours — this America of vigor and youth — will emerge from this war with greater strength than ever before. We have boundless horizons which give to each of us a great feeling of power and opportunity. We have a brilliant future within our grasp.

If ever there were doubts of the immense resources of this country, they are surely dispelled in the record of our spectacular war production. We take renewed strength from the fact that America today is producing nearly as much munitions as all of the rest of the world put together.

I know and you know that if we can produce an endless flow of ships and guns and planes and tanks, we can likewise produce an abundance of houses and cars and clothing and all of the other good things of life. We have the raw materials and soil and climate of a beautiful land. We have the skills and genius and perseverance of free men. We have the plant

and equipment of a wealthy, industrialized country.

As America led the world in establishing a political democracy so must it lead the world in establishing an economic democracy. We must establish an Economic Bill of Rights endowed with the dignity and vital force of our sacred Bill of Political Rights.

The key to an Economic Bill of Rights is as self-evident as are the rights themselves. The key is the wholehearted recognition by all our people of the simple fact that in America the future of the American worker and farmer lies in the well-being of American private enterprise; and the future of American private enterprise lies in the well-being of the American worker and farmer. The greatest single thing that this war has demonstrated on the home front is that when the American worker and the American business man and the American farmer work together as one team, there are no limits on what America can accomplish.

But to work together as a team, however, there must be a common goal. In this war that goal has been the defeat of our enemies in the shortest possible period of time. In the peace to come the goal must be the well-being of America - and that is synonymous with the well-being of every American.

When I enunciated this Economic Bill of Rights last January I said that after this war is won we must be prepared to move forward to new goals of human happiness and well-being.

Tonight, I want to discuss essential parts of this Economic Bill of Rights with all of you. I want to outline how the adoption of concrete measures to implement these rights represents the very foundation of American prosperity in the years to come.

And I also want to emphasize what the implementation of these rights will mean to our service men and women. They have given America the opportunity to work out its destiny as a free nation in a free world. The America to which they return must be a land of economic opportunity in which they will find full opportunities not only for jobs but for economic advancement in independent enterprise, in industry, commerce, agriculture and the professions.

The first economic right I wish to discuss is "the right to a useful and remunerative job in the industries, or shops, or farms or mines of the nation."

To assure the full realization of this right to a useful and remunerative job, an adequate program must provide America with at least 60 million productive jobs.

This necessary expansion of our peacetime productive capacity will require new facilities, new plants and new equipment.

It will require large outlays of money which should be raised through normal investment channels. But while private capital should finance this expansion program, the Government should recognize its responsibility for sharing part of any special or abnormal risk of loss attached to such financing.

A comprehensive investment program dedicated to expanding the peacetime productive capacity of America is the very epitome of the American way of raising our standard of living.

If we are going to have remunerative jobs for all, we must have an expanded private industry capable of hiring millions more men. I propose that the Government do its part in helping private enterprise finance this expansion of our industrial plant. It will be privately owned, privately operated and privately financed but the Government will share with the private investor the unusual and abnormal financial risks which may be involved in getting started.

But, in providing jobs for everyone, we shall not only have to increase demand for our industrial and agricultural production here at home; but also abroad. Some parts of our industrial and agricultural production demand a high level of foreign trade to be efficient and prosperous. This is particularly true in our heavy equipment industries where our war demand will fall sharply but whose output will be needed by other countries for reconstruction and development. The foreign demand for such farm commodities as cotton, tobacco and wheat will also be great if other countries have the opportunity to buy. We therefore must take steps, in cooperation with other countries to see that international trade and investment are resumed promptly on a sound basis.

This Administration has pioneered in the direction of international economic collaboration with its reciprocal trade program and the establishment of the Export-Import Bank. It has again taken the lead in suggesting international monetary stabilization and sound international investment measures. At the Bretton Woods Conference, forty-four countries agreed upon plans for an International Monetary Fund and an International Bank for Reconstruction and Development.

The International Monetary Fund, when approved by Congress, will aid the nations of the world in establishing sound currencies. It will clear the channels of foreign trade of discriminatory restrictions and controls so that there can be a genuine expansion of world trade.

With the help of the International Bank, American capital can play a great constructive role -- and a profitable role -- in the development of the economies of other countries. It will provide us with enormous post-war foreign markets.

But America must not be merely a seller of goods abroad. A truly prosperous America -- an America with jobs for all -- will be a tremendous buyer of raw materials and products from abroad.

With Congressional approval of this program and with our program of jobs for all in this country -- the foreign trade of the United States can be trebled after the war. This increase in our foreign trade should mean 3 million more jobs after the war than we had before the war.

I want to emphasize that such cooperative measures for expanding international trade and investment are at the same time the economic foundation for a lasting peace. A prosperous world will be a world free of both economic and political aggression.

Our taxes can and will be lowered after the war as compared with the wartime levels. In the process of reduction, we have the opportunity to strengthen and improve our entire tax system. Both from humanitarian and economic points of view, we must adhere to the principle of ability to pay. Excess taxes, which fall most heavily upon the lower income groups, must be eliminated. The exemptions on income taxes must be high enough and the bottom rates low enough, to permit a basic decent standard of living for all of us. Nor must taxes at the top be assessed at such high rates as to discourage the assumption of risk.

We always have and always will believe in greater rewards for greater efforts and our taxes will not destroy incentives. We will modify our corporate taxes so as to avoid duplication and allow reasonable profits, but at the same time to protect ourselves against the accumulation of idle surpluses.

I shall work with the state and local governments of America in an effort to develop an integrated tax program at all levels of government which will encourage consumption and investment. Taxation by all taxing authorities is an important instrument of government policy which can either stimulate and expand free enterprise, or can stifle enterprise. We must have a postwar tax program that will expand free enterprise.

There is one further phase of this program of providing jobs for all which must be made an integral part of any long range program. That is the task of seeing to it that there are not just jobs for all next year -- or for the year after that. No, we are talking about jobs for all as a permanent part of our American way of life.

It is inevitable, that an economy of free enterprise like ours will have some fluctuation in the number of jobs it can provide. Adjustments in employment are an essential part of an expanding free economy. And for these minor fluctuations, we provide unemployment insurance. But we must not allow such fluctuations ever to deteriorate into panic or depression. We cannot again be caught in that vicious downward spiral of unemployment, wage cuts and stagnated business.

I say to you that whenever the number of gainfully employed in this country falls unduly your Government in full cooperation with local and state governments must and will take prompt steps to see that new jobs are made available.

The basic function of your Government in taking care of any such slack in jobs is to see to it that private enterprise is assisted until it can absorb this slack. During the war the federal, state and local governments have put aside the construction of roads, buildings and public facilities to the value of many billions of dollars.

Some of this construction will have to be undertaken immediately after the war. A good deal of it, however, can be postponed so that its construction could be timed with periods when the volume of employment that industry, commerce and agriculture can offer begins to fall. We must have a reservoir of planned and approved federal, state and local projects ready to be tapped. And when employment falls too severely this reservoir of planned and approved public works should be opened up to provide more jobs and take up the slack.

Such useful and essential public works will produce private jobs. This is possible because this construction should be done by private firms under contract with the Government; private firms employing labor at the prevailing rate of wages and under standard labor conditions.

This assurance of a reserve of private jobs, through constructive public works when needed will have a profound effect on the whole

direction of our economy. The knowledge that Government accepts the responsibility of maintaining a floor under jobs will act as an immense stabilizing force on the whole economy.

The second economic right I wish to discuss tonight is "the right to earn enough to provide food and clothing and recreation."

America must remain pre-eminent the land of high wages and efficient production. Every job in America must provide enough for a decent living.

During the war we have been compelled to limit wage increases that might have provoked runaway inflation. By utilizing price and wage control measures, America has succeeded in holding the line against inflation.

However, the end of the war, will change this picture. Then there will be more goods available for America to buy and it is only good common sense to see that the working man is paid enough to buy these goods.

After the last war, as part of the process of returning to "normalcy," the old guard of the Republican Administration adopted the slogan "labor must be deflated." This won't happen again. This time we must

make sure that hourly wage rates are not reduced when the wartime demand for labor is diverted into peacetime channels. We must make sure that the labor market is not broken by unemployment and wage slashes.

And let me say this right now. There are some who think that after this war there will be a golden opportunity to put our great labor unions in their place. Well I don't belong to that school. For I believe in the right of collective bargaining -- and this Administration over the almost united opposition of the Republican leaders wrote that right into the law of the land.

An expanding American economy can continue to expand only if the increased productivity is divided equitably between business and the worker and the farmer.

A third economic right is "the right of every farmer to raise and sell his products at a rate which will give him and his family a decent living."

The farmers of America have good reason to be proud of what they have done in this war, and the rest of us have good reason to be proud of them, too. The Congress has reflected this pride of all Americans in their fellow-citizens of the farms and ranches

by adopting a law that assures farmers that the prices of their products will not be allowed to drop below 90 per cent of the parity price. This was regarded as simple justice, as a tangible way of saying, "Well done." The American people, and the Congress and myself, acting for the people, will see to it that that commitment is kept. Farmers can rely upon this promise of their government.

They have earned such a guarantee. During the war our farmers, like the rest of us, have had much to contend with. Fighting a war is never easy. Fighting this greatest war in history has made greater demands than any previous war.

But they have achieved magnificently. This year they have pushed up their production to a point more than one-third above that of the years just before the war. The remarkable nature of that achievement is emphasized because we know that farm production must be planned months ahead, in some cases, years ahead. You cannot convert a farm overnight to war. All of us should realize, therefore, that our farmers have done a magnificent job in bringing about the miracle of American war production.

But they would not have been able to put that skill and energy to work as quickly and as creatively as they did if it had not been for

the achievements of the last decade, the ten years during which the great national farm programs of today were wrought out.

Let us look back for a moment to 1933. I think all of us will agree, farmers were in bad shape then. During the twelve years of three preceding Republican Administrations, most of the rest of the country had seemed to be waxing fat while they themselves were what the economists call "deflated."

Long before the terrible crash of 1929, they had been "deflated" several times over.

Small and average farmers by the scores of thousands lost their farms. That was what "deflating" meant.

When the great Depression of 1929 set in, things went from bad to worse under the Republican Administration. All of us remember the spreading tide of new foreclosures, of farmstuffs backed up in warehouses and on farms. All of us remember 4 cent hogs, 20 cent wheat, 5 cent cotton. All of us remember the steadily falling farm prices that finally engulfed the Federal Farm Board itself, the ill-conceived sale remedy that three previous Republican Administrations had been able to devise to meet the legitimate needs of farmers.

But we remember, too, what happened when we all began to pull together to do something about the trouble we found ourselves in. The Congress passed as its first item of business the original Agricultural Adjustment Act, the broad base from which we have gone forward ever since toward the construction of an enduring national farm program. After that followed the other great agricultural charters of our present farm legislative system. The Farm Credit Administration was set up, and later came the Farm Security Administration. The Soil Conservation Service was brought into being, as were the Rural Electrification Administration and the Commodity Credit Corporation. Parenthetically I should say that a majority of the Republican members of Congress voted against all of these measures.

There will be many, of course, to point out that the agricultural policy of our Nation is above political partisanship.

Some probably will remind me that there are members of the Republican party in the Congress who have a sound understanding of

farm problems and who vote their convictions, putting agricultural welfare above party expediency. I am glad to agree that there are such statesmen. I only wish there were more of them.

There may be a few who will maintain that farm issues are not at stake in the coming election, and who will cite the farm plank of the Republican party's platform for 1944 to prove their optimistic contention. Here I can agree only that this might be true if we could take the words of that smoothly-sanded plank for exactly their face value.

What reason is there for believing that any kind of real support, on a national basis, can be expected from the Republican Party?

I knew, of course, that the Old Guard can work up a fine indignation over the mere mention of such an uncharitable thought.

2953
135
THIRD DRAFT

SPEECH OF THE PRESIDENT

SOLDIER FIELD

OCTOBER 28, 1944

The American people are now engaged in the greatest war in history -- and we are also engaged in a political campaign.

We are fighting this war and we are holding this election -- both for the same essential reason: because we have faith in democracy.

And there is no force and there is no combination of forces powerful enough to shake that faith.

As you know, I have had some previous experience in war -- and I have also had a certain amount of previous experience in political campaigning.

But -- I must confess -- this is the strangest campaign I have ever seen.

I have listened to the various Republican orators who are urging the people to throw the present Administration out and put them in. And what do they say?

Well, they say in effect, just this:

THIRD DRAFT

- 2 -

"Those incompetent bunglers in Washington have passed a lot of excellent laws about social security and labor and farm relief and soil conservation -- and many others -- and we promise if elected not to change any of them."

