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

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

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1944 November 4

Boston, MA - ^Fenway Park - Campaign Speech

DRAFT A

RADIO ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT

BOSTON -- NOVEMBER 4, 1944

I am glad that this is my last speech in this campaign --
and I am glad to be giving it in Boston.

~~As you well know I have been here before.~~

To Boston.
I shall not review all my previous visits ~~as would take~~
I should have to talk for
several days to do that - and radio time costs a lot of money.

But I want to recall one visit, back in October, 1928, when
I came here to urge you to vote for a great American named Al Smith.

And you voted for that perennially "Happy Warrior,"
- and your good neighbor, Rhode Island -
~~indeed, The Commonwealth of Massachusetts~~ *went Democratic four*
years before the rest of the Nation did. *in 1928 -*

This year -- and I am making no predictions -- this year we
would like to ~~take~~ *include* Maine and Vermont into the fold.

When I talked here in 1928 I talked about racial and religious
intolerance which was then - as it unfortunately still is -- "a menace
to the liberties of America."

All the enemies of tolerance were gunning for Al Smith.

And while I am speaking of that unfair campaign of 1928, let
me remind you that then I was running at Al's request for the Governorship
of New York and people were then/even then - saying that my health would
not permit me to discharge the duties of public office.

*I think that it is by now a pretty well
established fact that I survived my four years as
Governor of New York.*

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Religious intolerance, social intolerance and political intolerance have no place in our American life. (A)

You know that here in New England. You know that some of our best people are immigrants, and always have been, ever since the landing of the Mayflower.

And today, in this war, our fine boys are fighting magnificently all over the world and among those boys are the Murphys and the Kellys, the Smiths and the Joneses, the Cohens and the Levys, the Carusos and the Casazzas, the ~~Viacchi~~ and the ~~Pillachi~~, the Olsens and the Jensens and - right in with all the rest of them - the Cabots and the Lowells.

All of these and others like them are the life-blood of America.

They are the hope of the world.

It is our duty to them to see to it that, big as this country is, there is no room in it for racial or religious intolerance - and there is no room for snobbery, either. *on - our for intolerance*

Our young men and young women are unconquerable because they know that they fight for the ^{greatest} ~~highest~~ ^{honest} aims and ideals. They know that they are fighting not only for their existence, and their homes and their families. They also know that they are fighting for all those

(A)

Bigotry is surely one of the cardinal sins - and the best examples of the evils of bigotry have been found in Hitler's Germany.

values that have made this land great and powerful. They fight for freedom. [They fight against barbarism and racial discrimination. They fight against oppression and persecution.] They fight for a country and a world where men and women of all races, colors and creeds can live, work, speak and worship in peace, freedom and security.

We must always understand what it is that the best of our young men and women are doing for us and what they are going through. But we owe them even a higher obligation. We must leave no stone unturned to win victory over our enemies as speedily and as effectively as possible and with the least cost in life *and in human suffering.*

If we can shorten the war by one month, by one week, by one hour -- even by one minute -- we will have saved the lives of some of our young men and women -- lives which are beyond value. ~~Up at the mines, in the shipyards, in the offices -- we have on the ships, in the factories, on the farms, at home, must put all our energies to this task and not let up for a minute.~~ We must not let our comforts, or conveniences, our politics or our prejudices, stand in the way of our devotion and sacrifice to this over-riding imperative to drive -- and drive relentlessly and unflinchingly -- through the hard road to final victory.

You and I --

all of us who are war-workers must stay on the job!

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Although victory over the Nazis and the Japanese is certain and inevitable - and I for one have never had one moment's doubt of ^{our} ultimate victory -- the war is still far from over. There is tough, hard and bloody fighting ahead of us. [Every month, every week, every hour, every minute our young men are under shell or machine gun fire, risking the hazards of the seas or facing the dangers lurking in the air.]

I cannot tell you when the European or the Pacific part of ~~too many other people have tried that, and have been~~ the war will be over. ~~Now will I try to guess when either or both~~

~~phases of the war will be over.~~ As far as I am concerned, the war

will not be over until the Nazis and the Japanese war lords are com-

~~pletely and effectively defeated.~~ ^{And these who} ~~until that time we must continue~~ ^{command of your armed forces,}

Together with our fighting allies, is constantly planning to spend ourselves without stint to hasten the day of such victory, and preparing for every eventuality.

We got into this war because we were attacked by the Japanese -- ^{because} and they and their Axis partners, Hitler's Germany and Mussolini's Italy, declared war on us.

~~They think the game of battle at an end, because we fight in the American way, we went after them and we started punching -- and we are still punching.~~

One of the tyrants, Mussolini, has been knocked out. The others are getting groggier and groggier every day.

And we are made happy by the fact that the Italian people - our long-time friends - are started once again along the paths of freedom and peace.

(C) page 4

Now I have heard ~~the~~ ^{by a few people} charge made, and it is a very grave charge — that I broke a pledge to the American people by sending our forces overseas to fight.

I wonder what ~~some~~ these people would have done in any place when the Japanese attacked Pearl Harbor — or if they had attacked San Francisco or Los Angeles.

Would they have told the American people to take that lying down?

I cannot conceive of any real American ~~even considering~~ quitting in the face of attack.

When our enemies flung the gauntlet of battle at us, we elected to fight them in the American way, which meant that we went out

We were better prepared for this war than for any previous war in our history.

On the day of Pearl Harbor, we had more than a million men in our Army.

Our war production, started a year and a half before, was rolling toward the gigantic volume of output that has been achieved.

Our Navy was building. Indeed, it had been building since 1933 when I first used a quarter of a billion dollars of PWA funds to start a naval building program which included our first modern carriers. One of those carriers, authorized ten years ago, was the "Enterprise," a grand and gallant ship which has covered herself with glory all through this war and was in there fighting last week in the great victory in Philippine waters.

And -- in addition to our physical preparedness -- we had something far more important -- spiritual preparedness.

The American people were ready for it. On the day of Pearl Harbor they rose up as one man with a mighty shout -- a shout heard 'round the world -- "Let's go!"

And we went!

Although we had, in Selective Service, an orderly and completely fair and democratic system for mastering our manpower, masses of our young men did not want to wait to be drafted. Literally millions of them lined up to volunteer.

Millions more -- men and women both -- lined up for jobs in war plants -- and as blood donors -- and as volunteers for service of all kinds.

Does that look to you like a Nation which some political orators have recently described as in a state of chaos -- a Nation whose spirit was low and riddled with defeatism?

It looks to me like a Nation with more ^{vitality} ~~strength~~ and more courage and more determination than ever before in our history.

And that is precisely how this Nation has acted in this war.

[The decision in this election is in the hands of the average American. His judgment will prevail. And I am sure that] The average American citizen is doing some ^{hard} ~~serious~~ thinking these days about what sort of Government he wants during the next four years. The memory of the people is not short. The years 1929 to 1933 are thoroughly and grimly remembered by millions of our citizens - by workers who lost their jobs and their homes, by farmers who lost their crops and their farms, by families who lost their savings.

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Words alone will not prevent the recurrence of such suffering.

[The words of King Canute could not hold back the sea.] The words of no man of the modern age can prevent depression and hunger and breadlines. These calamities can be conquered only by action, by deeds, by positive measures, by strong legislation.

[Our people have not forgotten that no so long ago there was an administration which tried to vanquish depression and poverty with words rather than action. That experience resulted in disaster.]

I also hope that the average American, with his capacity for sound judgment and insight, is examining very closely the campaign statements and promises of all political candidates this year. He will find some highly interesting circumstances.

He will find that ~~the heirs and legacies of~~ those [King Canutes] who sought to ^{fight} ~~vanquish~~ the depression with words, have now taken unto themselves the armor of those who ^{conquered} ~~vanquished~~ the depression with action and deeds. He will hear the promise that those who once relied on inaction - yes, and on reaction - are now committed to the most positive form of performance.

Such promises as these must be judged on the record.

Does the average American believe that those who fought tooth and nail against every single piece of social legislation during the

past twelve years can be trusted to cherish and preserve that legislation?

[Shall we believe for example, that the power trust is at last converted to ^{any kind of} public power and can safely be entrusted with sovereignty over the rivers and natural resources of our land?]

Can it be that those who financed the bitter opposition to the New Deal have made an about-face and are now willing to underwrite it?

The people of this Nation have found during the past 11 years that their sovereign will can mean the development of our natural resources, the raising of our living standards, the strengthening of our national defense, the protection of our savings.

[And, I might add that twelve years ago the people discovered that indifferent use of their vote at the polls could mean other things - the exploitation of the many by the powerful few, and the resulting soup-kitchens, farm foreclosures and boarded-up businesses and factories.]

No human force in this land can match the collective will of the American people -- expressed through our democratic institutions.

For many years powerful and selfish men regarded the people's domain as their own private property. These men have found that ballots cast at the polls ^{could} call up new safeguards for the people's resources. They have found that ballots cast by the people could put an end to bread-lines, farm foreclosures and boarded-up businesses and factories.

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[What happens to public power in TVA and Bonneville and Grand Coulee -- if the power trust acquires control of these great public projects?

Who would administer the National Labor Relations Act if the enemies of collective bargaining took over the Federal Government?

[Who would be appointed to watch over Wall Street if the money changers got back into the temple?]

If Big Business comes into power can we expect vigorous enforcement of the Anti-Trust laws?

Can we expect monopolies to lend a hand to small business and protect the small business man from monopolistic practices?

When the cartels contribute so freely to the collection box which is passed before election, do they expect prosecution for their illegal acts the day after election?]

Since the dark days early in 1933, many fortifications have been erected to protect the [average] people of this country -- just as we promised that ^{there} ~~they~~ would be.

The Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation guards their bank deposits.

The Securities and Exchange Commission protects their investments.

The Public Utilities Holding Company Act safeguards them from fraud.

The Fair Labor Standards Act protects their standard of living.

The National Labor Relations Act maintains their right to organize into unions and bargain collectively with their employers.

The Social Security Law gives them some protection against the hazards of unemployment and old age.

The Tennessee Valley Authority and the Bonneville, Grand Coulee, Fort Peck and Shasta Dams guard their soil and rivers and trees - their heritage of natural resources.

The Office of Price Administration protects them from inflation and run-away prices.

These fortifications are now manned by zealous defenders.

Can the citizens of the Nation afford to turn over these bulwarks to the men who raised every possible obstacle to their original construction?

Take price control, for example. In the last war the cost of living was up over 60 percent by the day of the Armistice and industrial prices had practically doubled.

The lesson of the last war was pretty plain to most of us in this Administration, but to many Republicans it was not plain at all. From the outset they opposed the idea of price control, doubted that inflation could — or should — be prevented, and sought to delay what they could not defeat. The record is clear. The Democratic Party

on all

I have heard ~~the~~ Republican orators in this campaign call this Administration everything under the sun and promise they, if elected - and oh, my friends, what a big "if" that is - if elected they would institute the biggest house-cleaning in history.

But - have you heard one word of specific criticism of any of the progressive laws that this Administration has proposed and enacted?

Have you heard any talk of sweeping out any of these laws - or sweeping out any of the agencies which administer these laws. Oh, no - ~~they are very much~~ on that subject they are very, uncharacteristically silent.

~~What - just as an aside - I prefer to tell you something. I think I can speak freely here in Boston.~~

The predicament of a Republican these days may be summed up with a good old Irish bull - he is so strongly in favor of the New Deal that he is bitterly opposed to it.

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in this war has been the party of sound money. The Republican Party has been the party of inflation.

November 28, 1941 -- 9 days before Pearl Harbor -- the House passed the Emergency Price Control Act. How did the Republicans vote? Nearly 3 to 2 against price control.

January 10, 1942 -- 34 days after Pearl Harbor -- the Senate passed the Emergency Price Control Act. How did the Republicans there vote? Nearly 2 to 1 against price control.

July, 1943. The House was voting on my veto of the Commodity Credit Corporation Bill which would have tied our hands in holding the cost of living. How did the Republicans vote? Listen to this -- 25 to 1 to override my veto and set prices and cents on their way up.

Again in February 1944 the same issue as the previous July. Again a crippling amendment. Again I vetoed the bill. Again a vote in the House. But this time the Republicans had reformed. They voted only 9 to 1 to wreck price control.

This is the Republican record.

Why have the Republican leaders opposed price control? Simply because inflation now would give greater opportunities for speculative

profits at the expense of the farmer, the white collar worker, ^{the} worker, and every housewife.

The Administration's record is one of almost unbelievable success in controlling inflation. By early and adequate action to nip inflation in the bud, by legislation passed over Republican opposition, by firm but fair restraints coupled with the judicious use of subsidies where no feasible alternative was open, we have controlled, indeed prevented, inflation.

As against a rise last time of 60 percent in the cost of living by the Armistice, there has been a rise of less than half that today. And nearly two-thirds of the increase that has taken place occurred prior to the Emergency Price Control Act in the Spring of 1942.

Since then the cost of living has increased less than 10 percent and industrial prices by about 3 percent. Rents have been held to no rise at all. Food prices have increased less than 15 percent and today are actually lower than they were 18 months ago. For the first time in history we have prevented wartime inflation.

Just compare some of our prices of today with the prices during the last war in April 1920 -- three years after we had entered it.

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A pound of sugar today is ____¢; then it was ____¢.

A pound of lamb chops is ____¢; as compared with ____¢.

A bushel of flour is ____¢ as compared with ____¢.

A bushel of beans is ____¢ as compared with ____¢.

Today, as victory comes closer, we remember what happened after the last war, how what controls we had were pulled off promptly after the Armistice, how prices zoomed on up, how nearly half of the inflation came after the Armistice, and how the bubble burst in the summer of 1920, to be followed by unemployment, bankruptcies, and foreclosures. We remember that lesson and are determined, after having held inflation in check during the war, not to give it its head when the shooting stops.

The American people want to return as promptly as possible to the habits of peace, they want war controls lifted, and things put back on a peacetime basis as soon after the war as may be done. But the American people are counting on the protection of price control, rent control, and rationing just as long as the effects of the war make them necessary.

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ever since this
Administration started
to tackle its job,

You ^{They} know ~~that~~ farmers ^{have been} not only holding on to their farms but ^{have been} paying off their mortgages.

You know that business failures have dropped almost to the vanishing point — by far the lowest on record.

You ^{and housewives' budgets} know that workers' wartime incomes are not being eaten up by skyrocketing living costs.

We propose to continue to protect the American consumer and American business from runaway costs. We propose that this time the American fighting man shall come home to an economy that is sound and healthy.

Of course — now that all the New Deal measures have been accepted and approved by the great majority of voters — we hear the plaintive claim, "Certainly we are for the great social gains of the New Deal. Certainly we favor collective bargaining and protection of bank deposits and the development of public power."

I ask the voters to choose between word and deed, between promise and performance, between inaction and reaction — and action.

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This administration has made mistakes. That I freely admit ~~and~~ *admit*.

But I thank God that there cannot be charged to us at any time, under any circumstances, the mistake of letting Americans go without work and food and homes and security. ⁹¹ Our mistakes have been honestly made during sincere efforts to help the great mass of citizens. Never had we made the inexcusable mistake of substituting talk for action when farms were being foreclosed, houses were being sold at auction and people were standing in breadlines.

(E)

And, I might add, never will we make that kind of a mistake.



When your sons and my sons come home from the battlefronts, we are going to see that they have work - honest, self-respecting jobs. We are going to see that those of them seeking farms get a real chance to settle on land of their own. We are going to see that those who hope to establish businesses have a legitimate and fair opportunity to do so.

The American people are quite competent to judge a political party which works both sides of the street - a party which has one candidate promising larger old-age pensions in Los Angeles while a running mate demands less Federal expenditures in Maine.

There is one thought I want to leave with you. You do not have to repeal this legislation in order to turn back to the dark days of the

(E)

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If This Administration has erred,
it has erred on the side of very
deep concern for human welfare.

Is it conceivable ^{to you} that This same
Administration could ever be
guilty of neglect of the welfare
of our fighting men?

1930's. Turn over its administration to those who fought it with all their might and gave of their fortunes to defeat it ^{and} - it becomes dead legislation.

Inaction, as well as retreat, can lose for ^{our} ~~the~~ people the ground ^{have fought for and} which they gained.

(F) I am sure that the people will choose a future in which the progressive and enlightened forces of mankind will be on the march everywhere in the world. The United States of America will be at the front of that column - as always it has been, ever since a little group of patriots dedicated this land under God to freedom, tolerance and justice for all.]

We now face the enormous and complex problems of building with ^{strong} our Allies a world structure of peace.

In doing that historic job we shall be standing before a mighty bar of judgment - the judgment of God - the judgment of all those who have fought and died in this war - the judgment of generations yet unborn.

I believe that we Americans will want the building of the peace to be done by men who have shown foresight rather than hindsight.

There lived here in Boston a great American philosopher named William James who said that peace must furnish a moral equivalent for war.

(F) p. 16.

- just as an aside, and I think I
can speak freely to my old friends
here in Boston -

You know this is really
a funny campaign

I seem to have heard somebody
say that this incompetent administration
managed to be
has written into the statute books
so much fine legislation for the ^{farmers} ~~old people~~ -
for the workers - for the old people - that
"it is time for a change"

I think I heard somebody say
that Secty Hall and Roosevelt had done
such a fine job with Sumner's sales
and our plans for world peace - that
it is time for a change.

I believe I heard somebody say
that our ^{farm} ~~heavy~~ program for the
~~farmer~~ ^{was} was no good for the farmer

- that it is time for ¹³change.

And I even think I heard somebody say
that these kind old men - ^{such as I think} -
~~Holt~~ - Marshall - King - MacArthur - Nimitz
and Roosevelt - ~~have seen~~ are
waging such a victorious war - that
it is time for a change.

And I am quite sure I heard
this administration and
somebody say that the great factories
of America with their millions of
workers have done such a fantastic
job for ^{war} production - that it is
time for a change.

well - I cannot grapple with that. I have
never been conspicuous for an ~~aversion~~ ^{aversion} of change.
we have in the past ~~been~~ ^{been} ~~gained~~ ^{gained} in a lot of
things since 1933, and today ~~we~~ ^{we} ~~are~~ ^{are} ~~opponents~~ ^{opponents}
admit that there have been changes for the better.

Peace, no less than war, must offer a spirit of comradeship,
a spirit of achievement, a spirit of unselfishness, an indomitable will
to victory.

All through our history Americans have
~~In the earliest years of this great nation we had the moral~~

equivalent for war.

have
We waged war against the wilderness - against the mountains
and the rivers - against the droughts and the storms. *have*
We waged war
against ignorance - against oppression - against intolerance.

have
We waged war against distance, and against time.

We fought a war for the principle that all men are created
equal - and in that war we pledged "our lives, our fortunes and our
sacred honor."

This war, which we are now fighting, has been an interruption
in the story of our forward progress; but it has also opened a new chapter -
a chapter which it is for us now living to write.

At the end of this war this country will have the greatest material
nation
power of any ~~state~~ in the world.

It will be richer than any other in skilled workers, engineers,
farmers, businessmen, scientists.

It will have the most perfect machines, and the material to feed
into those machines.

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And around us is an unfinished world — a world of awakened peoples struggling to set themselves on the path of civilization — *people* struggling everywhere to achieve a higher cultural and material *standard of living* ~~existence~~ — in some countries, striving even to rise to the level of the poorest American worker.

How shall we use this great power of ours — that will remain in our hands only if we use it for the constructive purposes of life?

Shall we enlist it in the fight against poverty, disease and ignorance?

Shall we employ it to improve and to open upon this earth new homes for men?

Shall we employ it, in cooperation with others, to bend nature ever more successfully to the service of mankind? Shall we invest it in human liberation? Or shall we barricade ourselves behind our power and slowly stagnate for lack of *— for lack of a common* vision ~~and~~ purpose?

I say we must wage the coming battle for civilization on a scale worthy of and comparable to the scale on which we have unitedly waged the battle against tyranny and reaction — and wage it through all the difficulties and disappointments that have ever clogged the wheels of progress.

And I say we must wage it in association with the same United Nations with whom we have stood and fought — with the association ever growing. I say we must wage a peace to attract the highest hearts and

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the most competent hands and brains.

That, my friends, is the conception I have of the meaning of
total victory.

And that conception is founded upon faith - ^{or which I gained} faith ~~about the future~~

^{in large part}
here in this old state of Massachusetts - faith in the unlimited destiny
of America.

noble

FIRST DRAFT

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RADIO ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT

BOSTON -- NOVEMBER 4, 1944

I am glad that this is my last speech in this campaign -- and
I am glad to be giving it in Boston.

I shall not review all my previous visits to Boston. I should
have to talk for several days to do that -- and radio time costs a lot
of money.

But I want to recall one visit, back in October, 1928, when
I came here to urge you to vote for a great American named Al Smith.

And you voted for that perennially "Happy Warrior."

The Commonwealth of Massachusetts -- and your good neighbor,
Rhode Island -- went Democratic in 1928 -- four years before the rest of
the Nation did.

This year -- and I am making no predictions -- this year we
would like to welcome Maine and Vermont into the fold.

When I talked here in 1928 I talked about racial and religious
intolerance which was then -- as it unfortunately still is -- "a menace
to the liberties of America."

All the enemies of tolerance were gunning for Al Smith.

And while I am speaking of that unfair campaign of 1928, let
me remind you that ^{Sandoz} then I was running at Al's request for the Governorship
of New York, and people were then -- even then -- saying that my health
would not permit me to discharge the duties of public office.

(A) from p(1) I think that it is by now a pretty well established fact that
I survived my four years as Governor of New York. (B)

Religious intolerance, social intolerance and political
intolerance have no place in our American life.

Bigotry is surely one of the cardinal sins -- and the best
examples of the evils of bigotry have been found in Hitler's Germany.

~~You know that~~ here in New England. You know that some of
our best people are immigrants, and always have been, ^{even those who come here on} ~~over since the~~
~~landing of the Mayflower.~~ *you have been fighting*
bigotry and intolerance
for centuries

And today, in this war, our fine boys are fighting magnificently
all over the world and among those boys are the Murphys and the Kellys,
the Smiths and the Joneses, the Cohens and the Levys, the Carusos and
the Casazzas, the ^{Kowalskies} ~~Klodeks~~ and the ^{Quisghios} ~~Pojalskies~~, the Olsens ^{page 3 Swobodas,} and the ~~Joneses~~
and -- right in with all the rest of them -- the Cabots and the Lowells.

All of these and others like them are the life-blood of
America.

They are the hope of the world.

It is our duty to them to see to it that, big as this country
is, there is no room in it for racial or religious intolerance -- and
there is no room for snobbery, or room for falsehood either.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

(B)
INSERT - PAGE 2

In 1928 Al Smith remarked

The Governor of New York does not
publicly that ~~you don't~~ have to be

A

an acrobat ~~to be Governor of New~~

~~York. A few months before his~~

And not so very long ago
~~untimely death~~, he remarked to

me in my office in Washington,

"It is perfectly evident you don't

have to be an acrobat to be

President either".

Our young men and young women are unconquerable because they know that they fight for the decent aims and honest ideals. They know that they are fighting not only for their existence, and their homes and their families. [They also know that they are fighting for all those values that have made this land great and powerful. They fight for freedom.] They ^{also} fight for a country and a world where men and women of all races, colors and creeds can live, work, speak and worship — in peace, freedom and security.

We must always understand what it is that the best of our young men and women are doing for us and what they are going through. [But we owe them even a higher obligation. We must leave no stone unturned to win victory over our enemies as speedily and as effectively as possible and with the least cost in life and in human suffering.]

