

Franklin D. Roosevelt Library & Museum

Collection: Grace Tully Archive

Series: Franklin D. Roosevelt Papers

Box 13; Folder = Speech Drafts:

Democratic National Platform, June 25, 1936

Tully Archive: FDR Papers

Speech Drafts; Democratic National Platform,
June 25, 1936

27

(1) (1)

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 ~~the government~~ government in a modern civilization has certain inescapable obligations to its citizens among which are:

- ~~1) Protection of the family and the home~~
- ~~2) ...~~

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

liberalizing of the policies of the Federal government ~~as~~ *as*

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

of the American people.

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(2)

- 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.

way of living, in these three years, has been due to *humanizing*
 liberalizing of the policies of the Federal government ~~and~~ *as*
they affect the personal financial, industrial and agricultural well-being
 of the American people.

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(4) For the Establishment of a Democracy of Opportunity *Handwritten signature*

1) We have

3

the obligation to assist them in that right wherever private enterprise fails to do so.

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 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 *humanizing*

liberalizing of the policies of the Federal government ~~as~~ *as*

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

of the American people.

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4) For the Establishment of a Democracy of Opportunity *Handwritten: 3/25/36*

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 *(4)*
~~In the same way as we have done in the past~~ 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.

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.

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liberalizing of the policies of the Federal government ~~as~~ *as*

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

of the American people. *55*
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settlement of labor disputes; we have given him legal protection from the unfair competition of wage-cutting and hour stretching.

A → 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

3
we have tried & shall
continue to try to
accomplish this by
series of the ~~work~~
~~steps~~ within a reasonable
interval of constitutional
periods.

of the American people.

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173

(5)

(5)

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A → 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 out-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 ^{pred} aggression of predatory 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 ^{humanizing}

liberalizing of the policies of the Federal government ~~and~~ as

^{they affect} the personal financial, industrial and agricultural well-being

of the American people.

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(6)

two
 The Rep. Platform
 interpreted in itself or
 in conjunction with
 the utter placed on it
 by the committee seems
 with the last analysis a
 call for action on national
 problems solely by the
 several states -
 We do not agree that
 drought areas, floods,
 minimum wages,
 maximum hrs, child
 labor, ~~can~~ monopolies
 unfair trade can be
 a matter of local fact
 to be solved by 48 state
 legis, 48 state admin
 & 48 state courts,
 transportation &
 undertakings which
 necessarily pass state
 level and for action by
 the states & by the federal
 govt as well -

in final chapters -
 seems -
 We have created bandwagons
 all these books -
 Freedom diff - point
 of view rather as if
 we cannot see past
 to policy of liberal
 fundamental of these
 problems

Rep. Platform facing
 both ways & but
 is reactionary

Against the policy of
 unachieved liberalism

we stand for
 unachieved liberalism

Working for
 peace

They affect

the personal financial, industrial and agricultural well-being
 of the American people.

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(16)

~~We will continue ~~nonprotection of labor~~ these measures for the protection of labor~~

Insert page 5 A

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.

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

~~liberalizing~~ of the policies of the Federal government ~~as~~

they affect

the personal financial, industrial and agricultural well-being

of the American people.

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(6)

(7)

our younger citizens

4) We have furnished ~~them~~ with something more than sympathy. extended aid to education and We have aided them to stay in school; given them constructive occupation; opened, ~~the~~ again, the door to ~~opportunity~~ opportunity which twelve years of Republic- can neglect had closed in their faces.

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

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

liberalizing of the policies of the Federal government ~~and~~ *as*

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

of the American people.

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3

5

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 kidnapers, 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 filched 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 made more secure.

4) We will deal ^{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 ~~the~~ ^{humanizing}

~~liberalizing~~ of the policies of the Federal government ~~as~~ ^{as}

they affect

the personal financial, industrial and agricultural well-being

of the American people.

55
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① Grace - This should be page 4 of a folder what you have (8)

Aid to those overtaken by disaster.

We have rejected the ~~Republican~~ ^{mm} policy of the last Republican admin. that starvation for those in need is preferable to federal relief. ~~mm~~

We believe that unemployment is a national problem and that, to meet it nationally, is ~~an~~ an inescapable obligation of our government. We ~~have established~~ 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 that the skill and the energy of the worker may be utilized, his morale maintained and the unemployed ~~guaranteed~~ assured the necessities of life.

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

We have aided and will continue to aid those of our citizens who have been ~~impoverished~~ visited by wide-spread ~~drought~~ ^{drought and} ~~floods~~ ^{amongst} floods.

way of living, in these three years, has been due to ~~the~~ ^{humanizing}

~~liberalizing~~ of the policies of the Federal government ~~and~~ as

They affect

the personal financial, industrial and agricultural well-being

of the American people.