And they go on to say: "These same quarrelsome tired old men have built the greatest military machine the world has ever known, which is fighting its way to victory; and, if you elect us, we promise not to change any of that, either". 81

"Therefore", say these Republican orators, "it is time for a change".

They also say in effect: "Those inefficient and wornout crank-pots [after long and patient discussion and conferences in Casablanca, Cairo and Teheran and Quebec and Dumbarton Oaks] have really begun to lay the foundations of a lasting world peace.

If you elect us, we will not change any of that either". "But", they whisper, "we'll do it in such a way that we won't lose the support of ^{even} Gerald Nye ^{and} Gerald Smith [or John L. Lewis or] Joseph Paw --] and -- and this is very important -- we won't ~~lose~~ lose the support of any isolationist campaign contributor. We will even be able to satisfy the Chicago Tribune".

THIRD DRAFT

- 3 -

Tonight, I shall talk simply about the future of America -- about this land of unlimited opportunity. I shall give the Republican campaign orators some more opportunities to say -- "me too".

Today everything we do is devoted to the most important job before us -- winning the war and bringing our men and women home as quickly as possible. ^PWe have astonished the world and confounded our enemies with our stupendous war production, with the overwhelming courage and skill of our fighting men -- with the bridge of ships carrying our munitions and men through the seven seas -- with our gigantic fleet which has pounded the enemy all over the Pacific and has just driven through for a touch-down.

[But even as we fight the enemy, and lick them, we plan -- and we act -- for an organization which will give us a lasting peace. And we plan -- and we act -- for a peace time America which will provide for security and an ever-higher standard of living.]

The American people are prepared to meet the problems of peace in the same bold way that they have met the problems of war.

THIRD DRAFT

- 4 -

For the American people are resolved that when our men and women return home from this war, they shall come back to the best possible place on the face of this earth -- to a place where all persons, regardless of race, color, creed or place of birth, can live in peace, honor and human dignity -- free to speak and pray as they wish -- free from want -- and free from fear.

Last January, in my message to the Congress on the state of the Union, I outlined an Economic Bill of Rights on which "a new basis of security and prosperity can be established for all -- regardless of station, race or creed":

I repeat them now:

"The right to a useful and remunerative job in the industries, or shops or farms or mines of the nation;

The right to earn enough to provide adequate food and clothing and recreation;

The right of every farmer to raise and sell his products at a return which will give him and his family a decent living;

THIRD DRAFT

- 5 -

The right of every business man, large and small,
to trade in an atmosphere of freedom from unfair competition
and domination by monopolies at home or abroad;

The right of every family to a decent home;

The right to adequate medical care and the oppor-
tunity to achieve and enjoy good health;

The right to adequate protection from the economic
fears of old age, sickness, accident and unemployment;

The right to a good education.

All of these rights spell security. And after this
war is won we must be prepared to move forward, in the im-
plementation of these rights, to new goals of human happiness
and well-being.*

Some people have sneered at these ideals as well
as the ideals of the Atlantic Charter and the Four Freedoms --
saying they were the dreams of starry-eyed New Dealers -- that
it is silly to talk of them because we cannot attain these
ideals tomorrow or the next day.

THIRD DRAFT

- 6 -

The American people have greater faith than that. I know that they agree with those objectives, that they demand them, that they ~~are~~ are determined to get them, and that they are going to get them.

[With the same lack of faith in America, some people also said, in 1940, when I called for the production of 50,000 airplanes per year, that it was a mere "publicity stunt". And yet since then this nation has produced 240,000 warplanes -- and has reached a peak of 109,000 warplanes per year.

There are always timid, skeptical people who say, "You can't do that. It's impossible".

~~But~~ ^{PT} the American people have a habit of going right ahead and accomplishing the impossible.

And the people today who know that best are the Nazis and the Japs.

[As America led the world in fighting for a political democracy so must it now take lead in working for an economic democracy.]

163
JTB

This Economic Bill of Rights is the recognition of the simple fact that in America the future of the ~~American~~ worker and farmer lies in the well-being of ~~American~~ private enterprise; and that the future of ~~American~~ private enterprise lies in the well-being of the ~~American~~ worker and farmer.

The well-being of the nation as a whole is synonymous with the well-being of each and every one of its citizens.

Now I have the possibly old-fashioned theory that when you have problems to solve, objectives to achieve, you cannot get very far by just talking about them.

[This is particularly true when all you have to offer is "double-talk".]

You have got to go out and do something!

To assure the full realization of the right to a useful and remunerative employment, an adequate program must provide America with close to 60 million productive jobs. *I foresee this*
~~This necessary~~ expansion of our peacetime productive *which* capacity will require new facilities, new plants and new equipment -- capable of hiring millions more men.

THIRD DRAFT

- 8 -

I propose that the Government do its part in helping private enterprise ^{to} finance expansion of our ^{private} industrial plant through normal investment channels. [It will be privately owned, privately operated and privately financed] -- but the Government should share with the private investor the unusual and abnormal financial risks which may be involved in getting started.

For example, business men must be encouraged to expand their plants and to replace their obsolete or worn out equipment with new equipment. By substantially accelerating, for tax purposes, the rate of depreciation on new plants and facilities, we will provide business men with additional incentives to expand their plants, replace old and obsolete machinery with modern equipment. [That means more jobs for the worker, increased profits for the business man, and lower cost to the consumer.

In 1933, when my Administration took office, vast numbers of our industrial workers were unemployed, our plants and businesses were idle, [our farmers in distress] our monetary and banking system in ruins -- our economic resources were running to waste.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

page 8 *Insert A*

~~(after "privately financed,"~~

P For example, business large and small must be encouraged by the government to expand their plants and to replace their obsolete or worn out equipment with new equipment. *And to that end,*
~~and for tax purposes~~ the rate of depreciation on these new plants and facilities ^{*should*} ~~will~~ be accelerated.

~~(Then go on to "that means more jobs")~~

40-95

By 1940 -- before Pearl Harbor -- we had increased our employment by ten million workers. [Our farm income was more than doubled.] ~~we had~~ converted a corporate loss of five and one-half billion dollars in 1932 to a corporate profit (after taxes) of nearly five ~~billion~~ billion dollars in 1940.

Obviously, to increase jobs after this war, we shall have to increase demand for our industrial and agricultural production not only here at home, but also abroad.

most and gathering *H. I. am sure that every man and woman in this*
ever again see to it that we in the United States hope to
must attempt
 isolate ourselves from the rest of humanity.

~~We cannot again make the mistake of putting our faith in high protective tariff walls -- any more than in broad oceans.~~

~~This Administration has already made enormous advances in the field of international economic collaboration -- with reciprocal trade programs, the establishment of the Export-Import Bank, and the various conferences with the other United Nations.~~

*R I am confident
Italy, A*

~~172~~
182

With Congressional approval ^{pick} of ~~this~~ program and with our program of jobs for all in this country -- the foreign trade of the United States can be trebled after the war -- providing millions of more jobs.

Such cooperative measures provide the soundest economic foundation for a lasting peace. *And, after this war, we do not intend to settle for anything less than lasting peace.*

When we think of the America of tomorrow, we think of many things.

*- in cities, in the villages,
on the farms.*

One of them is American homes. Millions of our people have never had homes worthy of American standards -- well built homes with electricity and plumbing and air and sunlight.

The demand for homes and our capacity to build them call for a program of well over a million homes a year for at least ten years. Private industry can build and finance the vast majority of these homes. Government can and will assist and encourage private industry to do this, as it has for many years. For those very low income groups ^{but} which cannot possibly afford decent homes, the Federal Government should continue to assist local housing authorities in meeting that need.

281 89-

In the future America we think of new highways and parkways. We think of thousands of new airports to service the new commercial and private air travel which is bound to come after the war. We think of new airplanes, new cheap automobiles with low maintenance and operation costs. ~~We think of fast, new railroad trains.~~ We think of new hospitals and new health clinics. We think of a new merchant marine for our expanded world trade.

Think of all these vast possibilities for industrial expansion -- and you will foresee opportunities for more millions of jobs. 2

~~We are not talking about jobs for all for next-year or for the year after that. We are talking about jobs for all as a permanent part of our American way of life.~~

~~Wherever it becomes desirable or useful for Government -- federal, state, or local -- to build new public works, the construction should be done by private firms, under contract with the Government, employing labor at the prevailing rate of wages and under standard labor conditions.~~

~~That is wise economics. But it is also sound humanity -- to prevent human distress and suffering!~~

154
114

Our Economic Bill of Rights -- like the sacred Bill of Rights of our Constitution itself -- must be applied to all our citizens, irrespective of race, creed or color.

In 1941, I appointed a Fair Employment Practice Committee to prevent discrimination in war industry and government employment. The work of the Committee and the results obtained more than justify its creation. P

There are now nearly 900,000 Negroes in the Armed Forces. Their contribution has been whole-hearted and heroic. They are, of course, entitled to -- and must receive -- equal treatment with all veterans after this war.

I believe that the Congress should by law make the Fair Employment Practice Committee permanent.

America must remain the land of high wages, ~~strong unions~~ and efficient production. Every full-time job in America must provide enough for a decent living.

And that goes for jobs in mines, offices, factories, stores, canneries -- and everywhere where men and women are employed.

Third
SECOND DRAFT

During the war we have been compelled to limit wage and salary increases for one great objective -- to prevent runaway inflation. You all know how successfully we have held the line by the way your cost of living has been kept down.

However, at the end of the war there will be more goods available, and it is only good common sense to see ^{that} the working man is paid enough, and that the farmers earn enough to buy these goods and keep our factories running. After the war, we shall of course remove the control of wages and leave their determination to free collective bargaining between trade unions and employers.

It is a simple fact that a greatly increased production of food and fibre on the farms can be consumed by the people who work in industry only if those people who work in industry ^{enough} have the money to buy food and clothing. If industrial wages go down, farm prices will go down too.

Despite all manner of ^{war time} difficulties -- ~~scarcity~~ shortage of farm labor and of new farm machinery ~~backwardness of~~ the ~~war~~ -- the American farmer has achieved a total of food production which is one of the wonders of the world.

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In this war, the American farmer has been called upon to do far and away the biggest food production job in history.

The American farmer has met that challenge triumphantly.

Despite all manner of ^{war time} difficulties -- ~~namely~~ shortage of farm labor and of new farm machinery ~~because of~~ the war -- the American farmer has achieved a total of food production which is one of the wonders of the world.

THIRD
DRAFT

- 14 -

54
I am going to give you
some figures of recovery -
and I am sure you will
pardon me if I quote them correctly.

The American farmer is a great producer }
and he must have the means to be ^{also} a great consumer. ^{For} More
farm income means more jobs ^{everywhere} in the nation.

Let us look back for a moment to 1933.

All of us remember the spreading tide of farm foreclosures; we
remember 4 cent hogs, 20 cent wheat, 5 cent cotton.

→ In 1940 - a year before
we were attacked - ^{farm income} ~~it~~ was more than
doubled to five and a half billion
dollars.

This year, 1944, it will be
approximately thirteen and one half billion
dollars.

In 1932 The American farmers' net
income was only two and one quarter
billion dollars.

Herbert Hoover

● THIRD DRAFT

-15

The straight-thinking farmer knows that in the last ^{eleven} ~~year~~ years his prices and his income and his property value have gone up, that his debt has gone down. He knows that his farm is safe and that his soil is protected.

The farmers and ranchers of this nation are on the road to prosperity and we propose to keep that road open.

It is a simple fact that a greatly increased production of food and fibre on the farms can be consumed by the people who work in industry only if those people who work in industry have the money to buy food and clothing. If industrial wages go down, farm prices will go down too.

That is a hard-headed truth. I am a bit hard-headed myself. Maybe that's due to the fact that I have a great deal of Dutch and Scotch blood in my veins.

The people who do not live on farms -- the people who live in distribution and manufacturing communities, like Chicago and thousands of other cities -- know that their prosperity is linked up with the farmers' prosperity, which is now at the high level of all time. Certainly they do not want the farmers to go back to the crop prices and conditions of 1932, for the farmers would then have no money with which to buy the products of the cities.

The American farmer does
 Certainly ~~they~~ not want to go back to a Government

1944

owned by the moguls of ¹⁹²⁹1902 -- and let us bear it constantly in mind that those same moguls still control the destinies of the Republican Party.

Continue this Administration's policy of conserving
We must ~~conserve~~ the enormous gifts with which an abundant

Providence has blessed our country -- our soil, our forests, our water.