If we can shorten the war by one month, [by one week, by one hour] — even by one minute — we will have saved the lives of some of our young men and women — lives which are beyond value. We must not let our comforts, or conveniences, our politics or our prejudices, stand in the way of our devotion and sacrifice to this over-riding imperative to ^{determination to} drive — ^{to} drive relentlessly and unflinchingly — ^{on} through the hard road to final victory.

You and I — all of us who are war-workers — must stay on the job!

Although victory over the Nazis and the Japanese is certain and inevitable — and I for one have never had one moment's doubt of our ultimate victory — the war is still far from over. There is tough, hard and bloody fighting ahead of us.

[I cannot tell you when the European or the Pacific part of the war will be over. Too many other people have tried that, and have been proved wrong already.

As far as I am concerned, the war will not be over until the Nazis and the Japanese war lords are completely and effectively defeated. And those who command your armed forces, together with our fighting allies, are constantly planning and preparing for every eventuality.]

We got into this war because we were attacked by the Japanese — and because they and their Axis partners, Hitler's Germany and Mussolini's Italy, declared war on us.

Now I have heard the ^{grade} charge made by a few people — and it ^{is} ~~is~~ ^{when I asked the Congress to declare the} ~~was~~ ^{charge} ~~is~~ that I broke a pledge to the American people ~~by sending~~ ^{by sending} ~~ing our forces overseas to fight.~~

I wonder what these people would have done in my place ^{— or in the Congress' place —} when the Japanese attacked ^{the Hawaiian Islands} ~~Pearl Harbor~~ — or if they had attacked San Francisco or Los Angeles.

So happens that all of these people have isolationist records — the

existence of a state of war.

Would they have told the American people to take that lying
down?

A
~~I cannot conceive of any real American quitting in the face
of attack.~~

When our enemies flung the gage of battle at us, we elected
to fight them in the American way, which meant that we went out after
them — and we started punching — and we are still punching.

One of the tyrants, Mussolini, has been knocked out. The others
are getting groggier and groggier every day.

And we are made happy by the fact that the Italian people —
our long-time friends — are started once again along the paths of freedom
and peace.

We were better prepared for this war than for any previous war
in our history.

On the day of Pearl Harbor, we had more than a million men in
our Army. (2)

Our war production, started a year and a half before, was
rolling toward the gigantic volume of output that has been achieved.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Just (A) p. 5

-1- "

Is it still a "foreign"
war when enemy
bombs drop on American
soil? Do bombs have
to drop on the Capitol
at Washington before
it becomes an
American war - our war?

next page

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Encl (A) p 5
- 2 -

I am sure that
any real American
as their Government did,
would have chosen
to fight. As for myself, I
would ^{choosing} do the same
thing - again and
again and again.

~~Very truly yours,~~

under the
same circumstances,

Our Navy was building. Indeed, it had been building since 1933 when I first used a quarter of a billion dollars of PWA funds to start a naval building program which included our first modern carriers. One of those carriers, authorized ten years ago, was the "Enterprise," a grand and gallant ship which has covered herself with glory all through this war and was in there fighting last week in the great victory in Philippine waters.

And — in addition to our physical preparedness — we had something far more important — spiritual preparedness.

The American people were ready for it. On the day of Pearl Harbor they rose up as one man with a mighty shout — a shout heard 'round the world — "Let's go!"

And we went!

[Although we had, in Selective Service, an orderly and completely fair and democratic system for mustering our manpower, masses of our young men did not want to wait to be drafted. Literally millions of them lined up to volunteer.

Millions more — men and women both — lined up for jobs in war plants — and as blood donors — and as volunteers for service of all kinds.]

Does that look to you like a Nation which some political orators have recently described as in a state of chaos -- a Nation whose spirit was low and riddled with defeatism?

It looks to me like a Nation with more vitality and more courage and more determination than ever before in our history.

And that is precisely how this Nation has acted in this war. A

The average American citizen is doing some hard thinking these days about what sort of Government he wants during the next four years. The memory of the people is not short. The years 1929 to 1933 are thoroughly and grimly remembered by millions of our citizens -- by workers who lost their jobs and their homes, by farmers who lost their crops and their farms, by families who lost their savings.

Words alone will not prevent the recurrence of such suffering. The words of no man of the modern age can prevent depression and hunger and breadlines. These calamities can be conquered only by action, by deeds, by positive measures, by strong legislation.

I also hope that the average American, with his capacity for sound judgment and insight, is examining very closely the campaign statements and promises of all political candidates this year. He will find some highly interesting ~~circumstances~~ *changes of face*.

Inserts A, B & C. attached

(A) - p 7.

~~SECRET~~

I have made reference in this campaign to my inability to talk out of both sides of my mouth.

Just the other day you people here in ^{Boston} ~~Washington~~ witnessed an amazing demonstration of talking out of both sides of the mouth.

27 Speaking here in Boston, a Republican candidate said -- and I know you won't mind if I quote him correctly -- he said that "the Communists are seizing control of the New Deal, through which they aim to control the Government of the United States".

However, on that very same day that very same candidate had spoken in Worcester and he said that with Republican victory in November "we can end one-man government, we can forever remove the threat of monarchy in the United States".

Now, really -- which is it -- communism or monarchy?

I do not think we could have both in this country, even if we wanted either, which we do not.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

INSERT B - PAGE 7

I have just said that we want neither communism nor monarchy. We want to live under the Constitution which on the whole has served pretty well for one hundred and fifty-five years. If this were a banquet hall instead of a ball park, I would drink a toast to our living under it for another one hundred and fifty-five years.

~~(Center field - Tris Speaker)~~

• © p. 7

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

P And - here in Fenway
Park - I seem to be out
in right field, the
stamping ground of
Ted Williams - a grand
ball player now in our
Navy.

He will find that those who sought to fight the depression with words, have ^{now} taken unto themselves the armor of those who conquered the depression with action and deeds. He will hear the promise that those who once relied on inaction — yes, and on reaction — are now committed to the most positive form of performance.

Such promises as these must be judged on the record.

Does the average American believe that those who fought tooth and nail against every single piece of social legislation during the past twelve years can be trusted to cherish and preserve that legislation?

Can it be that those who financed the bitter opposition to the New Deal have made an about-face and are now willing to underwrite it?

The people of this Nation have found during the past 11 years that their sovereign will can mean the development of our natural resources, the raising of our living standards, the strengthening of our national defense, the protection of our savings.

No human force in this land can match the collective will of the American people — expressed through our democratic institutions.

~~For many years powerful and selfish men regarded the people's domain as their own private property. These men have found that~~
^{Law} ~~they~~ ^{have} call up new safeguards for the people's resources.
^{their} They have found that ballots ^{cast} by the people could put an end to bread-
^{bankrupt} ^{idle} lines, farm foreclosures and ^{bankrupt} businesses and ^{idle} factories.

Since the dark days early in 1933, many fortifications have been erected to protect the people of this country -- just as we promised that there would be.

These fortifications have provided protection for the people's
[The Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation guards their] bank deposits, and

[The Securities and Exchange Commission protects] their investments,--

[The Public Utilities Holding Company Act safeguards them from fraud.

The Fair Labor Standards Act protects] their standard of living,--

[The National Labor Relations Act maintains] their right to organize into unions and bargain collectively with their employers. *They protect*

[The Social Security Law gives them some] protection against the hazards of unemployment and old age.

[The Tennessee Valley Authority and the Bonneville, Grand Coulee, Fort Peck and Shasta Dams guard] their soil and rivers and trees -- their heritage of natural resources. *They provide* ←

They provide protection
~~The Office of Price Administration protects them from in-~~
flation and run-away prices.

① These fortifications are now manned by zealous defenders. —
Can the citizens of the Nation ^{now} afford to turn over these bulwarks to
the men who raised every possible obstacle to their original construction?

We have all heard Republican orators in this campaign call this
Administration everything under the sun and ^{but} promise _^ they, if elected --
and oh, my friends, what a big "if" that is -- if elected they would
institute the biggest house-cleaning in history.

But -- have you heard one word of specific criticism of any
of the progressive laws that this Administration has proposed and
enacted?

Have you heard any talk of sweeping out any of these laws --
or sweeping out any of the agencies which administer these laws.

Oh, no -- on that subject they are ^{very} uncharacteristically,
silent.

[The predicament of a Republican these days may be summed up
with a good old ~~English~~ bull -- he is so strongly in favor of the New
Deal that he is bitterly opposed to it.]

[You know that, ever since this administration started to tackle
its job, farmers have not only been holding on to their farms but have
been paying off their mortgages.]

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

INSERT C - PAGE 10

and these defend me not
~~They are not~~ manned by

Communists and they are not ~~defended~~

~~by~~ fossils.

[You know that business failures have dropped almost to the vanishing point -- by far the lowest on record.

You know that workers' wartime incomes and housewives' budgets are not being eaten up by skyrocketing living costs.

We propose to continue to protect the American consumer and American business from runaway costs. We propose that this time the American fighting men shall come home to an economy that is sound and healthy.]

This administration has made mistakes. That I freely assert. But I thank God that there cannot be charged to us at any time, under any circumstances, the mistake of letting Americans go without work and food and homes and security.

Our mistakes have been honestly made during sincere efforts to help the great mass of citizens. Never had we made the inexcusable mistake of substituting talk for action when farms were being foreclosed, homes were being sold at auction and people were standing in breadlines.

And, I might add, never will we make that kind of a mistake.

[If this Administration has erred, it has erred on the side of very *whenever* deep concern for human welfare.

Is it conceivable to you that this ~~same~~ *with that record* Administration could ever be guilty of neglect of the welfare of our fighting men?

When your sons [—] and my sons [—] come home from the battlefronts,
we are going to see that they have work - honest, self-respecting jobs.

P We are going to see that those of them seeking farms get a real chance to
settle on land of their own. P We are going to see that those who hope to
establish businesses have a legitimate and fair opportunity to do so.

The American people are quite competent to judge a political
party which works both sides of the street — a party which has one
candidate promising larger old-age pensions in ^{the West} Los Angeles while a running
mate demands less Federal expenditures in ~~Nebraska~~ ^{the East.}

[There is one thought I want to leave with you. You do not have
to repeal this legislation in order to turn back to the dark days of the
1930's. Turn over its administration to those who fought it with all
their might and gave of their fortunes to defeat it — and it becomes
dead legislation.

Inaction, as well as retreat, can lose for our people the ground
which they have fought for and gained.]

You know -- just as an aside, and I think I can speak freely to my old friends here in Boston -- this is really a funny campaign.

I seem to have heard somebody say that this incompetent administration has caused to be written into the statute books so much fine legislation for the farmers -- for the workers -- for the old people -- that it is time for a change.

I think I heard somebody say that Secretary Hull and ~~Roosevelt~~ ^{the rest of us} had done such a fine job with ~~the Good Neighbor policy~~ ^{the Good Neighbor policy} and our plans for world peace -- that it is time for a change.

I believe I heard somebody say that ^{this incompetent administration had developed} our farm program was so good for the farmers -- that it is time for a change. ^{and the business men and the workers of the nation}

And I am quite sure I heard somebody say that this Administration ^{has} ~~and the great factories of America with their millions of workers~~ have done such ^{an amazing} ~~a fantastic~~ job of war production -- that it is time for a change.

And I even think I heard somebody say that these tired old men -- such as ~~Hugh~~ ^{Halsey} Stimson - Marshall - King - MacArthur - Nimitz and ~~Roosevelt~~ are waging such a victorious war -- that it is time for a change.

J. F. Thompson

(A)

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

(A)

INSERT - PAGE 13 ~~before p. 1.~~

~~I know people say that the
Good Neighbor policy has made us
friends with the other Republics
in this Continent and with our
neighbors in Canada -- it is
time for a change.~~

I hear people say that
so thoroughly
~~because~~ we have shifted the control
over our
~~of the~~ banks ~~and of~~ savings from
and
Wall Street ~~or~~ State Street to the

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

INSERT - PAGE 13 before D. T.

Capital
~~Executive~~ of the United States -- *that*

it is time for a change.

13 1/2

Well -- if it is time for a change -- the way to get it in this democracy is by means of votes. And, being a good democrat -- with a small "d" -- I want to see a turn-out next Tuesday of the biggest vote in our American history.

And that means at least fifty million votes.

We could not find a better way to tell our boys overseas that the country they are fighting for is still going strong.

I know that in this campaign we are in a glass house and that the eyes and ears of all the world, enemies and allies alike, are upon all our words, taking note of them -- taking ~~everything that any candidate says, or~~ note because ~~what is said~~, ^{implies} or ^{inferred} about the internal condition of this nation may furnish ammunition to our enemies and hearten or dismay our allies.

~~also even by her own citizens upon her honor~~ ^{P. Scarpas has often in this campaign} I have been ~~even more often~~ tempted to speak my mind with sharper vigor and ^{greater} ~~more resounding~~ indignation.

But [there is a watchman upon my tongue and a guardian of my words -- ^{I have} namely] the constant realization that this campaign occurs at the very climax of a great war, and on a stage for which the audience ^{includes} ~~are~~ all the nations of the earth. And it has been my desire that even in an election campaign they should see America in her nobler aspects.

We now face the enormous and complex problems of building with our Allies a strong world structure of peace.

In doing that historic job we shall be standing before a mighty bar of judgment -- the judgment of God -- the judgment of all those who have fought and died in this war -- the judgment of generations yet unborn.

I believe that we Americans will want the building of the peace to be done by men who have shown foresight rather than hindsight.

There lived here in Boston a great American philosopher named William James who said that peace must furnish a moral equivalent for war.

Peace, no less than war, must offer a spirit of comradeship, a spirit of achievement, a spirit of unselfishness, an indomitable will to victory.

All through our history we Americans have had the moral equivalent for war.

We have waged war against the wilderness — against the mountains and the rivers — against the droughts and the storms. We have waged war against ignorance — against oppression — against intolerance.

We have waged war against poverty — against disease.
[We have waged war against distance, and against time.]

We fought a war for the principle that all men are created equal — and in that war we pledged "our lives, our fortunes and our sacred honor."

This war, which we are now fighting, has been an interruption in the story of our forward progress; but it has also opened a new chapter — a chapter which it is for us now living to write.

At the end of this war this country will have the greatest material power of any nation in the world.

a clean, shining America —
It will be richer than any other in skilled workers, engineers, farmers, businessmen, scientists.

[It will have the most perfect machines, and the material to feed into those machines.]

And around us is an unfinished world — a world of awakened peoples struggling to set themselves on the path of civilization — people struggling everywhere to achieve a higher cultural and material standard of living — in some countries, striving even to rise to the level of the poorest American worker.

How shall we use this great power of ours — that will remain in our hands only if we use it for the constructive purposes of life?

Shall we enlist it in the fight against poverty, disease and ignorance?

Shall we employ it to improve and to open upon this earth new homes for men?

Shall we employ it, in cooperation with others, to bend nature ever more successfully to the service of mankind? Shall we invest it in human liberation? Or shall we barricade ourselves behind our power and slowly stagnate for lack of vision — for lack of a common purpose?

I say we must wage the coming battle ^{Democracy and For} for civilization on a scale worthy of and comparable to the scale on which we have unitedly waged the battle against tyranny and reaction — and wage it through all the difficulties and disappointments that have ever clogged the wheels of progress.

And I say we must wage it in association with the same United Nations with whom we have stood and fought — with the association ever growing. I say we must wage a peace to attract the highest hearts and the most competent hands and brains.

That, my friends, is the conception I have of the meaning of total victory.

And that conception is founded upon faith — [a faith which I gained in large part here in this noble old state of Massachusetts —]
faith in the unlimited destiny of America.

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SECOND DRAFT

RADIO ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT

BOSTON -- NOVEMBER 4, 1944

~~I am glad that this is my last speech in this campaign --~~
operating dept
and I am glad to be ~~here~~ ⁱⁿ Boston.

I shall not review all my previous visits to Boston. I should have to talk for several days to do that -- and radio time costs a lot of money.

But I want to recall one visit, back in October, 1928, when I came here to urge you to vote for a great American named Al Smith.

And you ^{did} ~~voted~~ ^{eternally} for that ~~personally~~ ^{eternally} "Happy Warrior."

The Commonwealth of Massachusetts -- and your good neighbor, Rhode Island -- went Democratic in 1928 -- four years before the rest of the Nation did.

This year -- and I am making no predictions -- this year we would like to welcome into the fold Maine and Vermont,

And while I am speaking of that ~~whole~~ ^{having nominated him for the third time in the summer} campaign of 1928, let me remind you that, I was then running at Al Smith's request for the Governorship of New York, and people were then -- even then -- saying that my health would not permit me to discharge the duties of public office.

I think that it is by now a pretty well established fact that I survived my four years as Governor of New York.

SECOND DRAFT

- 2 -

In 1928 Al Smith remarked publicly that the Governor of New York does not have to be an acrobat. And not ^{going much before him} ~~so very long ago~~, ^{stating} ~~that~~ he remarked to me in my office in Washington, "It is perfectly evident you don't have to be an acrobat to be President either".

When I talked here in 1928 I talked about racial and religious intolerance which was then — as it unfortunately still is — "a menace to the liberties of America."

^{Bigots}
And all the ~~menaces of intolerance~~ were gunning for Al Smith.

Religious intolerance, social intolerance and political intolerance have no place in our American life.

Bigotry is surely one of the cardinal sins — and the best examples of the evils of bigotry have been found in Hitler's Germany.

Here in New England you have been fighting bigotry and intolerance for centuries. You know that ^{of} ~~some~~ of our best people are immigrants, ~~and always have been~~, even those who came here on the Mayflower. *Only the pure blooded Indians are not.*

And today, in this war, our fine boys are fighting magnificently all over the world and among those boys are the Murphys and the Kellys, the Smiths and the Joneses, the Cohens and the Levys, the Carusos and the Casassas, the Kowalskis and the ^{Schulmans} ~~Gutensacks~~, the Olsens

SECOND DRAFT

- 5 -

and the Swobodas, and — right in with all the rest of them — the Cabots and the Lowells.

All of these and others like them are the life-blood of America.

They are the hope of the world.

It is our duty to them to see to it that, big as this country is, there is no room in it for racial or religious intolerance — and there is no room for snobbery, or room for falsehood either. (A)

Our young men and young women are unconquerable because they know that they fight for the decent aims and honest ideals. They know that they are fighting not only for their existence, and their homes and their families. They also are fighting for a country and a world where men and women of all races, colors and creeds can live, work, speak and worship — in peace, freedom and security.

We must always understand what it is that the best of our young men and women are doing for us and what they are going through.

If we can shorten the war by one month — even by one minute — we will have saved the lives of some of our young men and women — lives which are beyond value. We must not let our comforts or conveniences, our politics or our prejudices, stand in the way of our determination to drive — to drive relentlessly and unflinchingly — over the hard road to final victory.

**THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON**

INSERT A PAGE 3

Everybody knows that I had no ambition for this nomination, but since the campaign has developed I tell you frankly that I have been most anxious to win -- for the reason that never before in my lifetime has a campaign been filled with such misrepresentation, distortion, and falsehood.

SECOND DRAFT

- 4 -

You and I -- all of us who are war-workers -- must stay on the job!

Although victory over the Nazis and the Japanese is certain and inevitable -- and I for one have never had one moment's doubt of our ultimate victory -- the war is still far from over. There is tough, hard and bloody fighting ahead of us.

We got into this war because we were attacked by the Japanese -- and because they and their Axis partners, Hitler's Germany and Mussolini's Italy, declared war on us.

Now I have heard the grave charge made by a few people -- and it so happens that all of these people have isolationist records -- the charge that I broke a pledge to the American people when I asked the Congress to declare the existence of a state of war.

I wonder what these people would have done in my place -- or in the Congress' place -- when the Japanese attacked the Hawaiian Islands -- or if they had attacked San Francisco or Los Angeles.

Would they have told the American people to take that lying down?

Is it still a "foreign" war when enemy bombs drop on American soil? Do bombs have to drop on the Capitol at Washington before it becomes an American war -- our war?

SECOND DRAFT

- 5 -

I am sure that any real American would have chosen, as this Government did, to fight. ^{when I saw that it was made the object of a secret attack,} As for myself, under the same circumstances, ^A I would choose to do the same thing -- again and again and again.

When our enemies flung the gage of battle at us, we elected to fight them in the American way, which meant that we went out after them -- and we started punching -- and we are still punching.

One of the tyrants, Mussolini, has been knocked out. The others are getting groggier and groggier every day.

And we are made happy by the fact that the Italian people -- our long-time friends -- are started once again along the paths of freedom and peace.

We were better prepared for this war than for any previous war in our history.

On the day of Pearl Harbor, we had more than ^{two} million men in our ~~Army~~ ^{armed forces}.

Our war production, started a year and a half before, was rolling toward the gigantic volume of output that has been achieved.

Our Navy was building. Indeed, it had been building since 1933 when I first used a quarter of a billion dollars of PWA funds to start a naval building program which included our first modern carriers. One of those carriers, authorized ten years ago, was the "Enterprise," a grand and gallant ship which has covered herself with glory all through this war and was in there fighting last week in the great victory in Philippine waters.

And -- in addition to our physical preparedness -- we had something far more important -- spiritual preparedness.

The American people were ready for it. On the day of Pearl Harbor they rose up as one man with a mighty shout -- a shout heard 'round the world -- "Let's go!"

And we went!

I have made reference in this campaign to my inability to talk out of both sides of my mouth.

Just the other day you people here in Boston witnessed an amazing demonstration of talking out of both sides of the mouth.

Speaking here in Boston, a Republican candidate said -- and I know you won't mind if I quote him correctly -- he said that "the

Communists are seizing control of the New Deal, through which they aim to control the Government of the United States".

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Now, really — which is it — communism or monarchy?

I do not think we could have both in this country, even if we wanted either, which we do not.

(B)

~~I have just said that we~~ want neither communism nor monarchy.

We want to live under the Constitution which on the whole has served pretty well for one hundred and fifty-five years. If this were a banquet hall instead of a ball park, I would drink a toast to our living under it for another one hundred and fifty-five years.

And — here in Fenway Park — I seem to be out in right field, the stamping ground of Ted Williams — a grand ball player now in our ~~Team~~ *Marines*

*Grace: This should go
in reading copy only —
not in mimeograph release.*

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

INSERT B PAGE 7

Of course what this gentleman really wants is very, very simple. Today he is one of the "outs". And he wants to be one of the "ins". That is a simple but rather accurate diagnosis of his illness.

The average American citizen is doing some hard thinking these days about what sort of Government he wants during the next four years.

The memory of the people is not short. The years 1929 to 1933 are thoroughly and grimly remembered by millions of our citizens — by workers who lost their jobs and their homes, by farmers who lost their crops and their farms, by families who lost their savings.

I know that the average American, with his capacity for sound judgment and insight, is examining very closely the campaign statements and promises of all political candidates this year. He will find some highly interesting changes of face.

Does the average American believe that those who fought tooth and nail against social legislation during the past twelve years can be trusted to cherish and preserve that legislation?

Can it be that those who financed the bitter opposition to the New Deal have made an about-face and are now willing to underwrite it?

No human force in this land can match the collective will of the American people — expressed through our democratic institutions.

The American people have found that their ballots can call up new safeguards for the people's resources. They have found that their ballots can put an end to breadlines, farm foreclosures and bankrupt businesses and idle factories.

Since the dark days early in 1933, many fortifications have been erected to protect the people of this country -- just as we promised that there would be.