8

9

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

The Republican platform ~~national obligations~~ proposes to meet ^{many pressing} ~~national obligations~~ ^{problems} solely by action of the separate states. But these problems demand action, not empty gestures. We know that drought, ~~and~~ 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. ~~Undertakings~~, 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

way of living, in these three years, has been due to ~~the~~ ^{humanizing}

~~liberalizing~~ of the policies of the Federal government ~~as~~ as

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the personal financial, industrial and agricultural well-being

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(19)

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.

way of living, in these three years, has been due to *humanizing*
~~liberalizing~~ of the policies of the Federal government ~~which~~ *as*
they affect the personal financial, industrial and agricultural well-being
of the American people.

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(17)

~~Relationship with other nations~~

~~Relationship~~

In our relationship with other nations, this government will continue ^(Stare to extend) the ~~good~~ policy of the Good Neighbor. We shall continue to observe a true neutrality in the disputes of others; to be prepared, ^{ly} resolute to resist aggression against ourselves; to work for peace and to take the profits out of war; ~~and~~ to guard against being drawn by political commitments, international banking or private trading, into ~~any~~ any war which may develop anywhere.

shall

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 ^{as in the past} 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.

way of living, in these three years, has been due to ~~the~~ ^{humanizing}

~~liberalizing~~ of the policies of the Federal government ~~as~~ ^{as}

They affect

the personal financial, industrial and agricultural well-being of the American people.

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13

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 ~~an~~ ~~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~~ *humanizing*
~~liberalizing~~ of the policies of the Federal government ~~and~~ *as*
they affect the personal financial, industrial and agricultural well-being
of the American people.

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(2) (14)

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 ~~between~~ to determine whether ~~mananatom~~ that nation will go forward to a higher standard of living and ~~am~~ a ~~finnan~~ more American quality of life or ~~manan~~ 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 ~~uncompromisingly~~ 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 a concealed Fascism, confident that ~~a~~ only a government of the people can ~~man~~ fully guard the people's interests or solve their problems.

way of living, in these three years, has been due to ~~a~~ *humanizing* liberalizing of the policies of the Federal government ~~as~~ *as* *they affect* the personal financial, industrial and agricultural well-being of the American people.

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The issue in this election is plain. ~~It is~~ The American people are called to choose between a government ~~which~~ dedicated to the establishment of equal economic opportunity for all our people, and a government that would regiment them ~~in~~ in the interests ^{of} ~~the~~ service of privileged groups.

~~We~~ We have faith in the destiny of our Nation as the founders conceived it. We have confidence that ~~with~~ we are ~~not~~ sufficiently endowed with natural resources and ~~with~~ capacity ~~to~~ quality ~~for~~ all that meets the productive ~~means~~ to provide a ~~standard~~ of life ~~in~~ standards of real Americanism.

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

way of living, in these three years, has been due to ^{humanizing} ~~the~~ liberalizing of the policies of the Federal government ~~and~~ as ^{they affect} the personal financial, industrial and agricultural well-being of the American people.

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

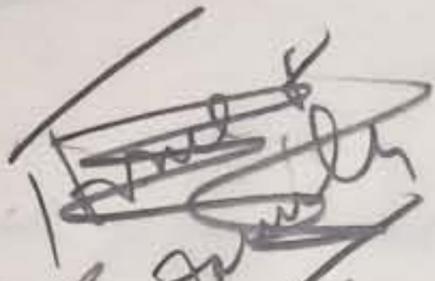
We hold this truth to be self-evident -- that twelve years of Republican leadership had left our nation sorely stricken in body, mind and spirit; and that three years of Democratic leadership put it back on the road to restored prosperity.

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 ^(themselves) to the places of authority, and has revived in them new faith and ^{restored} 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 ^{humanizing} liberalizing of the policies of the Federal government ~~and~~ ^{as} they affect the personal financial, industrial and agricultural well-being of the American people.

AI

Project Power



We have promoted ~~these~~ plans for

5)

~~One of the means to a more abundant life is cheap electric~~
has been made

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 constructive 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.

(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-
prise fails to do so.~~

Insert B

30

37

418

~~Protection of the~~
~~Home~~
~~(2)~~

B

... can afford. In the last three years the federal government, having saved millions of homes from foreclosure, has taken the first steps in our history to provide decent housing for people of meagre incomes. We believe that every encouragement should be given to the building of new homes by private enterprise; and that the government should ^{steadily} extend its housing program ~~steadily~~ toward the goal of ~~as to provide increasing amounts of adequate housing for~~ the underprivileged in both urban and rural communities.

[Faint, illegible text from the reverse side of the page, possibly bleed-through or a second draft.]

price he pays and the price the producer receives.

(b) 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.

Insert
B

33
37
418

173

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.

75

23

the old
 of ~~Republican~~ leadership, have once more been given a place in
the new
 American government. Under ~~Democratic~~ leadership they will not,
never be neglected
~~again, be neglected.~~

37

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 kidnapers, bandits and malefactors of great wealth.