[P] The work of the Tennessee Valley Authority is closely related to ours
[That is why I think that] the TVA is an essential part

~~of the national farm program, and that the farm program of the future must have in it a place for~~ *look toward* ~~we look toward the~~ similar developments which

I have recommended in the valley of the Missouri -- in the valley of the Arkansas -- and in the Columbia River Basin.

And incidentally -- and as an aside -- I cannot resist the temptation to point to the gigantic contribution to our war effort made by the power generated at TVA and Bonneville and Grand Coulee.

Do you remember when the building of these great public works was ridiculed as New Deal "boondoggling"? *Insert* (A)

This Administration has
~~Through the Democratic Party, farmers have put into~~
the farmers'
the law of the land ~~that~~ long dream of parity prices.

And we propose, too, that the Government will cooperate when the weather will not -- by a genuine crop insurance program.

(A)

p 16

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

And ~~at~~ we are ^{not} planning
developments at Grand Coulee,
which will provide irrigation
for many thousands of acres -
providing fertile farm land
for settlement - I hope - by
many of our returning soldiers
and sailors.

~~More "boondoggling"!~~

More "boondoggling"!!

THIRD DRAFT

This Administration adopted -- and will continue --
the policy of giving to as many farmers as possible the chance
of owning their own farms. *P means something* That ~~is of particular importance~~
to those veterans who left their farms to fight for their
country. *H This time they can* [They will have the opportunity to] grow apples on
their own farms instead of having to sell apples on street corners.

by business.

200

I believe in free enterprise, and always have.

I believe in the profit system, and always have.

I believe in exceptional rewards for ~~deserving~~ innovation,

skill, and risk-taking. I ^{believe} am convinced that [given appropriate

policies on the part of business, labor and government, we can] private enterprise

can ^{necessarily} give full employment to our people [in private enterprises.]

As soon as they are no longer needed, ^{PW} we shall lift

production and price controls, ^{discouraging} private business to produce

some of the things to which we are accustomed, ^{also} and thousands of new things.

peace time

P And if anyone feels that my faith in our ability to provide sixty million jobs, ~~let him~~ is fantastic, let him remember that some people said the same thing about my demand ^{in 1940} for fifty thousand airplanes.

among 60,000 smaller plants of the nation. In addition some 75,000

enemy patents and patent applications which the Alien Property Custodian

took over have been placed within the reach of small companies for their use.

THE WHITE HOUSE

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I believe in free enterprise— and always have.

I believe in the profit system— and always have.

I believe in exceptional rewards for ~~merit~~ innovation,
skill and risk-taking. I am convinced that ^{there} ~~given appropriate~~

~~politics on the part of business, labor and government~~ ^{can} ~~can~~ ^{can} give full employment to our peoples ^{in private enterprises.}

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re of the things to which we are accustomed ^{also} and thousands of new things,

~~many~~ in ever-increasing volume, under conditions of free and open
competition.

This Administration has been mindful from its earliest days,
and will continue to be mindful, of the problems of small business as
well as large.

Small business played a ^{very} ~~substantial~~ ^{significant} part in producing
thousands of items needed for our armed forces. When the war broke out,
^{it was} ~~they were~~ mobilized into war production. Money was loaned ~~(to them)~~ for
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enemy patents and patent applications which the Alien Property Custodian
took over have been placed within the reach of small companies for their use.

selfish and
cold-blooded

181

We shall make sure that small business is given every facility to buy government-owned plants, equipment and inventories. The special credit and capital requirements of small business will be met. [They must be kept free of the constricting hand of monopoly.]

[This Administration is determined to continue to ^{And small business will} ~~be~~ protected from ~~free enterprise~~ ^{free} ~~against~~ monopolies and cartels. Beware of that profound enemy of the ~~private~~ ^{free} enterprise system who pays lip-service to free competition but also labels every anti-trust prosecution as a "persecution".]

Insert

A

The future of America, like its past, must be made by deeds — not words.

[The best words that mortal man can write or speak will not win wars and they will not relieve human suffering unless they are expressed in terms of action.]

America has always been a land of action — a land of adventurous pioneering — a land of growing and building.

^{must} America always ~~will~~ be such a land.

[I believe that our future will be won, as this war is being won, by all the people working together for the common interest of all the people.]

Insert A - p. 19

This war has demonstrated that when the American business man and the American worker and the American farmer work together, they form an unbeatable team.

winning
That team must keep together ~~in the peace~~ and it will win many more historic victories for our country, and for the cause of security and decent standards of living throughout the world.

We owe it to our fighting men and to their families -- we owe it to all of our people who have given so much in this war -- we owe it to our children -- to keep that winning team together.

after the war,

100

We know that - our Allies know that a world needs our leadership,

of peace

The creed of our democracy is that liberty is
 acquired and kept by men and women who are strong and self-reliant,
 and possessed of such wisdom as God ^{gives} ~~may~~ give to mankind — men and
 women who are just, and understanding, and ^{generous} ~~kind~~ to others — men
 and women who are capable of disciplining themselves. ^P For they
 are the rulers and they must rule themselves.

I believe in our democratic faith and in the future of
 our country which has given eternal strength and vitality to that
 faith.

W
 Here in Chicago you know a lot
 about that vitality.

And as I say good-night to you,
 I say it in a spirit of faith — a
 spirit of hope — a spirit of confidence.

We are not going to turn back
 the clock!

We are going forward — and —
 with the fighting millions of our fellow
 countrymen — we are going forward
 together.

#

SPEECH OF THE PRESIDENT

SOLDIER FIELD

OCTOBER 28, 1944

The American people are now engaged in the greatest war in history -- and we are also engaged in a political campaign.

We are fighting this war and we are holding this election -- both for the same essential reason: because we have faith in democracy.

And there is no force and there is no combination of forces powerful enough to shake that faith.

As you know, I have had some previous experience in war -- and I have also had a certain amount of previous experience in political campaigning.

But -- I must confess -- this is the strangest campaign I have ever seen.

I have listened to the various Republican orators who are urging the people to throw the present Administration out and put them in. And what do they say?

Well, they say in effect, just this:

"Those incompetent bunglers in Washington have passed a lot of excellent laws about social security and labor and farm relief and soil conservation -- and many others -- and we promise if elected not to change any of them".

And they go on to say: "These same quarrelsome, tired old men have built the greatest military machine the world has ever known, which is fighting its way to victory; and, if you elect us, we promise not to change any of that, either".

"Therefore", say these Republican orators, "it is time for a change".

They also say in effect: "Those inefficient and wornout crack-pots have really begun to lay the foundations of a lasting world peace. If you elect us, we will not change any of that either". "But", they whisper, "we'll do it in such a way that we won't lose the support even

of Gerald Nye or Gerald Smith -- and -- and this is very important -- we won't lose the support of any isolationist campaign contributor. We will even be able to satisfy the Chicago Tribune".

Tonight, I shall talk simply about the future of America -- about this land of unlimited opportunity. I shall give the Republican campaign orators some more opportunities to say -- "me too".

Today, everything we do is devoted to the most important job before us -- winning the war and bringing our men and women home as quickly as possible.

We have astonished the world and confounded our enemies with our stupendous war production, with the overwhelming courage and skill of our fighting men -- with the bridge of ships carrying our munitions and men through the seven seas -- with our gigantic fleet which has pounded the enemy all over the Pacific and has just driven through for a touch-down.

The American people are prepared to meet the problems of peace in the same bold way that they have met the problems of war.

For the American people are resolved that, when our men and women return home from this war, they shall come back to the best possible place on the face of this earth -- to a place where all persons, regardless of race, color, creed or place of birth, can live in peace, honor and human dignity -- free to speak and pray as they wish -- free from want -- and free from fear.

Last January, in my message to the Congress on the state of the Union, I outlined an Economic Bill of Rights on which "a new basis of security and prosperity can be established for all -- regardless of station, race or creed":

I repeat it now: :

"The right of a useful and remunerative job in the industries, or shops or farms or mines of the nation;

The right to earn enough to provide adequate food and clothing and recreation;

The right of every farmer to raise and sell his products at a return which will give him and his family a decent living;

The right of every business man, large and small, to trade in an atmosphere of freedom from unfair competition and domination by monopolies at home or abroad;

The right of every family to a decent home;

The right to adequate medical care and the opportunity to achieve and enjoy good health;

The right to adequate protection from the economic fears of old age, sickness, accident and unemployment;

The right to a good education.

All of these rights spell security. And after this war is won we must be prepared to move forward, in the implementation of these rights, to new goals of human happiness and well-being".

Some people have sneered at these ideals as well as the ideals of the Atlantic Charter and the Four Freedoms -- saying they were the dreams of starry-eyed New Dealers -- that it is silly to talk of them because we cannot attain these ideals tomorrow or the next day.

The American people have greater faith than that. I know that they agree with those objectives -- that they demand them -- that they are determined to get them -- and that they are going to get them.

The American people have a habit of going right ahead and accomplishing the impossible.

And the people today who know that best are the Nazis and the Japs.

This Economic Bill of Rights is the recognition of the simple fact that, in America, the future of the worker and farmer lies in the well-being of private enterprise; and that the future of private enterprise lies in the well-being of the worker and farmer.

The well-being of the nation as a whole is synonymous with the well-being of each and every one of its citizens.

Now, I have the possibly old-fashioned theory that when you have problems to solve, objectives to achieve, you cannot get very far by just talking about them.

You have got to go out and do something!

To assure the full realization of the right to useful and remunerative employment, an adequate program must provide America with close to sixty million productive jobs.

I foresee an expansion of our peacetime productive capacity which will require new facilities, new plants and new equipment -- capable of hiring millions more men.

I propose that the Government do its part in helping private enterprise to finance expansion of our private industrial plant through normal investment channels.

For example, business, large and small, must be encouraged by the Government to expand its plants and to replace their obsolete or worn out equipment with new equipment. And to that end, the rate of depreciation on these new plants and facilities for tax purposes should be accelerated. That means more jobs for the worker, increased profits for the business man, and lower cost to the consumer.

In 1933, when my Administration took office, vast numbers of our industrial workers were unemployed, our plants and businesses were idle, our monetary and banking system was in ruins -- our economic resources were running to waste.

By 1940 -- before Pearl Harbor -- we had increased our employment by ten million workers. We had converted a corporate loss of five and one-half billion dollars in 1932, to a corporate profit (after taxes) of nearly five billion dollars in 1940.

Obviously, to increase jobs after this war, we shall have to increase demand for our industrial and agricultural production not only here at home, but also abroad.

I am sure that every man and woman in this vast gathering here tonight agree with me in my conviction that never again must we in the United States attempt to isolate ourselves from the rest of humanity.

I am confident that, with Congressional approval, the foreign trade of the United States can be trebled after the war -- providing millions of more jobs.

Such cooperative measures provide the soundest economic foundation for a lasting peace. And, after this war, we do not intend to settle for anything less than lasting peace.

When we think of the America of tomorrow, we think of many things.

One of them is American homes -- in our cities, in our villages and on our farms. Millions of our people have never had homes worthy of American standards -- well built homes with electricity and plumbing and air and sunlight.

The demand for homes and our capacity to build them call for a program of well over a million homes a year for at least ten years. Private industry can build and finance the vast majority of these homes. Government can and will assist and encourage private industry to do this, as it

has for many years. For those very low income groups that cannot possibly afford decent homes, the Federal Government should continue to assist local housing authorities in meeting that need.

In the future America, we think of new highways and parkways. We think of thousands of new airports to service the new commercial and private air travel which is bound to come after the war. We think of new airplanes, new cheap automobiles with low maintenance and operation costs. We think of new hospitals and new health clinics. We think of a new merchant marine for our expanded world trade.

Think of all these vast possibilities for industrial expansion -- and you will foresee opportunities for more millions of jobs.

Our Economic Bill of Rights -- like the sacred Bill of Rights of our Constitution itself -- must be applied to all our citizens, irrespective of race, creed or color.

In 1941, I appointed a Fair Employment Practice Committee to prevent discrimination in war industry and Government employment. The work of the Committee and the results obtained more than justify its creation.

I believe that the Congress should by law make the Committee permanent.

America must remain the land of high wages and efficient production. Every full-time job in America must provide enough for a decent living. And that goes for jobs in mines, offices, factories, stores, canneries -- and everywhere where men and women are employed.

During the war we have been compelled to limit wage and salary increases for one great objective -- to prevent runaway inflation. You all know how successfully we have held the line by the way your cost of living has been kept down.