These fortifications have provided protection for the people's bank deposits and their investments -- their standard of living -- their right to organize into unions and bargain collectively with their employers.

They protect their soil and rivers and trees -- their heritage of natural resources. They provide protection against the hazards of unemployment and old age.

They provide protection from inflation and runaway prices.

These fortifications are now manned by zealous defenders -- and these defenders are not Communists and they are not fossils. Can the citizens of the Nation now afford to turn over these bulwarks to the men who raised every possible obstacle to their original construction?

162

We have all heard Republican orators in this campaign call this Administration everything under the sun and, promise that they, if elected — and oh, my friends, what a big "if" that is — if elected they would institute the biggest house-cleaning in history.

(D)

But — have you heard one word of specific criticism of any of the progressive laws that this Administration has proposed and enacted?

Have you heard any talk of sweeping out any of these laws — or sweeping out any of the agencies which administer these laws?

Oh, no — on that subject they are, very uncharacteristically, silent.

This Administration has made mistakes. That I freely assert. But I thank God that there cannot be charged to us at any time, under any circumstances, the mistake of letting Americans go without work and food and homes and security.

Our mistakes have been honestly made during sincere efforts to help the great mass of citizens. Never had we made the inexcusable mistake of substituting talk for action when farms were being foreclosed, homes were being sold at auction and people were standing in breadlines.

(D)

P10

What a job '66 \ x 16 mean
cleaning / incidentally. - office -
- public Repps - could find -
- county / know - - Admin x

~~The only time for change -~~
~~Remember it~~

And, I might add, never will we make that kind of a mistake.

Wherever this Administration has erred, it has erred on the side of very deep concern for human welfare.

Is it conceivable to you that this Administration with that record could ever be guilty of neglect of the welfare of our fighting men?

When your sons --- and my sons --- come home from the battle-fronts, we are going to see that they have work --- honest, self-respecting jobs.

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You know --- just as an aside, and I think I can speak freely to my old friends here in Boston --- this is really a funny campaign.

SECOND DRAFT

- 12 -

I think I heard somebody say that Secretary Hull and the rest of us had done such a fine job with the Good Neighbor policy and our plans for world peace -- that it is time for a change.

I believe I heard somebody say that this incompetent["] Administration had developed a program which was so good for the farmers and the businessmen and the workers of the nation -- that it is time for a change.

And I am quite sure I heard somebody say that this["] chaotic["] Administration has done such an amazing job of war production -- that it is time for a change.

I hear people say that we have so thoroughly shifted the control over our banks from Wall Street and State Street to the Capital of the United States -- that it is time for a change.

I think I heard somebody say that those tired old men -- such as Stimson -- Marshall -- King -- MacArthur -- Nimitz and Halsey are waging such a victorious war -- that it is time for a change.

Well -- if it is time for a change -- the way to get it in this democracy is by means of votes. ~~And, being a good democrat --~~
~~with a small "d"~~ -- I want to see a turnout next Tuesday of the biggest vote in our American history.

And that means at least fifty million votes.

We could not find a better way to tell our boys overseas that the country they are fighting for is still going strong.

I know that in this campaign we are in a glass house and that the eyes and ears of all the world, enemies and allies alike, are upon all our words taking note of them — taking note because everything that any candidate says, or implies or infers about the internal condition of this nation may furnish ammunition to our enemies and hearten or dismay our allies.

I confess that often in this campaign, I have been tempted to speak my mind with sharper vigor and greater indignation.

But I have the constant realization that this campaign occurs at the very climax of a great war, and on a stage for which the audience includes all the nations of the earth. And it has been my desire that even in an election campaign they should see America in her nobler aspects.

We now face the enormous and complex problems of building with our Allies a strong world structure of peace.

In doing that historic job we shall be standing before a mighty bar of judgment -- the judgment of God -- the judgment of all those who have fought and died in this war -- the judgment of generations yet unborn.

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We have waged war against poverty - against disease.

We fought a war for the principle that all men are created equal -- and in that war we pledged "our lives, our fortunes and our sacred honor."

This war, which we are now fighting, has been an interruption in the story of our forward progress; but it has also opened a new chapter -- a chapter which it is for us now living to ~~write~~ *live*.

At the end of this war this country will have the greatest material power of any nation in the world.

It will be a clean, shining America -- richer than any other in skilled workers, engineers, farmers, businessmen, scientists.

And around us is an unfinished world -- a world of awakened peoples struggling to set themselves on the path of civilization -- people struggling everywhere to achieve a higher cultural and material standard of living. -- ~~in some countries, striving even to rise to the level of the poorest American worker.~~

I say we must wage the coming battle for America and for civilization on a scale worthy of and comparable to the scale on which we have unitedly waged the battle against tyranny and reaction -- and wage it through all the difficulties and disappointments that have ever clogged the wheels of progress.

And I say we must wage it in association with the same United Nations with whom we have stood and fought -- with the association ever growing. I say we must wage a peace to attract the highest hearts and the most competent hands and brains.

That, my friends, is the conception I have of the meaning of total victory.

And that conception is founded upon faith -- faith in the unlimited destiny of America.

RADIO ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENTBOSTON -- NOVEMBER 4, 1944

2903

[I am glad to be speaking here in Boston.]
This is not my first visit to Boston.
I shall not ~~review~~ *go on talking* all my previous visits, [to Boston.] I
should have *to talk* for several days to do that -- and radio
time costs a lot of money.

But I want to recall one visit, back in October, 1928,
when I came here to urge you to vote for a great American named
Al Smith.

And you did vote for that eternally "Happy Warrior".

The Commonwealth of Massachusetts -- and your good
neighbor, Rhode Island -- went Democratic in 1928 -- four years
before the rest of the Nation did.

This year -- and I am making no predictions -- this year
we would like to welcome into the fold Maine and Vermont.

And while I am speaking of that campaign of 1928, let
me remind you that, having nominated *Al Smith* ~~him~~ for the second time *for the*
Presidency,
[In the Convention] I was then running at *his* ~~Al Smith's~~ request
for the Governorship of New York. *And* people were then -- even
then -- saying that my health would not permit me to discharge
the duties of public office.

I think that it is by now a pretty well established fact ^{managed to} that I survived my four years as Governor of New York.

^{in this connection, in}
In 1928 Al Smith remarked publicly that the Governor of New York does not have to be an acrobat. And not many months before his untimely death, he remarked to me in my office in Washington, "It is perfectly evident you don't have to be an acrobat to be President either".

^{Boston in}
When I talked here in 1928 I talked about racial and religious intolerance which was then -- as it unfortunately still is -- "a menace to the liberties of America".

And all the bigots were gunning for Al Smith.

Religious intolerance, social intolerance and political intolerance have no place in our American life.

[Bigotry is surely one of the cardinal sins -- and the best examples of the evils of bigotry have been found in Hitler's Germany.]

Here in New England you have been fighting bigotry and intolerance for centuries. You know that all of our people ^{and not from abroad} ^{including} are immigrants, even those who came here on the Mayflower.

[Only the pure blooded Indians are not.]

[And] Today, in this war, our fine boys are fighting magnificently all over the world and among those boys are

the Murphys and the Kellys, the Smiths and the Joneses, the Cohens, [and the Levys,] the Garunos, [and the Casazzes,] the Kowalskis, ~~and~~ the Schultzes, the Olsens, ~~and~~ the Swobodas, and -- right in with all the rest of them -- the Cabots and the Lowells.

All of these and others like them are the life-blood of America.

They are the hope of the world.

It is our duty to them to ^{make sure} [see to it] that, big as this country is, there is no room in it for racial or religious intolerance -- and ^{let} there is no room for snobbery, [or room for falsehood either.]

[Everybody knows that I had no ambition for this nomination, but since the campaign has developed I tell you frankly that I have been most anxious to win -- for the reason that never before in my lifetime has a campaign been filled with such misrepresentation, distortion, and falsehood.]

Our young men and young women [are unconquerable because they know that they fight for decent aims and honest ideals. They know that they] are fighting not only for their existence, and their homes and the families. They also are fighting

for a country and a world where men and women of all races, colors and creeds can live, work, speak and worship -- in peace, freedom and security.

[We must always understand what it is that the best of our young men and women are doing for us and what they are going through.]

If we can shorten the war by one month -- even by one minute -- we will have saved the lives of some of our young men and women -- lives which are beyond value. We must not let our comforts or conveniences, our politics or our prejudices, stand in the way of our determination to drive -- to drive relentlessly and unflinchingly -- over the hard road to final victory.

THIRD DRAFT

You and I -- all of us who are war-workers -- must stay on the job!

Although victory over the Nazis and the Japanese is certain and inevitable -- and I for one have never had one moment's doubt of our ultimate victory -- the war is still far from over. There is tough, hard and bloody fighting ahead of us.

We got into this war because we were attacked by the Japanese -- and because they and their Axis partners, Hitler's Germany and Mussolini's Italy, declared war on us.

2
Is it still a "foreign" war when enemy bombs drop on American soil? Do bombs have to drop on the Capitol at Washington before it becomes an American war -- our war?

I am sure that any real American would have chosen, as this Government did, to fight when its own soil was made the object of a sneak attack. As for myself, under the same circumstances, I would choose to do the same thing -- again and again and again.

When our enemies flung the gage of battle at us, we elected to fight them in the American way, which meant that we went out after them -- and we started punching -- and we are still punching.

THIRD DRAFT

One of the tyrants, Mussolini, has been knocked out. The others are getting groggier and groggier every day.

And we are made happy by the fact that the Italian people -- our long-time friends -- are started once again along the paths of freedom and peace.

We were better prepared for this war than for any previous war in our history.

On the day of Pearl Harbor, we had more than two million men in our armed forces.

Our war production, started a year and a half before, was rolling toward the gigantic volume of output that has been achieved.

Our Navy was building. ^{even} Indeed, it had been building since 1933 when I first used a quarter of a billion dollars of FWA funds to start a naval building program which included our first modern carriers. One of those carriers, authorized ten years ago, was the "Enterprise," a grand and gallant ship which has covered herself with glory all through this war and was in there fighting last week in the great victory in Philippine waters.

And -- in addition to our physical preparedness -- we had something far more important -- spiritual preparedness.

THIRD DRAFT

The American people were ready for it. On the day of Pearl Harbor they rose up as one man with a mighty shout — a shout heard 'round the world — "Let's go!"

And we want!

[I have made reference in this campaign to my inability to talk out of both sides of my mouth.

Just the other day you people here in Boston witnessed an amazing demonstration of talking out of both sides of the mouth.

Speaking here in Boston, a Republican candidate said — and I know you won't mind if I quote him correctly — he said that "the Communists are seizing control of the New Deal, through which they aim to control the Government of the United States".

However, on that very same day that very same candidate had spoken in Worcester and he said that with Republican victory in November "we can end one-man government, we can forever remove the threat of monarchy in the United States".

Now, really — which is it — communism or monarchy?

I do not think we could have both in this country, even if we wanted either, which we do not.

Of course what this gentleman really wants is very, very simple. Today he is one of the "outs". And he wants to be one of the "ins".]

THIRD DRAFT

That is a simple but rather accurate diagnosis of his illness.

We want neither communism nor monarchy. We want to live under the Constitution which on the whole has served pretty well for one hundred and fifty-five years. If this were a banquet hall instead of a ball park, I would drink a toast to our living under it for another one hundred and fifty-five years.

~~And — here at Fenway Park — I seem to be out in right field, the stamping ground of Red Williams — a grand ball player now in our Marines.~~

Trace:
This should go
in reading copy only =
not in mimeograph release.

The average American citizen is doing some hard thinking these days about what sort of Government he wants during the next four years.

The memory of ~~the~~^{our} people is ~~not~~^{not} short. The years 1929 to 1933 are thoroughly and grimly remembered by millions of our citizens -- by workers who lost their jobs and their homes, by farmers who lost their crops and their farms, by families who lost their savings.

[I know that the average American, with his capacity for sound judgment and insight, is examining very closely the campaign statements and promises of all political candidates this year. He will find some highly interesting changes of face.]

(A) Does the average American believe that those who fought tooth and nail against ~~progressive~~^{progressive} legislation during the past twelve years can be trusted to cherish and preserve that legislation?

transfere
to page 10

Can it be that those who financed the bitter opposition to the New Deal have made an about-face and are now willing ~~to~~
and able to fight for the objectives of the New Deal
underwrite it?

Since the dark days early in 1933, many fortifications have been erected to protect the people of this country -- just as we promised that there would be.

These fortifications have provided protection for ^{your} the
~~people's~~ bank deposits and ^{your} ~~their~~ investments -- ^{your} ~~higher~~ standard
of living -- ^{your} ~~their~~ right to organize ~~into~~ unions and bargain
collectively with ^{your} ~~their~~ employers.

They protect ^{your} ~~their~~ soil and rivers and trees -- ^{your} ~~their~~
heritage of natural resources. They provide ^{your} ~~with~~ protection against
the hazards of unemployment and old age -- and

[They provide] protection from inflation and runaway
prices.

These fortifications are now manned by zealous defenders --
and these defenders are not Communists and they are not fossils.
Can the citizens of the Nation now afford to turn over these
bulwarks to the men who raised every possible obstacle to
their original construction?

We have all heard Republican orators in this campaign
call this Administration everything under the sun and, promise
that they, if elected -- and oh, my friends, what a big "if"
that is -- if elected they would institute the biggest
house-cleaning in history.

A

from p. 9

What a job that ^{will} be! It ^{will} mean ^{among other things} sweeping out ^{with my Administration} the most efficient and the most patriotic Republicans that ^{could be found} ~~I could find~~ in the whole country, ^{who are} now in my Administration.]

But -- have you heard one word of specific criticism of any of the progressive laws that this Administration has proposed and enacted?

Have you heard any talk of sweeping out any of these laws -- or sweeping out any of the agencies which administer these laws?

Oh, no -- on that subject ^{the Republican politicians} ~~they are~~ very uncharacteristically silent.

This Administration has made mistakes. That I freely assert. ^P But I thank God that ^{it} ~~there~~ cannot be charged ^{that} ~~to us~~ at any time, under any circumstances, the mistake of ^{we have made} ~~having~~ ^{forgetting} ~~our sacred obligation to the American people~~. ~~Americans go without work and food and homes and security.~~

But our mistakes have been honestly made during sincere efforts to help the great mass of citizens. Never have we made the inexcusable mistake of substituting talk for action when farms were being foreclosed, homes were being sold at auction and people were standing in breadlines.

dispute these campaign promises of ~~these~~ White-sell
housecleaning

And, I might add, never will we make that kind of mistake.

Wherever this Administration has erred, it has erred on the side of very deep concern for human welfare.

Is it conceivable to you that this Administration with ~~its~~ ^{its} record ^{of very deep concern for human welfare} could ever be guilty of neglect of the welfare of our fighting men?

When your sons, ~~he~~ and my sons ~~he~~ come home from the battlefronts ^{- and they are coming home just as quickly as they are no longer needed}, we are going to see that they have work -- honest, ^{for the essential job of this war} self-respecting jobs.

We are going to see ^{to it} that those of them seeking farms get a real chance to settle on land of their own.

We are going to see ^{to it} that those who hope to establish businesses have a legitimate and fair opportunity to do so.

The American people are quite competent to judge a political party which works both sides of the street -- a party which has one candidate ^{making campaign promises of all kinds of added government} promising large old-age pensions in the West while a running mate demands less ~~Federal~~ expenditures in the East.

^{government}

You know -- just as an aside, and I think I can speak freely to my old friends here in Boston -- this is really a funny campaign.

I think I heard ^{campaign orator} somebody say that Secretary Hull and the rest of us had done such a fine job with the Good Neighbor policy and our plans for world peace -- that it is time for a change.

I believe I heard ^{campaign orator} somebody say that this "incompetent" Administration had developed a program which was so good for the farmers and the businessmen and the workers of the nation -- that it is time for a change.

And I am quite sure I heard somebody say that this "chaotic" Administration has done such an amazing job of war production -- that it is time for a change.

^{think I heard some campaign orator}
I hear ~~people~~ say that we have so thoroughly shifted the control over our banks from Wall Street and State Street to the Capital of the United States -- that it is time for a change.

I think ^{even} I heard somebody say that those ^{quarrelsome} "tired old men" -- such as Stimson -- Marshall -- King -- MacArthur -- Nimitz and Halsey are waging such a victorious war -- that it is time for a change.

Well -- if it is time for a change -- the way to get it in this democracy is by means of votes. I want to see a turnout next Tuesday of the biggest vote in our American history, *whether I win or lose*
And that means at least fifty million votes.

We could not find a better way to tell our boys overseas that the country they are fighting for is still going strong.

I know that in this campaign we are in a glass house and that the eyes and ears of all the world, enemies and allies alike, are upon all our words, taking note of them -- taking note because everything that any candidate says, or implies or infers about the internal condition of this nation may furnish ammunition to our enemies and hearten or dismay our allies.

I confess that often in this campaign, I have been tempted to speak my mind with sharper vigor and greater indignation.

[But I have the constant realization that this campaign occurs at the very climax of a great war, and on a stage for which the audience includes all the nations of the earth. And it has been my desire that even in an election campaign they should see America in her nobler aspects.]

Have inserted (A)

~~falsehood either.~~

again this year.

Everybody knows that I ^{was reluctant to run for the Presidency} had no ambition for this

nomin^{ation}. But since the campaign has developed I tell you

frankly that I have ^{become} ~~been~~ most anxious to win -- for the reason

that never before in my lifetime has a campaign been filled

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1938 There have been so many attempts to administer in America

~~Our young men and young women are unconquerable because~~

~~they know that they fight for decent aims and honest ideals.~~

~~They know that they are fighting not only for their existence,~~

~~and their homes and the families. They also are fighting~~

racial or religious intolerance

P. 14 1/2

When any political candidate stands up and says, ~~that~~ solemnly, that there is danger that the Government of the United States - your Government - could be sold out to the Communists - then I say that that candidate reveals a shocking lack of trust in America.

It reveals a shocking lack of faith in democracy - in the spiritual strength of our people.

Now this subject - and on all subjects - I say to you, my friends, what I said when first you conferred upon me the exalted honor of the Presidency:

"We have nothing to fear but fear itself."

And I do not think you will ever cast your votes for fearful men.

If ever there was a time ⁱⁿ which ~~total~~ the spiritual strength of our people was put to the test, that time was in the terrible depression of 1929 to 1933.

Then our people might have turned to alien ideologies - like communism or fascism.

But - our democratic faith was too strong. What the American people demanded ^{in 1933} was not less democracy - ~~and that is what~~ but more democracy - and that is what they got.

The American people proved in the black days of depression - as they have again proved in this war - that there is no chink in the armor of democracy.

We now face the enormous and complex problems of building with our Allies a strong world structure of peace.

In doing that historic job we shall be standing before a mighty bar of judgment -- ^{our} the judgment of God -- the judgment of all those who have fought and died in this war -- the judgment of generations yet unborn.

I believe that we Americans will want the building of the peace to be ^{built} ~~done~~ by men who have shown foresight rather than hindsight.

Peace, no less than war, must offer a spirit of comradeship, a spirit of achievement, a spirit of unselfishness, an indomitable will to victory.

We have waged war against the wilderness -- against the mountains and the rivers -- against the droughts and the storms. We have waged war against ignorance -- against oppression -- against intolerance.

We have waged war against poverty -- against disease.

We fought ^{the Revolutionary War} ~~war~~ for the principle that all men are created equal -- and in that war we pledged "our lives, our fortunes and our sacred honor."

This war, which we are now fighting, has been an interruption in the story of our forward progress; but it has also opened a new chapter -- a chapter which it is for us now living to begin.

At the end of this war this country will have the greatest material power of any nation in the world.

It will be a clean, shining America -- richer than any other in skilled workers, engineers, farmers, businessmen, scientists.

(A) → And around us ^{*the All*} ~~is~~ _{*A*} an unfinished world -- a world of awakened peoples struggling to set themselves on the path of civilization -- people struggling everywhere to achieve a higher cultural and material standard of living.

I say we must wage the coming battle for America and for civilization on a scale worthy of and comparable to the scale on which we have unitedly waged the battle against tyranny and reaction -- and wage it through all the difficulties and disappointments that ^{*may*} ~~have~~ ever clogged the wheels of progress.

And I say we must wage it in association with the ~~the~~ United Nations with whom we have stood and fought -- with the association ever growing. *P* I say we must wage a peace to attract the highest hearts and the most competent hands and brains.

(A)
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~~We shall continue to go forward in such an America~~ *in which there is*
~~forward to~~ a genuine partnership between the farmer and the
worker and the business-man ^{in which there are} ~~forward to~~ abundant jobs ~~and~~
^{and} production ~~in an expanding economy of peace.~~ ^{forward to} a
firmly rooted United Nations in which America will take an
active part to secure her own peace and the peace of the
world.]

~~only one program~~

P It will be

That, my friends, is the conception I have of
the meaning of total victory.

And that conception is founded upon faith -- faith
and the unshakable spirit of
in the unlimited destiny of America.

^

FOURTH DRAFT

RADIO ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT
FENWAY PARK, BOSTON, MASS.
NOVEMBER 4, 1944

This is not my first visit to Boston. I shall not review all my previous visits. I should have to go on talking for several days to do that -- and radio time costs a lot of money.

But I want to recall one visit, back in October, 1928, when I came here to urge you to vote for a great American named Al Smith.

And you did vote for that eternally "Happy Warrior".

The Commonwealth of Massachusetts -- and your good neighbor, Rhode Island -- went Democratic in 1928 -- four years before the rest of the Nation did.

This year -- and I am making no predictions -- this year we would like to welcome into the fold Maine and Vermont.

And while I am speaking of that campaign of 1928, let me remind you that, having nominated Al Smith for the second time for the Presidency, I was then running at his request for the Governorship of New York. And people were then -- even then -- saying that my health would not

permit me to discharge the duties of public office.

I think that it is by now a pretty well established fact that I managed to survive my four years as Governor of New York.

In this connection, in 1928 Al Smith remarked publicly that the Governor of New York does not have to be an acrobat. And not many months before his untimely death, he remarked to me in my office in Washington "It is perfectly evident you don't have to be an acrobat to be President either".

When I talked here in Boston in 1928 I talked about racial and religious intolerance which was then -- as it unfortunately still is -- "a menace to the liberties of America".

And all the bigots were gunning for Al Smith.

Religious intolerance, social intolerance and political intolerance have no place in our American life.

Here in New England you have been fighting bigotry and intolerance for centuries. You know that all of our

people -- except pure-blooded Indians -- are immigrants, *by*

descendants of immigrants,
including even those who came here on the Mayflower.

FOURTH DRAFT

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Today, in this war, our fine boys are fighting magnificently all over the world and among those boys are the Murphys and the Kellys, the Smiths and the Joneses, the Cohens, the Carusos, the Kowalskis, the Schultzes, the Olsens, the Swobodas, and -- right in with all the rest of them -- the Cabots and the Lowells.

FOURTH DRAFT

All of these and others like them are the life-blood of America. They are the hope of the world.

It is our duty to them to make sure that, big as this country is, there is no room in it for racial or religious intolerance -- and that there is no room for snobbery.

Our young men and young women are fighting not only for their existence, and their homes and the families. They also are fighting for a country and a world where men and women of all races, colors and creeds can live, work, speak and worship -- in peace, freedom and security.

If we can shorten the war by one month -- even by one minute -- we ^{shall} ~~will~~ have saved the lives of some of our young men and women, ~~the lives of some of our young men and women~~. We must not let our ^r comforts or conveniences, our politics or our prejudices, stand in the way of our determination to drive -- to drive relentlessly and unflinchingly -- over the hard road to final victory.

