

Text of President Roosevelt's Speech at Syracuse

By United Press
SYRACUSE, N. Y., Sept. 30.—The text of President Roosevelt's speech at the Democratic state convention last night follows:

Tonight you and I join forces for the campaign. We enter it with confidence. Never was there greater need for fidelity to the underlying conception of Americanism than there is today. And again it is given to our party to carry the message of that Americanism to the people.

The task on our part is two-fold: First, as simple patriotism requires, to separate the false from the real issues; and, secondly, with facts and without rancor, to clarify the real problems for the American public.

There will be—there are—many false issues. In that respect, this will be no different from other campaigns. Partisans, not willing to face realities, will drag out red herrings—as they have always done—to divert attention from the trail of their own weaknesses.

This practice is as old as our democracy. Avoiding the facts—fearful of the truth—a malicious opposition charged that George Washington planned to make himself king; that Thomas Jefferson planned to set up a guillotine under a French revolutionary form of government; that Andrew Jackson soaked the rich of the Eastern seaboard and planned to surrender American democracy to the dictatorship of a frontier mob.

They called Abraham Lincoln a Roman emperor; Theodore Roosevelt a destroyer; Woodrow Wilson a self-constituted Messiah.

'NOT A CONTROVERSY'

In this campaign another herring turns up. It has been British and French—and a variety of other things. This year it is Russian. Desperate in mood, angry at failure, cunning in purpose, individuals and groups are seeking to make communism an issue in an election where communism is not a controversy between the two major parties.

Here now, once and for all, let us bury that red herring, and destroy the false issue. You are familiar with my background; you know my heritage. And you are familiar, especially in the state of New York, with my public service extending back over a quarter of a century.

For nearly four years I have been President of the United States. A long record has been written. In that record, both in this state and in the national capital, you will find a simple, clear and consistent adherence not only to the letter but to the spirit of the American form of government.

To that record, my future and the future of my Administration will conform. I have not sought, I do not seek, I repudiate the support of any other men "ism" which would by fair means or foul change our American democracy.

That is my position. It always has been my position. It always will be my position.

There is no difference between the major parties as to what they think about communism. There is a very great difference between the two parties in what they do about communism.

'SHOWS SOCIAL UNREST'

Communism is a manifestation of the social unrest which always comes with widespread economic maladjustment. We in the Democratic Party have not been content merely to denounce this menace. We have been realistic enough to face it. We have been intelligent enough to do something about it. And the world has seen the results of what we have done.

In the spring of 1933 we faced a crisis which was the ugly fruit of 12 years of neglect of the causes of economic and social unrest. It was a crisis made to order for all those who would overthrow our form of government.

Do I need to recall to you the fear of those days—the reports of those who piled supplies in their basements, who laid plans to get their fortunes across the border, who got themselves hideaways in the country against the impending revolution?

Do I need to recall the law-abiding heads of peaceful families, who began to wonder, as they saw their children starve, how they could get

the bread they saw in the bakery window?

Do I need to recall the homeless boys who were traveling in bands through the country seeking work and food—desperate because they could find neither?

Do I need to recall the farmers who banded together with pitchforks to keep the sheriff from selling the farm home under foreclosure? Do I need to recall the powerful leaders of industry and banking who came to me in Washington in those early days of 1933 pleading to be saved?

'STARVATION AVERTED'

Most people in the United States remember today the fact that starvation was averted, that homes and farms were saved, that banks were reopened, that crop prices rose, that industry revived and the dangerous forces subversive of our form of government were turned aside.

A few people—a few only—unwilling to remember, seem to have forgotten those days.

In the summer of 1933, a nice old gentleman, wearing a silk hat, fell off the end of a pier. He was unable to swim. A friend ran down the pier, dived overboard and pulled him out, but the silk hat floated off with the tide. After the old gentleman had been resuscitated he was effusive in his thanks. He praised his friend for saving his life. Today three years later, the old gentleman is berating his friend because the silk hat was lost.

Why did the crisis of 1932 to 1933 pass without disaster?

The answer is found in the record of what we did. Early in the campaign of 1932 I said: "To meet that danger of radicalism is to invite it to invite us."

Starting in 1931, Democratic leadership came into power, and with it a new philosophy of government. I had the good fortune to come into public office at that time.

It is for that reason that our American form of government will continue to be safest in Democratic hands. The real, actual, undercover Republican leadership is the same as it was 10 years ago. That leadership will not comprehend the needs for a program of social justice and of a regard for the well-being of the masses of our people.

I have been comparing leadership in Washington. This contrast between Democratic and Republican leadership holds true throughout the length and breadth of the state of New York.

As far back as the year 1910, the old Black Horse cavalry in Albany was failing to meet changing social conditions by appropriate social legislation.

Here was a state noted for its industry and noted for its agriculture—a state with the greatest number of population—where the poorest and the richest lived, literally, within a stone's throw of each other—in short a situation made to order for unrest.

And yet in this situation the best Republican leaders of those days could say: "Let them eat cake." What would have happened if that reactionary domination had continued through all these hard years?

Starting in 1911, Democratic leadership came into power, and with it a new philosophy of government. I had the good fortune to come into public office at that time.

'IN COMMON CAUSE'

I found other young men in the Legislature—men who held the same philosophy—one of them was Bob Wagner; another was Al Smith. We were all joined in a common cause. We did not look on government as something apart from the people. We thought of it as something to be used by the people for their own good.

New legislation setting up decent standards of safety and sanitation; limitation of the working hours of women in industry; a workman's compensation law; a one day rest in seven law; a full train crew law; a direct primary law—all these and many more were passed which were then called radical and alien to our form of government. Would you or any other Americans call them radical and alien today?

In later years, first under Governor Smith, then during my governorship, this program of practical intelligence was carried forward over the typical and unswerving opposition of the Republican leaders throughout the state.

Today the great tradition of a liberal, progressive Democratic Party has been carried still further by your present Governor, Herbert H. Lehman. He has begun a program of insurance to remove the specter of unemployment from the working people of the state. He has broadened our labor legislation. He has extended the supervision of public utility companies.

He has proved himself an untiring seeker for the public good; a doer of social justice; a wise, conscientious, clear-headed and businesslike administrator of the executive branch of our government.

And be it noted that his opponents are led and backed by the same forces and the same individuals who, for a quarter of a century, have tried to hamstring progress within our state. The overwhelming majority of our citizens, regardless of party, propose to return him and his administration to Albany for another two years.

They came to us pleading that we should do, overnight, what they should have been doing through the years.

And the simple causes of our unpreparedness were two: First, a weak leadership, and, secondly, an inability to understand the reasons for social unrest—the tragic plight of 90 per cent of the men, women and children who made up the population of the United States.

'EVADED PROBLEMS'

I have said that there is a very great difference between the two parties in what they do about communism. Conditions congenial to communism were being bred and fostered throughout this nation up to the very day of March 4, 1933.

Hunger was breeding it. Loss of homes and farms was breeding it. Closing banks were breeding it. A ruinous price level was breeding it. Discontent and fear were spreading through the land. The previous national Administration, bewildered, did nothing.

In their speeches they deplored it, but by their actions they encouraged it. The injustices, the inequalities, the downright suffering out of which revolutions come—what did they do about these things?

Lacking courage, they evaded. Being selfish, they neglected. Being short-sighted, they ignored. When the crisis came as these wrongs made it sure to come, America was unprepared.

Our lack of preparation for it was best proved by the cringing and the fear of the very people whose indifference helped to make the crisis.

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'LEADERSHIP UNCHANGED'

It has been well said—"the most dreadful failure of which any form of government can be guilty is sim-

ply to lose touch with reality, because out of this failure all imaginable forms of evil grow."

"Every empire that has crashed has come down primarily because its rulers didn't know what was going on in the world and were incapable of learning."

It is for that reason that our American form of government will continue to be safest in Democratic hands. The real, actual, undercover Republican leadership is the same as it was 10 years ago. That leadership will not comprehend the needs for a program of social justice and of a regard for the well-being of the masses of our people.

In New York and in Washington, government which has rendered more than lip service to our constitutional democracy has done a work for the protection and preservation of our institutions that could not have been accomplished by repression and force.

Let me warn you and let me warn, the nation against the smooth evasion which says: "Of course we believe all these things; we believe in social security; we believe in work for the unemployed; we believe in saving homes. Cross our hearts and hope to die, we believe in all these things, but we do not like the way the present Administration is doing them. Just turn them over to us. We will do all of them—we will do more of them—we will do them better; and, most important of all, the doing of them will not cost us anything."

But my friends, these evaders are banking too heavily on the shortness of our memories. No one will forget that they had their golden opportunity—twelve long years of it. We must remember that the first essential of doing a job well is to want to see the job done. But make no mistake about this: The Republican leadership today is not against the way we have done the job. The Republican leadership is against the job being done.

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