However, at the end of the war, there will be more goods available, and it is only good common sense to see to it that the working man is paid enough, and that the farmers earn enough, to buy these goods and keep our factories running. ^P It is a simple fact that a greatly increased production of food and fibre on the farms can be consumed by the people who work in industry, only if those people who work in industry have enough money to buy food and clothing. If industrial wages go down, farm prices will go down too. ^P After the war, we shall of course remove the control of wages and leave their determination to free collective bargaining between trade unions and employers.

In this war, the American farmer has been called upon to do far and away the biggest food production job in history.

The American farmer has met that challenge triumphantly.

Despite all manner of war time difficulties -- shortage of farm labor and of new farm machinery -- the American farmer has achieved a total of food production which is one of the wonders of the world.

The American farmer is a great producer; and he must have the means to be also a great consumer. For more farm income means more jobs everywhere in the nation.

Let us look back for a moment to 1932. All of us remember the spreading tide of farm foreclosures; we remember four cent hogs, twenty cent wheat, five cent cotton.

I am going to give you some figures of recovery -- and I am sure you will pardon me if I quote them correctly.

In 1932 the American farmers' net income was only two and one-quarter billion dollars.

In 1940 -- a year before we were attacked -- farm income was more than doubled to five and a half billion dollars.

This year -- 1944 -- it will be approximately thirteen and one-half billion dollars.

Certainly the American farmer does not want to go back to a Government owned by the moguls of 1929 -- and let us bear it constantly in mind that those same moguls still control the destinies of the Republican Party.

We must continue this Administration's policy of conserving the enormous gifts with which an abundant Providence has blessed our country -- our soil, our forests, our water.

The work of the Tennessee Valley Authority is closely related to our national farm program, and we look toward the similar developments which I have recommended in the valley of the Missouri -- in the valley of the Arkansas -- and in the Columbia River Basin.

And incidentally -- and as an aside -- I cannot resist the temptation to point to the gigantic contribution to our war effort made by the power generated at TVA and Bonneville and Grand Coulee.

Do you remember when the building of these great public works was ridiculed as New Deal "boondoggling"?

TP And we are now planning developments at Grand Coulee, which will provide irrigation for many thousands of acres -- providing fertile farm land for settlement -- I hope -- by many of our returning soldiers and sailors.

More "boondoggling"!!

This Administration has put into the law of the land the farmers' long dream of parity prices.

And we propose, too, that the Government will cooperate when the weather will not -- by a genuine crop insurance program.

This Administration adopted -- and will continue -- the policy of giving to as many farmers as possible the chance of owning their own farms.

That means something to those veterans who left their farms to fight for their country.

This time they can grow apples on their own farms instead of having to sell apples on street corners.

I believe in free enterprise -- and always have.

I believe in the profit system -- and always have.

I believe that private enterprise can give full employment to our people.

And if anyone feels that my faith in our ability to provide sixty million peacetime jobs is fantastic, let him remember that some people said the same thing about my demand in 1940 for fifty thousand airplanes.

I believe in exceptional rewards for innovation, skill, and risk-taking by business.

We shall lift production and price control as soon as they are no longer needed -- encouraging private business to produce more of the things to which we are accustomed and also thousands of new things, in ever-increasing volume, under conditions of free and open competition.

This Administration has been mindful from its earliest days, and will continue to be mindful, of the problems of small business as well as large.

Small business played a magnificent part in producing thousands of items needed for our armed forces. When the war broke out, it was mobilized into war production. Money was loaned ~~to them~~ for machinery. Over one million prime and subcontracts have been distributed among sixty thousand smaller plants of the nation.

We shall make sure that small business is given every facility to buy government-owned plants, equipment and inventories. The special credit and capital requirements of small business will be met.

And small business will continue to be protected from selfish and cold-blooded monopolies and cartels. Beware of that profound enemy of the free enterprise system who pays lip-service to free competition -- but also labels every anti-trust prosecution as a "persecution".

This war has demonstrated that when the American business man and the American worker and the American farmer work together, they form an unbeatable team.

We know that -- our Allies know that -- and so do our enemies.

That winning team must keep together after the war, and it will win many more historic victories of peace for our country, and for the cause of security and decent standards of living throughout the world.

We owe it to our fighting men and to their families -- we owe it to all of our people who have given so much in this war -- we owe it to our children -- to keep that winning team together.

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For they are the rulers, and they must rule themselves.

I believe in our democratic faith and in the future of our country which has given eternal strength and vitality to that faith.

Here in Chicago you know a lot about that vitality.

And, as I say good-night to you, I say it in a spirit of faith -- a spirit of hope -- a spirit of confidence.

We are not going to turn back the clock!

We are going forward -- and -- with the fighting millions of our fellow countrymen -- we are going forward, together.

orig reading copy

Franklin D. Roosevelt

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Well, they say in effect, just this:

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And they go on to say: "These same quarrelsome tired old men have built the greatest military machine the world has ever known, which is fighting its way to victory; and, if you elect us, we promise not to change any of that, either".

"Therefore", say these Republican orators, "it is time for a change".

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The American people are prepared to meet the problems of peace in the same bold way that they have met the problems of war.

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I believe in exceptional rewards for innovation, skill, and risk-taking by business.

We shall lift production and price control as soon as they are no longer needed -- encouraging private business to produce more of the things to which we are accustomed and also thousands of new things, in ever-increasing volume, under conditions of free and open competition.

This Administration has been mindful from its earliest days, and will continue to be mindful, of the problems of small business as well as large.

Small business played a magnificent part in producing thousands of items needed for our armed forces. When the war broke out, they were mobilized into war production. Money was loaned to them for machinery. Over one million prime and subcontracts have been distributed among sixty thousand smaller plants of the nation.

We shall make sure that small business is given every facility to buy government-owned plants, equipment and inventories. The special credit and capital requirements of small business will be met.

And small business will continue to be protected from selfish and cold-blooded monopolies and cartels. Beware of that profound enemy of the free enterprise system who pays lip-service to free competition -- but also labels every anti-trust prosecution as a "persecution".

This war has demonstrated that when the American business man and the American worker and the American farmer work together, they form an unbeatable team.

We know that -- our Allies know that -- and so do our enemies.

That winning team must keep together after the war, and it will win many more historic victories of peace for our country, and for the cause of security and decent standards of living throughout the world.

We owe it to our fighting men and to their families -- we owe it to all of our people who have given so much in this war -- we owe it to our children -- to keep that winning team together.

The future of America, like its past, must be made by deeds -- not words.

America has always been a land of action -- a land of adventurous pioneering -- a land of growing and building.

America must always be such a land.

The creed of our democracy is that liberty is acquired and kept by men and women who are strong and self-reliant, and possessed of such wisdom as God gives to mankind -- men and women who are just, and understanding, and generous to others -- men and women who are capable of disciplining themselves.

For they are the rulers and they must rule themselves.

I believe in our democratic faith and in the future of our country which has given eternal strength and vitality to that faith.

Here in Chicago you know a lot about that vitality.

And as I say good-night to you, I say it in a spirit of faith -- a spirit of hope -- a spirit of confidence.

We are not going to turn back the clock!

We are going forward -- and -- with the fighting millions of our fellow countrymen -- we are going forward together.

ADDRESS Of The President
At Soldiers Field, Chicago, Illinois
October 28, 1944, at 9.00 p.m., e.w.t.
Radio Broadcast

Mr. Mayor, Senator Lucas, and I think I am not too
previous in saying Governor Courtney, My Friends of Illinois,
and Indiana, and Wisconsin:

The American people are now engaged in the greatest war
of all (in) history -- and we are also engaged in a political
campaign.

We are fighting this war and we are holding this elec-
tion -- both for the same essential reason: because we have
faith in democracy. (applause)

And there is no force and there is no combination of
forces powerful enough to shake that faith.

As you know, I have had some (previous) experience in
war -- and I have also had a certain amount of previous experi-
ence in political campaigning. (applause)

But (--) I must confess (--) to you that this is the
strangest campaign I have ever seen. (laughter and applause)

I have listened to (the) various Republican orators
who are urging the people to throw the present Administration
out and put them in. (boos) And what do they say?

Well, they say in effect, just this:

They say, "Those incompetent blunderers and bunglers
in Washington have passed a lot of excellent laws about social
security and labor and farm relief and soil conservation --

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 made 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.

and many others -- and we promise that if elected we will not (to) change any of them." (laughter and applause)

And they go on to say, "Those (These) same quarrelsome tired old men -- (laughter) -- they have built the greatest military machine the world has ever known, which is fighting its way to victory; (applause) and, they say, if you elect us, we promise not to change any of that, either." (laughter)

"Therefore," say these Republican orators, "it is time for a change." (laughter)

They also say in effect, "Those inefficient and worn-out crack-pots -- (laughter) -- have really begun to lay the foundations of a lasting world peace. If you elect us, we will not change any of that, either." (laughter) "But," they whisper, "we'll do it in such a way that we won't lose the support even of Gerald Nye or Gerald Smith -- (boos) -- and -- and this is very important -- we won't lose the support of any isolationist campaign contributor. Why, we will (even) be able to satisfy even the Chicago Tribune." (loud and prolonged boos)

Tonight -- tonight I want to (shall) talk simply to you about the future of America -- about this land of ours, this land of unlimited opportunity. I shall give the Republican campaign orators some more opportunities to say -- "me too." (laughter)

Today, everything we do is devoted to the most important job before us -- winning the war and bringing our men and women home as quickly as possible. (applause)

We have astonished the whole world and confounded

our enemies with our stupendous war production, with the overwhelming courage and skill of our fighting men -- with the bridge of ships carrying our munitions and men through the seven seas -- with our gigantic fleet which has pounded the enemy all over the Pacific and has just driven through for another (a) touch-down. (applause)

Yes, the American people are prepared to meet the problems of peace in the same bold way that they have met the problems of war.

For the American people are resolved that when our men and women return home from this war, they shall come back to the best possible place on the face of the (this) earth -- (applause) -- they shall come back to a place where all persons, regardless of race, and color, or creed or place of birth, where they can live in peace and honor and human dignity -- free to speak, free to (and) pray as they wish -- (applause) -- free from want -- and free from fear. (loud applause)

Last January, in my message to the Congress on the state of the Union, I outlined an Economic Bill of Rights on which "a new basis of security and prosperity can be established for all." (-- regardless of station, race or creed":)

And I repeat it (them) now:

"The right of a useful and remunerative job in (the) industry (industries), in the (or) shops, on the (or) farms, or the mines of the nation;

"The right to earn enough to provide adequate food and clothing and recreation;

"The right of every farmer to raise and sell his products for (at) a return which will give him and his family a decent living; (applause)

"The right of every business man, large and small, to trade in an atmosphere of freedom from unfair competition, from (and) domination by monopolies at home or abroad;

"The right of every family to a decent home;

"The right to adequate medical care and the opportunity to achieve and enjoy good health;

"The right to adequate protection from the economic fears of old age, (sickness), of accident, of (and) unemployment;

"And last of all, the right to a good education."
(applause)

Now, what do those rights mean? "They (All of these rights) spell security. And after this war is won we must be prepared to move forward, in the implementation of these rights, to new goals of human happiness and well-being."

Some people -- I need not name them -- some people have sneered at these ideals as well as at the ideals of the Atlantic Charter, the ideals of (and) the Four Freedoms. They have said that (-- saying) they were (the) dreams of starry-eyed New Dealers -- that it is silly to talk of them because we cannot attain these ideals tomorrow or the next day.

But I think the American people have greater faith than that. I know that they agree with these (those) objectives -- that they demand them --that they are determined to

get them -- and that they are going to get them. (great applause)

The American people have a good habit -- the habit of going right ahead and accomplishing the impossible.
(applause)

We know that, (And the) and other people know it.
For example, today, there are those that (who) know it (that) best of all (are): the Nazis and the Japs.

Now, this Economic Bill of Rights is the recognition of the simple fact that, in America, the future of the worker, the future of the (and) farmer lies in the well-being of private enterprise; (and) that the future of private enterprise lies in the well-being of the worker and the farmer. It goes both ways. (applause)

And the well-being of the nation as a whole is synonymous with the well-being of each and every one of its citizens.

Now I have the possibly old-fashioned theory that when you have problems to solve, when you have objectives to achieve, you cannot get very far by just talking about them.

We (You) have got to go out -- we have got to go out and do something!

To assure the full realization of the right to a useful and remunerative employment, an adequate program must, and if I have anything to do about it will provide America with close to sixty million productive jobs. (applause)

I foresee an expansion of our peacetime productive capacity that (which) will require new facilities, new

plants, (and) new equipment -- capable of hiring millions of (more) men.

I propose that the Government do its part in helping private enterprise to finance expansion of our private industrial plant through normal investment channels.