You and I -- all of us who are war-workers -- must stay on the job!

Although victory over the Nazis and the Japanese is certain and inevitable -- and I for one have never had one moment's doubt of our ultimate victory -- the war is still

FOURTH DRAFT

far from over. There is tough, hard and bloody fighting ahead of us.

We got into this war because we were attacked by the Japanese -- and because they and their Axis partners, Hitler's Germany and Mussolini's Italy, declared war on us.

Is it still a "foreign" war when enemy bombs drop on American soil? Do bombs have to drop ~~in~~ on the Capitol at Washington before it becomes an American war -- our war?

I am sure that any real American would have chosen, as this Government did, to fight when ~~the~~ ^{our own} own soil was made the object of a sneak attack. As for myself, under the same circumstances, I would choose to do the same thing -- again and again and again.

When our enemies flung the gage of battle at us, we elected to fight them in the American way, which meant that we went out after them -- and we started punching -- and we are still punching.

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One of the tyrants, Mussolini, has been knocked out. The others are getting groggier and groggier every day.

And we are made happy by the fact that the Italian people -- our long-time friends -- are started once again along the paths of freedom and peace.

We were better prepared for this war than for any previous war in our history.

On the day of Pearl Harbor, we had more than two million men in our armed forces.

Our war production, started a year and a half before, was rolling toward the gigantic volume of output that has been achieved.

Our Navy was building. Indeed, it had been building ever since 1933, when I first used [a quarter of a billion dollars of] PWA funds to start a naval building program -- which included our first modern carriers. One of those carriers, authorized ten years ago, was the "Enterprise," a grand and gallant ship which has covered herself with glory all through this war and was in there fighting last week in the great victory in Philippine waters.

And -- in addition to our physical preparedness -- we had something far more important -- spiritual preparedness.

FOURTH DRAFT

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The American people were ready for it. On the day of Pearl
Harbor they rose up as one man with a mighty shout -- a shout heard
'round the world -- "Let's go!"

And we went!

FOURTH DRAFT

The average American citizen is doing some hard thinking these days about what sort of Government he wants during the next four years.

The memory of our people is not short. The years 1929 to 1933 are thoroughly and grimly remembered by millions of our citizens -- by workers who lost their jobs and their homes, by farmers who lost their crops and their farms, by families who lost their savings.

Since ^{then} ~~the~~ dark days early in 1933, many fortifications have been erected to protect the people of this country -- just as we promised that there would be.

These fortifications have provided protection for your bank deposits and your investments -- your standard of living -- your right to organize unions and to bargain collectively with your employers.

They protect your soil and rivers and trees -- your heritage of natural resources. They provide you with protection against the hazards of unemployment and old age -- ~~and protection from~~ ^{they protect you against} inflation and runaway prices.

FOURTH DRAFT

These fortifications are now manned by zealous defenders -- and these defenders are not Communists and they are not fossils. **P** Can the citizens of the Nation now afford to turn over these bulwarks to the men who raised every possible obstacle to their original construction?

Does the average American believe that those who fought tooth and nail against progressive legislation during the past twelve years can be trusted to cherish and preserve that legislation?

Can it be that those who financed the bitter opposition to the New Deal have made an about-face and are now willing and able to fight for the objectives of the New Deal?

We have all heard Republican orators in this campaign call this Administration everything under the sun and, promise that they, if elected -- and oh, my friends, what a big "if" that is -- if elected they would institute the biggest house-cleaning in history.

FOURTH DRAFT

- 10 -

What a job that would be! It would mean, among other things, sweeping out with my Administration the most efficient and the most patriotic Republicans that could be found in the whole country.

But -- despite these campaign promises of wholesale housecleaning, have you heard one word of specific criticism of any of the progressive laws that this Administration has proposed and enacted?

Have you heard any talk of sweeping out any of these laws --- or sweeping out any of the agencies which administer these laws?

Oh, no -- on that subject the Republican politicians are very uncharacteristically silent.

This Administration has made mistakes. That I freely assert.

But our mistakes have been honestly made during sincere efforts to help the great mass of citizens. Never have we made the inexcusable mistake of substituting talk for action when farms were being foreclosed, homes were being sold at auction and people were standing in breadlines.

FOURTH DRAFT

- 11 -

I thank God that it cannot be charged that at any time, under any circumstances, ~~we have~~ made the mistake of forgetting our sacred obligation to the American people.

And, I might add, never will we make that kind of mistake.

Is it conceivable to you that this Administration with its record of very deep concern for human welfare could ever be guilty of neglect of the welfare of our fighting men?

When your sons, and my sons, come home from the battlefronts -- and they are coming home just as quickly as they are no longer needed for the essential job of this war -- we are going to see that they have work -- honest, self-respecting jobs.

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We are going to see to it that those who hope to establish businesses have a legitimate and fair opportunity to do so.

The American people are quite competent to judge a political party which works both sides of the street -- a party which has one candidate making campaign promises of all kinds of added government expenditures in the West while a running mate demands less government expenditures in the East.

You know -- just as an aside, and I think I can speak freely to my old friends here in Boston -- this is really a funny campaign.

I think I heard some campaign orator say that Secretary Hull and the rest of us had done such a fine job with the Good Neighbor policy and our plans for world peace -- that it is time for a change.

I believe I heard some campaign orator say that this "incompetent" Administration had developed a program which was so good for the farmers and the businessmen and the workers of the nation -- that it is time for a change.

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And I am quite sure I heard somebody say that this "chaotic" Administration has done such an amazing job of war production -- that it is time for a change.

I think I even heard somebody say that those "tired, quarrelsome" old men -- are waging such a victorious war -- that it is time for a change.

Well -- if it is time for a change -- the way to get it in this democracy is by means of votes. I want to see a turnout next Tuesday of the biggest vote in our American history. Whether I win or lose,

And that means at least fifty million votes.

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182
43
144

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Now, really -- which is it -- communism or monarchy?

I do not think we could have both in this country, even if we wanted either, which we do not.

We want neither communism nor monarchy. We want to live under ^{our} the Constitution which ~~our~~ has served pretty well for one hundred and fifty-five years. If this were a banquet hall instead of a ball park, I would ~~ask~~ ^{propose} that we ^{that we will continue to live} ~~toast~~ ~~continue to live~~ under it for another one hundred and fifty-five years.

FOURTH DRAFT

- 14 -

I confess that often in this campaign, I have been tempted to speak my mind with sharper vigor and greater indignation.

Everybody knows that I was reluctant to run for the Presidency again this year. But since the campaign has developed I tell you frankly that I have become most anxious to win -- for the reason that never before in my lifetime has a campaign been filled with such misrepresentation, distortion, and falsehood. Never since 1928 have there been so many attempts to stimulate in America racial or religious intolerance.

When any political candidate stands up and says, solemnly, that there is danger that the Government of the United States -- your Government -- could be sold out to the Communists -- then I say that that candidate reveals a shocking lack of trust in America.

He reveals a shocking lack of faith in democracy -- in the spiritual strength of our people.

If ever there ^{WAS} ~~were~~ a time in which the spiritual strength of our people ^{WAS} ~~were~~ put to the test, that time was in the terrible depression of 1929 to 1933.

FOURTH DRAFT

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Then our people might have turned to alien ideologies --
like communism or fascism.

But -- our democratic faith was too sturdy. What the American people demanded in 1933 was not less democracy -- ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ but more democracy -- and that is what they got.

The American people proved in the black days of depression -- as they have again proved in this war -- that there is no chink in the armor of democracy. (A)

We now face the enormous and complex problems of building with our Allies a strong world structure of peace.

In doing that historic job we shall be standing before a mighty bar of judgment -- the judgment of all those who have fought and died in this war -- the judgment of generations yet unborn -- the very judgment of God.

I believe that we Americans will want the peace to be built by men who have shown foresight rather than hindsight.

Peace, no less than war, must offer a spirit of comradeship, a spirit of achievement, a spirit of unselfishness, and indomitable will to victory.

On this subject -- and on all subjects -- I say to you, my friends, what I said when first you conferred upon me the exalted honor of the Presidency:

"We have nothing to fear but fear itself".

And I do not think you will ever cast your votes for fearful men.

FOURTH DRAFT

- 16 -

We have waged war against the wilderness -- against the mountains and the rivers -- against the droughts and the storms. We have waged war against ignorance -- against oppression -- against intolerance.

We have waged war against poverty -- against disease.

We fought the Revolutionary War for the principle that all men are created equal -- and in that war we pledged "our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honor."

This war, which we are now fighting, has been an interruption in the story of our forward progress; but it has also opened a new chapter -- a chapter which it is for us now living to begin.

At the end of this war this country will have the greatest material power of any nation in the world.

It will be a clean, shining America -- richer than any other in skilled workers, engineers, farmers, businessmen, scientists.

It will be an America in which there is a genuine partnership between the farmer and the worker and the business-man -- in which there are abundant jobs and an expanding economy of peace.

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And around us we see an unfinished world -- a world of awakened peoples struggling to set themselves on the path of civilization -- people struggling everywhere to achieve a higher cultural and material standard of living.

I say we must wage the coming battle for America and for civilization on a scale worthy of the ^{we say} ~~conception~~ which we have unitedly waged the battles against tyranny and reaction -- and wage it through all the difficulties and disappointments that may ever clog the wheels of progress.

And I say we must wage it in association with the United Nations with whom we have stood and fought -- with the association ever growing.

I say we must wage a peace to attract the highest hearts and the most competent hands and brains.

That, my friends, is the conception I have of the meaning of total victory.

And that conception is founded upon faith -- faith in the unlimited destiny ~~of the~~ the unconquerable spirit of America.

ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT
FENWAY PARK, BOSTON, MASS.

NOVEMBER 4, 1944

This is not my first visit to Boston. I shall not review all my previous visits. I should have to go on talking for several days to do that -- and radio time costs a lot of money.

But I want to recall one visit, back in October, 1928, when I came here to urge you to vote for a great American named Al Smith.

And you did vote for that eternally "Happy Warrior".

The Commonwealth of Massachusetts -- and your good neighbor, Rhode Island -- went Democratic in 1928 -- four years before the rest of the Nation did.

This year -- and I am making no predictions -- this year we would like to welcome into the fold Maine and Vermont.

And while I am speaking of that campaign of 1928, let me remind you that, having nominated Al Smith for the second time for the Presidency, I was then running at his request for the Governorship of New York. And people were then -- even then -- saying that my health would not permit me to discharge the duties of public office.

I think that it is by now a pretty well established fact that I managed to survive my four years as Governor of New York.

In this connection, in 1928 Al Smith remarked publicly that the Governor of New York does not have to be an acrobat. And not many months before his untimely death, he remarked to me in my office in Washington "It is perfectly evident you don't have to be an acrobat to be President either".

When I talked here in Boston in 1928 I talked about racial and religious intolerance which was then -- as it unfortunately still is -- "a menace to the liberties of America".

And all the bigots were gunning for Al Smith.

Religious intolerance, social intolerance and political intolerance have no place in our American life.

Here in New England you have been fighting bigotry and intolerance for centuries. You know that all of our people -- except pure-blooded Indians -- are immigrants or descendants of immigrants, including even those who came here on the Mayflower.

Today, in this war, our fine boys are fighting magnificently all over the world and among those boys are the Murphys and the Kellys, the Smiths and the Joneses, the Cohens, the Carusos, the Kowalskis, the Schultzes, the Olsens, the Swobodas, and -- right in with all the rest of them -- the Cabots and the Lowells.

All of these and others like them are the life-blood of America. They are the hope of the world.

It is our duty to them to make sure that, big as this country is, there is no room in it for racial or religious intolerance -- and that there is no room for snobbery.

Our young men and young women are fighting not only for their existence, and their homes and their families. They also are fighting for a country and a world where men and women of all races, colors and creeds can live, work, speak and worship -- in peace, freedom and security.

If we can shorten the war by one month -- even by one minute -- we shall have saved the lives of some of our young men and women. We must not let our comforts or conveniences, our politics or our prejudices, stand in the way of our determination to drive -- to drive relentlessly and unflinchingly -- over the hard road to final victory.

You and I -- all of us who are war-workers -- must stay on the job!

Although victory over the Nazis and the Japanese is certain and inevitable -- and I for one have never had one moment's doubt of our ultimate victory -- the war is still far from over. There is tough, hard and bloody fighting ahead of us.

We got into this war because we were attacked by the Japanese -- and because they and their Axis partners, Hitler's Germany and Mussolini's Italy, declared war on us.

I am sure that any real American would have chosen, as this Government did, to fight when our own soil was made the object of a sneak attack. As for myself, under the same circumstances, I would choose to do the same thing -- again and again and again.

When our enemies flung the gage of battle at us, we elected to fight them in the American way, which meant that we went out after them -- and we started punching -- and we are still punching, -- and we have driven our enemies into their own corner.

One of the tyrants, Mussolini, has been knocked out. The others are getting groggier and groggier every day.

And we are made happy by the fact that the Italian people -- our long-time friends -- are started once again along the paths of freedom and peace.

We were better prepared for this war than for any previous war in our history.

On the day of Pearl Harbor, we had more than two million men in our armed forces.

Our war production, started a year and a half before, was rolling toward the gigantic volume of output that has been achieved.

Our Navy was building. Indeed, it had been building ever since 1933, when I first used PWA funds to start a naval building program -- which included our first modern carriers. One of those carriers, authorized ten years ago, was the "Enterprise", a grand and gallant ship which has covered herself with glory all through this war and was in there fighting last week in the great victory in Philippine waters.

And -- in addition to our physical preparedness -- we had something far more important -- spiritual preparedness.

The American people were ready for it. On the day of Pearl Harbor they rose up as one man with a mighty shout -- a shout heard 'round the world -- "Let's go!"

And we went!

The average American citizen is doing some hard thinking these days about what sort of Government he wants during the next four years.

The memory of our people is not short. The years 1929 to 1933 are thoroughly and grimly remembered by millions of our citizens -- by workers who lost their jobs and their homes, by farmers who lost their crops and their farms, by families who lost their savings.

Since those dark days early in 1933, many fortifications have been erected to protect the people of this country -- just as we promised that there would be.

These fortifications have provided protection for your bank deposits and your investments -- your standard of living -- your right to organize unions and to bargain collectively with your employers.

They protect your soil and rivers and trees -- your heritage of natural resources. They provide you with protection against the hazards of unemployment and old age -- they protect you against inflation and runaway prices.

These fortifications are now manned by zealous defenders -- and these defenders are not Communists and they are not fossils.

Can the citizens of the Nation now afford to turn over these bulwarks to the men who raised every possible obstacle to their original construction?

Does the average American believe that those who fought tooth and nail against progressive legislation during the past twelve years can be trusted to cherish and preserve that legislation?

Can it be that those who financed the bitter opposition to the New Deal have made an about-face and are now willing and able to fight for the objectives of the New Deal?

We have all heard Republican orators in this campaign call this Administration everything under the sun and, promise that they, if elected -- and oh, my friends, what a big "if" that is -- if elected they would institute the biggest house-cleaning in history.

What a job that would be! It would mean, among other things, sweeping out with my Administration the most efficient and the most patriotic Republicans that could be found in the whole country.

But -- despite these campaign promises of wholesale house-cleaning -- have you heard one word of specific criticism of any of the progressive laws that this Administration has proposed and enacted?

Have you heard any talk of sweeping out any of these laws -- or sweeping out any of the agencies which administer these laws?

Oh, no -- on that subject the Republican politicians are very uncharacteristically silent.

This Administration has made mistakes. That I freely assert.

But our mistakes have been honestly made during sincere efforts to help the great mass of citizens. Never have we made the inexcusable mistake of substituting talk for action when farms were being foreclosed, homes were being sold at auction, and people were standing in breadlines.

I thank God that it cannot be charged that at any time, under any circumstances, have we made the mistake of forgetting our sacred obligation to the American people.

And, I might add, never will we make that kind of mistake.

Is it conceivable to you that this Administration with its record of very deep concern for human welfare could ever be guilty of neglect of the welfare of our fighting men?

When your sons, and my sons, come home from the battlefronts -- and they are coming home just as quickly as they are no longer needed for the essential job of this war -- we are going to see that they have work -- honest, self-respecting jobs.

We are going to see to it that those of them seeking farms get a real chance to settle on land of their own.

We are going to see to it that those who hope to establish businesses have a legitimate and fair opportunity to do so.

The American people are quite competent to judge a political party which works both sides of the street -- a party which has one candidate making campaign promises of all kinds of added government expenditures in the West while a running mate demands less government expenditures in the East.

You know -- just as an aside, and I think I can speak freely to my old friends here in Boston -- this is really a funny campaign.

I think I heard some campaign orator say that Secretary Hull and the rest of us had done such a fine job with the Good Neighbor policy and our plans for world peace -- that it is time for a change.

I believe I heard some campaign orator say that this "incompetent" Administration had developed a program which was so good for the farmers and the businessmen and the workers of the nation -- that it is time for a change.

I think I heard some campaign orator say that we have so thoroughly shifted the control over our banks from Wall Street and State Street to the Capital of the United States -- that it is time for a change.

And I am quite sure I heard somebody say that this "chaotic" Administration has done such an amazing job of war production -- that it is time for a change.

I think I even heard somebody say that those "tired, quarrelsome" old men -- are waging such a victorious war -- that it is time for a change.

Well -- if it is time for a change -- the way to get it in this democracy is by means of votes. Whether I win or lose, I want to see a turnout next Tuesday of the biggest vote in our American history.

And that means at least fifty million votes.

We could not find a better way to tell our boys overseas that the country they are fighting for is still going strong.

Just the other day you people here in Boston witnessed an amazing demonstration of talking out of both sides of the mouth.

Speaking here in Boston, a Republican candidate said -- and pardon me if I quote him correctly -- he said that "the Communists are seizing control of the New Deal, through which they aim to control the Government of the United States".

However, on that very same day that very same candidate had spoken in Worcester and he said that with Republican victory in November "we can end one-man government, we can forever remove the threat of monarchy in the United States".

Now, really -- which is it -- communism or monarchy?

I do not think we could have both in this country, even if we wanted either -- which we do not.

We want neither communism nor monarchy. We want to live under our Constitution -- which has served pretty well for one hundred and fifty-five years. If this were a banquet hall instead of a ball park, I would propose a toast that we will continue to live under it for another one hundred and fifty-five years.

I confess that often in this campaign, I have been tempted to speak my mind with sharper vigor and greater indignation.

Everybody knows that I was reluctant to run for the Presidency again this year. But since the campaign has developed I tell you frankly that I have become most anxious to win -- for the reason that never before in my lifetime has a campaign been filled with such misrepresentation, distortion, and falsehood. Never since 1928 have there been so many attempts to stimulate in America racial or religious intolerance.

When any political candidate stands up and says, solemnly, that there is danger that the Government of the United States -- your Government -- could be sold out to the Communists -- then I say that that candidate reveals a shocking lack of trust in America.

He reveals a shocking lack of faith in democracy -- in the spiritual strength of our people.

If ever there was a time in which the spiritual strength of our people was put to the test, that time was in the terrible depression of 1929 to 1933.

Then our people might have turned to alien ideologies -- like communism or fascism.

But -- our democratic faith was too sturdy. What the American people demanded in 1933 was not less democracy -- but more democracy -- and that is what they got.

The American people proved in the black days of depression -- as they have again proved in this war -- that there is no chink in the armor of democracy.

On this subject -- and on all subjects -- I say to you, my friends, what I said when first you conferred upon me the exalted honor of the Presidency:

"We have nothing to fear but fear itself".

And I do not think you will ever cast your votes for fearful men.

We now face the enormous and complex problems of building with our Allies a strong world structure of peace.

In doing that historic job we shall be standing before a mighty bar of judgment -- the judgment of all those who have fought and died in this war -- the judgment of generations yet unborn -- the very judgment of God.

I believe that we Americans will want the peace to be built by men who have shown foresight rather than hindsight.

Peace, no less than war, must offer a spirit of comradeship, a spirit of achievement, a spirit of unselfishness, and indomitable will to victory.

We have waged war against the wilderness -- against the mountains and the rivers -- against the droughts and the storms. We have waged war against ignorance -- against oppression -- against intolerance.

We have waged war against poverty -- against disease.

We fought the Revolutionary War for the principle that all men are created equal -- and in that war we pledged "our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honor".

This war, which we are now fighting, has been an interruption in the story of our forward progress; but it has also opened a new chapter -- a chapter which it is for us now living to begin.

At the end of this war this country will have the greatest material power of any nation in the world.

It will be a clean, shining America -- richer than any other in skilled workers, engineers, farmers, businessmen, scientists.

It will be an America in which there is a genuine partnership between the farmer and the worker and the business-man -- in which there are abundant jobs and an expanding economy of peace.

And around us we see an unfinished world -- a world of awakened peoples struggling to set themselves on the path of civilization -- people struggling everywhere to achieve a higher cultural and material standard of living.

I say we must wage the coming battle for America and for civilization on a scale worthy of the way we have unitedly waged the battles against tyranny and reaction and wage it through all the difficulties and disappointments that may ever clog the wheels of progress.

And I say we must wage it in association with the United Nations with whom we have stood and fought -- with the association ever growing.

I say we must wage a peace to attract the highest hearts and the most competent hands and brains.

That, my friends, is the conception I have of the meaning of total victory.

And that conception is founded upon faith -- faith in the unlimited destiny -- the unconquerable spirit -- of America.

Franklin D. Roosevelt

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#1559
ADDRESS Of The President
At Fenway Park, Boston, Massachusetts
November 4, 1944, at 9.00 p.m., e.w.t.
Radio Broadcast

My good friend Mayor Tobin, and my old friends of

Boston:

This is not my first visit to Boston. Therefore, I shall not review all my previous visits. I would (should) have to go on talking for several days to do that -- and radio time costs a lot of money. (laughter)

But I want to recall one visit, back in October, 1928, when I came here to urge you to vote for a great American -- a great American named Al Smith. (applause)

And you did vote for that eternally "Happy Warrior."

The Commonwealth of Massachusetts -- and your good neighbor, Rhode Island -- both went Democratic in 1928 -- four years before the rest of the Nation did.

And this year -- and I am making no predictions, I just have a little hope -- (laughter) -- this year we would like to welcome into the family (field) Maine and Vermont. (laughter and applause)

And while I am speaking of that campaign of 1928, let me remind you that, having nominated Al Smith for the second time for the Presidency, I was then running at his request for the Governorship of New York. And people were then -- even then -- saying that my health would not permit me to discharge the duties of public office. (laughter and applause)

Franklin D. Roosevelt Library

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

Well, you know, I think that it is by now a pretty well established fact that I managed to survive my four years as Governor of New York. (laughter) And at the end of that time I went elsewhere. (more laughter)

In this connection, in 1928 -- that first year that I ran for Governor -- Al Smith remarked publicly that the Governor of New York does not have to be an acrobat. And not many months before his untimely death, he remarked to me in my office in Washington, "It is perfectly evident that you don't have to be an acrobat to be President (either)."
(applause)

And when I talked here in Boston in 1928, I talked about racial and religious intolerance, which was then -- as (it) unfortunately it still is, to some extent -- "a menace to the liberties of America."

And all the bigots in those days were gunning for Al Smith.

Religious intolerance, social intolerance and political intolerance have no place in our American life. (applause)

And, thinking back a good many years, here in New England you have been fighting bigotry and intolerance for centuries. (applause) I reminded a genealogical society -- I think they are called "ancestor worshippers" -- I said to them that they knew (You know) that all of our people all over the country -- except the pure-blooded Indians -- are immigrants or descendants of immigrants, including even those who came over here on the Mayflower.

Today, in this war, our fine boys are fighting magnificently all over the world and among those boys are the Murphys and the Kellys, the Smiths and the Joneses, the Cohens, the Carusos, the Kowalskis, the Schultzes, the Olsens, the Swobodas, and -- right in with all the rest of them -- the Cabots and the Lowells. (laughter and applause)

Now all of these people, and others like them, are the life-blood of America. They are the hope of the world.

And it's (It is) our duty to them to make sure that, big as this country is, there is no room in it for racial or religious intolerance -- (applause) -- and that there is no room for snobbery.

Our young men and our young women are fighting not only for their existence, (and) their homes and their families. They also are fighting for a country and a world where men and women of all races, colors and creeds can live, and work, and speak and worship -- in peace, and freedom and security.

And if we can shorten this (the) war by one month -- even by one minute -- we shall have saved the lives of some of our young men and women. We must not let our comforts or conveniences, our politics or our prejudices, stand in the way of our determination to drive -- to drive relentlessly and unflinchingly -- over the hard road to final victory.

You and I -- all of us who are war-workers -- must stay on the job! (applause)

Now, although victory over the Nazis and the Japanese is certain and inevitable -- and I for one have never

had one moment's doubt of our ultimate victory -- the war is still far from over. There is tough, hard, (and) bloody fighting ahead (of us).

We got into this war because we were attacked by the Japanese -- we all know that -- and because they and their Axis partners, Hitler's Germany and Mussolini's Italy, declared war on us.

I am sure that any real American -- any real, red-blooded American -- would have chosen, as this Government did, to fight when our own soil was made the object of a sneak attack. As for myself, under (the) same circumstances, I would choose to do the same thing -- again and again and again. (loud and prolonged applause)

And when our enemies flung the gauge of battle at us, we elected to fight them in the American way, which meant that we went (out) after them -- and we started punching -- and we are still punching. And we have driven our enemies into their own corner. (applause)

Well, this is like a sport in the Navy called a "free-for-all." One of the tyrants, Mussolini, has been knocked out for the count. (applause) And the others are getting groggier and groggier every day. (applause)

(And) We are made happy by the fact that the Italian people -- our long-time friends -- are started once again along the paths of freedom and peace. (applause)

I think that history will say that we were better prepared for this war than for any previous war in all our

history. (applause)

On the day of Pearl Harbor, for example -- the day before the declaration of war -- we had more than two million men in our armed forces.

Our war production, started a year and a half before that, was rolling toward the gigantic volume of output that has been achieved.

Our Navy was building, and for the first time of any length since 1933 it had been building. It had been building -- indeed, it had been building ever since 1933 -- it started to build up again, and we know why it went down -- when I first used PWA funds to start a naval building program -- that (which) included our first modern carriers. One of those carriers, by the way, that you have read of, authorized ten years ago, was the ENTERPRISE -- a name well known throughout New England, the original ENTERPRISE being the hero of the War of 1812 -- but this new ENTERPRISE, a grand and gallant ship, (which) has covered herself with glory all through this war, and was in there fighting last week in the great victory in Philippine waters. (applause)

But (And) -- in addition to our physical preparedness -- we had something far more important -- spiritual preparedness.

The American people were ready for it. On the day of Pearl Harbor they rose up as one man with a mighty shout -- a shout heard 'round the world -- the shout of "Let's go!"

And we went! (applause)

Everywhere I go I find that the (average) American citizen is doing some hard thinking, some hard thinking these days about what sort of Government he wants during the next four years.

The memory of our people is not short. The years from 1929 to 1933 are thoroughly and grimly remembered by millions of our citizens -- by workers who lost their jobs and their homes, by farmers who lost their crops and their farms, by families who lost their savings.

Since those dark days early in 1933, many fortifications have been built (erected) to protect the people of this country -- just as we promised that there would be. (applause)

What kind of fortifications? Well, (These) fortifications, for example, (have) provided protection for your bank deposits and your investments -- your standard of living -- your right to organize unions and to bargain collectively with your employers. (applause)

Your fortifications (They) protect your soil and rivers and trees -- your heritage of natural resources. They provide you with protection against the hazards of unemployment and old age -- they protect you against inflation and runaway prices. (applause)

Now, these fortifications, they are now manned by zealous defenders -- and these defenders are not Communists, and these defenders (they) are not fossils. (applause)

Can the citizens of the Nation now afford to turn over these bulwarks to the men who raised every possible

obstacle to their original construction? (cries of No)

Does the average American believe that those who fought tooth and nail against progressive legislation during the past twelve years can be trusted to cherish and preserve that legislation? (cries of No)

Can it be that those who financed the bitter opposition to the New Deal through all these years have made an about-face and are now willing and able to fight for the objectives of the New Deal? (more cries of No)

We have all heard Republican orators in this campaign call this Administration everything under the sun, and they promise that they, if elected -- and oh, my friends, what a big "if" that is -- (laughter and prolonged applause) -- they promise that if elected they would institute the biggest house-cleaning in history. (laughter) It sort of brings to my mind that that is just the thing that the "outs" always say.

What a job that would do (be), what it would be, that house-cleaning! And it would mean, among other things, sweeping out with my Administration the most efficient and (the) most patriotic Republicans that could be found in the whole country. (laughter and applause)

But -- despite these campaign promises of wholesale house-cleaning -- have you heard one word of specific criticism of any of the progressive laws that this Administration has proposed and enacted? (cries of No)

Have you heard -- have you heard any talk of sweeping out any of these laws -- or sweeping out any of the

agencies that (which) administer them (those laws)?

Oh, no -- oh, no, on that subject the Republican politicians are very uncharacteristically silent. (laughter)

This Administration -- this Administration has made mistakes. That I freely assert. Assert. And I hope my friends of the press will not change that to admit. (laughter)

But, my friends, I think it is a pretty good batting average. (applause) (c)Our mistakes -- our mistakes have been honestly made during sincere efforts to help the great mass of citizens of our civilization. Never have we made the inexcusable mistake -- we know some who have -- of substituting talk for action when farms were being foreclosed, homes were being sold at auction, and people were standing in breadlines. (applause)

I -- I thank God that it cannot be charged that at any time, under any circumstances, have we made the mistake of forgetting our sacred obligation to the American people.

And, I might add, never will we make that kind of mistake. (applause)

Is it conceivable to you that this Administration with its record of very deep concern for human welfare could ever be guilty of neglect of the welfare of our fighting men?

When your sons, and my sons, come home from the battlefronts -- (applause) -- and they are coming home just as quickly as they are no longer needed for the essential job of this war -- (great applause) -- we are going to see that they have work -- honest, self-respecting jobs. (applause)

We are going to see to it that those of them seeking farms, for instance, get a real chance to settle on land of their own.

We are going to see to it that those who hope to establish businesses have a legitimate and fair opportunity to do so.

The American people are quite competent to judge a political party that (which) works both sides of a (the) street -- a party that (which) has one candidate making campaign promises of all kinds of added government expenditures in the West, while a running mate of his demands less government expenditures in the East. (laughter)

You know -- just as an aside, and I think I can speak freely to my old friends here in Boston -- this -- (applause) -- this -- this is really a funny campaign. (laughter)

I think I heard some campaign orator say that Secretary Hull and the rest of us had done such a fine job with the Good Neighbor policy and our plans for world peace -- that it is time for a change. (cries of No)

I believe I heard some campaign orator say that the (this) "incompetent" Administration had developed a program that (which) was so good for the farmers and the businessmen and the workers of the nation -- that it is time for a change. (cries of No)

I think I heard some campaign orator -- you can identify him -- (laughter) -- say that we have so thoroughly shifted the control over the (our) banks from Wall Street

and State Street to Washington, D. C. (the Capital of the United States) -- that it is time for a change. (more cries of No)

And I am quite sure that I have heard somebody say that this "chaotic" Administration has done such an amazing job of war production -- that it is time for a change. (more cries of No)

(I think I even heard somebody say that these "tired, quarrelsome" old men -- are waging such a victorious war -- that it is time for a change.)

Well -- if it is time for a change -- the way to get it in this democracy is by means of votes. Whether I win or lose, I want to see a turnout next Tuesday of the biggest vote in all (our) American history. (applause)

And I am hoping to see (that means at least) fifty million American (votes) voters go to the polls.

And we could not find a better way to tell our boys overseas that the country they are fighting for is still going strong.

Just -- just the other day you people here in Boston witnessed an amazing demonstration of talking out of both sides of the mouth. (laughter)

Speaking here in Boston, a Republican candidate said -- and -- and pardon me if I quote him correctly -- (laughter) -- that happens to be an old habit of mine -- (more laughter) -- he said that, quote, "the Communists are seizing control of the New Deal, through which they aim to control the Government

of the United States." Unquote. (boos)

However, on that very same day, that very same candidate had spoken in Worcester, and he said that with Republican victory in November, quote, "we can end one-man government, and we can forever remove the threat of monarchy in the United States." (laughter)

Now, really -- which is it -- communism or monarchy? (more laughter)

I do not think that we could have both in this country, even if we wanted either, (--) which we do not. (applause)

No, we want neither communism nor monarchy. We want to live -- (applause) -- under our Constitution -- (applause) -- we want to live under the Constitution which has served pretty well for a (one) hundred and fifty-five years. (applause) And, if this -- if this were a banquet hall instead of a ball park, I would propose a toast that we will continue to live under this Constitution (it) for another (one) hundred and fifty-five years. (applause)

I must confess that often in this campaign, I have been tempted to speak my mind with sharper vigor and greater indignation. (applause)

Everybody knows that I was reluctant to run for the Presidency again this year. But since this (the) campaign (has) developed, I tell you frankly that I have become most anxious to win -- (great and prolonged applause) -- and I say that for the reason that never before in my lifetime has a

campaign been filled with such misrepresentation, distortion, and falsehood. (applause) Never since 1928 have there been so many attempts to stimulate in America racial or religious intolerance. (applause)

When any politician or any political candidate stands up and says, solemnly, that there is danger that the Government of the United States -- your Government -- could be sold out to (the) Communists -- then I say that that candidate reveals -- and I'll be polite -- a shocking lack of trust in America. (applause)

He reveals -- he reveals a shocking lack of faith in democracy -- in the spiritual strength of our people.

Then if (ever) there was ever a time in which that (the) spiritual strength of our people was put to the test, that time was in the terrible depression (of) from 1929 to 1933.

(Then) Our people, in those days, might have turned to alien ideologies -- like communism or fascism.

But -- our democratic faith was too sturdy. What the American people demanded in 1933 was not less democracy but more democracy, and that's (is) what they got. (great applause)

Yes, the American people proved in the black days of depression -- as they have (again) proved again in this war -- that there is no chink in the armor of democracy.

On this subject -- and on all subjects -- I say to you, my friends, what I said when first you conferred upon me the exalted honor of the Presidency:

"We have nothing to fear but fear itself." (great applause)

And today I can add a corollary to that. I do not think that you will ever cast the majority of your votes for fearful men. (applause)

(We) Now we face the enormous, (and) the complex problems of building with our Allies a strong world structure of peace.

In doing that historic -- that historic job, we shall be standing before a mighty bar of judgment -- the judgment of all of those who have fought -- who have fought and died in this war -- the judgment of generations yet unborn -- the very judgment of God.

I believe that we Americans will want the peace to be built by men who have shown foresight rather than hindsight. (applause)

Peace -- peace no less than war, must offer a spirit of comradeship, a spirit of achievement, a spirit of unselfishness, and indomitable will to victory. (applause)

We -- we in this country have waged war against the wilderness -- against the mountains and the rivers -- against (the) droughts and (the) storms. We have waged war against ignorance -- against oppression -- against intolerance.

We have waged war against poverty -- against disease.

Why, we fought the Revolutionary War for the principle that all men are created equal -- and in that -- in those days (war) we pledged "our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred

honor."

This war, which we are now fighting, has been an interruption in the story of our forward progress; but it has also opened a new chapter -- a chapter which it is now for us (now) -- for us living -- to begin.

At the end of this war this country will have the greatest material power of any nation in the world.

It will be a clean, shining America -- richer than any other in skilled workers, in engineers, and farmers, and businessmen, and scientists.

It will be an America in which there is a genuine partnership between the farmer and the worker and the businessman -- in which there are abundant jobs and an expanding economy of peace.

Yes, all (And) around us we see an unfinished world -- a world of awakened peoples struggling to set themselves on the path of civilization -- people struggling everywhere to achieve a higher cultural and material standard of living.

I say we must wage the coming battle for America and for civilization on a scale worthy of the way that we have unitedly waged the battles against tyranny and reaction and wage it through all the difficulties and the disappointments that may ever clog the wheels of progress.

And I say that we must wage it in association with the United Nations with whom we have stood and fought -- with that (the) association ever growing. (applause)

I say that we must wage a peace to attract the

highest hearts, (and) the most competent hands and brains.

That, my friends, is the conception I have of the meaning of total victory. (applause)

And that -- that conception is founded on (upon) faith -- faith in the unlimited destiny -- the unconquerable spirit (--) of the United States of America.

(great and prolonged applause)

ADDRESS Of The President
At Fenway Park, Boston, Massachusetts
November 4, 1944, at 9.00 p.m., e.w.t.
Radio Broadcast

My good friend Mayor Tobin, and my old friends of
Boston:

This is not my first visit to Boston. Therefore, I shall not review all my previous visits. I would (should) have to go on talking for several days to do that -- and radio time costs a lot of money. (laughter)

But I want to recall one visit, back in October, 1928, when I came here to urge you to vote for a great American -- a great American named Al Smith. (applause)

And you did vote for that eternally "Happy Warrior."

The Commonwealth of Massachusetts -- and your good neighbor, Rhode Island -- both went Democratic in 1928 -- four years before the rest of the Nation did.

And this year -- and I am making no predictions, I just have a little hope -- (laughter) -- this year we would like to welcome into the family (field) Maine and Vermont. (laughter and applause)

And while I am speaking of that campaign of 1928, let me remind you that, having nominated Al Smith for the second time for the Presidency, I was then running at his request for the Governorship of New York. And people were then -- even then -- saying that my health would not permit me to discharge the duties of public office. (laughter and applause)

Well, you know, I think that it is by now a pretty well established fact that I managed to survive my four years as Governor of New York. (laughter) And at the end of that time I went elsewhere. (more laughter)

In this connection, in 1928 -- that first year that I ran for Governor -- Al Smith remarked publicly that the Governor of New York does not have to be an acrobat. And not many months before his untimely death, he remarked to me in my office in Washington, "It is perfectly evident that you don't have to be an acrobat to be President (either)."
(applause)

And when I talked here in Boston in 1928, I talked about racial and religious intolerance, which was then -- as (it) unfortunately it still is, to some extent -- "a menace to the liberties of America."

And all the bigots in those days were gunning for Al Smith.

Religious intolerance, social intolerance and political intolerance have no place in our American life. (applause)

And, thinking back a good many years, here in New England you have been fighting bigotry and intolerance for centuries. (applause) I reminded a genealogical society -- I think they are called "ancestor worshippers" -- I said to them that they knew (You know) that all of our people all over the country -- except the pure-blooded Indians -- are immigrants or descendants of immigrants, including even those who came over here on the Mayflower.

Today, in this war, our fine boys are fighting magnificently all over the world and among these boys are the Murphys and the Kellys, the Smiths and the Joneses, the Cohens, the Carusos, the Kowalskis, the Schultzes, the Olsens, the Swobodas, and -- right in with all the rest of them -- the Cabots and the Lowells. (laughter and applause)

Now all of these people, and others like them, are the life-blood of America. They are the hope of the world.

And it's (It is) our duty to them to make sure that, big as this country is, there is no room in it for racial or religious intolerance -- (applause) -- and that there is no room for snobbery.

Our young men and our young women are fighting not only for their existence, (and) their homes and their families. They also are fighting for a country and a world where men and women of all races, colors and creeds can live, and work, and speak and worship -- in peace, and freedom and security.

And if we can shorten this (the) war by one month -- even by one minute -- we shall have saved the lives of some of our young men and women. We must not let our comforts or conveniences, our politics or our prejudices, stand in the way of our determination to drive -- to drive relentlessly and unflinchingly -- over the hard road to final victory.

You and I -- all of us who are war-workers -- must stay on the job! (applause)

Now, although victory over the Nazis and the Japanese is certain and inevitable -- and I for one have never

had one moment's doubt of our ultimate victory -- the war is still far from over. There is tough, hard, (and) bloody fighting ahead (of us).

We got into this war because we were attacked by the Japanese -- we all know that -- and because they and their Axis partners, Hitler's Germany and Mussolini's Italy, declared war on us.

I am sure that any real American -- any real, red-blooded American -- would have chosen, as this Government did, to fight when our own soil was made the object of a sneak attack. As for myself, under (the) same circumstances, I would choose to do the same thing -- again and again and again. (loud and prolonged applause)

And when our enemies flung the gauge of battle at us, we elected to fight them in the American way, which meant that we went (out) after them -- and we started punching -- and we are still punching. And we have driven our enemies into their own corner. (applause)

Well, this is like a sport in the Navy called a "free-for-all." One of the tyrants, Mussolini, has been knocked out for the count. (applause) And the others are getting groggier and groggier every day. (applause)

(And) We are made happy by the fact that the Italian people -- our long-time friends -- are started once again along the paths of freedom and peace. (applause)

I think that history will say that we were better prepared for this war than for any previous war in all our

history. (applause)

On the day of Pearl Harbor, for example -- the day before the declaration of war -- we had more than two million men in our armed forces.

Our war production, started a year and a half before that, was rolling toward the gigantic volume of output that has been achieved.

Our Navy was building, and for the first time of any length since 1933 it had been building. It had been building -- indeed, it had been building ever since 1933 -- it started to build up again, and we know why it went down -- when I first used PWA funds to start a naval building program -- that (which) included our first modern carriers. One of those carriers, by the way, that you have read of, authorized ten years ago, was the ENTERPRISE -- a name well known throughout New England, the original ENTERPRISE being the hero of the War of 1812 -- but this new ENTERPRISE, a grand and gallant ship, (which) has covered herself with glory all through this war, and was in there fighting last week in the great victory in Philippine waters. (applause)

But (And) -- in addition to our physical preparedness -- we had something far more important -- spiritual preparedness.

The American people were ready for it. On the day of Pearl Harbor they rose up as one man with a mighty shout -- a shout heard 'round the world -- the shout of "Let's go!"

And we went! (applause)

Everywhere I go I find that the (average) American citizen is doing some hard thinking, some hard thinking these days about what sort of Government he wants during the next four years.

The memory of our people is not short. The years from 1929 to 1933 are thoroughly and grimly remembered by millions of our citizens -- by workers who lost their jobs and their homes, by farmers who lost their crops and their farms, by families who lost their savings.

Since those dark days early in 1933, many fortifications have been built (erected) to protect the people of this country -- just as we promised that there would be. (applause)

What kind of fortifications? Well, (These) fortifications, for example, (have) provided protection for your bank deposits and your investments -- your standard of living -- your right to organize unions and to bargain collectively with your employers. (applause)

Your fortifications (They) protect your soil and rivers and trees -- your heritage of natural resources. They provide you with protection against the hazards of unemployment and old age -- they protect you against inflation and runaway prices. (applause)

Now, these fortifications, they are now manned by zealous defenders -- and these defenders are not Communists, and these defenders (they) are not fossils. (applause)

Can the citizens of the Nation now afford to turn over these bulwarks to the men who raised every possible

obstacle to their original construction? (cries of No)

Does the average American believe that those who fought tooth and nail against progressive legislation during the past twelve years can be trusted to cherish and preserve that legislation? (cries of No)

Can it be that those who financed the bitter opposition to the New Deal through all these years have made an about-face and are now willing and able to fight for the objectives of the New Deal? (more cries of No)

We have all heard Republican orators in this campaign call this Administration everything under the sun, and they promise that they, if elected -- and oh, my friends, what a big "if" that is -- (laughter and prolonged applause) -- they promise that if elected they would institute the biggest house-cleaning in history. (laughter) It sort of brings to my mind that that is just the thing that the "outs" always say.

What a job that would do (be), what it would be, that house-cleaning! And it would mean, among other things, sweeping out with my Administration the most efficient and (the) most patriotic Republicans that could be found in the whole country. (laughter and applause)

But -- despite these campaign promises of wholesale house-cleaning -- have you heard one word of specific criticism of any of the progressive laws that this Administration has proposed and enacted? (cries of No)

Have you heard -- have you heard any talk of sweeping out any of these laws -- or sweeping out any of the

agencies that (which) administer them (those laws)?

Oh, no -- on, no, on that subject the Republican politicians are very uncharacteristically silent. (laughter)

This Administration -- this Administration has made mistakes. That I freely assert. Assert. And I hope my friends of the press will not change that to admit. (laughter)

But, my friends, I think it is a pretty good batting average. (applause) (c) Our mistakes -- our mistakes have been honestly made during sincere efforts to help the great mass of citizens of our civilization. Never have we made the inexcusable mistake -- we know some who have -- of substituting talk for action when farms were being foreclosed, homes were being sold at auction, and people were standing in breadlines. (applause)

I -- I thank God that it cannot be charged that at any time, under any circumstances, have we made the mistake of forgetting our sacred obligation to the American people.

And, I might add, never will we make that kind of mistake. (applause)

Is it conceivable to you that this Administration with its record of very deep concern for human welfare could ever be guilty of neglect of the welfare of our fighting men?

When your sons, and my sons, come home from the battlefronts -- (applause) -- and they are coming home just as quickly as they are no longer needed for the essential job of this war -- (great applause) -- we are going to see that they have work -- honest, self-respecting jobs. (applause)

We are going to see to it that those of them seeking farms, for instance, get a real chance to settle on land of their own.

We are going to see to it that those who hope to establish businesses have a legitimate and fair opportunity to do so.

The American people are quite competent to judge a political party that (which) works both sides of a (the) street -- a party that (which) has one candidate making campaign promises of all kinds of added government expenditures in the West, while a running mate of his demands less government expenditures in the East. (laughter)

You know -- just as an aside, and I think I can speak freely to my old friends here in Boston -- this -- (applause) -- this -- this is really a funny campaign. (laughter)

I think I heard some campaign orator say that Secretary Hull and the rest of us had done such a fine job with the Good Neighbor policy and our plans for world peace -- that it is time for a change. (cries of No)

I believe I heard some campaign orator say that the (this) "incompetent" Administration had developed a program that (which) was so good for the farmers and the businessmen and the workers of the nation -- that it is time for a change. (cries of No)

I think I heard some campaign orator -- you can identify him -- (laughter) -- say that we have so thoroughly shifted the control over the (our) banks from Wall Street

and State Street to Washington, D. C. (the Capital of the United States) -- that it is time for a change. (more cries of No)

And I am quite sure that I have heard somebody say that this "chaotic" Administration has done such an amazing job of war production -- that it is time for a change. (more cries of No)

(I think I even heard somebody say that these "tired, quarrelsome" old men -- are waging such a victorious war -- that it is time for a change.)

Well -- if it is time for a change -- the way to get it in this democracy is by means of votes. Whether I win or lose, I want to see a turnout next Tuesday of the biggest vote in all (our) American history. (applause)

And I am hoping to see (that means at least) fifty million American (votes) voters go to the polls.

And we could not find a better way to tell our boys overseas that the country they are fighting for is still going strong.

Just -- just the other day you people here in Boston witnessed an amazing demonstration of talking out of both sides of the mouth. (laughter)

Speaking here in Boston, a Republican candidate said -- and -- and pardon me if I quote him correctly -- (laughter) -- that happens to be an old habit of mine -- (more laughter) -- he said that, quote, "the Communists are seizing control of the New Deal, through which they aim to control the Government

of the United States." Unquote. (boos)

However, on that very same day, that very same candidate had spoken in Worcester, and he said that with Republican victory in November, quote, "we can end one-man government, and we can forever remove the threat of monarchy in the United States." (laughter)

Now, really -- which is it -- communism or monarchy? (more laughter)

I do not think that we could have both in this country, even if we wanted either, (--) which we do not. (applause)

No, we want neither communism nor monarchy. We want to live -- (applause) -- under our Constitution -- (applause) -- we want to live under the Constitution which has served pretty well for a (one) hundred and fifty-five years. (applause) And, if this -- if this were a banquet hall instead of a ball park, I would propose a toast that we will continue to live under this Constitution (it) for another (one) hundred and fifty-five years. (applause)

I must confess that often in this campaign, I have been tempted to speak my mind with sharper vigor and greater indignation. (applause)

Everybody knows that I was reluctant to run for the Presidency again this year. But since this (the) campaign (has) developed, I tell you frankly that I have become most anxious to win -- (great and prolonged applause) -- and I say that for the reason that never before in my lifetime has a

campaign been filled with such misrepresentation, distortion, and falsehood. (applause) Never since 1928 have there been so many attempts to stimulate in America racial or religious intolerance. (applause)

When any politician or any political candidate stands up and says, solemnly, that there is danger that the Government of the United States -- your Government -- could be sold out to (the) Communists -- then I say that that candidate reveals -- and I'll be polite -- a shocking lack of trust in America. (applause)

He reveals -- he reveals a shocking lack of faith in democracy -- in the spiritual strength of our people.

Then if (ever) there was ever a time in which that (the) spiritual strength of our people was put to the test, that time was in the terrible depression (of) from 1929 to 1933.

(Then) Our people, in those days, might have turned to alien ideologies -- like communism or fascism.

But -- our democratic faith was too sturdy. What the American people demanded in 1933 was not less democracy but more democracy, and that's (is) what they got. (great applause)

Yes, the American people proved in the black days of depression -- as they have (again) proved again in this war -- that there is no chink in the armor of democracy.

On this subject -- and on all subjects -- I say to you, my friends, what I said when first you conferred upon me the exalted honor of the Presidency:

"We have nothing to fear but fear itself." (great applause)

And today I can add a corollary to that. I do not think that you will ever cast the majority of your votes for fearful men. (applause)

(We) Now we face the enormous, (and) the complex problems of building with our Allies a strong world structure of peace.

In doing that historic -- that historic job, we shall be standing before a mighty bar of judgment -- the judgment of all of those who have fought -- who have fought and died in this war -- the judgment of generations yet unborn -- the very judgment of God.

I believe that we Americans will want the peace to be built by men who have shown foresight rather than hindsight. (applause)

Peace -- peace no less than war, must offer a spirit of comradeship, a spirit of achievement, a spirit of unselfishness, and indomitable will to victory. (applause)

We -- we in this country have waged war against the wilderness -- against the mountains and the rivers -- against (the) droughts and (the) storms. We have waged war against ignorance -- against oppression -- against intolerance.

We have waged war against poverty -- against disease.

Why, we fought the Revolutionary War for the principle that all men are created equal -- and in that -- in those days (war) we pledged "our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred

honor."

This war, which we are now fighting, has been an interruption in the story of our forward progress; but it has also opened a new chapter -- a chapter which it is now for us (now) -- for us living -- to begin.

At the end of this war this country will have the greatest material power of any nation in the world.

It will be a clean, shining America -- richer than any other in skilled workers, in engineers, and farmers, and businessmen, and scientists.

It will be an America in which there is a genuine partnership between the farmer and the worker and the businessman -- in which there are abundant jobs and an expanding economy of peace.

Yes, all (And) around us we see an unfinished world -- a world of awakened peoples struggling to set themselves on the path of civilization -- people struggling everywhere to achieve a higher cultural and material standard of living.

I say we must wage the coming battle for America and for civilization on a scale worthy of the way that we have unitedly waged the battles against tyranny and reaction and wage it through all the difficulties and the disappointments that may ever clog the wheels of progress.

And I say that we must wage it in association with the United Nations with whom we have stood and fought -- with that (the) association ever growing. (applause)

I say that we must wage a peace to attract the

highest hearts, (and) the most competent hands and brains.

That, my friends, is the conception I have of the meaning of total victory. (applause)

And that -- that conception is founded on (upon) faith -- faith in the unlimited destiny -- the unconquerable spirit (--) of the United States of America.

(great and prolonged applause)

ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT
FENWAY PARK, BOSTON, MASS.
NOVEMBER 4, 1944

This is not my first visit to Boston. I shall not review all my previous visits. I should have to go on talking for several days to do that -- and radio time costs a lot of money.

But I want to recall one visit, back in October, 1928, when I came here to urge you to vote for a great American named Al Smith.

And you did vote for that eternally "Happy Warrior".

The Commonwealth of Massachusetts -- and your good neighbor, Rhode Island -- went Democratic in 1928 -- four years before the rest of the Nation did.

This year -- and I am making no predictions -- this year we would like to welcome into the fold Maine and Vermont.

And while I am speaking of that campaign of 1928, let me remind you that, having nominated Al Smith for the second time for the Presidency, I was then running at his request for the Governorship of New York. And people were then -- even then -- saying that my health would not permit me to discharge the duties of public office.

I think that it is by now a pretty well established fact that I managed to survive my four years as Governor of New York.

In this connection, in 1928 Al Smith remarked publicly that the Governor of New York does not have to be an acrobat. And not many months before his untimely death, he remarked to me in my office in Washington "It is perfectly evident you don't have to be an acrobat to be President either".

When I talked here in Boston in 1928 I talked about racial and religious intolerance which was then -- as it unfortunately still is -- "a menace to the liberties of America".

And all the bigots were gunning for Al Smith.

Religious intolerance, social intolerance and political intolerance have no place in our American life.

Here in New England you have been fighting bigotry and intolerance for centuries. You know that all of our people -- except pure-blooded Indians -- are immigrants or descendants of immigrants, including even those who came here on the Mayflower.

Today, in this war, our fine boys are fighting magnificently all over the world and among those boys are the Murphys and the Kellys, the Smiths and the Joneses, the Cohens, the Carusos, the Kowalskis, the Schultzes, the Olsens, the Swobodas, and -- right in with all the rest of them -- the Cabots and the Lovells.

All of these and others like them are the life-blood of America. They are the hope of the world.

It is our duty to them to make sure that, big as this country is, there is no room in it for racial or religious intolerance -- and that there is no room for snobbery.

Our young men and young women are fighting not only for their existence, and their homes and their families. They also are fighting for a country and a world where men and women of all races, colors and creeds can live, work, speak and worship -- in peace, freedom and security.

If we can shorten the war by one month -- even by one minute -- we shall have saved the lives of some of our young men and women. We must not let our comforts or conveniences, our politics or our prejudices, stand in the way of our determination to drive -- to drive relentlessly and unflinchingly -- over the hard road to final victory.

You and I -- all of us who are war-workers -- must stay on the job!

Although victory over the Nazis and the Japanese is certain and inevitable -- and I for one have never had one moment's doubt of our ultimate victory -- the war is still far from over. There is tough, hard and bloody fighting ahead ^{ad} for us.

We got into this war because we were attacked by the Japanese -- and because they and their Axis partners, Hitler's Germany and Mussolini's Italy, declared war on us.

I am sure that any real American would have chosen, as this Government did, to fight when our own soil was made the object of a sneak attack. As for myself, under the same circumstances, I would choose to do the same thing -- again and again and again.

When our enemies flung the gage of battle at us, we elected to fight them in the American way, which meant that we went out after them -- and we started punching -- and we are still punching, -- and we have driven our enemies into their own corner.

One of the tyrants, Mussolini, has been knocked out. The others are getting groggier and groggier every day.

And we are made happy by the fact that the Italian people -- our long-time friends -- are started once again along the paths of freedom and peace.

We were better prepared for this war than for any previous war in our history.

On the day of Pearl Harbor, we had more than two million men in our armed forces.

Our war production, started a year and a half before, was rolling toward the gigantic volume of output that has been achieved.

Our Navy was building. Indeed, it had been building ever since 1933, when I first used PWA funds to start a naval building program -- which included our first modern carriers. One of those carriers, authorized ten years ago, was the "Enterprise", a grand and gallant ship which has covered herself with glory all through this war and was in there fighting last week in the great victory in Philippine waters.

And -- in addition to our physical preparedness -- we had something far more important -- spiritual preparedness.

The American people were ready for it. One the day of Pearl Harbor they rose up as one man with a mighty shout -- a shout heard 'round the world -- "Let's go!"

And we went!

The average American citizen is doing some hard thinking these days about what sort of Government he wants during the next four years.

The memory of our people is not short. The years 1929 to 1933 are thoroughly and grimly remembered by millions of our citizens -- by workers who lost their jobs and their homes, by farmers who lost their crops and their farms, by families who lost their savings.

Since those dark days early in 1933, many fortifications have been erected to protect the people of this country -- just as we promised that there would be.

These fortifications have provided protection for your bank deposits and your investments -- your standard of living -- your right to organize unions and to bargain collectively with your employers.

They protect your soil and rivers and trees -- your heritage of natural resources. They provide you with protection against the hazards of unemployment and old age -- they protect you against inflation and runaway prices.

These fortifications are now manned by zealous defenders -- and these defenders are not Communists and they are not fossils.

Can the citizens of the Nation now afford to turn over these bulwarks to the men who raised every possible obstacle to their original construction?

Does the average American believe that those who fought tooth and nail against progressive legislation during the past twelve years can be trusted to cherish and preserve that legislation?

Can it be that those who financed the bitter opposition to the New Deal have made an about-face and are now willing and able to fight for the objectives of the New Deal?

We have all heard Republican orators in this campaign call this Administration everything under the sun and, promise that they, if elected -- and oh, my friends, what a big "if" that is -- if elected they would institute the biggest house-cleaning in history.

What a job that would be! It would mean, among other things, sweeping out with my Administration the most efficient and the most patriotic Republicans that could be found in the whole country.

But -- despite these campaign promises of wholesale house-cleaning -- have you heard one word of specific criticism of any of the progressive laws that this Administration has proposed and enacted?

Have you heard any talk of sweeping out any of these laws -- or sweeping out any of the agencies which administer these laws?

Oh, no -- on that subject the Republican politicians are very uncharacteristically silent.

This Administration has made mistakes. That I freely assert.

But our mistakes have been honestly made during sincere efforts to help the great mass of citizens. Never have we made the inexcusable mistake of substituting talk for action when farms were being foreclosed, homes were being sold at auction, and people were standing in breadlines.

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Now, really -- which is it -- communism or monarchy?

I do not think we could have both in this country, even if we wanted either -- which we do not.

We want neither communism nor monarchy. We want to live under our Constitution -- which has served pretty well for one hundred and fifty-five years. If this were a banquet hall instead of a ball park, I would propose a toast that we will continue to live under it for another one hundred and fifty-five years.

I confess that often in this campaign, I have been tempted to speak my mind with sharper vigor and greater indignation.

Everybody knows that I was reluctant to run for the Presidency again this year. But since the campaign has developed I tell you frankly that I have become most anxious to win -- for the reason that never before in my lifetime has a campaign been filled with such misrepresentation, distortion, and falsehood. Never since 1928 have there been so many attempts to stimulate in America racial or religious intolerance.

When any political candidate stands up and says, solemnly, that there is danger that the Government of the United States -- your Government -- could be sold out to the Communists -- then I say that that candidate reveals a shocking lack of trust in America.

He reveals a shocking lack of faith in democracy -- in the spiritual strength of our people.

If ever there was a time in which the spiritual strength of our people was put to the test, that time was in the terrible depression of 1929 to 1933.

Then our people might have turned to alien ideologies -- like communism or fascism.

But -- our democratic faith was too sturdy. What the American people demanded in 1933 was not less democracy -- but more democracy -- and that is what they got.

The American people proved in the black days of depression -- as they have again proved in this war -- that there is no chink in the armor of democracy.

On this subject -- and on all subjects -- I say to you, my friends, what I said when first you conferred upon me the exalted honor of the Presidency:

"We have nothing to fear but fear itself."

And I do not think you will ever cast your votes for fearful men.

We now face the enormous and complex problems of building with our Allies a strong world structure of peace.

In doing that historic job we shall be standing before a mighty bar of judgment -- the judgment of all those who have fought and died in this war -- the judgment of generations yet unborn -- the very judgment of God.

I believe that we Americans will want the peace to be built by men who have shown foresight rather than hindsight.

Peace, no less than war, must offer a spirit of comradeship, a spirit of achievement, a spirit of unselfishness, and indomitable will to victory.

We have waged war against the wilderness -- against the mountains and the rivers -- against the droughts and the storms. We have waged war against ignorance -- against oppression -- against intolerance.

We have waged war against poverty -- against disease.

We fought the Revolutionary War for the principle that all men are created equal -- and in that war we pledged "our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honor".

This war, which we are now fighting, has been an interruption in the story of our forward progress; but it has also opened a new chapter -- a chapter which it is for us now living to begin.

At the end of this war this country will have the greatest material power of any nation in the world.

It will be a clean, shining America -- richer than any other in skilled workers, engineers, farmers, businessmen, scientists.

It will be an America in which there is a genuine partnership between the farmer and the worker and the business-man -- in which there are abundant jobs and an expanding economy of peace.

And around us we see an unfinished world -- a world of awakened peoples struggling to set themselves on the path of civilization -- people struggling everywhere to achieve a higher cultural and material standard of living.

I say we must wage the coming battle for America and for civilization on a scale worthy of the way we have unitedly waged the battles against tyranny and reaction and wage it through all the difficulties and disappointments that may ever clog the wheels of progress.

And I say we must wage it in association with the United Nations with whom we have stood and fought -- with the association ever growing.

I say we must wage a peace to attract the highest hearts and the most competent hands and brains.

That, my friends, is the conception I have of the meaning of total victory.

And that conception is founded upon faith -- faith in the unlimited destiny -- the unconquerable spirit -- of America.

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STATEMENTS FILE

NOVEMBER 4, 1944

CAUTION: The following address of the President, prepared for delivery in Fenway Park, Boston, on the evening of November 4, 1944, is released for all regular editions of SUNDAY MORNING (NOVEMBER 5, 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, Saturday, November 4, 1944.

CARE MUST BE EXERCISED TO PREVENT PREMATURE PUBLICATION, OR RELEASE.

STEPHEN EARLY
Secretary to the President

My good friend Mayor Tobin, and my old friends of Boston: *should be*
This is not my first visit to Boston. I shall not review all my previous visits. I *should* have to go on talking for several days to do that -- and radio time costs a lot of money. *(laughter)*

But I want to recall one visit, back in October, 1928, when I came here to urge you to vote for a great American named Al Smith. *(applause)*

And you did vote for that eternally "Happy Warrior".

The Commonwealth of Massachusetts -- and your good neighbor, Rhode Island -- went Democratic in 1928 -- four years before the rest of the Nation did. *I just have a little hope -- (laughter) --*

And this year -- and I am making no predictions -- this year we would like to welcome into the *State* Maine and Vermont. *(laughter & applause)*

And while I am speaking of that campaign of 1928, let me remind you that, having nominated Al Smith for the second time for the Presidency, I was then running at his request for the Governorship of New York. And people were then -- even then -- saying that my health would not permit me to discharge the duties of public office. *(laughter & applause)*

Phew, you know I think that it is by now a pretty well established fact that I managed to survive my four years as Governor of New York. *(laughter)* *And that the first year that I ran for Governor*

In this connection, in 1928 Al Smith remarked publicly that the Governor of New York does not have to be an acrobat. And not many months before his untimely death, he remarked to me in my office in Washington "It is perfectly evident, you don't have to be an acrobat to be President. *(laughter)*

And when I talked here in Boston in 1928 I talked about racial and religious intolerance which was then -- as it unfortunately still is -- "a menace to the liberties of America". *in these days*

And all the bigots were gunning for Al Smith. *to some extent*

Religious intolerance, social intolerance and political intolerance have no place in our American life. *(applause)*

Please, thinking back to many years ago Here in New England you have been fighting bigotry and intolerance for centuries. *all over the country* You know that all of our people -- except pure-blooded Indians -- are immigrants or descendants of immigrants, including even those who came here on the Mayflower.

Today, in this war, our fine boys are fighting magnificently all over the world, and among these boys are the Murphys and the Kellys, the Smiths and the Joneses, the Cohens, the Caruses, the Kowalskis, the Schultzes, the Olsens, the Shobodas, and -- right in with all the rest of them -- the Cabots and the Lowells. *(laughter & applause)*

(applause) I reminded a genealogical society, I think they are called Ancestor worshippers; I said to them that they know *over*

Now, all of these ^{people,} and others like them, are the life-blood of America. They are the hope of the world.

^{And it's} ~~It is~~ our duty to them to make sure that, big as this country is, there is no room in it for racial or religious intolerance ^(applause) and that there is no room for snobbery.

Our young men and young women are fighting not only for their existence, ~~and~~ ^{for} their homes and their families. They also are fighting for a country and a world where men and women of all races, colors and creeds can live, ^{and} ~~work,~~ ^{and} speak and worship -- in peace, ^{and} ~~and~~ freedom and security.

^{And} If we can shorten ^{the} ~~the~~ war by one month -- even by one minute -- we shall have saved the lives of some of our young men and women. We must not let our comforts or conveniences, our politics or our prejudices, stand in the way of our determination to drive -- to drive relentlessly and unflinchingly -- over the hard road to final victory.

You and I -- all of us who are war-workers -- must stay on the job! ^(applause)

Now, although victory over the Nazis and the Japanese is certain and inevitable -- and I for one have never had one moment's doubt of our ultimate victory -- the war is still far from over. There is tough, hard and bloody fighting ahead of us.

We got into this war because we were attacked by the Japanese -- ^{we all know that --} and because they and their Axis partners, Hitler's Germany and Mussolini's Italy, declared war on us.

^{-- any real red-blooded American --} I am sure that any real American would have chosen, as this Government did, to fight when our own soil was made the object of a sneak attack. As for myself, under ~~the~~ same circumstances, I would choose to do the same thing -- again and again and again. ^(loud & prolonged applause)

^{And} when our enemies flung the gauntlet of battle at us, we elected to fight them in the American way, which meant that we went ~~off~~ ^{after} after them -- and we started punching -- and we are still punching.

One of the tyrants, Mussolini, has been knocked out ^{for the count.} ^(applause) The others are getting groggier and groggier every day. ^(applause)

^{And} We are made happy by the fact that the Italian people -- our long-time friends -- are started once again along the paths of freedom and peace. ^(applause)

^{I think that history will say that} We were better prepared for this war than for any previous war in all our history. ^(applause)

On the day of Pearl Harbor, ^{for example, the day before the declaration first,} we had more than two million men in our armed forces.

Our war production, started a year and a half before ^{that,} was rolling toward the gigantic volume of output that has been achieved.

Our Navy was building, ^{indeed, it had been building ever since 1933,} when I first used PWA funds to start a naval building program -- ^{that} which included our first modern carriers. One of those carriers, authorized ten years ago, ^{by the way, that you have read of --} the "Enterprise," a grand and gallant ship, ^{that} which has covered herself with glory all through this war and was in there fighting last week in the great victory in Philippine waters. ^(applause)

^{And} in addition to our physical preparedness -- we had something far more important -- spiritual preparedness.

^{and for the first time in our country since 1933 --} ^{And we have driven our enemies into their own corner.} ^(applause) ^{And we have driven our enemies into their own corner. (applause) Phil, this is like a spot in the Navy called a "pin-fault."}

the sheet of - 3 -

The American people were ready for it. On the day of Pearl Harbor they rose up as one man with a mighty shout — a shout heard 'round the world — "Let's go!"

And we went! (applause)

some had thinking

PP Langdon & go for that

The average American citizen is doing some hard thinking these days about what sort of Government he wants during the next four years.

The memory of our people is not short. The years 1929 to 1933 are thoroughly and grimly remembered by millions of our citizens — by workers who lost their jobs and their homes, by farmers who lost their crops and their farms, by families who lost their savings.

Since those dark days early in 1933, many fortifications have been ~~erected~~ ^{built} to protect the people of this country — just as we promised that there would be. (applause)

Phil ^{for example,} ~~What~~ fortifications ~~have~~ provided protection for your bank deposits and your investments — your standard of living — your right to organize unions and to bargain collectively with your employers. (applause)

^{Your fortifications} ~~They~~ protect your soil and rivers and trees — your heritage of natural resources. They provide you with protection against the hazards of unemployment and old age — they protect you against inflation and runaway prices. (applause)

Now, ^{these} ~~these~~ fortifications ^{these} ~~are~~ now manned by zealous defenders — and these defenders are not Communists and ~~they~~ are not fossils. (applause)

Can the citizens of the Nation now afford to turn over these bulwarks to the men who raised every possible obstacle to their original construction? (Cries of "No")

Does the average American believe that those who fought tooth and nail against progressive legislation during the past twelve years can be trusted to cherish and preserve that legislation? (Cries of "No")

^{through all these years} Can it be that those who financed the bitter opposition to the New Deal have made an about-face and are now willing and able to fight for the objectives of the New Deal? (Cries of "No") (Laughter & prolonged applause)

We have all heard Republican orators in this campaign call this Administration everything under the sun and ^{promise} ~~promise~~ that they, if elected — and oh, my friends, what a big "if" that is — if elected they would institute the biggest house-cleaning in history.

What a job that would ^{do what it would} ~~be~~ ^{mean, among other things,} ~~mean~~ sweeping out with my Administration the most efficient and ~~the~~ most patriotic Republicans that could be found in the whole country. (Laughter and applause)

But — despite these campaign promises of wholesale house-cleaning — have you heard one word of specific criticism of any of the progressive laws that this Administration has proposed and enacted? (Cries of "No")

^{have you heard} Have you heard any talk of sweeping out any of these laws — or sweeping out any of the agencies ~~which~~ ^{that} administer these laws? ~~them?~~

^{oh, no} Oh, no — on that subject the Republican politicians are very uncharacteristically silent. (Laughter)

^{this Administration} This Administration has made mistakes. That I freely assert. ^{Assat.} ~~And~~ ^{And} I hope my friends of the press will not charge that to a ~~admit~~ ^{admit}. (Laughter & applause)

(X) It sort of brings to my mind that that is just the thing that the "outs" always say.

my friends, I think it is a pretty good batting average. (applause)

- 4 -

-- our mistakes of our civilization.

But our mistakes have been honestly made during sincere efforts to help the great mass of citizens. Never have we made the inexcusable mistake of substituting talk for action when farms were being foreclosed, homes were being sold at auction, and people were standing in breadlines. (applause)

I thank God that it cannot be charged that at any time, under any circumstances, have we made the mistake of forgetting our sacred obligation to the American people.

And, I might add, never will we make that kind of mistake. (applause)

Is it conceivable to you that this Administration with its record of very deep concern for human welfare could ever be guilty of neglect of the welfare of our fighting men?

When your sons, and my sons, come home from the battlefronts -- (applause) -- and they are coming home just as quickly as they are no longer needed for the essential job of this war -- we are going to see that they have work -- honest, self-respecting jobs. (great applause) (applause)

We are going to see to it that those of them seeking farms ^{for instance} get a real chance to settle on land of their own.

We are going to see to it that those who hope to establish businesses have a legitimate and fair opportunity to do so.

~~that~~ The American people are quite competent to judge a political party which works both sides of the street -- a party which has one candidate making campaign promises of all kinds of added government expenditures in the West while a running mate demands less government expenditures in the East. (laughter)

You know -- just as an aside -- and I think I can speak freely to my old friends here in Boston -- this ^{is} really a funny campaign. (laughter)

I think I heard some campaign orator say that Secretary Hull and the rest of us had done such a fine job with the Good Neighbor policy and our plans for world peace -- that it is time for a change. (Cries of "No")

I believe I heard some campaign orator say that this "incompetent" Administration had developed a program ~~which~~ ^{the} was so good for the farmers and the businessmen and the workers of the nation -- that it is time for a change. (Cries of "No")

I think I heard some campaign orator say that we have so thoroughly shifted the control over the banks from Wall Street and State Street to ^{the} ~~the~~ Capital of the United States -- that it is time for a change. (Cries of "Washington")

And I am quite sure ^{that have} heard somebody say that this "chaotic" Administration has done such an amazing job of war production -- that it is time for a change. (Cries of "No")

~~I think I even heard somebody say that these "tired, quarrelsome" old men~~ -- are waging such a victorious war -- that it is time for a change.

Well -- if it is time for a change -- the way to get it in this democracy is by means of votes. Whether I win or lose, I want to see a turn-out next Tuesday of the biggest vote in our American history. (applause)

~~And that means to have~~ ^{I am hoping to see} ~~at least fifty million votes.~~ ^{American voters go to the polls.}

~~And~~ We could not find a better way to tell our boys overseas that the country they are fighting for is still going strong.

Just the other day you people here in Boston witnessed an amazing demonstration of talking out of both sides of the mouth. (laughter)

Well, if it is time for a change the way to get it in this democracy is by means of votes. Whether I win or lose, I want to see a turn-out next Tuesday of the biggest vote in our American history. (applause) And I am hoping to see a million American voters go to the polls. We could not find a better way to tell our boys overseas that the country that they are fighting for is still going strong.

(laughter) -- that happens to be an old habit of mine -- (more laughter)
-- quite

Speaking here in Boston, a Republican candidate said -- and -- and pardon me if I quote him correctly -- he said that "the Communists are seizing control of the New Deal, through which they aim to control the Government of the United States!" (applause) (Crosby)

However, on that very same day, that very same candidate had spoken in Worcester and he said that with Republican victory in November, quote "we can end one-man government, and we can forever remove the threat of monarchy in the United States". (laughter) (Crosby)

Now, really -- which is it -- communism or monarchy? (laughter)

I do not think we could have both in this country, even if we wanted either, which we do not. (applause)
(applause) -- we want to live under the Constitution -- (applause) --

No, we want neither communism nor monarchy. We want to live under our Constitution, which has served pretty well for one hundred and fifty-five years. If this were a banquet hall instead of a ball park, I would propose a toast that we will continue to live under it for another one hundred and fifty-five years. (applause) the Constitution

I must confess that often in this campaign, I have been tempted to speak my mind with sharper vigor and greater indignation. (applause)

Everybody knows that I was reluctant to run for the Presidency again this year. But since the campaign has developed, I tell you frankly that I have become most anxious to win -- for the reason that never before in my lifetime has a campaign been filled with such misrepresentation, distortion, and falsehood. (applause) Never since 1928 have there been so many attempts to stimulate in America racial or religious intolerance. (applause)

When any political candidate stands up and says, solemnly, that there is danger that the Government of the United States -- your Government -- could be sold out to the Communists -- then I say that that candidate reveals a shocking lack of trust in America. (applause)

He reveals a shocking lack of faith in democracy -- in the spiritual strength of our people.

Now if ever there was a time in which the spiritual strength of our people was put to the test, that time was in the terrible depression of 1929 to 1933.

Then our people might have turned to alien ideologies -- like communism or fascism.

But -- our democratic faith was too sturdy. What the American people demanded in 1933 was not less democracy -- but more democracy, and that is what they got. (great applause)

The American people proved in the black days of depression -- as they have again proved in this war -- that there is no chink in the armor of democracy.

On this subject -- and on all subjects -- I say to you, my friends, what I said when first you conferred upon me the exalted honor of the Presidency:

"We have nothing to fear but fear itself." (great applause)
today I can add a corollary to that. And I do not think you will ever cast your votes for fearful men. (applause)
the majority of
we now face the enormous and complex problems of building with our Allies a strong world structure of peace.

-- that historic

In doing that historic job ~~we~~ ^{who have fought} shall be standing before a mighty bar of judgment -- the judgment of all those who have fought (and died in this war -- the judgment of generations yet unborn -- the very judgment of God.

I believe that we Americans will want the peace to be built by men who have shown foresight rather than hindsight. (applause)

Peace, no less than war, must offer a spirit of comradeship, a spirit of achievement, a spirit of unselfishness, and indomitable will to victory. (applause)

-- we in this country
We have waged war against the wilderness -- against the mountains and the rivers -- against the droughts and the storms. We have waged war against ignorance -- against oppression -- against intolerance.

We have waged war against poverty -- against disease.

Why, we fought the Revolutionary War for the principle that all men are created equal. -- and in that ~~war~~ ^{in those days} we pledged "our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honor" ~~x~~

This war, which we are now fighting, has been an interruption in the story of our forward progress; but it has also opened a new chapter -- a chapter which it is for us ~~now~~ ^{to begin} living to begin.

At the end of this war this country will have the greatest material power of any nation in the world.

It will be a clean, shining America -- richer than any other in skilled workers, ~~engineers~~, ~~farmers~~, ~~businessmen~~, ~~scientists~~.

It will be an America in which there is a genuine partnership between the farmer and the worker and the business-man -- in which there are abundant jobs and an expanding economy of peace.

~~and~~ ^{Knoxell} around us we see an unfinished world -- a world of awakened peoples struggling to set themselves on the path of civilization -- people struggling everywhere to achieve a higher cultural and material standard of living.

I say we must wage the coming battle for America and for civilization on a scale worthy of the way we have unitedly waged the battles against tyranny and reaction and wage it through all the difficulties and disappointments that may ever clog the wheels of progress.

And I say we must wage it in association with the United Nations with whom we have stood and fought -- with the association ever growing. (applause)

I say we must wage a peace to attract the highest hearts, ~~and~~ the most competent hands and brains.

That, my friends, is the conception I have of the meaning of total victory. (applause)

And that conception is founded ~~upon~~ ^{on} faith -- faith in the unlimited destiny -- the unconquerable spirit ~~x~~ of America.

----- The United States of
(great prolong applause)

STATEMENTS FILE

ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT
FENWAY PARK, BOSTON, MASS.

NOVEMBER 4, 1944

g. J. P. O. S. H. 1. 4

This is not my first visit to Boston. I shall not review all my previous visits. I should have to go on talking for several days to do that -- and radio time costs a lot of money.

But I want to recall one visit, back in October, 1928, when I came here to urge you to vote for a great American named Al Smith.

And you did vote for that eternally "Happy Warrior".

The Commonwealth of Massachusetts -- and your good neighbor, Rhode Island -- U went Democratic in 1928 -- four years before the rest of the Nation did.

cl This year -- and I am making no predictions -- this year we would like to welcome into the fold Maine and Vermont. *G. J.*

And while I am speaking of that campaign of 1928, let me remind you that, having nominated Al Smith for the second time for the Presidency, I was then running at his request for the Governorship of New York. And people were then -- even then -- saying that my health would not permit me to discharge the duties of public office. *J. C.*

X I think that it is by now a pretty well established fact that I managed to survive my four years as Governor of New York. *J. C. 11/10/28 - J*

In this connection, in 1928 Al Smith remarked publicly that the Governor of New York does not have to be an acrobat. And not many months before his untimely death, he remarked to me in my office in Washington "It is perfectly evident you don't have to be an acrobat to be President. either". *Cy*

When I talked here in Boston in 1928 I talked about racial and religious intolerance which was then -- as ~~it~~ unfortunately still is, -- ^{? ne} "a menace to the liberties of America." ^D

^{? ne} And all the bigots were gunning for Al Smith.

Religious intolerance, social intolerance and political intolerance have no place in our American life. ^{Cy}

^{? C. L. ...} Here in New England ^{Cy ...} you have been fighting bigotry and intolerance for centuries. ^{of the ...} You know that all of our people -- ^{2nd ...} except pure-blooded Indians -- are immigrants or descendants of immigrants, including even those who came here on the Mayflower. ⁶⁻³

Today, in this war, our fine boys are fighting magnificently all over the world and among those boys are the Murphys and the Kellys, the Smiths and the Joneses, the Cohens, the Carusos, the Kowalskis, the Schultzes, the Olsens, the Swobodas, and -- right in with all the rest of them -- the Cabots and the Lowells.

8 All of these ⁶and others like them are the life-blood of America. They are the hope of the world.

³
X It is our duty to them to make sure that, big as this country is, there is no room in it for racial or religious intolerance ^{cy}-- and that there is no room for snobbery.

Our young men and ¹young women are fighting not only for their existence, and their homes and their families. They also are fighting for a country and a world where men and women of all races, colors and creeds can live, ¹work, ¹and worship -- in peace, ¹freedom and security.

~~X~~
X If we can shorten the war by one month -- even by one minute -- we shall have saved the lives of some of our young men and women. We must not let our comforts or conveniences, our politics or our prejudices, stand in the way of our determination to drive -- to drive relentlessly and unflinchingly -- over the hard road to final victory.

You and I -- all of us who are war-workers -- must stay on the job! *cy*

6 Although victory over the Nazis and the Japanese is certain and inevitable -- and I for one have never had one moment's doubt of our ultimate victory -- the war is still far from over. There is tough, hard, ~~and~~ bloody fighting ahead. ~~the war~~ *of the*

We got into this war because we were attacked by the Japanese ^{= 2nd =} -- and because they and their Axis partners, Hitler's Germany and Mussolini's Italy, declared war on us.

I am sure that any real American ^{= 2nd =} would have chosen, as this Government did, to fight when our own soil was made the object of a sneak attack. As for myself, under the same circumstances, I would choose to do the same thing -- again and again and again.

o. u. e. - e
When our enemies flung the gage of battle at us,
we elected to fight them in the American way, which meant
that we went ~~out~~ after them -- and we started punching --
and we are still punching. *9. 12. 1941*
re. L. f. m. 1010
One of the tyrants, Mussolini, has been knocked
out. *1. 1. 1942*
The others are getting groggier and groggier every
day. *e*

And we are made happy by the fact that the Italian
people -- our long-time friends -- are started once again
along the paths of freedom and peace. *e*
1. 1. 1942
~~We were better prepared for this war than for any~~
~~previous war in our history.~~ *e*

On the day of Pearl Harbor, *1. 7. 1941* we had more than two
million men in our armed forces.

Our war production, started a year and a half before, *P*
was rolling toward the gigantic volume of output that has
been achieved.

(P)

Our Navy was building. Indeed, it had been building
ever since 1933, when I first used PWA funds to start a

naval building program -- which included our first modern
carriers. One of those carriers, authorized ten years ago,
was the "Enterprise", a grand and gallant ship, which has
covered herself with glory all through this war and was
in there fighting last week in the great victory in
Philippine waters.

And -- in addition to our physical preparedness --
we had something far more important -- spiritual preparedness.

The American people were ready for it. On the day
of Pearl Harbor they rose up as one man with a mighty shout --
a shout heard 'round the world -- "Let's go!"

And we went!

The average American citizen is doing some hard
thinking these days about what sort of Government he wants
during the next four years.

The memory of our people is not short. The years
2/ 1929 to 1933 are thoroughly and grimly remembered by
millions of our citizens -- by workers who lost their jobs
and their homes, by farmers who lost their crops and their
farms, by families who lost their savings.

X Since those dark days early in 1933, many fortifications
have been erected to protect the people of this country -- just
as we promised that there would be. Cx

These fortifications have provided protection for
your bank deposits and your investments -- your standard
of living -- your right to organize unions and to bargain
collectively with your employers. Cx

2/ X They protect your soil and rivers and trees --
your heritage of natural resources. They provide you with
protection against the hazards of unemployment and old age --
they protect you against inflation and runaway prices.

These fortifications are now manned by zealous
defenders -- and these defenders are not Communists and
they are not fossils.

Can the citizens of the Nation now afford to turn
over these bulwarks to the men who raised every possible
obstacle to their original construction?

Does the average American believe that those who
fought tooth and nail against progressive legislation
during the past twelve years can be trusted to cherish
and preserve that legislation?

Can it be that those who financed the bitter
opposition to the New Deal have made an about-face and
are now willing and able to fight for the objectives of
the New Deal?

(- - -)
We have all heard Republican orators in this
campaign call this Administration everything under the sun
and ^{they} promise that they, if elected -- and oh, my friends,
if elected
what a big "if" that is -- if elected, they would institute
the biggest house-cleaning in history. *S*
What a job that would be! It would mean, among
many
other things, sweeping out with my Administration the most
efficient and the most patriotic Republicans that could be
found in the whole country. *S. C.*

But -- despite these campaign promises of wholesale
house-cleaning -- have you heard one word of specific
criticism of any of the progressive laws that this
Administration has proposed and enacted? *(- - -)*
Have you heard ^{any} talk of sweeping out any of
these laws -- or sweeping out any of the agencies which
administer these laws?

Oh, no -- on that subject the Republican politicians
are very uncharacteristically silent.

This Administration has made mistakes. That I
freely assert. But our mistakes have been honestly made during
sincere efforts to help the great mass of citizens. Never
have we made the inexcusable mistake of substituting talk
for action when farms were being foreclosed, homes were
being sold at auction, and people were standing in breadlines.

I thank God that it cannot be charged that at any
time, under any circumstances, have we made the mistake of
forgetting our sacred obligation to the American people.

And, I might add, never will we make that kind
of mistake.

Is it conceivable to you that this Administration
with its record of very deep concern for human welfare
could ever be guilty of neglect of the welfare of our
fighting men?

When your sons, and my sons, come home from the battlefronts -- and they are coming home just as quickly as they are no longer needed for the essential job of this war -- we are going to see that they have work -- honest, self-respecting jobs.

We are going to see to it that those of them seeking farms get a chance to settle on land of their own.

We are going to see to it that those who hope to establish businesses have a legitimate and fair opportunity to do so.

The American people are quite competent to judge a political party which works both sides of the street -- a party which has one candidate making campaign promises of all kinds of added government expenditures in the West, while a running mate demands less government expenditures in the East.

S
You know -- just as an aside, and I think I can
speak freely to my old friends here in Boston -- this is *= C & P =*
really a funny campaign. *S*

I think I heard some campaign orator say that
Secretary Hull and the rest of us had done such a fine
job with the Good Neighbor policy and our plans for
world peace -- that it is time for a change. *stout*

I believe I heard some campaign orator ² say that --
this "incompetent" Administration had developed a program
which was so good for the farmers and the businessmen and
the workers of the nation -- that it is time for a change. *stout*

= m d = S =
I think I heard some campaign orator say that we
have so thoroughly shifted the control over our banks
from Wall Street and State Street to the Capital of the *26*
United States -- that it is time for a change. *(over)*

And I am quite sure I heard somebody say that this
"chaotic" Administration has done such an amazing job of
war production -- that it is time for a change. ^(K) *fixer*

I think I even heard somebody say that those "tired,
quarrelsome" old men -- are waging such a victorious war --
that it is time for a change.

Well -- if it is time for a change -- the way to
get it in this democracy is by means of votes. Whether
I win or lose, I want to see a turnout next Tuesday of
the biggest vote in our American history. *en*

And that means at least fifty million votes.

(u) We could not find a better way to tell our boys
overseas that the country they are fighting for is still
going strong. *en*

X Just the other day you people here in Boston
witnessed an amazing demonstration of talking out of
both sides of the mouth. *W. L. L. L.*

4. 7. 35

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10 m. - 6 h 20
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P. C.
Speaking here in Boston, a Republican candidate said -- and [^]pardon me if I quote him correctly -- he said that "the Communists are seizing control of the New Deal, through which they aim to control the Government of the United States". *Polk*
va
f

However, on that very same day, that very same candidate had spoken in Worcester and he said that with Republican victory in November [^]"we can end one-man government, we can forever remove the threat of monarchy in the United States". *J*

TS Now, really -- which is it -- communism or monarchy?

I do not think [^]we could have both in this country, even if we wanted either, ~~the~~ which we do not. *Ex*

2 We want neither communism nor monarchy. We want [^]to live under our Constitution. [^]which has served pretty well for one hundred and fifty-five years. [^]If this were a banquet hall instead of a ball park, I would propose a toast that we will continue to live under [^]it for another one hundred and fifty-five years. *Ex*
20/20/20/20/20/
Ex
20

Ex
I confess that often in this campaign, I have been
tempted to speak my mind with sharper vigor and greater
indignation. *Ex*

Everybody knows that I was reluctant to run for the
Presidency again this year. But since the campaign has
developed, I tell you frankly that I have become most anxious
to win -- *Ex = 20* for the reason that never before in my lifetime
has a campaign been filled with such misrepresentation,
distortion, and falsehood. *Ex* Never since 1928 have there been
so many attempts to stimulate in America racial or religious
intolerance. *Ex*

has E. A. Tamm
When any political candidate stands up and says,
solemnly, that there is danger that the Government of the
United States -- your Government -- could be sold out to
the Communists -- then I say that that candidate reveals
a shocking lack of trust in America. *Ex*

He reveals a shocking lack of faith in democracy --
in the spiritual strength of our people.

If ever there was a time in which the spiritual
strength of our people was put to the test, that time was
in the terrible depression of 1929 to 1933.

Then our people might have turned to alien
ideologies -- like communism or fascism.

But -- our democratic faith was too sturdy. What
the American people demanded in 1933 was not less democracy --
but more democracy, and that is what they got.

The American people proved in the black days of
depression -- as they have again proved in this war --
that there is no chink in the armor of democracy.

On this subject -- and on all subjects -- I say
to you, my friends, what I said when first you conferred
upon me the exalted honor of the Presidency:

"We have nothing to fear but fear itself."

And I do not think you will ever cast ~~your~~ ^{your} votes
for fearful men. *Er*

1 2
We now face the enormous, and complex problems of
building with our Allies a strong world structure of
peace.

20 20
In doing that historic job we shall be standing
before a mighty bar of judgment -- the judgment of all
those who have fought and died in this war -- the judgment
of generations yet unborn -- the very judgment of God.

I believe that we Americans will want the peace
to be built by men who have shown foresight rather than
hindsight. *Er*

20 20
Peace, no less than war, must offer a spirit of
comradeship, a spirit of achievement, a spirit of
unselfishness, and indomitable will to victory.

Chas. G.
We have waged war against the wilderness -- against the mountains and the rivers -- against the droughts and the storms. We have waged war against ignorance -- against oppression -- against intolerance.

We have waged war against poverty -- against disease.

① We fought the Revolutionary War for the principle that all men are created equal -- and in that ^{war} we pledged "our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honor".

This war, which we are now fighting, has been an interruption in the story of our forward progress; but it has also opened a new chapter -- a chapter which it is for ^{us} _{now} living to begin.

At the end of this war this country will have the greatest material power of any nation in the world.

It will be a clean, shining America -- richer than any other in skilled workers, ^{engineers}, ^{farmers}, businessmen, ^{scientists}.

It will be an America in which there is a genuine partnership between the farmer and the worker and the business-man -- in which there are abundant jobs and an expanding economy of peace.

And around us we see an unfinished world -- a world of awakened peoples struggling to set themselves on the path of civilization -- people struggling everywhere to achieve a higher cultural and material standard of living.

I say we must wage the coming battle for America and for civilisation on a scale worthy of the way we have unitedly waged the battles against tyranny and reaction and wage it through all the difficulties and disappointments that may ever clog the wheels of progress.

And I say we must wage it in association with the United Nations with whom we have stood and fought -- with this association ever growing.

Eno-Cr
^ I say ^{we} must wage a peace to attract the highest
hearts ~~and~~ the most competent hands and brains.

That, my friends, is the conception I have of the
meaning of total victory. *Cr*

⁼⁰
And that ^{conception} is founded upon faith --
faith in the unlimited destiny -- the unconquerable
spirit ~~of~~ ^{of} America. *-K. 2 Cr*

✓
November 1, 1944

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. HARRY L. HOPKINS

Attached is some material which I have sent to Judge Rosenman this afternoon.

Since you know more than anyone else around town about the importance of experience in working with our allies and the inter-connection between grand strategy, logistics, production, etc., you may possibly want to give a good deal more life and meaning to some of the ideas in the attached draft.

Attachment

afternoon

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cc: Mr. Harry L. Hopkins



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From the Papers of
Harry L. Hopkins

November 1, 1944

SECRET

MEMORANDUM FOR JUDGE ROSENMAN

Here is the material you asked for yesterday afternoon for the Boston talk.

I batted it out very quickly so it is particularly in the rough.

I have left blanks for the figures about the mobilization of the Boston area for the war. I am sure that these, or ones like them, are readily obtainable.

To my mind the soundest appeal, both on the merits and otherwise, is on the central proposition that the war is not over by a long shot.

Virtually every family in the United States has a direct emotional stake in the war. Consciously or unconsciously, I am quite sure that if those who have not fixed their choice feel the war can be foreshortened for a month, a week, or even an hour by the continuation in office of President Roosevelt, there will be no doubt about how they will react when they get into the voting booths.

Many people have told me that they are not only disturbed but made sore by the off-center and double-talk campaigning of Dewey and the other Republicans. This comes even from some people who are not too favorable towards the President. They feel, as many people feel, that more central focusing on the war is necessary and that a somewhat more spiritual touch should be added to the campaign rather than the snide and the belittling approach of Dewey and his followers.

Deane Cox

cc: Mr. Harry L. Hopkins



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From the papers of
Harry L. Hopkins

Draft - November 1, 1944

Since the days of the clipper ships, the people of Boston and the people of Massachusetts have understood how closely we are tied together with the rest of the world.

Since the early days of the founding of this commonwealth, its people have known what oppression and persecution really mean.

Since its earliest days, the people of Massachusetts have known—as illustrated by the legend of Paul Revere and the Battle of Bunker Hill—how important it is to be vigilant about the dangers that face this country and to fight for our freedoms.

The people of Massachusetts—like the people of our other states—have more than carried on these great traditions in these modern days of total warfare.

There are some politicians who would debase these great traditions for reasons of momentary expediency by implying that the American people should not have fought even when we were attacked. These politicians would have us believe now that we would not have fought even if we were attacked on our own soil. What manner of men do they think we are? Long before the last Presidential campaign—as ever in the history of this country—most of us knew and said that we would fight with all our



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strength if we were attacked on our own soil. We are a free and peace-loving people that hate war. But we have the strength and power of our freedom and we have guts. We have always--and we will always--risk our lives for our country and all that we cherish and hold dear. When the great and vital interests of this country are at stake no enemy of this country need ever have the remotest doubt about the willingness of this country to fight--to fight under any odds and under any conditions for as long and as hard as is necessary to achieve final victory.

The outstanding contribution made towards winning the war by the people of Boston and the people of Massachusetts is illustrative of what has been done by men and women throughout the land.

Even before war broke out in Europe in 1939, the people on our seaboards, particularly, became aware of the dangers which threatened us. They knew that our fate in these days of fast seagoing vessels and airplanes was even more closely interwoven with the fate of free peoples in other parts of the world than in the early days of the clipper ships. With this awareness and vigilance they were willing to and did bend their efforts to prepare us against these dangers. The people of



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Massachusetts, no less than the citizens of the rest of the country, were alert to the need for preventing the spread of Axis oppression and the dangers to our existence and our way of life from such a menace.

The men and women, the ships and docks, the industries and the farms of Boston and Massachusetts began to unloose their power even before we were attacked at Pearl Harbor.

Today the mobilization of the resources of this city and its people—like that of the rest of the country—is truly amazing.

Today more than _____ times as many war ships are being built in the Boston area as were built in 1938. Today there is _____ times as much shipping going in and out of the Port of Boston as there was in 1938—shipping which is carrying munitions and other vital war supplies to our armed forces and those of our allies.

Industrial production and business activity in the Boston area are many times what they were in prior years. The number of people employed in the Boston area is up _____ times over 1938, and _____ times over 1932. Average weekly earnings are up _____% from 1938, and _____% from 1932. Freight car loadings are up _____ times over 1938, and



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_____ times over 1932. Fisheries, retail sales and other commercial and business enterprises show similar marked increases.

Boston and Massachusetts have contributed in full measure with their young men and young women in the armed services and in the merchant marine. They are truly American in the highest sense of the word. On the battlefields of Italy, Belgium, Holland and Germany, in the Philippines and in the far reaches of the Pacific, the Murphys and the Burkes, the Smiths and Joneses, the Cohens and the Levys, the Caruses and the Caszassas are fighting no less gallantly than the Cabots and the Lowells. All of these and others like them are the life-blood of America.

Here from all corners of the world there has been fused a people with the strength and vitality that knows no defeat. Here—as in other parts of this country—we have young men and young women who are unconquerable because they know that they fight for the highest aims and ideals. They know that they are fighting not only for their existence, and their homes and their families. They also know that they are fighting for all those values that have made this land great and powerful. They fight for freedom. They fight against barbarism and racial discrimination. They fight against oppression and persecution. They fight for a country



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and a world where men and women of all races, colors and creeds can live, work, speak and worship in peace, freedom and security.

We must never forget that every minute the sons, the fathers, the brothers and the sweethearts of most of us are gallantly and bravely risking their lives for our country and its high purposes. They are going through the most grueling of experiences, with few of the comforts and few of the conveniences that are available to us. They are the best armed, the best equipped, the best fed and the best looked-after army in the world. But in the jungles, in the foxholes, on the men-of-war and the cargo ships, and in the bombers and fighters of the air, our armed forces—with death stalking them a large part of the time—are facing hardships which words can hardly describe.

We must always understand what it is that the best of our young men and women are doing for us and what they are going through. But we owe them even a higher obligation. We must leave no stone unturned to win victory over our enemies as speedily and as effectively as possible and with the least cost in life.

If we can shorten the war by one month, by one week, by one hour—even by one minute—we will have saved the lives of some of our young



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and women--lives which are beyond value. We at home, on the ships, in the factories, on the farms, or at home, must put all our energies to this task and not let up for a minute. We must not let our comforts, or conveniences, our politics or our prejudices, stand in the way of our devotion and sacrifice to this over-riding imperative to drive--and drive relentlessly and unflinchingly--through the hard road to final victory.

Although victory over the Nazis and the Japanese is certain and inevitable, the war is far from over. There is tough, hard and bloody fighting ahead of us. Every month, every week, every hour, every minute our young men are under shell or machine gun fire, risking the hazards of the sea or facing the dangers lurking in the air.

I cannot tell you when the European or the Pacific part of the war will be over. Nor will I try to guess when either or both phases of the war will be over. As far as I am concerned, the war will not be over until the Nazis and the Japanese war lords are completely and effectively defeated. Until that time we must continue to spend ourselves without stint to hasten the day of such victory.



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With steady and painstaking effort undertaken long before Pearl Harbor, we began building the army, the navy, the air force and the merchant marine which were necessary to prepare us for the dangers ahead. At the same time we forged, day by day, the bonds which drew us ever closer to our friends and to our allies. ^{of}The United Nations over the past years have become united in their manpower, in their weapons, in their ships, and in all their other resources. We, as they, were friends in adversity and in the darkest hours. Those ties are not forgotten with victory on the horizon. Like true friendship, these close bonds must be constantly revitalized, and they must allow a margin for true understanding. If we are to preserve and nurture these effective bonds, we cannot do so by irresponsible and uninformed criticism and abuse hurled at our friends and allies. If we would maintain this friendship and unity with our allies, we must work at it—work at it every day, every minute, with the understanding and knowledge and loyalty that is required in our personal friendships.

The success of our close and continuing friendship with the other United Nations is being demonstrated every day on the battlefields on land, on the sea and in the air. This mighty combination turned the bleak specter of defeat into the real and certain hope of victory.



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But we must face the job of defeating our common enemies even more effectively than we have done so well to date. In our continued and strengthened unity, there will be added strength and power toward the prime objective of completely and effectively overcoming our enemies as quickly as possible and with the least cost in lives of our own boys as well as those of our friends and allies. The people of this country have long known and well understood why it is that united we stand--and stand successfully and effectively for the freedoms for which brave men live and fight.

With our heroic friends and allies we have pooled not only our manpower, munitions and other resources, but we have also pooled the best we have--and it is far better than what our enemies have--in our strategy and in our commands.

It is not by chance that the successes of the United Nations in Tunisia, in Sicily, in Italy, in France, at Saipan and in the Philippines have come about. From the grand strategy down to the logistics and the tactics, there has been long and arduous thinking, preparation and work. The beginning and the end of our strategic decisions have been faced with one compelling objective always to the forefront: When and where can we hit our common enemies with our fully combined resources to achieve complete victory as speedily and as effectively as possible. We may not



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have done a completely perfect job in achieving this objective of the allied grand strategy. But we have used our best brains, our best judgment, our best knowledge and our best efforts to approach this end. Our enemies, no less than our friends, know that we have had some success in reaching this goal.

At Quebec, as well as in our continuing consultations with our allies, the design of our strategy has been constantly reweven and improved as the changing conditions of the war require. We who have had our small part to play in the formulation of this strategy must keep our counsel and suffer in patience when the impatience of public criticism would force us to speak out.

To keep our enemies from knowing what our strategy is and to confound them about our strategic plans is also a part of the strategy of modern as well as ancient war.

You remember such things as the clamoring about the second front, and the noise about the shipment of supplies to General MacArthur.

The fact is that we had not only tactical but strategic surprises in North Africa, in Sicily, in Italy, in western and southern France and in the Philippines. No one can tell--no one can measure--how many lives



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of our men and those of our allies were thus saved. No momentary personal or political advantage affected the granite will of the United Nations leaders to hold fast and not speak out on such matters. No criticism, no matter how unpleasant or provocative, would, I am sure, tempt or break down the guard of anyone who has had long and intimate experience in the arts of war. To heads of state who know what war means in blood and treasure, no personal advantage, no personal gain, can possibly measure up to the solemn obligations which are owed to the men who give battle for us.

In real life, grand strategy is not merely the romantic task of putting pins on the map. In modern times particularly, grand strategy cannot be separated from logistics, tactics, production and the other manifold aspects of warfare.

Without facts, without knowledge, without experience, without judgment, and without the day-to-day, and often minute-to-minute, and less romantic application of facts and detail can any effective and workable strategy be conceived.

When you stand off and get some perspective on this war, its dimensions are truly gigantic. We, as you know, have about eleven million young men and women in the armed forces. Our allies have at least another _____ million. Not only have we had to train and equip our men, but we



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too have our allies. We have moved more than four million of our men across thousands of miles on all the seven seas. For the landings in western France, for example, the amount of preparation and detail required was virtually stupendous. If you want to get some indication of what such an operation involves, you have but to look at a few aspects of it. Since D-Day we have not only moved hundreds of thousands of men to France. Up to October 15 of this year, we moved into France more than 600,000 motor vehicles, more than _____ rifles, more than _____ tanks, more than _____ rounds of ammunition, more than _____ pieces of field artillery and more than _____ tons of food and other vital supplies.

Logistics may be a fancy military term, but what it means in homely language is the movement of supplies for the fighting men. I think you can begin to realize what this means and how important it is and that no grand strategy can really be better than our ability to back it up with men and the munitions and supplies necessary to arm, equip and support them. Grand strategy also can be no better than the men who carry it out. We have not only combined our best brains and judgment with our allies in mapping out our strategy, but we have also worked out and seen eye-to-eye with them on the commanders who are to carry it out. No false pride has interfered with judgment in selecting men to do the job most effectively. General Eisenhower, no less than Lord



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Mountbatten and Admirals Halsey and Nimitz, as well as MacArthur, are allied commanders—they command not only American troops but allied troops. From the Combined Chiefs of Staff down, there has been a real pooling of military, naval and air men of experience, ability and judgment for one purpose, and one purpose only—to achieve the swiftest possible victory over our common enemies.

Strategy without the weapons of war, without the products of our factories, our mines and our farms, would be but an idle dream. To be successful in total war, there must be total mobilisation. Our soldiers at home have put us on the road to victory as surely as have our soldiers in the field. As I have told you before, and as you well know, our production of planes and guns and ships, and all the other sinews of war, has been stupendous. We turned our factories from the production of goods of peace to the goods of war in a relatively short time. Those factories are now going full-blast and are producing vital war supplies at a rate which has given us overwhelming superiority over our enemies. That effort—the work which has been done so superbly in the workshops, in the shipyards, on the farms and in the mines—must not flag for a minute. We Americans know how to get our second wind, and we know how to come through the last lap of the journey with a burst of energy and effort which the defeatist would think impossible.



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War is not only hell, but it is a very complicated business involving great burdens and great responsibilities. The burdens and responsibilities are ones which the heads of state cannot shirk for any part of the waking day or, for that matter, for many parts of the night.

If these grave burdens and responsibilities have caused us travail and sorrow and taken any years off our lives, that is the very least we could do for our young men and women who are in the midst of battle. We want and expect no sympathy or praise for the tasks that need be done here at home to support the allied armed forces in achieving speedy victory.

We are dedicated--as we should be dedicated--to this high ideal. We will pursue it with an unswerving devotion. We will not falter in backing up our fighting forces on the production lines, in the fields, on the ships and in the homes. There is the hardest and most difficult lot. Ours is the easier task. But our solemn duty is to demonstrate beyond a doubt that they have not died or struggled in vain. I am sure, God willing, that the people of America will do this and continue to do it beyond measure.



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HARRY L. DOPKINS

SECOND DAY

RADIO ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT

BOSTON -- NOVEMBER 4, 1944

I am glad that this is my last speech in this campaign --
and I am glad to be giving it in Boston.

I shall not review all my previous visits to Boston. I
should have to talk for several days to do that -- and radio time
costs a lot of money.

But I want to recall one visit, back in October, 1936, when
I came here to urge you to vote for a great American named Al Smith.

And you voted for that personally "Happy Warrior."

The Commonwealth of Massachusetts -- and your good neighbor,
Rhode Island -- went Democratic in 1936 -- four years before the rest
of the Nation did.

This year -- and I am making no predictions -- this year we
would like to welcome into the fold Maine and Vermont.

And while I am speaking of that unfair campaign of 1936, let
me remind you that I was then running at Al Smith's request for the
Governorship of New York, and people were then -- even then -- saying
that my health would not permit me to discharge the duties of public
office.

I think that it is by now a pretty well established fact
that I survived my four years as Governor of New York.



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SECOND DRAFT

- 2 -

In 1938 Al Smith remarked publicly that the Governor of New York does not have to be an acrobat. And not so very long ago, he remarked to me in my office in Washington, "It is perfectly evident you don't have to be an acrobat to be President either".

When I talked here in 1938 I talked about racial and religious intolerance which was then -- as it unfortunately still is -- "a menace to the liberties of America."

All the enemies of tolerance were gunning for Al Smith.

Religious intolerance, racial intolerance and political intolerance have no place in our American life.

Bigotry is surely one of the cardinal sins -- and the best examples of the evils of bigotry have been found in Hitler's Germany.

Here in New England you have been fighting bigotry and intolerance for centuries. You know that some of our best people are immigrants, and always have been, even those who came here on the Mayflower.

And today, in this war, our fine boys are fighting magnificently all over the world and among those boys are the Harpises and the Kallys, the Smiths and the Joneses, the Cohens and the Levys, the Carusos and the Casosinas, the Kowalskis and the Quisinas, the Ciesens



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SECOND DRAFT:

- 3 -

and the Swabodes, and — right in with all the rest of these — the Cabots and the Lowells.

All of these and others like them are the life-blood of America.

They are the hope of the world.

It is our duty to them to see to it that, big as this country is, there is no room in it for racial or religious intolerance — and there is no room for snobbery, or room for falsehood either.

Our young men and young women are unconquerable because they know that they fight for the decent aims and honest ideals. They know that they are fighting not only for their existence, and their homes and their families. They also are fighting for a country and a world where men and women of all races, colors and creeds can live, work, speak and worship — in peace, freedom and security.

We must always understand what it is that the best of our young men and women are doing for us and what they are going through.

If we can shorten the war by one month — even by one minute — we will have saved the lives of some of our young men and women — lives which are beyond value. We must not let our comforts or conveniences, our politics or our prejudices, stand in the way of our determination to drive — to drive relentlessly and unflinchingly — over the hard road to final victory.



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Harry L. Hopkins

SECOND DRAFT

- 4 -

You and I -- all of us who are war-writers -- must stay on the job!

Although victory over the Nazis and the Japanese is certain and inevitable -- and I for one have never had one moment's doubt of our ultimate victory -- the war is still far from over. There is tough, hard and bloody fighting ahead of us.

We got into this war because we were attacked by the Japanese -- and because they and their Axis partners, Hitler's Germany and Mussolini's Italy, declared war on us.

Now I have heard the grave charges made by a few people -- and it so happens that all of these people have isolationist records -- the charge that I broke a pledge to the American people when I asked the Congress to declare the existence of a state of war.

I wonder what these people would have done in my place -- or in the Congress' place -- when the Japanese attacked the Hawaiian Islands -- or if they had attacked San Francisco or Los Angeles.

Would they have told the American people to take that lying down?

Is it still a "foreign" war when enemy bombs drop on American soil? Do bombs have to drop on the Capitol at Washington before it becomes an American war -- our war?



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From the papers of
Harry L. Hopkins

SECRET DRAFT

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I am sure that any real American would have chosen, as this Government did, to fight. As for myself, under the same circumstances, I would choose to do the same thing — again and again and again.

When our enemies flung the gauntlet of battle at us, we elected to fight them in the American way, which meant that we went out after them — and we started punching — and we are still punching.

One of the tyrants, Mussolini, has been knocked out. The others are getting graggier and graggier every day.

And we are made happy by the fact that the Italian people — our long-time friends — are started once again along the paths of freedom and peace.

We were better prepared for this war than for any previous war in our history.

On the day of Pearl Harbor, we had more than a million men in our Army. (1)

Our war production, started a year and a half before, was rolling toward the gigantic volume of output that has been achieved.



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Our Navy was building. Indeed, it had been building since 1933 when I first used a quarter of a billion dollars of PWA funds to start a naval building program which included our first modern carriers. One of those carriers, authorized ten years ago, was the "Interprise," a grand and gallant ship which has covered herself with glory all through this war and was in there fighting last week in the great victory in Philippine waters.

And -- in addition to our physical preparedness -- we had something far more important -- spiritual preparedness.

The American people were ready for it. On the day of Pearl Harbor they rose up as one man with a mighty shout -- a shout heard 'round the world -- "Let's go!"

And we went!

I have made reference in this campaign to my inability to talk out of both sides of my mouth.

Just the other day you people here in Boston witnessed an amazing demonstration of talking out of both sides of the mouth.

Speaking here in Boston, a Republican candidate said -- and I know you won't mind if I quote him correctly -- he said that "the



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Communists are seizing control of the New Deal, through which they aim to control the Government of the United States".

However, on that very same day that very same candidate had spoken in Worcester and he said that with Republican victory in November "we can end one-man government, we can forever remove the threat of monarchy in the United States".

Now, really -- which is it -- communism or monarchy?

I do not think we could have both in this country, even if we wanted either, which we do not.

I have just said that we want neither communism nor monarchy. We want to live under the Constitution which on the whole has served pretty well for one hundred and fifty-five years. If this were a banquet hall instead of a ball park, I would drink a toast to our living under it for another one hundred and fifty-five years.

And -- here in Fenway Park -- I seem to be out in right field, the starting ground of Ted Williams -- a grand ball player now in our Navy.



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From the papers of
HARRY L. HOPKINS

SECOND DRAFT

- 2 -

The average American citizen is doing some hard thinking these days about what sort of Government he wants during the next four years.

The memory of the people is not short. The years 1929 to 1933 are thoroughly and grimly remembered by millions of our citizens -- by workers who lost their jobs and their homes, by farmers who lost their crops and their farms, by families who lost their savings.

I know that the average American, with his capacity for sound judgment and insight, is examining very closely the campaign statements and promises of all political candidates this year. He will find some highly interesting changes of face.

Does the average American believe that those who fought tooth and nail against social legislation during the past twelve years can be trusted to cherish and preserve that legislation?

Can it be that those who financed the bitter opposition to the New Deal have made an about-face and are now willing to underwrite it?

No human force in this land can match the collective will of the American people -- expressed through our democratic institutions.



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SECOND DRAFT

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The American people have found that their ballots can call up new safeguards for the people's resources. They have found that their ballots can put an end to breadlines, farm foreclosures and bankrupt businesses and idle factories.

Since the dark days early in 1933, many fortifications have been erected to protect the people of this country -- just as we promised that there would be.

These fortifications have provided protection for the people's bank deposits and their investments -- their standard of living -- their right to organize into unions and bargain collectively with their employers.

They protect their soil and rivers and trees -- their heritage of natural resources. They provide protection against the hazards of unemployment and old age.

They provide protection from inflation and runaway prices.

These fortifications are now manned by zealous defenders -- and these defenders are not Communists and they are not fossils. Can the citizens of the Nation now afford to turn over these bulwarks to the man who raised every possible obstacle to their original construction?



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From the papers of
Henry L. Hopkins

SECOND DRAFT

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We have all heard Republican orators in this campaign call this Administration everything under the sun and, promise that they, if elected -- and oh, my friends, what a big "if" that is -- if elected they would institute the biggest house-cleaning in history.

But -- have you heard one word of specific criticism of any of the progressive laws that this Administration has proposed and enacted?

Have you heard any talk of sweeping out any of these laws -- or sweeping out any of the agencies which administer these laws?

Oh, no -- on that subject they are, very uncharacteristically, silent.

This Administration has made mistakes. That I freely assert. But I thank God that there cannot be charged to us at any time, under any circumstances, the mistake of letting Americans go without work and food and homes and security.

Our mistakes have been honestly made during sincere efforts to help the great mass of citizens. Never had we made the inexcusable mistake of substituting talk for action when farms were being foreclosed, homes were being sold at auction and people were standing in breadlines.



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SECOND DRAFT

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And, I might add, never will we make that kind of a mistake.

Wherever this Administration has erred, it has erred on the side of very deep concern for human welfare.

Is it conceivable to you that this Administration with that record could ever be guilty of neglect of the welfare of our fighting men?

When your sons -- and my sons -- come home from the battle-fronts, we are going to see that they have work -- honest, self-respecting jobs.

We are going to see that those of them seeking farms get a real chance to settle on land of their own.

We are going to see that those who hope to establish businesses have a legitimate and fair opportunity to do so.

The American people are quite competent to judge a political party which works both sides of the street -- a party which has one candidate promising large old-age pensions in the West while a running mate demands less Federal expenditures in the East.

You know -- just as an aside, and I think I can speak freely to my old friends here in Boston -- this is really a funny campaign.



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Harry L. Hopkins

SECOND DRAFT

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I think I heard somebody say that Secretary Hull and the rest of us had done such a fine job with the Good Neighbor policy and our plans for world peace -- that it is time for a change.

I believe I heard somebody say that this incompetent Administration had developed a program which was so good for the farmers and the businessmen and the workers of the nation -- that it is time for a change.

And I am quite sure I heard somebody say that this chaotic Administration has done such an amazing job of war production -- that it is time for a change.

I hear people say that we have so thoroughly shifted the control over our banks from Wall Street and State Street to the Capital of the United States -- that it is time for a change.

I think I heard somebody say that those tired old men -- such as Stimson -- Marshall -- King -- MacArthur -- Nimitz and Halsey -- are waging such a victorious war -- that it is time for a change.

Well -- if it is time for a change -- the way to get it in this democracy is by means of votes. And, being a good democrat -- with a small "d" -- I want to see a turnout next Tuesday of the biggest vote in our American history.



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And that means at least fifty million votes.

We could not find a better way to tell our boys overseas that the country they are fighting for is still going strong.

I know that in this campaign we are in a glass house and that the eyes and ears of all the world, enemies and allies alike, are upon all our words taking note of them — taking note because everything that any candidate says, or implies or infers about the internal condition of this nation may furnish ammunition to our enemies and hearten or dismay our allies.

I confess that often in this campaign, I have been tempted to speak my mind with sharper vigor and greater indignation.

But I have the constant realization that this campaign occurs at the very climax of a great war, and on a stage for which the audience includes all the nations of the earth. And it has been my desire that even in an election campaign they should see America in her nobler aspects.



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SECOND DRAFT

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We now face the enormous and complex problems of building with our Allies a strong world structure of peace.

In doing that historic job we shall be standing before a mighty bar of judgment — the judgment of God — the judgment of all those who have fought and died in this war — the judgment of generations yet unborn.

I believe that we Americans will want the building of the peace to be done by men who have shown foresight rather than hindsight.

There lived here in Boston a great American philosopher named William James who said that peace must furnish a moral equivalent for war.

Peace, no less than war, must offer a spirit of comradeship, a spirit of achievement, a spirit of unselfishness, an indomitable will to victory.

All through our history we Americans have had the moral equivalent for war.



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From the Papers of
BARRY L. HOPKINS

We have waged war against the wilderness -- against the mountains and the rivers -- against the droughts and the storms. We have waged war against ignorance -- against oppression -- against intolerance.

We have waged war against poverty -- against disease.

We fought a war for the principle that all men are created equal -- and in that war we pledged "our lives, our fortunes and our sacred honor."

This war, which we are now fighting, has been an interruption in the story of our forward progress; but it has also opened a new chapter -- a chapter which it is for us now living to write.

At the end of this war this country will have the greatest material power of any nation in the world.

It will be a clean, shining America -- richer than any other in skilled workers, engineers, farmers, businessmen, scientists.

And around us is an unfinished world -- a world of awakened peoples struggling to set themselves on the path of civilization -- people struggling everywhere to achieve a higher cultural and material standard of living -- in some countries, striving even to rise to the level of the poorest American worker.



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DRAFT 2

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I say we must wage the coming battle for America and for civilization on a scale worthy of and comparable to the scale on which we have unitedly waged the battle against tyranny and reaction -- and wage it through all the difficulties and disappointments that have ever slowed the wheels of progress.

And I say we must wage it in association with the same United Nations with whom we have stood and fought -- with the association ever growing. I say we must wage a peace to attract the highest hearts and the most competent hands and brains.

That, my friends, is the conception I have of the meaning of total victory.

And this conception is founded upon faith -- faith in the unlimited destiny of America.



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