We hold this truth to be self-evident—that the test of a government is the ability of those who govern to produce results.

We hold this truth to be self-evident—that twelve years of Republican leadership had left our nation sorely stricken in body, mind, and spirit; and that three years of Democratic leadership put it back on the road to restored prosperity.

We hold this truth to be self-evident—that twelve years of Republican surrender to the dictatorship of a privileged few have been supplanted by a Democratic leadership which has returned the people to the places of authority and has revived in them new faith and the hope which they had almost lost.

We hold this truth to be self-evident that this recovery in all the basic values of life and in the American way of living, in these three years, has been due to a liberalizing of the policies of the Federal government toward the personal, financial, industrial and agricultural well-being of the American people.

Finally, we hold this truth to be self-evident that a modern civilization has certain inescapable obligations to its citizens among which are:

1. Protection of the family and the home
2. Liberalization of the policies of the Federal government toward the personal, financial, industrial and agricultural well-being of the American people.
1) Protection of the family and the home
2) Establishment of a democracy of opportunity for all the people
3) Aid to those overtaken by disaster.

These obligations, neglected through twelve years of Republican leadership, have once more been given a place in American government. Under Democratic leadership they will not, again, be defaulted.
the obligation to assist them in that right wherever private enterprise
fails to do so.

We are bringing electricity to his home and farm and better educational facilities to his
children.

These things we will continue. We will further build the
farmer's economic resources through the encouragement of cooperatives;
the extension of farm ownership; the reduction of the evils of tenancy;
and the increase of farm out-put by increasing consumption through a
higher standard of living and a greater purchasing power for all the people.

The farmer has been returned to the road to freedom and pros-
perity. We will keep him there.

2) We have given the army of America's industrial workers
something more substantial than the Republicans' full dinner pail of
promises. We have fattened the worker's pay envelope and shortened his
hours; we have undertaken to put an end to the sweated labor of his wife
and children; we have written into the law of the land his right to col-
lective bargaining; we have provided federal machinery for the peaceful

way of living, in these three years, has been due to

misdirecting of the policies of the Federal government toward

the personal financial, industrial and agricultural well-being

of the American people.
For the Establishment of a Democracy of Opportunity

1) We have taken the farmers of the land off the Republican road to agricultural ruin. By federal legislation we have reduced the farmer's indebtedness; we are restoring parity to the price of his crops; cooperation with the several states in developing the natural fertility of his land and checking the erosion of his soil. We are bringing electricity to his home and farm and better educational facilities to his children.

These things we will continue. We will further build the farmer's economic resources through the encouragement of cooperatives; the extension of farm ownership; the reduction of the evils of tenancy; and the increase of farm output by increasing consumption through a higher standard of living and a greater purchasing power for all the people.

The farmer has been returned to the road to freedom and prosperity. We will keep him there.

2) We have given the army of America's industrial workers something more substantial than the Republicans' full dinner pail of promises. We have fattened the worker's pay envelope and shortened his hours; we have undertaken to put an end to the sweated labor of his wife and children; we have written into the law of the land his right to collective bargaining; we have provided federal machinery for the peaceful way of living, in these three years, has been due to the policies of the Federal government toward the personal financial, industrial and agricultural well-being of the American people.
settlement of labor disputes; we have given him legal protection from
the unfair competition of wage-cutting and hour stretching.

The worker has been returned to the road to freedom and pros-
perity. We will keep him there.

3) We have taken the American business man out of the red. We
have saved his bank and given it a sounder foundation; we have extended credit;
we have lowered interest rates; we have undertaken to free him from the
settlement of labor disputes; we have given him legal protection from the unfair competition of wage-cutting and hour stretching.

The worker has been returned to the road to freedom and prosperity. We will keep him there.

3) We have taken the American business man out of the red. We have saved his bank and given it a sounder foundation; we have extended credit; we have lowered interest rates; we have undertaken to free him from the ravages of cut-throat competition. The American business man has been returned to the road to freedom and prosperity. We will keep him there.

But we shall continue to oppose the Republican tradition of concentrated economic power; to fight monopolies with more than phrases; to protect the right of every American citizen to become a property owner but to make him safe, in his property rights, against the aggression of monopoly special privilege; and to protect the small business man against the aggression of predatory interests.

way of living, in these three years, has been due to

misconceiving of the policies of the Federal government toward the personal financial, industrial and agricultural well-being of the American people.
In the final chapter, we have united the forces of the American people.

The personal financial, industrial and agricultural well-being of the American people.
We will continue to protect the worker and, both as wage-earner and consumer, we will guard his rights in the production and consumption of public utility services and natural resources such as coal and water-power.

The worker has been returned to the road to freedom and prosperity. We will keep him there.
our younger citizens

4) We have furnished 

extended aid to education and

We have aided them to stay in school; given them constructive occupation; again,

opened the door to opportunity which twelve years of Republic-

and

can neglect had closed in their faces.

Our youth have been returned to the road
to freedom and prosperity. We will keep them there.

way of living, in these three years, has been due to the

liberalizing of the policies of the Federal government toward

the personal financial, industrial and agricultural well-being

of the American people.
These obligations, neglected through twelve years of Republican leadership, have once more been given a place in American government. Under Democratic leadership they will not, again, be defaulted.

For the Protection of the Family and the Home:

1) We have begun and we shall continue the successful drive to rid our land of kidnappers, bandits and malefactors of great wealth.

2) We have safeguarded the thrift of our citizens by restraining those who would gamble with other people's money; by imposing requirements of truth upon the sale of securities; by putting brakes upon the use of credit for speculation; by outlawing the manipulation of market prices; by curbing the unholy practices by which some utility holding companies fleeced the public; by insuring the bank accounts of fifty million of our citizens.

3) We have provided foundations for the security of those who are faced with the hazards of unemployment and destitute old age; for the orphaned, the crippled and the blind. On these foundations we will continue to build a structure in which American life will be more secure.

4) We will deal more actively with the problem of the consumer; to secure for him fair value, honest sales and a decreased spread between the price he pays and the price the producer receives.

5) We maintain that our people are entitled to decent, adequate housing at a price which they can afford and we will assume way of living, in these three years, has been due to

misunderstanding of the policies of the Federal government

as they affect the personal financial, industrial and agricultural well-being

of the American people.
Aid to those overtaken by disaster.

We have rejected the Republican policy that starvation for those in need is preferable to federal relief.

We believe that unemployment is a national problem and that, to meet it nationally, is an inescapable obligation of our government. We re-affirm our belief that work at decent wages should be provided in cooperation with state and local governments for the needy unemployed on useful projects to the end that the skill and the energy of the worker may be utilized, his morale maintained and the unemployed assured the necessities of life.

We maintain that the first objective of a program of economic security is maximum employment. Five million people have gone back to private employment during this administration and will continue its determined effort to increase employment.

We have aided and will continue to aid those of our citizens who have been visited by widespread floods.

way of living, in these three years, has been due to the misdirecting of the policies of the Federal government toward the personal financial, industrial and agricultural well-being of the American people.
To meet these obligations is and will continue to be the aim of this administration.

The Republican platform proposes to meet national problems solely by action of the separate states. But these problems demand action, not empty gestures. We know that drought, dust storms, floods; minimum wages, maximum hours; child labor; monopolistic and unfair business practices cannot be adequately handled by 48 separate state legislatures, 48 separate state administrations, 48 separate state courts. Transactions and activities which inevitably overflow state boundaries call for both state and federal treatment.

We have sought and will continue to seek to meet these problems through legislation within a reasonable interpretation of the Constitution.

If, however, recent pronouncements of the Supreme Court are to be regarded as fixing permanent limitations on the legislative powers of both state and federal governments, it will be necessary to seek such an amendment or amendments to the federal constitution as will restore to the legislatures of the several states and to the Congress of the United States, each within its proper jurisdiction, the power to enact and have enforced those laws which the respective
legislative bodies shall from time to time find necessary in order adequately to regulate commerce, to protect public health and safety, to safeguard economic security and to provide for the general welfare.
For the protection of government, itself, and the $$$
promotion of its
$$ efficiency we shall extend the merit principle in the face of
Republican opposition we have tried to do - to all non-policy making
positions in the federal service. We shall continue to
$$ guard the civil rights and liberties which our constitution guarantees,
$$ with equal rights to all and special
$$ privilege to none.
$$ We shall continue to guard the civil rights and liberties which
our constitution guarantees: with equal rights to all and special
privilege to none.

way of living, in these three years, has been due to the
$$ liberalizing of the policies of the Federal government toward
the personal financial, industrial and agricultural well-being
of the American people.
In our relationship with other nations, this government will continue the Good Neighbor policy. We shall continue to observe a true neutrality in the disputes of others; to be prepared, by resolute to resist aggression against ourselves; to work for peace and to take the profits out of war; but to guard against being drawn by political commitments, international banking or private trading, into any war which may develop anywhere.

We shall continue to foster the increase in our foreign trade which has been achieved by this administration; to seek by mutual agreement the lowering of those tariff barriers, quotas and embargoes which have been raised against our exports of agricultural and industrial products; but to continue to give the fullest protection to our farmers and manufacturers against the dumping on our shores of goods produced abroad by cheap labor or subsidized by foreign governments.

The personal financial, industrial and agricultural well-being of the American people.
We shall continue the policies which rescued the nation from have fiscal panic and made our currency the soundest in the world and our national credit the soundest in the world. By these policies we shall continue to shield our agriculture and industry against fluctuating prices and currency wars and the raids of international speculators.

We recognize that the fulfillment of the obligations of government requires a sound federal economy. In way of living, in these three years, has been due to the personal financial, industrial and agricultural well-being of the American people.
We have faith in the destiny of our Nation as the pioneers conceived it.

The issue, here, is whether that nation will continue to advance in all these

The contest, here, is to determine whether more American go forward to a higher standard of living and a quality of life or revert to policies which sacrifice human values to special interests and for speculative gain.

We, therefore, appeal to men and women, regardless of class or former party ties, to join with us to carry forward and complete the rededication of this government to liberal American principles, determined to oppose the despotism of Communism and the only menace of a concealed Fascism, confident that a government of the people can fully guard the people's interests or solve their problems.

The liberalizing of the policies of the Federal government toward the personal, financial, industrial and agricultural well-being of the American people.

way of living, in these three years, has been due to humility.
The issue in this election is plain. The American people are called to choose between a government dedicated to the establishment of equal economic opportunity for all our people, and a government that would regiment them in the service of privileged groups.

We have faith in the destiny of our Nation as the founders conceived it. We have confidence that we are sufficiently endowed with natural resources and with capacity for all that meets the productive standards of real Americanism.

Dedicated to a government of liberal American principles, we are determined to oppose, equally, the despotism of Communism and the menace of concealed Fascism.

We hold this truth to be self-evident — that only a government of the people, themselves, can fully guard the people's interests or solve their problems.

The humanizing of the policies of the Federal government toward the personal financial, industrial and agricultural well-being of the American people.
We hold this truth to be self-evident -- that the test of a government is the ability of those who govern to produce results.

We hold this truth to be self-evident -- that twelve years of Republican leadership had left our nation sorely stricken in body, mind and spirit; and that three years of Democratic leadership put it back on the road to restored prosperity.

We hold this truth to be self-evident -- that twelve years of Republican surrender to the dictatorship of a privileged few have been supplanted by a Democratic leadership which has returned the people to the places of authority, and has revived in them new faith and the hope which they had almost lost.

We hold this truth to be self-evident -- that this recovery in all the basic values of life and in the American way of living, in these three years, has been due to a humanizing liberalizing of the policies of the Federal government toward the personal financial, industrial and agricultural well-being of the American people.
We have operated 

One of the means to a more abundant life is cheap electric power. It should be available on the farm, in the home and to industry at reasonable rates.

In the Tennessee Valley, at Bonneville, Grand Coule, in the St. Lawrence Seaway Treaty, under the Rural Electrification and Soil Conservation programs, the Democratic party has inaugurated a construction program. We pledge its expansion to the end that our vast natural resources shall be conserved, developed and wisely used.

price he pays and the price the producer receives.

(6) We maintain that our people are entitled to decent, adequate housing at a price which they can afford, and we will assume the obligation to assist them in that right wherever private enterprise fails to do so.
... can afford. In the last three years the Federal government, having saved millions of homes from foreclosure, has taken the first step in our history to provide decent housing to people of meager incomes. We believe that every encouragement should be given to the building of new homes by private enterprise, and that the Federal government should extend its housing program steadily toward the goal of

... underprivileged in both urban and rural communities.

[Handwritten notes]

[Paragraphs written with corrections and edits]
Finally, we hold this truth to be self-evident --
that government in a modern civilization has certain inescapable
obligations to its citizens among which are:

(1) Protection of the family and the home.
(2) Establishment of a democracy of opportunity
for all the people.
(3) Aid to those overtaken by disaster.

These obligations, neglected through twelve years
of Republican leadership, have once more been given a place in
American government. Under Roosevelt leadership they will not
again be neglected.

For the Protection of the Family and the Home:

(1) We have begun and we shall continue the
successful drive to rid our land of kidnappers,
bandits and malfeactors of great wealth.