For example, business, large and small, must be encouraged by the Government to expand its (their) plants, (and) to replace their obsolete or worn out equipment with new equipment. And -- just as an aside, but pretty important -- (to that end) the rate of depreciation on these new plants and facilities for tax purposes should be accelerated. That means more jobs -- jobs for the worker, increased profits for the business man, and a lower cost to the consumer.

In 1933, when my Administration took office, vast numbers of our industrial workers were unemployed, our plants and our businesses were idle, our monetary and banking system was in ruins, as we know -- our economic resources were running to waste.

But by 1940 -- before Pearl Harbor -- we had increased our employment by ten million workers. (applause) We had converted a corporate loss of five and one-half billion dollars in 1932, to a corporate profit ((after taxes)) of nearly five billion dollars in the black in 1940.

Obviously, to increase jobs after this war, we shall have to (increase) demand -- we will take care of an increased demand for our industrial and agricultural production not only here at home, but (also) abroad also.

I am sure that every man and woman in this vast gathering here tonight will agree with me in my conviction that never again must we in the United States attempt to isolate ourselves from the rest of humanity. (applause)

Yes, I am convinced (confident) that, with Congressional approval, the foreign trade of the United States can be trebled after the war -- providing millions of more jobs.

Such cooperative measures provide the soundest economic foundation for a lasting peace. And that is what we want. And, after this war, we do not intend to settle for anything less than a lasting peace. (applause)

When we think of the America of tomorrow, we think of many things.

One of them is the American home(s) -- in our cities, in our villages, (and) on our farms. Millions of our people have never had homes worthy of American standards -- well built homes, with electricity and plumbing, (and) air and sunlight.

The demand for homes and our capacity to build them call for a program of well over a million homes a year for at least ten years. Private industry -- private industry can build and finance the vast majority of these homes. Government can and will assist and encourage private industry to do this, as it has for many years. For those very low income groups that cannot possibly afford decent homes at this time, the Federal Government should and will continue to assist local housing authorities in meeting that need.

In the future America that we are talking about,

we think of new highways, (and) new parkways. We think of thousands of new airports to service the new commercial and private air travel which is bound to come after the war. We think of new (air)planes, large and small, new cheap automobiles with low maintenance and operation costs. We think of new hospitals and new health clinics. We think of a new merchant marine for our expanded world trade.

My friends, think of (all) these vast opportunities, these vast possibilities for industrial expansion -- and you will foresee opportunities for more millions of jobs. (applause)

And with all that, our Economic Bill of Rights -- like the sacred Bill of Rights of our Constitution itself -- must be applied to all our citizens, irrespective of race, or creed or color. (applause)

Three years ago, back in 1941, I appointed a Fair Employment Practice Committee to prevent discrimination in war industry and Government employment. The work of that (the) Committee and the results obtained more than justify its creation.

I believe that the Congress of the United States should by law make the Committee permanent. (applause)

Yes, America must remain the land of high wages and efficient production. Every full-time job in America must provide enough for a decent living. And that goes for jobs in mines, or offices or factories, stores and canneries -- (and) everywhere where men and women are employed.

During the war we have been compelled to limit

wage and salary increases for one great objective -- to prevent runaway inflation. You all know how successfully we have held the line by the way your cost of living has been kept down for the necessities of life. (applause) Sometimes, as even I know, that doesn't apply to the luxuries of life.

However, at the end of the war there will be more goods available, and it's (it is) only (good) common sense to see to it that the working man is paid enough, and that the farmers earn enough, to buy these goods and keep our factories running. (applause) And it is a simple fact, likewise, that a greatly increased production of food and fibre on the farms can be consumed by the people who work in industry only if those people who work in industry have enough money to buy food and clothing. (applause) If industrial wages go down, I can assure you that farm prices will go down too. (applause) After the war, we shall of course remove the control of wages and leave their determination to free collective bargaining between trade unions and employers. (great applause)

And we of the cities, in this war, must remember the American farmer has been called upon to do far and away the biggest (food) production job -- food production job in all its history.

The American farmer has met that challenge triumphantly.

Despite all manner of war time difficulties -- shortage of farm labor, (and of) new farm machinery -- the American farmer has achieved a total of food production which is one

of the great wonders of the world.

The American farmer is a great producer; and he must have the means also to be (also) a great consumer. For more farm income means more jobs everywhere in the nation.
(applause)

Let us look back -- let us look back for a moment to 1932, a year of unhappy memories. All of us remember the spreading tide of farm foreclosures; we remember four cent hogs, and twenty cent wheat, and five cent cotton.

I am going to give you, very simply, some figures of recovery -- quite awhile ago -- and I am sure you will pardon me if I quote them correctly. (laughter and applause) For as I remarked at Fort Wayne this afternoon, it is my habit to quote figures correctly, even when I was Governor of the State of New York, many years ago.

In those days of 1932, the American farmers' net income was only two and a (one) quarter billion dollars.

In 1940 -- a year before we were attacked -- farm income in the United States was more than doubled. It was up to five and a half billion dollars.

And this year -- in 1944 -- it will be approximately thirteen and one-half billion dollars. (applause)

I take it that (Certainly) the American farmer does not want to go back to a Government owned by the moguls of 1929 -- (cries of "No") -- and let us bear it constantly in mind that those same moguls still control the destinies of the Republican party. (boos, laughter and applause)

Yes, we must continue this Administration's policy of conserving the enormous gifts with which an abundant Providence has blessed our country -- our soil, our forests, and our water.

For example, the work of the Tennessee Valley Authority that we have read about is closely related to our national farm policy -- our farm program, and we look forward toward (the) similar developments which I have recommended in other places -- the valley of the Missouri, (--in) the valley of the Arkansas, (-- and (in) the Columbia River Basin out on the far coast.

And incidentally -- and as an aside -- I cannot resist the temptation to point to the gigantic contribution to our war effort made by the power generated at TVA and Bonneville and Grand Coulee.

But, do you remember when the building of these great public works was ridiculed as New Deal "boondoggling"? And we are (now) planning -- almost ready to put into effect -- developments at Grand Coulee, which will provide irrigation for many thousands -- tens of thousands of acres -- providing fertile (farm) land for settlement -- settlement I hope (-- by many of our returning soldiers and sailors.

More "boondoggling"! (applause)

And this Administration has put into the law of the land the farmers' long dream of parity prices.

(And) We propose, too, that the Government will cooperate when the weather will not -- by a genuine crop insurance

program.

This Administration has adopted -- and will continue -- the policy of giving to as many farmers as possible the chance of owning their own farms.

And that means something to those veterans who left their farms to fight for their country. (applause)

And after this war has ended, then will come the time when the returning servicemen (This time they) can grow their own apples on their own farms instead of having to sell apples on the street corners. (great applause)

I believe in free enterprise -- and always have.

I believe in the profit system -- and always have.

I believe that private enterprise can give full employment to our people.

(And) If anyone feels that my faith in our ability to provide sixty million peacetime jobs is fantastic, let him remember that some people said the same thing about my demand in 1940 for fifty thousand airplanes. (applause)

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This Administration has been mindful from its earliest days, and will continue to be mindful, of the problems

of small business as well as large.

Why, small business played a magnificent part in producing thousands of items needed for our armed forces. When the war broke out -- when the war broke out it was mobilized into war production. Money was loaned (to them) for machinery. Over one million contracts (prime) and subcontracts have been distributed among sixty thousand of the smaller plants of our (the) nation.

We shall make sure that small business is given every facility to buy government-owned plants, equipment, (and) inventories. The special credit and capital requirements of small business are going to (will) be met.

And small business will continue to be protected from something: selfish, (and) cold-blooded monopolies and cartels. Beware -- beware of that profound enemy of the free enterprise system who pays lip-service to free competition -- but also labels every anti-trust prosecution as a "persecution." You know, it depends a good deal on whose baby has the measles. (laughter)

This war has demonstrated that when the American business man and the American worker and the American farmer work together, they form an unbeatable team. (applause)

We know that -- you and I -- our Allies know that -- and so do our enemies.

That winning team must keep together after the war, and it will win many more historic victories of peace, peace for our country, a victory (and) for the cause of security,

for (and) decent standards of living here and throughout the world.

We owe it to our fighting men, we owe it (and) to their families -- we owe it to all of our people who have given so much in this war -- we owe it to our children -- to keep that winning team together. (applause)

And -- as I remarked -- the future of America, like its past, must be made by deeds -- not words.

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For they are the rulers, and they must rule themselves.

I believe in our democratic faith. (and) I believe in the future of our country which has given eternal strength and vitality to that faith.

Here in Chicago you know a lot about that vitality.

And as I say good-night to you, I say it in a spirit of faith -- a spirit of hope -- a spirit of confidence.

We are not going to turn(back) the clock back!
(great applause)

We are going forward, my friends -- (and --) forward
with the fighting millions of our fellow countrymen. (--) We
are going forward (together).

And that, tonight, is my message to you. Let us go
forward together.

(great and prolonged applause)

ADDRESS OF The President
At Soldiers Field, Chicago, Illinois
October 28, 1944, at 9.00 P.M., C.W.T.
Radio Broadcast

Mr. Mayor, Senator Lucas, and I think I am not too
previous in saying Governor Courtney, My Friends of Illinois,
and Indiana, and Wisconsin:

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of all (in) history -- and we are also engaged in a political
campaign.

We are fighting this war and we are holding this elec-
tion -- both for the same essential reason: because we have
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And there is no force and there is no combination of
forces powerful enough to shake that faith.

As you know, I have had some (previous) experience in
war -- and I have also had a certain amount of previous experi-
ence in political campaigning. (applause)

But (--) I must confess (--) to you that this is the
strangest campaign I have ever seen. (laughter and applause)

I have listened to (the) various Republican orators
who are urging the people to throw the present Administration
out and put them in. (boos) And what do they say?

Well, they say in effect, just this:

They say, "These incompetent blunderers and bunglers
in Washington have passed a lot of excellent laws about social
security and labor and farm relief and soil conservation --

and many others -- and we promise that if elected we will not (to) change any of them." (laughter and applause)

And they go on to say, "Those (These) same quarrelsome tired old men -- (laughter) -- they have built the greatest military machine the world has ever known, which is fighting its way to victory; (applause) and, they say, if you elect us, we promise not to change any of that, either." (laughter)

"Therefore," say these Republican orators, "it is time for a change." (laughter)

They also say in effect, "Those inefficient and worn-out crack-pots -- (laughter) -- have really begun to lay the foundations of a lasting world peace. If you elect us, we will not change any of that, either." (laughter) "But," they whisper, "we'll do it in such a way that we won't lose the support even of Gerald Rye or Gerald Smith -- (boos) -- and -- and this is very important -- we won't lose the support of any isolationist campaign contributor. Why, we will (even) be able to satisfy even the Chicago Tribune." (loud and prolonged boos)

Tonight -- tonight I want to (shall) talk simply to you about the future of America -- about this land of ours, this land of unlimited opportunity. I shall give the Republican campaign orators some more opportunities to say -- "me too." (laughter)

Today, everything we do is devoted to the most important job before us -- winning the war and bringing our men and women home as quickly as possible. (applause)

We have astonished the whole world and confounded

our enemies with our stupendous war production, with the overwhelming courage and skill of our fighting men -- with the bridge of ships carrying our munitions and men through the seven seas -- with our gigantic fleet which has pounded the enemy all over the Pacific and has just driven through for another (a) touch-down. (applause)

Yes, the American people are prepared to meet the problems of peace in the same bold way that they have met the problems of war.

For the American people are resolved that when our men and women return home from this war, they shall come back to the best possible place on the face of the (this) earth -- (applause) -- they shall come back to a place where all persons, regardless of race, and color, or creed or place of birth, where they can live in peace and honor and human dignity -- free to speak, free to (and) pray as they wish -- (applause) -- free from want -- and free from fear. (loud applause)

Last January, in my message to the Congress on the state of the Union, I outlined an Economic Bill of Rights on which "a new basis of security and prosperity can be established for all." (-- regardless of station, race or creed":)

And I repeat it (them) now:

"The right of a useful and remunerative job in (the) industry (industries), in the (or) shops, on the (or) farms, or the mines of the nation;

"The right to earn enough to provide adequate food and clothing and recreation;

"The right of every farmer to raise and sell his products for (at) a return which will give him and his family a decent living; (applause)

"The right of every business man, large and small, to trade in an atmosphere of freedom from unfair competition, from (and) domination by monopolies at home or abroad;

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"And last of all, the right to a good education."
(applause)

Now, what do those rights mean? "They (All of these rights) spell security. And after this war is won we must be prepared to move forward, in the implementation of these rights, to new goals of human happiness and well-being."