(savings)

(2) We have safeguarded the thrift of our citizens by restraining those who would gamble with other people's money; by ~~insisting~~ *requiring* ~~soundness~~ 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 ~~siphoned~~ the public; by insuring the bank accounts of fifty million of our citizens.

(prices in stock and commodity markets)

(robbed)

(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 life will be made more secure.~~

act to secure to
 (4) We will ~~actively deal with the position~~ 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.

AI
 (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 fight wherever private enterprise fails to do so.~~

33

37

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about
ment A
ment B

(the farmer's house)

For the Establishment of a Democracy of Opportunity:

1118

B.T.

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} ~~encourage~~ land ownership by those who till the soil, *and work toward reduction of the evils of Tenancy and share-cropping.* We will increase farm output by increasing consumption through a higher standard of living and greater

unfair competition of wage-cutting and hour stretching.

89

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

27

734

(the farmer's bowl)

For the Establishment of a Democracy of Opportunity:

1268

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

→ E,

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

87

27

734

(the farmer's house)

For the Establishment of a Democracy of Opportunity:

468

Agriculture

We have taken the farmers of the land off the Republican road to agricultural ruin. By federal legis-
~~lation~~ ^{land ~~has~~ doubled his net income}

B-1

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are br
eddest
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of soo
reduct
farm o
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under
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E

~~we have~~ By the purchase and retirement of 10 million acres of submarginal land and ~~the~~ assistance to those who were attempting to get out an ~~assistance~~ upon it, ^{we have} made a good beginning ~~of a national program~~ ^{toward proper} land use and rural rehabilitation. ~~we have helped~~ by loan and grant ~~hundreds of thousands~~

(Insert E)

and a national program for agriculture.

79

and ml-organization from the interference of employers.

disputes; we have given him legal protection from the unfair competition of wage-cutting and hour stretching.

87

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

27

734

(the farmer's house)

For the Establishment of a Democracy of Opportunity:

468

Agriculture

B-1

(3) 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, ^(and ~~we~~ doubled his net income) 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 ^(and good roads) to his home and farm and better educational facilities to his children. ^(we have established a national policy of equality for agriculture)

(Insert E)

of this work

to do.

79

~~Some things~~ 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 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 prosperity. We will keep him there. ^{on that road.}

Labor

(4) We have given the army of America's industrial workers something more substantial than the Republicans' ~~old~~ ^{fall} dinner pail of promises. We have ^{increased} 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 settlement of labor disputes; we have given him ^(and his employer) legal protection from the unfair competition of wage-cutting and hour stretching.

(and self-organization from the interference of employers.)

89

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

77

734

services and natural resources such as coal and water power.

734

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

21

Business

~~We~~ 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 out-throat competition. ~~The~~ *¶* The American businessman has been returned to the road to freedom and prosperity. We will keep him ~~there~~ *on that road.*

61

But we shall continue to oppose the Republican ~~opposition~~ 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 *accumulated power.* ~~predatory interests.~~

60

Youth

RR

~~We~~ We have furnished our younger citizens with something more than sympathy. ~~We extended aid to education and 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.

45

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

67

942

Part C

The Operation of Government

~~When fore-going obligations are not discharged~~
~~When fore-going obligations must be met by something~~
~~more than promises and ambiguous~~

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

~~The Republican platform~~

The Constitution

cannot be adequately handled by 48 separate state ^{legislatures} courts, 48
Separate state ^{legislatures} ~~legislatures~~ ⁴⁸
Separate state courts. 1169

~~Add to federal recovery program~~

7

As unemployment recedes and national income advances, an increasing percentage of federal expenditures can ^{be met} ~~be met~~ from current revenues. Thus we shall steadily move toward a reduction of the national debt 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 ^{already balanced} the budget of the ~~state~~ people, the eventual balancing of the federal budget can be assured.

cannot be adequately handled by 49 separate state ^{legislatures} ~~legislatures~~ 48
separate state ^{legislatures} ~~legislatures~~ 48
separate state courts.

742

Aid to those overtaken by disaster:

We have rejected the policy of the last Republican Administration that ~~assistance~~ ^{distribution} for those in need is preferable to federal relief.

27

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 morale maintained and the unemployed assured ^{chance to earn the} necessities of life.

73

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

39

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

22

To meet these obligations ^{is} and will continue to be the aim of this Administration.

14

The Constitution
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~~ ^{legislatures} 48

52

*Separate state legislatures and 48
Separate state courts.*

1169

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.

The framers of the Constitution intended no such permanent limitations on the legislative powers of government as would create a no-man's-land where neither state nor federal government operate.

~~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~~

states & federal power to enact and have enforced those laws which the *states* 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 purpose & the spirit of the Constitution.*

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

Civil Liberties

We shall continue to guard the civil rights and liberties which our Constitution guarantees; with equal rights to all and special privilege to none.

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

~~Project of
Family Home
The~~ ~~H.H. [unclear]~~

Insert A -

On the foundation of the Social Security Act we can build a structure of economic security, ^{eventually} 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