(2) We have safeguarded the thrift of our
citizens by restraining those who would gamble
with other people's savings by requiring
truth upon the sale of securities; by
putting brakes upon the use of credit for
speculation; by outlawing the manipulation of
stock-exchanges; by curbing the unholy practices
by which some utility holding companies cheated
the public; by insuring the bank accounts of
fifty million of our citizens.

(3) We have provided foundations for the
security of those who are faced with the
hazards of unemployment and destitute old age;
for the orphaned, the crippled and the blind.
These foundations we will continue to build
which here will be made more
secure.

(4) We will actively deal with the problem
of the consumer -- to assure fair value,
honest sales and a decreased spread between the
prices he pays and the prices the producer receives.

(5) We maintain that our people are entitled
to decent, adequate housing at a price which they
can afford, and we will assume the obligation to
assist them in that right wherever private enter-
preneur fails to do so.
We have kept our pledge to agriculture to use all available means to raise farm income toward its pre-war purchasing power. The farmer is no longer suffering from 15¢ corn, 3¢ hogs, 30¢ wheat and 6¢ cotton.

By Federal legislation we have reduced the farmers' indebtedness and doubled his net income. In cooperation with the States, through the farmers' own committees, we are restoring the fertility of his land and checking the erosion of his soil.

We are bringing electricity and good roads to his home.

We will continue this national policy of equality for agriculture.

We will continue a farm-minded Administration of agricultural laws, quick to recognize and meet new problems and conditions. We will encourage land ownership by those who till the soil. We will increase farm output by increasing consumption through a higher standard of living and greater unfair competition of wage-cutting and hour stretching.

We will continue to protect the worker and we will guard his rights, both as wage-earner and consumer, in the production and consumption of public utility.
For the Establishment of a Democracy of Opportunity:

-2-

purchasing power for all the people. We favor vigorous encourage-
ment of sound, practical farm cooperatives. We favor assistance,
within Federal authority, to enable farmers to adjust and balance
production with demand.

unfair competition of wage-cutting and hour stretching.

We will continue to protect the worker and we
will guard his rights, both as wage-earner and consumer,
in the production and consumption of public utility.
For the Establishment of a Democracy of Opportunity:

Agriculture

We have taken the farmers of the land off the Republican road to agricultural ruin. By federal legislation, we restored his fortunes and out of his hand. We reduced the farm of co-op, and the abandonment to those who were attempting to the work our existence upon it, made a good beginning. We have helped by our and grant his rights, both as wage-earner and consumer, in the production and consumption of public utility.
For the Establishment of a Democracy of Opportunity:

[23] We have taken the farmers of the land off the Republican road to agricultural ruin. By federal legislation we have reduced the farmer's indebtedness; we are restoring parity to the price of his crops in cooperation with the several states we are restoring the fertility of his land and checking the erosion of his soil. We are bringing electricity to his home and farm and better educational facilities to his children.

At this work we will continue. We will further build up the farmer's economic resources through the encouragement of cooperatives; the extension of farm ownership; the reduction of the evils of tenancy; and the increase of farm output by increasing consumption through a higher standard of living and a greater purchasing power for all the people.

The farmer has been returned to the road to freedom and prosperity. We will keep him there on that road.

[24] We have given the army of America's industrial workers something more substantial than the Republicans'八个 dinner pail of promises. We have increased the worker's pay envelope and shortened his hours; we have undertaken to put an end to the sweating labor of his wife and children; we have written into the law of the land his right to collective bargaining; we have provided federal machinery for the peaceful settlement of labor disputes; we have given him legal protection from the unfair competition of wage-cutting and hour stretching.

We will continue to protect the worker and we will guard his rights, both as wage-earner and consumer, in the production and consumption of public utility
services and natural resources such as coal and water power.

The worker has been returned to the road to freedom and prosperity. We will keep him there on that road.

We have taken the American businessman out of the red. We have saved his bank and given it a sounder foundation; we have extended credit; we have lowered interest rates; we have undertaken to free him from the ravages of cut-throat competition. The American businessman has been returned to the road to freedom and prosperity. We will keep him there on that road.

But we shall continue to oppose the Republican protective tradition of concentrated economic power; to fight monopolies with more than phrases; to protect the right of every American citizen to become a property owner but to make him safe, in his property rights, against the greed of special privilege; and to protect the small businessman against the aggression of predatory interests.

We have furnished our younger citizens with something more than sympathy. We have aided them to stay in school; given them constructive occupation; opened, again, the door to opportunity which twelve years of Republican neglect had closed in their faces.

Our youth have been returned to the road to freedom and prosperity. We will keep them there on that road.
The Operation of Government

We reject the Republican tradition that fore-going obligations can be met by ambiguous platform promises. We will continue to meet these obligations by decisive action.

The Constitution

cannot be adequately handled by 48 separate state courts.
As unemployment recedes and national income advances, an increasing percentage of federal expenditures can be met from current revenues. Thus we shall steadily move toward a reduction of the national budget and toward our objective of balancing the federal budget at the earliest possible moment. Since under the recovery program the American people are now once more earning more than they are required to spend, and since we have thereby the budget of the people, the eventual balancing of the federal budget can be assured.
Aid to those overtaken by disaster

We have rejected the policy of the last Republican Administration that relief for those in need is preferable to federal relief.

We believe that unemployment is a national problem and that, to meet it nationally, is an inescapable obligation of our government. We reaffirm our belief that work at decent wages should be provided in cooperation with state and local governments for the needy unemployed on useful projects to the end that the skill and the energy of the worker may be utilized, his wage maintained and the unemployed assured the necessities of life.

We maintain that the first objective of a program of economic security is maximum employment. Five million people have gone back to private employment during this Administration and the Democratic Party will continue its determined effort to increase employment.

We have aided and will continue to aid those of our citizens who have been visited by wide-spread drought and floods.

To meet these obligations and will continue to be the aim of this Administration.

The Republican platform proposes to meet many pressing national problems solely by action of the separate states.

But these problems demand action, not empty gestures. We know that drought, dust storms, floods; minimum wages, maximum hours; child labor; monopolistic and unfair business practices cannot be adequately handled by 48 separate state courts.
Transactions and activities which inevitably overflow state boundaries call for both state and federal treatment.

We have sought and will continue to seek to meet these problems through legislation within a reasonable interpretation of the Constitution. If, however, recent pronouncements of the Supreme Court are to be regarded as fixing permanent limitations on the legislative powers of both state and federal governments, we will continue to seek such amendment or amendments to the federal constitution as will restore to the legislatures of the several states and to the Congress of the United States, each within its proper jurisdiction, the power to enact and have enforced those laws which the respective legislative bodies shall from time to time find necessary, in order adequately to regulate commerce, to protect public health and safety, to safeguard economic security and to provide for the general welfare. Thus we propose to maintain the letter and the spirit of the Constitution.

For the protection of government, itself, and promotion of its efficiency, we shall extend the -- as in the face of Republican opposition we have tried to do -- to all non-policy making positions in the federal service.

Civil rights and liberties which our Constitution guarantees; with equal rights to all and special privilege to none.
In our relationship with other nations, this government will continue to strive to extend the policy of the Good Neighbor. We shall continue to observe a true neutrality in the disputes of others; to be prepared, resolutely to resist aggression against ourselves; to work for peace and to take the profits out of war; to guard against being drawn by political commitments, international banking or private trading, into any war which may develop anywhere.

We shall continue to foster the increase in our foreign trade which has been achieved by this Administration; to seek by mutual agreement the lowering of those tariff barriers, quotas and embargoes which have been raised against our exports of agricultural and industrial products; but to continue, as in the past, to give the fullest protection to our farmers and manufacturers against the dumping on our shores of goods produced abroad by cheap labor or subsidized by foreign governments.

We recognize that the fulfillment of the obligations of government requires a sound federal economy.

We shall continue the policies which rescued the nation from fiscal panic and have made our currency and our national credit the soundest in the world. By these policies we shall continue to shield our agriculture and industry against fluctuating prices, currency wars and the raids of international speculators.

We, having faith in the destiny of our Nation as the pioneers conceived it.
The Issue

Government, as we conceive it, should use its powers to restore equality of economic opportunity and to abolish the extremes of concentrated wealth and dire poverty which menace the preservation of the institutions of our Republic.

We have faith in the destiny of our Nation as the pioneers conceived it. The contest today is to determine whether our Nation will go forward to a higher standard of living and a more American quality of life or revert to policies which sacrifice human values to special privilege and for speculative gain. Our purpose is to restore to the average family a fair share in the abundant wealth which our natural resources and productive capacity under a sound and equitable system of distribution will provide.

We, therefore, appeal to men and women regardless of former party ties to join with us to carry forward and complete the rededication of this government to liberal American principles, determined to oppose the despotism of Communism and the menace of concealed Fascism, confident that only a government of the people can fully guard the people's interests or solve their problems.
On the foundation of the Social Security Act we can build a structure of economic security, affording adequate protection to every human being in childhood, maturity and old age and make sure that these benefits keep step with the ever increasing capacity of America to provide a high standard of living for all its citizens.