Some people -- I need not name them -- some people have sneered at these ideals as well as at the ideals of the Atlantic Charter, the ideals of (and) the Four Freedoms. They have said that -- saying) they were (the) dreams of starry-eyed New Dealers -- that it is silly to talk of them because we cannot attain these ideals tomorrow or the next day.

But I think the American people have greater faith than that. I know that they agree with these (those) objectives -- that they demand them --that they are determined to

get them -- and that they are going to get them. (great applause)

The American people have a good habit -- the habit of going right ahead and accomplishing the impossible. (applause)

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For example, today, there are those that (who) know it (that) best of all (are): the Nazis and the Japs.

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And the well-being of the nation as a whole is synonymous with the well-being of each and every one of its citizens.

Now I have the possibly old-fashioned theory that when you have problems to solve, when you have objectives to achieve, you cannot get very far by just talking about them.

We (You) have got to go out -- we have got to go out and do something!

To assure the full realization of the right to a useful and remunerative employment, an adequate program must, and if I have anything to do about it will provide America with close to sixty million productive jobs. (applause)

I foresee an expansion of our peacetime productive capacity that (which) will require new facilities, new

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One of them is the American homes -- in our cities, in our villages, (and) on our farms. Millions of our people have never had homes worthy of American standards -- well built homes, with electricity and plumbing, (and) air and sunlight.

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In the future America that we are talking about,

we think of new highways, (and) new parkways. We think of thousands of new airports to service the new commercial and private air travel which is bound to come after the war. We think of new (air)planes, large and small, new cheap automobiles with low maintenance and operation costs. We think of new hospitals and new health clinics. We think of a new merchant marine for our expanded world trade.

My friends, think of (all) these vast opportunities, these vast possibilities for industrial expansion -- and you will foresee opportunities for more millions of jobs. (applause)

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During the war we have been compelled to limit

wage and salary increases for one great objective -- to prevent runaway inflation. You all know how successfully we have held the line by the way your cost of living has been kept down for the necessities of life. (applause) Sometimes, as even I know, that doesn't apply to the luxuries of life.

However, at the end of the war there will be more goods available, and it's (it is) only (good) common sense to see to it that the working man is paid enough, and that the farmers earn enough, to buy these goods and keep our factories running. (applause) And it is a simple fact, likewise, that a greatly increased production of food and fibre on the farms can be consumed by the people who work in industry only if those people who work in industry have enough money to buy food and clothing. (applause) If industrial wages go down, I can assure you that farm prices will go down too. (applause) After the war, we shall of course remove the control of wages and leave their determination to free collective bargaining between trade unions and employers. (great applause)

And we of the cities, in this war, must remember the American farmer has been called upon to do far and away the biggest (food) production job -- food production job in all its history.

The American farmer has met that challenge triumphantly.

Despite all manner of war time difficulties -- shortage of farm labor, (and of) new farm machinery -- the American farmer has achieved a total of food production which is one

of the great wonders of the world.

The American farmer is a great producer; and he must have the means also to be (also) a great consumer. For more farm income means more jobs everywhere in the nation.
(applause)

Let us look back -- let us look back for a moment to 1932, a year of unhappy memories. All of us remember the spreading tide of farm foreclosures; we remember four cent hogs, and twenty cent wheat, and five cent cotton.

I am going to give you, very simply, some figures of recovery -- quite awhile ago -- and I am sure you will pardon me if I quote them correctly. (laughter and applause) For as I remarked at Fort Wayne this afternoon, it is my habit to quote figures correctly, even when I was Governor of the State of New York, many years ago.

In those days of 1932, the American farmers' net income was only two and a (one) quarter billion dollars.

In 1940 -- a year before we were attacked -- farm income in the United States was more than doubled. It was up to five and a half billion dollars.

And this year -- in 1944 -- it will be approximately thirteen and one-half billion dollars. (applause)

I take it that (Certainly) the American farmer does not want to go back to a Government owned by the moguls of 1929 -- (cries of "No") -- and let us bear it constantly in mind that those same moguls still control the destinies of the Republican party. (boos, laughter and applause)

Yes, we must continue this Administration's policy of conserving the enormous gifts with which an abundant Providence has blessed our country -- our soil, our forests, and our water.

For example, the work of the Tennessee Valley Authority that we have read about is closely related to our national farm policy -- our farm program, and we look forward toward (the) similar developments which I have recommended in other places -- the valley of the Missouri, (--in) the valley of the Arkansas, (-- and (in) the Columbia River Basin out on the far coast.

And incidentally -- and as an aside -- I cannot resist the temptation to point to the gigantic contribution to our war effort made by the power generated at TVA and Bonneville and Grand Coulee.

But, do you remember when the building of these great public works was ridiculed as New Deal "boondoggling"? And we are (now) planning -- almost ready to put into effect -- developments at Grand Coulee, which will provide irrigation for many thousands -- tens of thousands of acres -- providing fertile (farm) land for settlement -- settlement I hope (--) by many of our returning soldiers and sailors.

More "boondoggling"! (applause)

And this Administration has put into the law of the land the farmers' long dream of parity prices.

(And) We propose, too, that the Government will cooperate when the weather will not -- by a genuine crop insurance

program.

This Administration has adopted -- and will continue -- the policy of giving to as many farmers as possible the chance of owning their own farms.

And that means something to those veterans who left their farms to fight for their country. (applause)

And after this war has ended, then will come the time when the returning servicemen (This time they) can grow their own apples on their own farms instead of having to sell apples on the street corners. (great applause)

I believe in free enterprise -- and always have.

I believe in the profit system -- and always have.

I believe that private enterprise can give full employment to our people.

(And) If anyone feels that my faith in our ability to provide sixty million peacetime jobs is fantastic, let him remember that some people said the same thing about my demand in 1940 for fifty thousand airplanes. (applause)

I believe in exceptional rewards for innovation, skill, and risktaking by business.

We shall lift production and price control as soon as they are no longer needed -- encouraging private business to produce more of the things to which we are accustomed and also thousands of new things, in ever-increasing volume, under conditions of free and open competition.

This Administration has been mindful from its earliest days, and will continue to be mindful, of the problems

of small business as well as large.

Why, small business played a magnificent part in producing thousands of items needed for our armed forces. When the war broke out -- when the war broke out it was mobilized into war production. Money was loaned (to them) for machinery. Over one million contracts (prime) and subcontracts have been distributed among sixty thousand of the smaller plants of our (the) nation.

We shall make sure that small business is given every facility to buy government-owned plants, equipment, (and) inventories. The special credit and capital requirements of small business are going to (will) be met.

And small business will continue to be protected from something: selfish, (and) cold-blooded monopolies and cartels. Beware -- beware of that profound enemy of the free enterprise system who pays lip-service to free competition -- but also labels every anti-trust prosecution as a "persecution." You know, it depends a good deal on whose baby has the monies. (laughter)

This war has demonstrated that when the American business men and the American worker and the American farmer work together, they form an unbeatable team. (applause)

We know that -- you and I -- our Allies know that -- and so do our enemies.

That winning team must keep together after the war, and it will win many more historic victories of peace, peace for our country, a victory (and) for the cause of security,

for (and) decent standards of living here and throughout the world.

We owe it to our fighting men, we owe it (and) to their families -- we owe it to all of our people who have given so much in this war -- we owe it to our children -- to keep that winning team together. (applause)

And -- as I remarked -- the future of America, like its past, must be made by deeds -- not words.

America has always been a land of action -- a land of adventurous pioneering -- a land of growing and building.

And America must always be such a land. (applause)

The creed -- the creed of our democracy is that liberty is acquired, (and) liberty is kept by men and women who are strong, (and) self-reliant, and possessed of such wisdom as God gives to mankind -- men and women who are just, men and women who are (and) understanding, and generous to others -- men and women who are capable of disciplining themselves.

For they are the rulers, and they must rule themselves.

I believe in our democratic faith, (and) I believe in the future of our country which has given eternal strength and vitality to that faith.

Here in Chicago you know a lot about that vitality.

And as I say good-night to you, I say it in a spirit of faith -- a spirit of hope -- a spirit of confidence.

We are not going to turn(back) the clock back!
(great applause)

We are going forward, my friends -- (and --) forward
with the fighting millions of our fellow countrymen. (--) We
are going forward (together).

And that, tonight, is my message to you. Let us go
forward together.

(great and prolonged applause)

STATEMENTS FILE

CONFIDENTIAL
HOLD FOR RELEASE

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OCTOBER 28, 1944

CAUTION: The following address of the President, prepared for delivery in Soldiers Field, Chicago, on the evening of October 28, 1944, is released for all regular editions of SUNDAY MORNING (OCTOBER 29, 1944) NEWSPAPERS.

RELEASE FOR RADIO is simultaneous with delivery of the address by the President, NOT EARLIER THAN 9:00 P.M., Eastern War Time, (8:00 P.M., Central Time) Saturday, October 28, 1944.

CARE MUST BE EXERCISED TO PREVENT PREMATURE PUBLICATION.

STEPHEN EARLY
Secretary to the President

in saying Governor LeMay, Mr. Ryan, Senator Duane and I think I am the only person
my friends of Illinois, and Indiana, and Wisconsin:

The American people are now engaged in the greatest war of all in history — and we are also engaged in a political campaign.

We are fighting this war and we are holding this election — both for the same essential reason: because we have faith in democracy. *(applause)*

And there is no force and there is no combination of forces powerful enough to shake that faith.

As you know, I have had some previous experience in war — and I have also had a certain amount of previous experience in political campaigning. *(applause)*

to you that
But ~~I~~ must confess ~~this~~ this is the strangest campaign I have ever seen. *(laughter and applause)*

I have listened to the various Republican orators who are urging the people to throw the present Administration out and put them in. *(Boos)*
And what do they say?

Well, they say in effect, just this:

Blunders and
They say, "Those incompetent bunglers in Washington have passed a lot of excellent laws about social security and labor and farm relief and soil conservation — and many others — and we promise if elected not to change any of them." *(laughter and applause)* *that I will*

And they go on to say: "These same quarrelsome tired old men — *(laughter)* have built the greatest military machine the world has ever known, which is fighting its way to victory; and, if you elect us, we promise not to change any of that, either." *(laughter and applause)*

"Therefore", say these Republican orators, "it is time for a change". *(laughter)*

(laughter)
They also say in effect: "These inefficient and wornout crank-pots have really begun to lay the foundations of a lasting world peace. If you elect us, we will not change any of that either." *(laughter)* "But", they whisper, "we'll do it in such a way that we won't lose the support even of Gerald Rye or Gerald Smith — and — and this is very important — we won't lose the support of any isolationist campaign contributor. We will even be able to satisfy the Chicago Tribune". *(loud prolonged boos)* *Right,*

— tonight I want to to you
Tonight, I shall talk simply about the future of America — about this land of unlimited opportunity. I shall give the Republican campaign orators some more opportunities to say — "me too". *(laughter)*

Today, everything we do is devoted to the most important job before us — winning the war and bringing our men and women home as quickly as possible. *(applause)*

ours, this land of

-2-
while

another

We have astonished the world and confounded our enemies with our stupendous war production, with the overwhelming courage and skill of our fighting men -- with the bridge of ships carrying our munitions and men through the seven seas -- with our gigantic fleet which has pounded the enemy all over the Pacific and has just driven through for a touch-down. (applause)

Yes, the American people are prepared to meet the problems of peace in the same bold way that they have met the problems of war.

For the American people are resolved that when our men and women return home from this war, they shall come back to the best possible place on the face of the earth -- to a place where all persons, regardless of race, color, creed or place of birth, can live in peace, honor and human dignity -- free to speak, and pray as they wish, free from want -- and free from fear. (applause) free to (applause)

Last January, in my message to the Congress on the state of the Union, I outlined an Economic Bill of Rights on which "a new basis of security and prosperity can be established for all, -- regardless of station, race or creed":

And I repeat them now:

"The right of a useful and remunerative job in the industries, or shops or farms or mines of the nation;

The right to earn enough to provide adequate food and clothing and recreation;

"The right of every farmer to raise and sell his products for a return which will give him and his family a decent living; (applause)

"The right of every business man, large and small, to trade in an atmosphere of freedom from unfair competition and domination by monopolies at home or abroad;

"The right of every family to a decent home;

"The right to adequate medical care and the opportunity to achieve and enjoy good health;

"The right to adequate protection from the economic fears of old age, sickness, accident, and unemployment;

And last, but not least, the right to a good education." (applause) They have said that

Now, what do these rights mean? They spell security. All of these rights spell security. And after this war is won we must be prepared to move forward, in the implementation of these rights, to new goals of human happiness and well-being.

-- I need not name them -- some people

Some people have sneered at these ideals as well as the ideals of the Atlantic Charter, and the Four Freedoms, saying they were the dreams of starry-eyed New Dealers -- that it is silly to talk of them because we cannot attain these ideals tomorrow or the next day.

But I think the American people have greater faith than that. I know that they agree with these objectives -- that they demand them -- that they are determined to get them -- and that they are going to get them. (great applause)

The American people have a habit of going right ahead and accomplishing the impossible. (applause)

While I know that, and other know too, tomorrow, the people today who know that best are the Nazis and the Japs.

Now, this Economic Bill of Rights is the recognition of the simple fact that, in America, the future of the worker, and farmer lies in the well-being of private enterprise; and that the future of private enterprise lies in the well-being of the worker and farmer. At that point. (applause)

And the well-being of the nation as a whole is synonymous with the well-being of each and every one of its citizens.

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Now I have the possibly old-fashioned theory that when you have problems to solve, objectives to achieve, you cannot get very far just talking about them.

we -- we have got to go out
You have got to go out and do something!

To assure the full realization of the right to a useful and remunerative employment, an adequate program must provide America with close to sixty million productive jobs. (applause)

that I foresee an expansion of our peacetime productive capacity which will require new facilities, new plants, ~~and~~ new equipment -- capable of hiring millions ~~more~~ men.

I propose that the Government do its part in helping private enterprise to finance expansion of our private industrial plant through normal investment channels.

For example, ^{its jobs} business, large and small, must be encouraged by the Government to expand ~~their~~ plants, ^{just as an aside, but pretty important --} to replace their obsolete or worn out equipment with new equipment. And ~~to that end~~, the rate of depreciation on these new plants and facilities for tax purposes should be accelerated. That means more jobs for the worker, increased profits for the business men, and ~~lower~~ cost to the consumer.

In 1933, when my Administration took office, vast numbers of our industrial workers were unemployed, our plants and businesses were idle, our monetary and banking system in ruins -- our economic resources were running to waste.

But by 1940 -- before Pearl Harbor -- we had increased our employment by ten million workers. (We had converted a corporate loss of five and one-half billion dollars in 1932, to a corporate profit (after taxes) of nearly five billion dollars in 1940.)

Obviously, ^{as we know} to increase jobs after this war, we shall have to ^{we will take care of an increased demand} increase demand for our industrial and agricultural production not only here at home, but ~~also~~ abroad ~~also~~.

will I am sure that every man and woman in this vast gathering here tonight agree with me in my conviction that never again must we in the United States attempt to isolate ourselves from the rest of humanity. (applause)

Yes, I am ^{convinced} confident that, with Congressional approval, the foreign trade of the United States can be trebled after the war -- providing millions of more jobs.

And that is what we want.

Such cooperative measures provide the soundest economic foundation for a lasting peace. And, after this war, we do not intend to settle for anything less than lasting peace. (applause)

When we think of the America of tomorrow, we think of many things.

One of them is ^{the} American home -- in our cities, in our villages, ~~and~~ on our farms. Millions of our people have never had homes worthy of American standards -- well built homes, with electricity and plumbing, ~~and~~ air and sunlight.

^{-- private industry} The demand for homes and our capacity to build them call for a program of well over a million homes a year for at least ten years. Private industry can build and finance the vast majority of these homes. Government can and will assist and encourage private industry to do this, as it has for many years. For those very low income groups that cannot possibly afford decent homes, the Federal Government should continue to assist local housing authorities in meeting that need.

^{for this time} In the future America ^{hand with} we think of new highways, ^{new} ~~and~~ parkways. We think of thousands of new airports to service the new commercial and private air travel which is bound to come after the war. We think of new ~~airplanes~~, ^{larger ones} new cheap automobiles with low maintenance and operation costs. We think of new hospitals and new health clinics. We think of a new merchant marine for our expanded world trade.

that we are talking about,

My friends, think of ~~the~~ these vast opportunities ~~these vast possibilities~~ for industrial expansion -- and you will foresee opportunities for more millions of jobs. *applause*

And with all that, our Economic Bill of Rights -- like the sacred Bill of Rights of our Constitution itself -- must be applied to all our citizens, irrespective of race, ^{of the United States} creed or color. *applause*

P There you go, back in 1941, I appointed a Fair Employment Practice Committee to prevent discrimination in war industry and Government employment. The work of the Committee and the results obtained more than justify its creation.

I believe that the Congress ^{of the United States} should by law make the Committee permanent. *applause*

Yes, America must remain the land of high wages and efficient production. Every full-time job in America must provide enough for a decent living. And that goes for jobs in mines, ^{factories,} offices, ^{stores,} and canneries -- ~~the~~ everywhere where men and women are employed.

During the war we have been compelled to limit wage and salary increases for one great objective -- to prevent runaway inflation. You all know how successfully we have held the line by the way your cost of living has been kept down ^{for the necessities of life.} *applause*

However, at the end of the war there will be more goods available, and ~~it is~~ only ~~the~~ common sense to see to it that the working man is paid enough, and that the farmers earn enough, to buy these goods and keep our factories running. ^{it is a simple fact,} that a greatly increased production of food and fibre on the farms can be consumed by the people who work in industry only if those people who work in industry have enough money to buy food and clothing. ^{if industrial wages go down,} farm prices will go down too. After the war, we shall of course remove the control of wages and leave their determination to free collective bargaining between trade unions and employers. *applause*

Remind me of the story In this war, the American farmer has been called upon to do far and away the biggest ^{food production job} production job in history. *I can assure you that*

The American farmer has met that challenge triumphantly.

Despite all manner of war time ^{great} difficulties -- shortage of farm labor, ~~and~~ new farm machinery -- the American farmer has achieved a total of food production which is one of the ~~wonders~~ wonders of the world.

also The American farmer is a great producer; and he must have the means to be ~~a~~ a great consumer. For more farm income means more jobs everywhere in the nation. *applause*

Let us look back for a moment to 1933. All of us remember the spreading tide of farm foreclosures; we remember four cent hogs, ^{and} twenty cent wheat, ^{and} five cent cotton. *very simply* -- quite awhile ago --

I am going to give you some figures of recovery -- and I am sure you will pardon me if I quote them correctly. *laughter and applause*

these days In 1932, the American farmers' net income was only two and ~~one~~ a quarter billion dollars.

it was up In 1940 -- a year before we were attacked -- farm income ^{in the U.S.} was more than doubled to five and a half billion dollars.

And this year -- ⁱⁿ 1944 -- it will be approximately thirteen and one-half billion dollars. *applause*

I take it that ~~certainly~~ the American farmer does not want to go back to a Government owned by the moguls of 1929 -- and let us bear it constantly in mind that those same moguls still control the destinies of the Republican Party. *laughter and applause*

Yes We must continue this Administration's policy of conserving the enormous gifts with which an abundant Providence has blessed our country -- our soil, our forests, ^{our} water.

Yes I reached at Fort Wayne this afternoon, it is my habit to quote figures correctly, whenever I was Governor of the State of New York, many years ago.

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And incidentally -- and as an aside -- I cannot resist the temptation to point to the gigantic contribution to our war effort made by the power generated at TVA and Bonneville and Grand Coulee.

But, do you remember when the building of these great public works was ridiculed as New Deal "boondoggling"? And we are ~~not~~ planning -- almost ready -- to put into effect
developments at Grand Coulee, which will provide irrigation for many thousands of acres -- providing fertile ~~some~~ land for settlement -- I hope ~~x~~ settlement
by many of our returning soldiers and sailors.

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More "boondoggling"! (applause)

And this Administration has put into the law of the land the farmers' long dream of parity prices.

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This Administration ~~has~~ adopted -- and will continue -- the policy of giving to as many farmers as possible the chance of owning their own farms.

And ~~x~~ that means something to those veterans who left their farms to fight for their country. (applause)

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(X) ~~At this time they~~ can grow apples on their own farms instead of having to sell apples on street corners. (great applause)

I believe in free enterprise -- and always have.

I believe in the profit system -- and always have.

I believe that private enterprise can give full employment to our people.

~~and if~~ If anyone feels that my faith in our ability to provide sixty million peacetime jobs is fantastic, let him remember that some people said the same thing about my demand in 1940 for fifty thousand airplanes. (applause)

I believe in exceptional rewards for innovation, skill, and risk-taking by business.

We shall lift production and price control as soon as they are no longer needed -- encouraging private business to produce more of the things to which we are accustomed and also thousands of new things, in ever-increasing volume, under conditions of free and open competition.

This Administration has been mindful from its earliest days, and will continue to be mindful, of the problems of small business as well as large.

-- when the war broke out
When small business played a magnificent part in producing thousands of items needed for our armed forces. When the war broke out, it was mobilized into war production. Money was loaned ~~to them~~ for machinery. Over one million ~~small~~ and subcontracts have been distributed among sixty thousand smaller plants of the nation.

Note
We shall make sure that small business is given every facility to buy government-owned plants, equipment, ~~and~~ inventories. The special credit and capital requirements of small business ~~will~~ be met.

(X) And after this war has ended, there will come the time when the returning servicemen are going to

(X) You know, it depends a good deal on where baby has the measles. (laughter)

- 6 -

-- beware

And small business will continue to be protected from ~~something~~ -- selfish, cold-blooded monopolies and cartels. Beware of that profound enemy of the free enterprise system who pays lip-service to free competition -- but also labels every anti-trust prosecution as a "persecution". (X)

This war has demonstrated that when the American business man and the American worker and the American farmer work together, they form an unbeatable team. *applause*

We know that ~~you and I~~ -- *you and I* -- our Allies know that -- and so do our enemies.

That winning team must keep together after the war, ~~and it will~~ *place a victory* win many more historic victories of peace for our country, ~~and~~ for the cause of security, ~~and~~ decent standards of living throughout the world.

We owe it to our fighting men, ~~and~~ *for women* to their families -- we owe it to all of our people who have given so much in this war -- we owe it to our children -- to keep that winning team together. (*applause*)

P And, as I remarked,

The future of America, like its past, must be made by deeds -- not words.

America has always been a land of action -- a land of adventurous pioneering -- a land of growing and building.

And America must always be such a land. (*applause*)

The creed of our democracy is that liberty is acquired, ~~and~~ *the creed* liberty is kept by men and women who are strong, self-reliant, and possessed of such wisdom as God gives to mankind -- men and women who are just, ~~and~~ *liberty is* understanding, and generous to others -- men and women who are capable of disciplining themselves.

For they are the rulers, and they must rule themselves.

I believe in our democratic faith, ~~and~~ *I believe* in the future of our country which has given eternal strength and vitality to that faith.

Here in Chicago you know a lot about that vitality.

And as I say good-night to you, I say it in a spirit of faith -- a spirit of hope -- a spirit of confidence.

We are not going to turn back the clock ~~back~~! (*great applause*)

We are going forward, ~~and~~ *we are* with the fighting millions of our fellow countrymen. (~~we are going forward together.~~)

my friends -- forward

We are going forward

And this, tonight, is my message to you. Let ^{us} go forward together.

(*great & prolonged applause*)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
SPEECH OF THE PRESIDENT

W. L. Young
SOLSKER FIELD

STATEMENTS FILE

OCTOBER 23, 1944
W. L. Young

The American people are now engaged in the greatest war in history -- and we are also engaged in a political campaign.

We are fighting this war and we are holding this election -- both for the same essential reason: because we have faith in democracy. *En*

And there is no force and there is no combination of forces powerful enough to shake that faith.

As you know, I have had some previous experience in war -- and I have also had a certain amount of previous experience in political campaigning. *En*

But ~~~~~ I must confess ~~~~~ this is the strangest campaign I have ever seen.

I have listened to the various Republican orators who are urging the people to throw the present Administration out and put them in. And what do they say?

Well, they say in effect, just this:

"Those incompetent bunglers in Washington have passed a lot of excellent laws about social security and labor and farm relief and soil conservation -- and many others -- and we promise if elected not to change any of them."

And they go on to say: "Those same quarrelsome tired old men have built the greatest military machine the world has ever known, which is fighting its way to victory; and,

if you elect us, we promise not to change any of that, either."

"Therefore", say these Republican orators, "it is time for a change."

They also say in effect: "Those inefficient and wormout ^{check} crank-pots have really begun to lay the foundations of a lasting world peace. If you elect us, we will not change any of that either." "But", they whisper, "we'll do it in such a way that we won't lose the support even

of Gerald Nye or Gerald Smith -- and -- and this is very
important -- we won't lose the support of any isolationist
campaign contributor. We will even be able to satisfy the

Chicago Tribune's

Tonight, I shall talk simply about the future of
America -- about this land of unlimited opportunity. I
shall give the Republican campaign orators some more
opportunities to say -- "me too".

Today, everything we do is devoted to the most
important job before us -- winning the war and bringing
our men and women home as quickly as possible.

We have astonished the world and confounded our
enemies with our stupendous war production, with the
overwhelming courage and skill of our fighting men --
with the bridge of ships carrying our munitions and
men through the seven seas -- with our gigantic fleet
which has pounded the enemy all over the Pacific and has
just driven through for a touch-down.

0 The American people are prepared to meet the problems of peace in the same bold way that they have met the problems of war.

For the American people are resolved that when our men and women return home from this war, they shall come back to the best possible place on the face of [^]this earth -- *Cx*
to a place where all persons, regardless of race, [^]color, *Cx*
creed or place of birth, [^]can live in peace, [^]honor and human *Cx*
dignity -- free to speak, [^]and pray as they wish, [^]-- free from *Cx*
want -- and free from fear. *Cx*

Last January, in my message to the Congress on the state of the Union, I outlined an Economic Bill of Rights on which "a new basis of security and prosperity can be established for all. -- *of a new way* *Cx*
~~regardless of station, race or creed~~":

I repeat them now: *of a new way*
1 - 154 v 6
Cx

The right of a useful and remunerative job in the industries, or shops or farms or mines of the nation;

The right to earn enough to provide adequate food and clothing and recreation;

The right of every farmer to raise and sell his products at a return which will give him and his family a decent living;

The right of every business man, large and small, to trade in an atmosphere of freedom from unfair competition and domination by monopolies at home or abroad;

The right of every family to a decent home;

The right to adequate medical care and the opportunity to achieve and enjoy good health;

The right to adequate protection from the economic fears of old age, sickness, accident and unemployment;

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The right to a good education. *ey*

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All of these rights spell security. And after this

war is won we must be prepared to move forward, in the
implementation of these rights, to new goals of human
happiness and well-being. *ey*

Some people
Some people have sneered at these ideals as well
as the ideals of the Atlantic Charter and the Four Freedoms. *ey*
saying they were the dreams of starry-eyed New Dealers —
that it is silly to talk of them because we cannot attain
these ideals tomorrow or the next day.

6
The American people have greater faith than that.
I know that they agree with those objectives — that they
demand them — that they are determined to get them — and
that they are going to get them. *ey*

The American people have a habit of going right
ahead and accomplishing the impossible. *ey*

And the people today who know that best are the

Nazis and the Japs.

This Economic Bill of Rights is the recognition of the simple fact that, in America, the future of the worker and farmer lies in the well-being of private enterprise; and that the future of private enterprise lies in the well-being of the worker and farmer.

The well-being of the nation as a whole is synonymous with the well-being of each and every one of its citizens.

Now I have the possibly old-fashioned theory that when you have problems to solve, objectives to achieve, you cannot get very far by just talking about them.

You have got to go out and do something!

Let's go!

To assure the full realization of the right to a useful and remunerative employment, an adequate program must provide America with close to sixty million productive jobs.

X I foresee an expansion of our peacetime productive capacity which will require new facilities, new plants and new equipment -- capable of hiring millions of men.

I propose that the Government do its part in helping private enterprise to finance expansion of our private industrial plant through normal investment channels.

For example, business, large and small, must be encouraged by the Government to expand their plants and to replace their obsolete or worn out equipment with new equipment. And to that end, the rate of depreciation on these new plants and facilities for tax purposes should

be accelerated. That means more jobs for the worker, increased profits for the business man, and a lower cost to the consumer.

In 1933, when my Administration took office, vast numbers of our industrial workers were unemployed, our plants and businesses were idle, our monetary and banking system ⁹²² in ruins — our economic resources were running to waste.

By 1940 -- before Pearl Harbor -- we had increased our employment by ten million workers. We had converted a corporate loss of five and one-half billion dollars in 1932, to a corporate profit, ^{cy} after taxes, of nearly five billion dollars in 1940.

Obviously, to increase jobs after this war, we shall have to increase demand ^{278 Nov. 1940} for our industrial and agricultural production not only here at home, but also abroad.

I am sure that every man and woman in this vast gathering here tonight agree with me in my conviction that never again must we in the United States attempt to isolate ourselves from the rest of humanity.

cu
0 I am confident that, with Congressional approval, the foreign trade of the United States can be trebled after the war -- providing millions of more jobs.

Such cooperative measures provide the soundest economic foundation for a lasting peace. *cu* And, after this war, we do not intend to settle for anything less than *la* lasting peace. *cu*

When we think of the America of tomorrow, we think of many things.

One of them is *cu* American homes -- in our cities, in our villages, and on our farms. Millions of our people have never had homes worthy of American standards -- well built homes, with electricity and plumbing, and air and sunlight.

The demand for homes and our capacity to build them call for a program of well over a million homes a year for at least ten years. *cu* Private industry can build and finance the vast majority of these homes. *cu* Government can and will assist and encourage private industry to do this, as it

has for many years. For those very low income groups that cannot possibly afford decent homes, ^{the} Federal Government should continue to assist local housing authorities in meeting that need. *Wm*

P 2 v.
In the future America, we think of new highways and parkways. We think of thousands of new airports to service the new commercial and private air travel which is bound to come after the war. We think of new ^{air}planes, new cheap automobiles with low maintenance and operation costs. We think of new hospitals and new health clinics. We think of a new merchant marine for our expanded world trade.
Think of Think of ~~all~~ these vast ^{possibilities} for industrial expansion -- and you will foresee opportunities for more millions of jobs. *Ev*

P. r. e.
Our Economic Bill of Rights -- like the sacred Bill of Rights of our Constitution itself -- must be applied to all our citizens, irrespective of race, ^{and} creed or color.

30 In 1941, I appointed a Fair Employment Practices Committee to prevent discrimination in war industry and Government employment. The work of the Committee and the results obtained more than justify its creation.

I believe that the Congress should by law make the Committee permanent.

O America must remain the land of high wages and efficient production. Every full-time job in America must provide enough for a decent living. And that goes for jobs in mines, offices, factories, stores, canneries — and everywhere where men and women are employed.

During the war we have been compelled to limit wage and salary increases for one great objective -- to prevent runaway inflation. You all know how successfully we have held the line by the way your cost of living has been kept down.

1920-21 CON 3 of
-12-

✓? However, at the end of the war there will be more goods available, and it is only good common sense to see to it that the working man is paid enough, and that the farmers earn enough, to buy these goods and keep our factories running. ^{ex} It is a simple fact that a greatly increased production of food and fibre on the farms can be consumed by the people who work in industry only if those people who work in industry have enough money to buy food and clothing. ^{ex} If industrial wages go down, ^{ex} farm prices will go down too. After the war, we shall of course remove the control of wages and leave their determination to free collective bargaining between trade unions and employers. ^{ex}

20x In this war, ^{ex} the American farmer has been called upon to do far and away the biggest food-production job in history. ^{W 16} (4)

The American farmer has met that challenge triumphantly.

Despite all manner of war time difficulties -- shortage of farm labor, ~~and~~ of new farm machinery -- the American farmer has achieved a total of food production which is one of the ²wonders of the world.

The American farmer is a great producer; and he must have the means ^{to be} also a great consumer. For more farm income means more jobs everywhere in the nation. *Ex*

23 11-1935
Let us look back ^{for} a moment to 1935. ¹All of us remember the spreading tide of farm foreclosures; we remember four cent hogs, ²⁰twenty cent wheat, ⁵five cent cotton.

23
I am going to give you ²³some figures of recovery -- and I am sure you will pardon me if I quote them correctly.

In 1932 the American farmers' net income was only two and one-quarter billion dollars.

This year -- 1944 -- it will be approximately
thirteen and one-half billion dollars. *ex*

(Certainly) the American farmer does not want to
 go back to a Government owned by the moguls of 1929 - (4)
 and let us bear it constantly in mind that those same
 moguls still control the destinies of the Republican Party.

0 We must continue this Administration's policy of conserving the enormous gifts with which an abundant Providence has blessed our country -- our soil, our forests, our water.

27 The work of the Tennessee Valley Authority is closely related to our national farm program, and we look toward the similar developments which I have recommended in the valley of the Missouri -- in the valley of the Arkansas -- and in the Columbia River Basin. *OK 12*

And incidentally -- and as an aside -- I cannot resist the temptation to point to the gigantic contribution to our war effort made by the power generated at TVA and Bonneville and Grand Coulee.

Do you remember when the building of these great public works was ridiculed as New Deal "boondoggling"? And we are now planning developments at Grand Coulee, which will provide irrigation for many thousands of acres -- providing fertile ~~farm~~ land for settlement -- I hope ~~x~~ by many of our returning soldiers and sailors. *WMA*

More "boondoggling"!! *— C*

^ This Administration has put into the law of the land the farmers' long dream of parity prices.

and we propose, too, that the Government will cooperate when the weather will not -- by a genuine crop insurance program.

This Administration ²adopted -- and will continue -- the policy of giving to as many farmers as possible the chance of owning their own farms.

^ That means something to those veterans who left their farms to fight for their country. *cy*

272?
^ This time they can grow apples on their own farms instead of having to sell apples on ¹street corners. *cy*

I believe in free enterprise -- and always have.

I believe in the profit system -- and always have.

I believe that private enterprise can give full employment to our people.

272? ...

And if anyone feels that my faith in our ability to provide sixty million peacetime jobs is fantastic, let him remember that some people said the same thing about my demand in 1940 for fifty thousand airplanes. *ex*

I believe in exceptional rewards for innovation, skill, and risk-taking by business.

We shall lift production and price control as soon as they are no longer needed -- encouraging private business to produce more of the things to which we are accustomed and also thousands of new things, in ever-increasing volume, under conditions of free and open competition.

This Administration has been mindful from its earliest days, and will continue to be mindful, of the problems of small business as well as large.

Small business played a magnificent part in producing thousands of items needed for our armed forces. When the war broke out, ^{✓ 1/2} it was ~~they were~~ mobilized into war production. Money was loaned to them for machinery. Over one million prime [✓] ~~and~~ subcontracts have been distributed among sixty thousand smaller plants of the nation. [✓]

We shall make sure that small business is given every facility to buy government-owned plants, equipment, ~~and~~ inventories. The special credit and capital requirements of small business ~~will~~ be met.

And small business will continue to be protected from selfish, and cold-blooded monopolies and cartels. Beware of that profound enemy of the free enterprise system who pays lip-service to free competition -- but also labels every anti-trust prosecution as a "persecution".

This war has demonstrated that when the American business man and the American worker and the American farmer work together, they form an unbeatable team.

We know that -- our Allies know that -- and so do our enemies.

That winning team must keep together after the war, and it will win many more historic victories of peace for our country, and for the cause of security and decent standards of living throughout the world.

342
We owe it to our fighting men, and to their families --
we owe it to all of our people who have given so much in
this war -- we owe it to our children -- to keep that winning
team together. *Ex*

9a *(2)*
The future of America, like its past, must be made
by deeds -- not words.

America has always been a land of action -- a land
of adventurous pioneering -- a land of growing and building.

Ex
America must always be such a land.

Ex
The creed of our democracy is that liberty is
required and kept by men and women who are strong, ~~and~~
self-reliant, and possessed of such wisdom as God gives
to mankind -- men and women who are just, ~~and~~ understanding,
and generous to others -- men and women who are capable
of disciplining themselves.

Ex
For they are the rulers, and they must rule themselves.

I believe in our democratic faith and in the future
of our country which has given eternal strength and vitality
to that faith.

Here in Chicago you know a lot about that vitality.

And as I say good-night to you, I say it in a spirit
of faith -- a spirit of hope -- a spirit of confidence.

We are not going to turn back the clock!

We are going forward -- and -- with the fighting

millions of our fellow countrymen -- we are going forward
together.

Handwritten notes:
I am not a ...
... but ...
...
...
...
...
...

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OCTOBER 28, 1944

CAUTION: The following address of the President, prepared for delivery ~~in Soldiers Field, Chicago, on the evening of October 28, 1944,~~ is released for all regular editions of SUNDAY MORNING (OCTOBER 29, 1944) NEWSPAPERS.

RELEASE FOR RADIO is simultaneous with delivery of the address by the President, NOT EARLIER THAN 9:00 P.M., Eastern War Time, (8:00 P.M., Central Saturday, October 28, 1944. Time)

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S.T.E.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON