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## 146 ¶ The Fourth "Fireside Chat" — "We Are on Our Way, and We Are Headed in the Right Direction." October 22, 1933

IT IS three months since I have talked with the people of this country about our national problems, but during this period many things have happened, and I am glad to say that the major part of them have greatly helped the well-being of the average citizen.

Because, in every step which your Government is taking we are thinking in terms of the average of you — in the old words "the greatest good to the greatest number" — we, as reasonable people, cannot expect to bring definite benefits to every person or to every occupation or business, or industry or agriculture. In the same way no reasonable person can expect that in this short space of time, during which new machinery had to be not only put to work, but first set up, that every locality in every one of the forty-eight States of the country, could share equally and simultaneously in the trend to better times.

The whole picture, however — the average of the whole territory from coast to coast — the average of the whole population of 120,000,000 people — shows to any person willing to look, facts and action of which you and I can be proud.

In the early spring of this year there were actually and proportionately more people out of work in this country than in any





other Nation in the world. Fair estimates showed twelve or thirteen millions unemployed last March. Among those there were, of course, several millions who could be classed as normally unemployed — people who worked occasionally when they felt like it, and others who preferred not to work at all. It seems, therefore, fair to say that there were about ten millions of our citizens who earnestly, and in many cases hungrily, were seeking work and could not get it. Of these, in the short space of a few months, I am convinced that at least four millions have been given employment — or, saying it another way, 40 percent of those seeking work have found it.

That does not mean, my friends, that I am satisfied, or that you are satisfied that our work is ended. We have a long way to go, but we are on the way.

How are we constructing the edifice of recovery — the temple which, when completed, will no longer be a temple of money changers or of beggars, but rather a temple dedicated to and maintained for a greater social justice, a greater welfare for America — the habitation of a sound economic life? We are building, stone by stone, the columns which will support that habitation. Those columns are many in number and though, for a moment, the progress of one column may disturb the progress on the pillar next to it, the work on all of them must proceed without let or hindrance.

We all know that immediate relief for the unemployed was the first essential of such a structure and that is why I speak first of the fact that three hundred thousand young men have been given employment and are being given employment all through this winter in the Civilian Conservation Corps camps in almost every part of the Nation.

So, too, we have, as you know, expended greater sums in cooperation with States and localities for work relief and home relief than ever before — sums which during the coming winter cannot be lessened for the very simple reason that though several million people have gone back to work, the necessities of those

who have not yet obtained work are more severe than at this time last year.

Then we come to the relief that is being given to those who are in danger of losing their farms or their homes. New machinery had to be set up for farm credit and for home credit in every one of the thirty-one hundred counties of the United States and every day that passes is saving homes and farms to hundreds of families. I have publicly asked that foreclosures on farms and chattels and on homes be delayed until every mortgagor in the country shall have had full opportunity to take advantage of Federal credit. I make the further request which many of you know has already been made through the great Federal credit organizations that if there is any family in the United States about to lose its home or about to lose its chattels, that family should telegraph at once either to the Farm Credit Administration or the Home Owners Loan Corporation in Washington requesting their help.

Two other great agencies are in full swing. The Reconstruction Finance Corporation continues to lend large sums to industry and finance with the definite objective of making easy the extending of credit to industry, commerce and finance.

The program of public works in three months has advanced to this point: Out of a total appropriated for public works of three billion three hundred million, one billion eight hundred million has already been allocated to Federal projects of all kinds and literally in every part of the United States, and work on these is starting forward. In addition three hundred millions have been allocated to public works to be carried out by States, municipalities and private organizations, such as those undertaking slum clearance. The balance of the public works money, nearly all of it intended for State or local projects, waits only on the presentation of proper projects by the States and localities themselves. Washington has the money and is waiting for the proper projects to which to allot it.

Another pillar in the making is the Agricultural Adjustment Administration. I have been amazed by the extraordinary degree





of cooperation given to the Government by the cotton farmers in the South, the wheat farmers of the West, the tobacco farmers of the Southeast, and I am confident that the corn-hog farmers of the Middle West will come through in the same magnificent fashion. The problem we seek to solve had been steadily getting worse for twenty years, but during the last six months we have made more rapid progress than any Nation has ever made in a like period of time. It is true that in July farm commodity prices had been pushed up higher than they are today, but that push came in part from pure speculation by people who could not tell you the difference between wheat and rye, by people who had never seen cotton growing, by people who did not know that hogs were fed on corn—people who have no real interest in the farmer and his problems.

In spite, however, of the speculative reaction from the speculative advance, it seems to be well established that during the course of the year 1933 the farmers of the United States will receive 33 percent more dollars for what they have produced than they received in the year 1932. Put in another way, they will receive $400 in 1933, where they received $300 the year before. That, remember, is for the average of the country, for I have reports that some sections are not any better off than they were a year ago. This applies among the major products, especially to cattle raising and the dairy industry. We are going after those problems as fast as we can.

I do not hesitate to say in the simplest, clearest language of which I am capable, that although the prices of many products of the farm have gone up and although many farm families are better off than they were last year, I am not satisfied either with the amount or the extent of the rise, and that it is definitely a part of our policy to increase the rise and to extend it to those products which have as yet felt no benefit. If we cannot do this one way we will do it another. Do it, we will.

Standing beside the pillar of the farm—the A.A.A.—is the pillar of industry—the N.R.A. Its object is to put industry an

Obviously, and because hundreds of different kinds of crops and industrial occupations in the huge territory that makes up this Nation are involved, we cannot reach the goal in only a few months. We may take one year or two years or three years.

No one who considers the plain facts of our situation believes that commodity prices, especially agricultural prices, are high enough yet.

Some people are putting the cart before the horse. They want a permanent revaluation of the dollar first. It is the Government's policy to restore the price level first. I would not know, and no one else could tell, just what the permanent valuation of the dollar will be. To guess at a permanent gold valuation now would certainly require later changes caused by later facts.

When we have restored the price level, we shall seek to establish and maintain a dollar which will not change its purchasing and debt-paying power during the succeeding generation. I said that in my message to the American delegation in London last July. And I say it now once more.

Because of conditions in this country and because of events beyond our control in other parts of the world, it becomes increasingly important to develop and apply the further measures which may be necessary from time to time to control the gold value of our own dollar at home.

Our dollar is now altogether too greatly influenced by the accidents of international trade, by the internal policies of other Nations and by political disturbance in other continents. Therefore the United States must take firmly in its own hands the control of the gold value of our dollar. This is necessary in order to prevent dollar disturbances from swinging us away from our ultimate goal, namely, the continued recovery of our commodity prices.

As a further effective means to this end, I am going to establish a Government market for gold in the United States. Therefore, under the clearly defined authority of existing law, I am authorizing the Reconstruction Finance Corporation to buy gold newly mined in the United States at prices to be determined from time





to time after consultation with the Secretary of the Treasury and the President. Whenever necessary to the end in view, we shall also buy or sell gold in the world market.

My aim in taking this step is to establish and maintain continuous control.

This is a policy and not an expedient.

It is not to be used merely to offset a temporary fall in prices. We are thus continuing to move toward a managed currency.

You will recall the dire predictions made last spring by those who did not agree with our common policies of raising prices by direct means. What actually happened stood out in sharp contrast with those predictions. Government credit is high, prices have risen in part. Doubtless prophets of evil still exist in our midst. But Government credit will be maintained and a sound currency will accompany a rise in the American commodity price level.

I have told you tonight the story of our steady but sure work in building our common recovery. In my promises to you both before and after March 4th, I made two things plain: First, that I pledged no miracles and, second, that I would do my best.

I thank you for your patience and your faith. Our troubles will not be over tomorrow, but we are on our way and we are headed in the right direction.

*NOTE:* In the foregoing address I outlined in general the broad objectives of the monetary policy which we had pursued since last March. They were: to restore commodity price levels which would enable agriculture and industry to make a fair profit and once more to give work to the unemployed; to make possible the payment of public and private debts more nearly at the price level at which they were incurred; to restore a balance in the price structure so as to bring about a more equitable exchange level for farmers; and also to prevent prices from rising beyond the point necessary to attain these ends. With respect to our monetary policy in the international field, our aim was to permit the dollar to find its natural new realignment to world currencies.

Further reference will be made later to the objectives of our monetary policy in connection with the

foreign exchange value of the dollar (see Items 8 and 16 of Volume III). At this point it may be said that the depreciation of foreign currencies, prior to 1933, had had the effect of making the dollar more expensive in terms of those foreign currencies. Thus it took more pounds, more francs or more marks to buy a dollar than it had formerly and, since the prices of our export products are determined in terms of dollars, it took more pounds, francs and marks to buy our export products. The effect of this had been to contribute to the serious decrease in our foreign trade, not because our own prices, in terms of dollars, had risen, nor because our products were of an inferior quality, nor because we did not have sufficient products to export. But because, in terms of foreign currencies, our products had become so much more expensive, we were not able to obtain our fair share of the world's trade. It was, therefore, necessary to take measures which would result in bringing the dollar back to the position where a fair amount of foreign currency could again buy our products; that is, to make the dollar cheaper in terms of pounds, francs or marks. This was the process which commenced in March, 1933, and which had to be continued until that level was reached. It was not desirable to make this level too low, because then our own importers would find it difficult to buy foreign merchandise. But it was clear that the level had been too high, and we wanted to find the appropriate level.

By joint resolution (Pub. Res. No. 10, approved June 5, 1933), the Congress declared invalid all gold clauses contained in bonds already issued or thereafter to be issued, and authorized the payment of these bonds in ordinary legal tender. This joint resolution was a necessary step in effectuating the Government's control of the monetary system. The preamble of the resolution itself contained the statement of policy; namely, that the holding of, or the dealing in, gold affects the public interest, and is therefore subject to public regulation and restriction, and that the gold clauses in bonds obstruct the power of Congress to regulate the value of the money of the United States.

My message to the World Monetary and Economic Conference (see Item 87, this volume) also stated the monetary objectives toward which we were working — "giving to those (national) currencies a continuing purchasing power which does not greatly vary in terms of the commodities and need of modern civilization." I there pointed out that the important problem was not the temporary fixing of exchange, but stabilization of each Nation's currency, conservation of metallic reserves, and the restoration of world trade by removal of existing commercial embargoes.

There can be no doubt on the part of persons familiar with the facts that by the end of 1933 the





more immediate emergency goal of the Administration, to remedy the crisis which confronted it in March, 1933, had been accomplished — the restoration of public confidence. The sound banks of the country had been reopened and were functioning normally; money and gold which had been withdrawn for hoarding had been redeposited. The dollar was functioning regularly as an instrument in international trade, and was gradually and soundly readjusting itself to the value of world currencies.

Measures for permitting the dollar to find its proper place in relation to foreign currency had, as we have seen, taken two forms. First, the suspension of gold payments and the prohibition of shipments of gold to support the dollar abroad had detached the value of the dollar in foreign exchange from its previous gold value. Second, the gradually increasing price paid for gold, in relation to which all currencies may be directly or indirectly measured, likewise operated to change the foreign exchange value of the dollar. To illustrate, if today the price of gold in the London market were seven English Pounds for an ounce of gold, and the price paid by the United States were thirty-five dollars for an ounce of gold, it would be easy to see that the price of one English Pound would be approximately five dollars.

In the foregoing address, I pointed out that this measure of improvement did not mean that our work had ended but that it was becoming "increasingly important to develop and apply the sound measures which may be necessary from time to time to control the gold value of our own dollar at home. . . . Therefore, the United States must take firmly in its own hands the control of the gold value of our dollar . . . in order to prevent dollar disturbances from swinging us away from our ultimate goal; namely, the continued recovery of our commodity prices."

By January, 1934, these "sound measures" had been developed and were ready to be tried. We were ready "to take firmly in our own hands the control of the gold value of our dollar," which was done by the Gold Reserve Act of 1934, which I recommended in my Message of January 15, 1934. (See Items 8 and 16 of Vol. III.)

## 114 ¶ The First "Fireside Chat" of 1934 — "Are You Better Off Than You Were Last Year?"

June 28, 1934

IT HAS been several months since I have talked with you concerning the problems of Government. Since January, those of us in whom you have vested responsibility have been engaged in the fulfillment of plans and policies which had been widely discussed in previous months. It seemed to us our duty not only to make the right path clear, but also to tread that path.

As we review the achievements of this session of the Seventy-third Congress, it is made increasingly clear that its task was essentially that of completing and fortifying the work it had begun in March, 1933. That was no easy task, but the Congress was equal to it. It has been well said that while there were a few exceptions, this Congress displayed a greater freedom from mere partisanship than any other peace-time Congress since the Administration of President Washington himself. The session was distinguished by the extent and variety of legislation enacted and by the intelligence and good-will of debate upon these measures.

I mention only a few of the major enactments. It provided for the readjustment of the debt burden through the corporate and municipal bankruptcy acts and the Farm Relief Act. It lent a hand to industry by encouraging loans to solvent industries unable to secure adequate help from banking institutions. It strengthened the integrity of finance through the regulation of securities exchanges. It provided a rational method of increasing our volume of foreign trade through reciprocal trading agreements. It strengthened our naval forces to conform with the intentions and permission of existing treaty rights. It made further advances toward peace in industry through the Labor Adjustment Act. It supplemented our agricultural policy through measures widely demanded by farmers themselves and intended to avert price-destroying surpluses. It strengthened the hand of the Federal Government in its attempts to suppress gangster crime. It





took definite steps toward a national housing program through an act which I signed today designed to encourage private capital in the rebuilding of the homes of the Nation. It created a permanent Federal body for the just regulation of all forms of communication, including the telephone, the telegraph and the radio. Finally, and I believe most important, it reorganized, simplified and made more fair and just our monetary system, setting up standards and policies adequate to meet the necessities of modern economic life, doing justice to both gold and silver as the metal bases behind the currency of the United States.

In the consistent development of our previous efforts toward the saving and safeguarding of our national life, I have continued to recognize three related steps. The first was relief, because the primary concern of any Government dominated by the humane ideals of democracy is the simple principle that in a land of vast resources no one should be permitted to starve. Relief was and continues to be our first consideration. It calls for large expenditures and will continue in modified form to do so for a long time to come. We may as well recognize that fact. It comes from the paralysis that arose as the after-effect of that unfortunate decade characterized by a mad chase for unearned riches, and an unwillingness of leaders in almost every walk of life to look beyond their own schemes and speculations. In our administration of relief we follow two principles: first, that direct giving shall, wherever possible, be supplemented by provision for useful and remunerative work and, second, that where families in their existing surroundings will in all human probability never find an opportunity for full self-maintenance, happiness and enjoyment, we shall try to give them a new chance in new surroundings.

The second step was recovery, and it is sufficient for me to ask each and every one of you to compare the situation in agriculture and in industry today with what it was fifteen months ago.

At the same time we have recognized the necessity of reform and reconstruction — reform because much of our trouble today and in the past few years has been due to a lack of understanding of the elementary principles of justice and fairness by those in

whom leadership in business and finance was placed—reconstruction because new conditions in our economic life as well as old but neglected conditions had to be corrected.

Substantial gains well known to all of you have justified our course. I could cite statistics to you as unanswerable measures of our national progress—statistics to show the gain in the average weekly pay envelope of workers in the great majority of industries—statistics to show hundreds of thousands reemployed in private industries, and other hundreds of thousands given new employment through the expansion of direct and indirect Government assistance of many kinds, although, of course, there are those exceptions in professional pursuits whose economic improvement, of necessity, will be delayed. I also could cite statistics to show the great rise in the value of farm products—statistics to prove the demand for consumers' goods, ranging all the way from food and clothing to automobiles, and of late to prove the rise in the demand for durable goods—statistics to cover the great increase in bank deposits, and to show the scores of thousands of homes and of farms which have been saved from foreclosure.

But the simplest way for each of you to judge recovery lies in the plain facts of your own individual situation. Are you better off than you were last year? Are your debts less burdensome? Is your bank account more secure? Are your working conditions better? Is your faith in your own individual future more firmly grounded?

Also, let me put to you another simple question: Have you as an individual paid too high a price for these gains? Plausible self-seekers and theoretical die-hards will tell you of the loss of individual liberty. Answer this question also out of the facts of your own life. Have you lost any of your rights or liberty or constitutional freedom of action and choice? Turn to the Bill of Rights of the Constitution, which I have solemnly sworn to maintain and under which your freedom rests secure. Read each provision of that Bill of Rights and ask yourself whether you personally have suffered the impairment of a single jot of these great assur-





ances. I have no question in my mind as to what your answer will be. The record is written in the experiences of your own personal lives.

In other words, it is not the overwhelming majority of the farmers or manufacturers or workers who deny the substantial gains of the past year. The most vociferous of the Doubting Thomases may be divided roughly into two groups: First, those who seek special political privilege and, second, those who seek special financial privilege. About a year ago I used as an illustration the 90 percent of the cotton manufacturers of the United States who wanted to do the right thing by their employees and by the public but were prevented from doing so by the 10 percent who undercut them by unfair practices and un-American standards. It is well for us to remember that humanity is a long way from being perfect and that a selfish minority in every walk of life—farming, business, finance and even Government service itself—will always continue to think of themselves first and their fellow beings second.

In the working out of a great national program which seeks the primary good of the greater number, it is true that the toes of some people are being stepped on and are going to be stepped on. But these toes belong to the comparative few who seek to retain or to gain position or riches or both by some short cut which is harmful to the greater good.

In the execution of the powers conferred on it by Congress, the Administration needs and will tirelessly seek the best ability that the country affords. Public service offers better rewards in the opportunity for service than ever before in our history—not great salaries, but enough to live on. In the building of this service there are coming to us men and women with ability and courage from every part of the Union. The days of the seeking of mere party advantage through the misuse of public power are drawing to a close. We are increasingly demanding and getting devotion to the public service on the part of every member of the Administration, high and low.

The program of the past year is definitely in operation and

that operation month by month is being made to fit into the web of old and new conditions. This process of evolution is well illustrated by the constant changes in detailed organization and method going on in the National Recovery Administration. With every passing month we are making strides in the orderly handling of the relationship between employees and employers. Conditions differ, of course, in almost every part of the country and in almost every industry. Temporary methods of adjustment are being replaced by more permanent machinery and, I am glad to say, by a growing recognition on the part of employers and employees of the desirability of maintaining fair relationships all around.

So also, while almost everybody has recognized the tremendous strides in the elimination of child labor, in the payment of not less than fair minimum wages and in the shortening of hours, we are still feeling our way in solving problems which relate to self-government in industry, especially where such self-government tends to eliminate the fair operation of competition.

In this same process of evolution we are keeping before us the objectives of protecting, on the one hand, industry against chiselers within its own ranks, and, on the other hand, the consumer through the maintenance of reasonable competition for the prevention of the unfair sky-rocketing of retail prices.

But, in addition to this our immediate task, we must still look to the larger future. I have pointed out to the Congress that we are seeking to find the way once more to well-known, long-established but to some degree forgotten ideals and values. We seek the security of the men, women and children of the Nation.

That security involves added means of providing better homes for the people of the Nation. That is the first principle of our future program.

The second is to plan the use of land and water resources of this country to the end that the means of livelihood of our citizens may be more adequate to meet their daily needs.

And, finally, the third principle is to use the agencies of government to assist in the establishment of means to provide sound





and adequate protection against the vicissitudes of modern life — in other words, social insurance.

Later in the year I hope to talk with you more fully about these plans.

A few timid people, who fear progress, will try to give you new and strange names for what we are doing. Sometimes they will call it "Fascism," sometimes "Communism," sometimes "Regimentation," sometimes "Socialism." But, in so doing, they are trying to make very complex and theoretical something that is really very simple and very practical.

I believe in practical explanations and in practical policies. I believe that what we are doing today is a necessary fulfillment of what Americans have always been doing—a fulfillment of old and tested American ideals.

Let me give you a simple illustration:

While I am away from Washington this summer, a long-needed renovation of and addition to our White House office building is to be started. The architects have planned a few new rooms built into the present all too small one-story structure. We are going to include in this addition and in this renovation modern electric wiring and modern plumbing and modern means of keeping the offices cool in the hot Washington summers. But the structural lines of the old Executive office building will remain. The artistic lines of the White House buildings were the creation of master builders when our Republic was young. The simplicity and the strength of the structure remain in the face of every modern test. But within this magnificent pattern, the necessities of modern government business require constant reorganization and rebuilding.

If I were to listen to the arguments of some prophets of calamity who are talking these days, I should hesitate to make these alterations. I should fear that while I am away for a few weeks the architects might build some strange new Gothic tower or a factory building or perhaps a replica of the Kremlin or of the Potsdam Palace. But I have no such fears. The architects and builders are men of common sense and of artistic American tastes.

They know that the principles of harmony and of necessity itself require that the building of the new structure shall blend with the essential lines of the old. It is this combination of the old and the new that marks orderly peaceful progress, not only in building buildings but in building government itself.

Our new structure is a part of and a fulfillment of the old.

All that we do seeks to fulfill the historic traditions of the American people. Other Nations may sacrifice democracy for the transitory stimulation of old and discredited autocracies. We are restoring confidence and well-being under the rule of the people themselves. We remain, as John Marshall said a century ago, "emphatically and truly, a government of the people." Our Government "in form and in substance . . . emanates from them. Its powers are granted by them, and are to be exercised directly on them, and for their benefits."

Before I close, I want to tell you of the interest and pleasure with which I look forward to the trip on which I hope to start in a few days. It is a good thing for everyone who can possibly do so to get away at least once a year for a change of scene. I do not want to get into the position of not being able to see the forest because of the thickness of the trees.

I hope to visit our fellow Americans in Puerto Rico, in the Virgin Islands, in the Canal Zone and in Hawaii. And, incidentally, it will give me an opportunity to exchange a friendly word of greeting with the Presidents of our sister Republics, Haiti and Colombia and Panama.

After four weeks on board ship, I plan to land at a port in our Pacific Northwest, and then will come the best part of the whole trip, for I am hoping to inspect a number of our new great national projects on the Columbia, Missouri and Mississippi Rivers, to see some of our national parks and, incidentally, to learn much of actual conditions during the trip across the continent back to Washington.

While I was in France during the War our boys used to call the United States "God's country." Let us make it and keep it "God's country."





## 115 ¶ The President Places a Ban on the Exportation of Arms and Munitions to Cuba. Proclamation No. 2089. June 29, 1934

WHEREAS Section 1 of a joint resolution of Congress, entitled "Joint resolution to prohibit the exportation of arms or munitions of war from the United States to certain countries, and for other purposes," approved January 31, 1922, provides as follows:

> "That whenever the President finds that in any American country, or in any country in which the United States exercises extraterritorial jurisdiction, conditions of domestic violence exist, which are or may be promoted by the use of arms or munitions of war procured from the United States, and makes proclamation thereof, it shall be unlawful to export, except under such limitations and exceptions as the President prescribes, any arms or munitions of war from any place in the United States to such country until otherwise ordered by the President or by Congress."

NOW, THEREFORE, I, Franklin D. Roosevelt, President of the United States of America, acting under and by virtue of the authority conferred in me by the said joint resolution of Congress, do hereby declare and proclaim that I have found that there exist in Cuba such conditions of domestic violence which are or may be promoted by the use of arms or munitions of war procured from the United States as contemplated by the said joint resolution; and I do hereby admonish all citizens of the United States and every person to abstain from every violation of the provisions of the joint resolution above set forth, hereby made applicable to Cuba, and I do hereby warn them that all violations of such provisions will be rigorously prosecuted.

And I do hereby enjoin upon all officers of the United States, charged with the execution of the laws thereof, the utmost diligence in preventing violations of the said joint resolution and this my proclamation issued thereunder, and in bringing to trial and punishment any offenders against the same.

And I do hereby delegate to the Secretary of State the power of prescribing exceptions and limitations to the application of

responsibility for community needs rests upon the community itself. That if every effort has been used by any given community and has proven insufficient, then it is the duty of the State to supplement, with the resources of the State, the additional needs up to the limit of the power of the State. And that, finally, and only finally, it is only when both of these efforts, taken together, have proven insufficient that the Federal Government has any duty to add its resources to the common cause.

It is inevitable, of course, that in carrying on relief—whether in the form of work relief or home relief—in an area that includes every State, every county and every city in the Union, local inefficiency is bound to exist in some instances. It is very definitely your task, and mine, to see to it that during the coming winter there shall be increased vigilance in every locality, vigilance against the giving of relief or of aid of any kind except to those who definitely and clearly need it and are entitled to it.

In this great emergency system we are establishing, with each passing month, a greater degree of efficiency, and we are eliminating many of the evils which of necessity attended our first efforts of over a year ago. The trained workers who belong to the many organizations represented in this conference have an opportunity and a duty to see to it, first of all, that destitution is relieved and, secondly, that no family and no individual shall receive public assistance if that individual or that family does not deserve it.

Your work and the work of local, State and Federal agencies are so closely associated that your success is very vital to the success of Government itself. I am confident that the people of this country, in each and every community, will understand the true importance of cooperating in this great mobilization for human needs.

I always like to emphasize the word "privilege" rather than the word "duty"; for it is clearly the privilege of the individual American to bear his personal share in a work which must be kept personal in so far as it is possible to make it so. It is that personal appeal, that personal service, which has carried us through all these trying years. A unity of effort for a little while





longer will, I am confident, bring success to our nationally unified efforts to bring Old Man Depression to the point where we can finally master and destroy him.

The church groups and the social groups organized on private lines, whether they act separately or jointly through Community Chests, or in any other way, are an essential part of the structure of our life. The American people believe in you, believe in the work you are doing. The American people support your fine objectives. That support will attend again this year the excellent enterprise you are launching today.

*NOTE:* In addition to the foregoing speech, I made a radio address on behalf of the 1934 Mobilization for Human Needs on October 22, 1934, which is, however, not printed in these volumes for lack of space. The other volumes in this series also contain addresses to the annual Conferences on the Mobilization for Human Needs for the respective other years of my Administration. See Item 123, Vol. II; Item 150, Vol. IV; Item 127, Vol. V.

## 163 ¶ Second "Fireside Chat" of 1934—"We Are Moving Forward to Greater Freedom, to Greater Security for the Average Man."

## September 30, 1934

THREE months have passed since I talked with you shortly after the adjournment of the Congress. Tonight I continue that report, though, because of the shortness of time, I must defer a number of subjects to a later date.

Recently the most notable public questions that have concerned us all have had to do with industry and labor and with respect to these, certain developments have taken place which I consider of importance. I am happy to report that after years of uncertainty, culminating in the collapse of the spring of 1933, we are bringing order out of the old chaos with a greater certainty of the employment of labor at a reasonable wage and of

more business at a fair profit. These governmental and industrial developments hold promise of new achievements for the Nation.

Men may differ as to the particular form of governmental activity with respect to industry and business, but nearly all are agreed that private enterprise in times such as these cannot be left without assistance and without reasonable safeguards lest it destroy not only itself but also our processes of civilization. The underlying necessity for such activity is indeed as strong now as it was years ago when Elihu Root said the following very significant words:

"Instead of the give and take of free individual contract, the tremendous power of organization has combined great aggregations of capital in enormous industrial establishments working through vast agencies of commerce and employing great masses of men in movements of production and transportation and trade, so great in the mass that each individual concerned in them is quite helpless by himself. The relations between the employer and the employed, between the owners of aggregated capital and the units of organized labor, between the small producer, the small trader, the consumer, and the great transporting and manufacturing and distributing agencies, all present new questions for the solution of which the old reliance upon the free action of individual wills appears quite inadequate. And in many directions, the intervention of that organized control which we call government seems necessary to produce the same result of justice and right conduct which obtained through the attrition of individuals before the new conditions arose."

It was in this spirit thus described by Secretary Root that we approached our task of reviving private enterprise in March, 1933. Our first problem was, of course, the banking situation because, as you know, the banks had collapsed. Some banks could not be saved but the great majority of them, either through their own resources or with Government aid, have been restored to complete public confidence. This has given safety to millions of depositors in these banks. Closely following this great constructive effort we have, through various Federal agencies, saved debtors and creditors alike in many other fields of enterprise, such as loans on farm mortgages and home mortgages; loans to





the railroads and insurance companies and, finally, help for home owners and industry itself.

In all of these efforts the Government has come to the assistance of business and with the full expectation that the money used to assist these enterprises will eventually be repaid. I believe it will be.

The second step we have taken in the restoration of normal business enterprise has been to clean up thoroughly unwholesome conditions in the field of investment. In this we have had assistance from many bankers and business men, most of whom recognize the past evils in the banking system, in the sale of securities, in the deliberate encouragement of stock gambling, in the sale of unsound mortgages and in many other ways in which the public lost billions of dollars. They saw that without changes in the policies and methods of investment there could be no recovery of public confidence in the security of savings. The country now enjoys the safety of bank savings under the new banking laws, the careful checking of new securities under the Securities Act and the curtailment of rank stock speculation through the Securities Exchange Act. I sincerely hope that as a result people will be discouraged in unhappy efforts to get rich quick by speculating in securities. The average person almost always loses. Only a very small minority of the people of this country believe in gambling as a substitute for the old philosophy of Benjamin Franklin that the way to wealth is through work.

In meeting the problems of industrial recovery the chief agency of the Government has been the National Recovery Administration. Under its guidance, trades and industries covering over 90 percent of all industrial employees have adopted codes of fair competition, which have been approved by the President. Under these codes, in the industries covered, child labor has been eliminated. The work day and the work week have been shortened. Minimum wages have been established and other wages adjusted toward a rising standard of living. The emergency purpose of the N.R.A. was to put men to work and since its creation more than four million persons have been reem-

ployed, in great part through the cooperation of American business brought about under the codes.

Benefits of the Industrial Recovery Program have come, not only to labor in the form of new jobs, in relief from overwork and in relief from underpay, but also to the owners and managers of industry because, together with a great increase in the payrolls, there has come a substantial rise in the total of industrial profits—a rise from a deficit figure in the first quarter of 1933 to a level of sustained profits within one year from the inauguration of N.R.A.

Now it should not be expected that even employed labor and capital would be completely satisfied with present conditions. Employed workers have not by any means all enjoyed a return to the earnings of prosperous times, although millions of hitherto underprivileged workers are today far better paid than ever before. Also, billions of dollars of invested capital have today a greater security of present and future earning power than before. This is because of the establishment of fair, competitive standards and because of relief from unfair competition in wage cutting which depresses markets and destroys purchasing power. But it is an undeniable fact that the restoration of other billions of sound investments to a reasonable earning power could not be brought about in one year. There is no magic formula, no economic panacea, which could simply revive overnight the heavy industries and the trades dependent upon them.

Nevertheless the gains of trade and industry, as a whole, have been substantial. In these gains and in the policies of the Administration there are assurances that hearten all forward-looking men and women with the confidence that we are definitely rebuilding our political and economic system on the lines laid down by the New Deal—lines which as I have so often made clear, are in complete accord with the underlying principles of orderly popular government which Americans have demanded since the white man first came to these shores. We count, in the future as in the past, on the driving power of individual initiative and the incentive of fair private profit, strengthened with





the acceptance of those obligations to the public interest which rest upon us all. We have the right to expect that this driving power will be given patriotically and whole-heartedly to our Nation.

We have passed through the formative period of code making in the National Recovery Administration and have effected a reorganization of the N.R.A. suited to the needs of the next phase, which is, in turn, a period of preparation for legislation which will determine its permanent form.

In this recent reorganization we have recognized three distinct functions: first, the legislative or policy-making function; second, the administrative function of code making and revision; and, third, the judicial function, which includes enforcement, consumer complaints and the settlement of disputes between employers and employees and between one employer and another.

We are now prepared to move into this second phase, on the basis of our experience in the first phase under the able and energetic leadership of General Johnson.

We shall watch carefully the working of this new machinery for the second phase of N.R.A., modifying it where it needs modification and finally making recommendations to the Congress, in order that the functions of N.R.A. which have proved their worth may be made a part of the permanent machinery of government.

Let me call your attention to the fact that the National Industrial Recovery Act gave business men the opportunity they had sought for years to improve business conditions through what has been called self-government in industry. If the codes which have been written have been too complicated, if they have gone too far in such matters as price fixing and limitation of production, let it be remembered that so far as possible, consistent with the immediate public interest of this past year and the vital necessity of improving labor conditions, the representatives of trade and industry were permitted to write their ideas into the codes. It is now time to review these actions as a whole to determine through deliberative means in the light of experience, from the

standpoint of the good of the industries themselves, as well as the general public interest, whether the methods and policies adopted in the emergency have been best calculated to promote industrial recovery and a permanent improvement of business and labor conditions. There may be a serious question as to the wisdom of many of those devices to control production, or to prevent destructive price cutting which many business organizations have insisted were necessary, or whether their effect may have been to prevent that volume of production which would make possible lower prices and increased employment. Another question arises as to whether in fixing minimum wages on the basis of an hourly or weekly wage we have reached into the heart of the problem which is to provide such annual earnings for the lowest paid worker as will meet his minimum needs. We also question the wisdom of extending code requirements suited to the great industrial centers and to large employers, to the great number of small employers in the smaller communities.

During the last twelve months our industrial recovery has been to some extent retarded by strikes, including a few of major importance. I would not minimize the inevitable losses to employers and employees and to the general public through such conflicts. But I would point out that the extent and severity of labor disputes during this period have been far less than in any previous comparable period.

When the business men of the country were demanding the right to organize themselves adequately to promote their legitimate interests; when the farmers were demanding legislation which would give them opportunities and incentives to organize themselves for a common advance, it was natural that the workers should seek and obtain a statutory declaration of their constitutional right to organize themselves for collective bargaining as embodied in Section 7-A of the National Industrial Recovery Act.

Machinery set up by the Federal Government has provided some new methods of adjustment. Both employers and employees must share the blame of not using them as fully as they should.





The employer who turns away from impartial agencies of peace, who denies freedom of organization to his employees, or fails to make every reasonable effort at a peaceful solution of their differences, is not fully supporting the recovery effort of his Government. The workers who turn away from these same impartial agencies and decline to use their good offices to gain their ends are likewise not fully cooperating with their Government.

It is time that we made a clean-cut effort to bring about that united action of management and labor, which is one of the high purposes of the Recovery Act. We have passed through more than a year of education. Step by step we have created all the Government agencies necessary to insure, as a general rule, industrial peace, with justice for all those willing to use these agencies whenever their voluntary bargaining fails to produce a necessary agreement.

There should be at least a full and fair trial given to these means of ending industrial warfare; and in such an effort we should be able to secure for employers and employees and consumers the benefits that all derive from the continuous, peaceful operation of our essential enterprises.

Accordingly, I propose to confer within the coming month with small groups of those truly representative of large employers of labor and of large groups of organized labor, in order to seek their cooperation in establishing what I may describe as a specific trial period of industrial peace.

From those willing to join in establishing this hoped-for period of peace, I shall seek assurances of the making and maintenance of agreements, which can be mutually relied upon, under which wages, hours and working conditions may be determined and any later adjustments shall be made either by agreement or, in case of disagreement, through the mediation or arbitration of State or Federal agencies. I shall not ask either employers or employees permanently to lay aside the weapons common to industrial war. But I shall ask both groups to give a fair trial to peaceful methods of adjusting their conflicts of opinion and interest, and to experi-

ment for a reasonable time with measures suitable to civilize our industrial civilization.

Closely allied to the N.R.A. is the program of public works provided for in the same Act and designed to put more men back to work, both directly on the public works themselves, and indirectly in the industries supplying the materials for these public works. To those who say that our expenditures for public works and other means for recovery are a waste that we cannot afford, I answer that no country, however rich, can afford the waste of its human resources. Demoralization caused by vast unemployment is our greatest extravagance. Morally, it is the greatest menace to our social order. Some people try to tell me that we must make up our minds that for the future we shall permanently have millions of unemployed just as other countries have had them for over a decade. What may be necessary for those countries is not my responsibility to determine. But as for this country, I stand or fall by my refusal to accept as a necessary condition of our future a permanent army of unemployed. On the contrary, we must make it a national principle that we will not tolerate a large army of unemployed and that we will arrange our national economy to end our present unemployment as soon as we can and then to take wise measures against its return. I do not want to think that it is the destiny of any American to remain permanently on relief rolls.

Those, fortunately few in number, who are frightened by boldness and cowed by the necessity for making decisions, complain that all we have done is unnecessary and subject to great risks. Now that these people are coming out of their storm cellars, they forget that there ever was a storm. They point to England. They would have you believe that England has made progress out of her depression by a do-nothing policy, by letting nature take her course. England has her peculiarities and we have ours, but I do not believe any intelligent observer can accuse England of undue orthodoxy in the present emergency.

Did England let nature take her course? No. Did England hold to the gold standard when her reserves were threatened? No. Has





England gone back to the gold standard today? No. Did England hesitate to call in ten billion dollars of her war bonds bearing 5 percent interest, to issue new bonds therefor bearing only 3½ percent interest, thereby saving the British Treasury one hundred and fifty million dollars a year in interest alone? No. And let it be recorded that the British bankers helped. Is it not a fact that ever since the year 1909, Great Britain in many ways has advanced further along lines of social security than the United States? Is it not a fact that relations between capital and labor on the basis of collective bargaining are much further advanced in Great Britain than in the United States? It is perhaps not strange that the conservative British press has told us with pardonable irony that much of our New Deal program is only an attempt to catch up with English reforms that go back ten years or more.

Nearly all Americans are sensible and calm people. We do not get greatly excited nor is our peace of mind disturbed, whether we be business men or workers or farmers, by awesome pronouncements concerning the unconstitutionality of some of our measures of recovery and relief and reform. We are not frightened by reactionary lawyers or political editors. All of these cries have been heard before. More than twenty-one years ago, when Theodore Roosevelt and Woodrow Wilson were attempting to correct abuses in our national life, the great Chief Justice White said:

> "There is great danger it seems to me to arise from the constant habit which prevails where anything is opposed or objected to, of referring without rhyme or reason to the Constitution as a means of preventing its accomplishment, thus creating the general impression that the Constitution is but a barrier to progress instead of being the broad highway through which alone true progress may be enjoyed."

In our efforts for recovery we have avoided, on the one hand, the theory that business should and must be taken over into an all-embracing Government. We have avoided, on the other hand, the equally untenable theory that it is an interference with liberty to offer reasonable help when private enterprise is in need of

help. The course we have followed fits the American practice of Government, a practice of taking action step by step, of regulating only to meet concrete needs, a practice of courageous recognition of change. I believe with Abraham Lincoln, that "The legitimate object of Government is to do for a community of people whatever they need to have done but cannot do at all or cannot do so well for themselves in their separate and individual capacities."

I am not for a return to that definition of liberty under which for many years a free people were being gradually regimented into the service of the privileged few. I prefer and I am sure you prefer that broader definition of liberty under which we are moving forward to greater freedom, to greater security for the average man than he has ever known before in the history of America.

## 164 ¶ An Excerpt from the One Hundred and Forty-seventh Press Conference. October 3, 1934

*(Annual wage income.)*

*Q.* Any plans for taking up the annual wage question referred to in your speech Sunday night?

THE PRESIDENT: The annual wage thing?

*Q.* Yes, sir.

THE PRESIDENT: You mean the annual wage to Government employees?

*Q.* Insuring workmen an annual income.

THE PRESIDENT: I don't think I mentioned that, did I, in the speech?

*Q.* Yes, sir; you spoke of the inadequacy or possible inadequacy of wage minimums for a given short length of time such as a week or an hour or two, to establish living standards.

THE PRESIDENT: That I merely mentioned as one of the things people are beginning to think about.

*Q.* Would you call it an immediate problem?





THE PRESIDENT: Frankly, I don't know. I just mentioned it as something people are thinking about. As a matter of fact, when I first dictated that speech the other day I had an example which would have made more clear that phase of the wage problem.

Last winter, as you will recall, the automobile workers were down here. They were a pretty young crowd, most of those fellows were about thirty-five years or along there. I said to one of them, "What are you getting? What is your hourly wage?" He said, "A dollar and a quarter an hour." I said, "Eight hours?" He said, "Yes, sir." I said, "That is $10 a day?" He said, "Yes, sir; that is right." I said, "It seems to me that is a pretty good wage. What are you, a machinist?" "Yes, sir." I said, "I think that is a pretty good wage."

Then he said, "Mr. President, that is a pretty good wage, yes, but last year I only worked 65 days. My total gross income was $650."

I think that particular story emphasizes the thought better than anything else that you or I can use as to the reason for thinking in terms of how much a fellow gets by December 31st instead of how much he gets per hour. That is what I was driving at. . . .

(See also Item 180, Vol. V.)

## 165 ¶ The President Congratulates the C.C.C. — "This Kind of Work Must Go On." October 6, 1934

*Dear Mr. Fechner:*

I have been greatly interested and encouraged by the fine report of your visits to C.C.C. camps in many parts of the country.

This kind of work must go on. I believe that the Nation feels that the work of these young men is so thoroughly justified and, in addition, the benefits to the men themselves are so clear that

I congratulate you for your past achievements and wish for you a full measure of success in the future.

Very sincerely yours,

Mrs. B. F. Langworthy,
President, National Congress of Parents and Teachers,
Chicago, Illinois

## 48 ¶ The First "Fireside Chat" of 1935—"Fear Is Vanishing, Confidence Is Growing . . . Faith Is Being Renewed in the Democratic Form of Government." April 28, 1935

SINCE my Annual Message to the Congress on January 4th, last, I have not addressed the general public over the air. In the many weeks since that time the Congress has devoted itself to the arduous task of formulating legislation necessary to the country's welfare. It has made and is making distinct progress.

Before I come to any of the specific measures, however, I want to leave in your minds one clear fact. The Administration and the Congress are not proceeding in any haphazard fashion in this task of government. Each of our steps has a definite relationship to every other step. The job of creating a program for the Nation's welfare is, in some respects, like the building of a ship. At different points on the coast where I often visit they build great seagoing ships. When one of these ships is under construction and the steel frames have been set in the keel, it is difficult for a person who does not know ships to tell how it will finally look when it is sailing the high seas.

It may seem confused to some, but out of the multitude of detailed parts that go into the making of the structure, the creation of a useful instrument for man ultimately comes. It is that way with the making of a national policy. The objective of the Nation





has greatly changed in three years. Before that time individual self-interest and group selfishness were paramount in public thinking. The general good was at a discount.

Three years of hard thinking have changed the picture. More and more people, because of clearer thinking and a better understanding, are considering the whole rather than a mere part relating to one section, or to one crop, or to one industry, or to an individual private occupation. That is a tremendous gain for the principles of democracy. The overwhelming majority of people in this country know how to sift the wheat from the chaff in what they hear and what they read. They know that the process of the constructive rebuilding of America cannot be done in a day or a year, but that it is being done in spite of the few who seek to confuse them and to profit by their confusion. Americans as a whole are feeling a lot better—a lot more cheerful than for many, many years.

The most difficult place in the world to get a clear and open perspective of the country as a whole is Washington. I am reminded sometimes of what President Wilson once said: "So many people come to Washington who know things that are not so, and so few people who know what the people of the United States are thinking about." That is why I occasionally leave this scene of action for a few days to go fishing or back home to Hyde Park so that I can have a chance to think quietly about the country as a whole. "To get away from the trees," as they say, "and to look at the whole forest." This duty of seeing the country in a long-range perspective is one which, in a very special manner, attaches to this office to which you have chosen me. Did you ever stop to think that there are, after all, only two positions in the Nation that are filled by the vote of all of the voters—the President and the Vice-President? That makes it particularly necessary for the Vice-President and for me to conceive of our duty toward the entire country. Tonight, therefore, I speak to and of the American people as a whole.

My most immediate concern is in carrying out the purposes of the great work program just enacted by the Congress. Its first ob-

jective is to put men and women now on the relief rolls to work and, incidentally, to assist materially in our already unmistakable march toward recovery. I shall not confuse my discussion by a multitude of figures. So many figures are quoted to prove so many things. Sometimes it depends upon what paper you read and what broadcast you hear. Therefore, let us keep our minds on two or three simple essential facts in connection with this problem of unemployment. It is true that while business and industry are definitely better our relief rolls are still too large. However, for the first time in five years the relief rolls have declined instead of increased during the winter months. They are still declining. The simple fact is that many millions more people have private work today than two years ago today or one year ago today and every day that passes offers more chances to work for those who want to work. In spite of the fact that unemployment remains a serious problem here as in every other Nation, we have come to recognize the possibility and the necessity of certain helpful remedial measures. These measures are of two kinds. The first is to make provisions intended to relieve, to minimize, and to prevent future unemployment; the second is to establish the practical means to help those who are unemployed in this present emergency. Our social security legislation is an attempt to answer the first of these questions; our Works Relief program, the second.

The program for social security now pending before the Congress is a necessary part of the future unemployment policy of the Government. While our present and projected expenditures for work relief are wholly within the reasonable limits of our national credit resources, it is obvious that we cannot continue to create governmental deficits for that purpose year after year. We must begin now to make provision for the future. That is why our social security program is an important part of the complete picture. It proposes, by means of old-age pensions, to help those who have reached the age of retirement to give up their jobs and thus give to the younger generation greater opportunities for work and to give to all a feeling of security as they look toward old age.





The unemployment insurance part of the legislation will not only help to guard the individual in future periods of lay-off against dependence upon relief, but it will, by sustaining purchasing power, cushion the shock of economic distress. Another helpful feature of unemployment insurance is the incentive it will give to employers to plan more carefully in order that unemployment may be prevented by the stabilizing of employment itself.

Provisions for social security, however, are protections for the future. Our responsibility for the immediate necessities of the unemployed has been met by the Congress through the most comprehensive work plan in the history of the Nation. Our problem is to put to work three and one-half million employable persons now on the relief rolls. It is a problem quite as much for private industry as for the Government.

We are losing no time getting the Government's vast work relief program under way and we have every reason to believe that it should be in full swing by autumn. In directing it, I shall recognize six fundamental principles:

(1) The projects should be useful.

(2) Projects shall be of a nature that a considerable proportion of the money spent will go into wages for labor.

(3) Projects will be sought which promise ultimate return to the Federal Treasury of a considerable proportion of the costs.

(4) Funds allotted for each project should be actually and promptly spent and not held over until later years.

(5) In all cases projects must be of a character to give employment to those on the relief rolls.

(6) Projects will be allocated to localities or relief areas in relation to the number of workers on relief rolls in those areas.

I next want to make it clear exactly how we shall direct the work.

(1) I have set up a Division of Applications and Information to which all proposals for the expenditure of money must go for preliminary study and consideration.

(2) After the Division of Applications and Information has

sifted these projects, they will be sent to an Allotment Division composed of representatives of the more important governmental agencies charged with carrying on work relief projects. The group will also include representatives of cities, and of labor, farming, banking and industry. This Allotment Division will consider all of the recommendations submitted to it and such projects as they approve will be next submitted to the President who under the Act is required to make final allocations.

(3) The next step will be to notify the proper Government agency in whose field the project falls, and also to notify another agency which I am creating—a Progress Division. This Division will have the duty of coordinating the purchase of materials and supplies and of making certain that people who are employed will be taken from the relief rolls. It will also have the responsibility of determining work payments in various localities, of making full use of existing employment services and of assisting people engaged in relief work to move as rapidly as possible back into private employment when such employment is available. Moreover, this Division will be charged with keeping projects moving on schedule.

(4) I have felt it to be essentially wise and prudent to avoid, so far as possible, the creation of new governmental machinery for supervising this work. The national Government now has at least sixty different agencies with the staff and the experience and the competence necessary to carry on the two hundred and fifty or three hundred kinds of work that will be undertaken. These agencies, therefore, will simply be doing on a somewhat enlarged scale, the same sort of things that they have been doing. This will make certain that the largest possible portion of the funds allotted will be spent for actually creating new work and not for building up expensive overhead organizations here in Washington.

For many months preparations have been under way. The allotment of funds for desirable projects has already begun. The key men for the major responsibilities of this great task already





have been selected. I well realize that the country is expecting before this year is out to see the "dirt fly," as they say, in carrying on the work, and I assure my fellow citizens that no energy will be spared in using these funds effectively to make a major attack upon the problem of unemployment.

Our responsibility is to all of the people in this country. This is a great national crusade to destroy enforced idleness which is an enemy of the human spirit generated by this depression. Our attack upon these enemies must be without stint and without discrimination. No sectional, no political distinctions can be permitted.

It must, however, be recognized that when an enterprise of this character is extended over more than three thousand counties throughout the Nation, there may be occasional instances of inefficiency, bad management, or misuse of funds. When cases of this kind occur, there will be those, of course, who will try to tell you that the exceptional failure is characteristic of the entire endeavor. It should be remembered that in every big job there are some imperfections. There are chiselers in every walk of life, there are those in every industry who are guilty of unfair practices; every profession has its black sheep, but long experience in Government has taught me that the exceptional instances of wrong-doing in Government are probably less numerous than in almost every other line of endeavor. The most effective means of preventing such evils in this Works Relief program will be the eternal vigilance of the American people themselves. I call upon my fellow citizens everywhere to cooperate with me in making this the most efficient and the cleanest example of public enterprise the world has ever seen.

It is time to provide a smashing answer for those cynical men who say that a Democracy cannot be honest and efficient. If you will help, this can be done. I, therefore, hope you will watch the work in every corner of this Nation. Feel free to criticize. Tell me of instances where work can be done better, or where improper practices prevail. Neither you nor I want criticism con-

ceived in a purely fault-finding or partisan spirit, but I am jealous of the right of every citizen to call to the attention of his or her Government examples of how the public money can be more effectively spent for the benefit of the American people.

I now come, my friends, to a part of the remaining business before the Congress. It has under consideration many measures which provide for the rounding out of the program of economic and social reconstruction with which we have been concerned for two years. I can mention only a few of them tonight, but I do not want my mention of specific measures to be interpreted as lack of interest in or disapproval of many other important proposals that are pending.

The National Industrial Recovery Act expires on the sixteenth of June. After careful consideration, I have asked the Congress to extend the life of this useful agency of Government. As we have proceeded with the administration of this Act, we have found from time to time more and more useful ways of promoting its purposes. No reasonable person wants to abandon our present gains—we must continue to protect children, to enforce minimum wages, to prevent excessive hours, to safeguard, define and enforce collective bargaining, and, while retaining fair competition, to eliminate, so far as humanly possible, the kinds of unfair practices by selfish minorities which unfortunately did more than anything else to bring about the recent collapse of industries.

There is likewise pending before the Congress legislation to provide for the elimination of unnecessary holding companies in the public utility field.

I consider this legislation a positive recovery measure. Power production in this country is virtually back to the 1929 peak. The operating companies in the gas and electric utility field are by and large in good condition. But under holding company domination the utility industry has long been hopelessly at war within itself and with public sentiment. By far the greater part of the general decline in utility securities had occurred before I





was inaugurated. The absentee management of unnecessary holding company control has lost touch with, and has lost the sympathy of, the communities it pretends to serve. Even more significantly it has given the country as a whole an uneasy apprehension of overconcentrated economic power.

A business that loses the confidence of its customers and the good-will of the public cannot long continue to be a good risk for the investor. This legislation will serve the investor by ending the conditions which have caused that lack of confidence and good-will. It will put the public utility operating industry on a sound basis for the future, both in its public relations and in its internal relations.

This legislation will not only in the long run result in providing lower electric and gas rates to the consumer but it will protect the actual value and earning power of properties now owned by thousands of investors who have little protection under the old laws against what used to be called frenzied finance. It will not destroy values.

Not only business recovery, but the general economic recovery of the Nation will be greatly stimulated by the enactment of legislation designed to improve the status of our transportation agencies. There is need for legislation for the regulation of interstate transportation by buses and trucks, for the regulation of transportation by water, for the strengthening of our Merchant Marine and Air Transport, for the strengthening of the Interstate Commerce Commission to enable it to carry out a rounded conception of the national transportation system in which the benefits of private ownership are retained while the public stake in these important services is protected by the public's Government.

Finally, the reestablishment of public confidence in the banks of the Nation is one of the most hopeful results of our efforts as a Nation to reestablish public confidence in private banking. We all know that private banking actually exists by virtue of the permission of and regulation by the people as a whole, speaking

through their Government. Wise public policy, however, requires not only that banking be safe but that its resources be most fully utilized in the economic life of the country. To this end it was decided more than twenty years ago that the Government should assume the responsibility of providing a means by which the credit of the Nation might be controlled, not by a few private banking institutions, but by a body with public prestige and authority. The answer to this demand was the Federal Reserve System. Twenty years of experience with this system have justified the efforts made to create it, but these twenty years have shown by experience definite possibilities for improvement. Certain proposals made to amend the Federal Reserve Act deserve prompt and favorable action by the Congress. They are a minimum of wise readjustments of our Federal Reserve System in the light of past experience and present needs.

These measures I have mentioned are, in large part, the program which under my constitutional duty I have recommended to the Congress. They are essential factors in a rounded program for national recovery. They contemplate the enrichment of our national life by a sound and rational ordering of its various elements and wise provisions for the protection of the weak against the strong.

Never since my Inauguration in March, 1933, have I felt so unmistakably the atmosphere of recovery. But it is more than the recovery of the material basis of our individual lives. It is the recovery of confidence in our democratic processes and institutions. We have survived all of the arduous burdens and the threatening dangers of a great economic calamity. We have in the darkest moments of our national trials retained our faith in our own ability to master our destiny. Fear is vanishing and confidence is growing on every side, faith is being renewed in the vast possibilities of human beings to improve their material and spiritual status through the instrumentality of the democratic form of government. That faith is receiving its just reward. For that we can be thankful to the God who watches over America.





## 49 ¶ Letters Relative to the Policy of the Administration to Perpetuate Peace and Friendship with Canada. April 29, 1935

*My dear Mr. Secretary:*

MY ATTENTION has been called to "Hearings before Committee on Military Affairs, House of Representatives, on H.R. 6621 and H.R. 4130." It is a matter of regret to me that I have been compelled to send a letter to Chairman McSwain of the Military Affairs Committee, copy of which I enclose.

Very sincerely,

Hon. George H. Dern,
Secretary of War,
Washington, D. C.

*My dear Mr. Chairman:*

MY ATTENTION has been called to "Hearings before Committee on Military Affairs, House of Representatives, on H.R. 6621 and H.R. 4130." This public document includes apparently a full report of an executive session of the Committee of which you are Chairman.

It is necessary for me most respectfully to call to your attention and that of your Committee the fact that if the testimony in executive session is printed in public documents in the same way as testimony in open session, I shall find it necessary as Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy to require that in the future such testimony be given only after approval by me.

Referring to page 16 of this printed document, I desire to inform your Committee that certain portions of the testimony of General Kilbourne, especially those relating to the Canadian border, do not represent either the policy of this Administration or that of the Commander-in-Chief.

courage to go through the year without losing hope. That is true not only in the drought areas, but here in the State of Indiana, where, I am happy to say, conditions are much better with regard to crops.

So, at the end of this trip of nearly two weeks, I am going back to Washington in a happy frame of mind. I am glad to be here in Indiana, among so many old friends of both parties. I told Arthur Vandenberg that if he had been nominated against me we might have teamed up and run a joint campaign, and we would both have saved money.

It has been fine to see you. Many thanks for a delightful day.

## 119 ¶ Labor Day Greetings to the Workers of America. September 6, 1936

*To the Workers of the United States:*

I SEND hearty Labor Day greetings to America's workers everywhere. I feel that there is cause for rejoicing among wage earners as Labor's annual day approaches. Labor Day is a day on which it is natural for us to take account of stock to see where we stand with respect to those vital problems which affect so profoundly the lives and destinies of the Nation's workers. We have made progress. We must continue to move forward.

Employment and weekly pay envelopes have increased steadily during the past three years, stimulated by the spending of the Federal Government in useful ways. This increased buying power of wage earners and farmers has resulted in increased sales by merchants, more orders for factories, and rising profits for investors.

We have witnessed significant changes during the past few years, changes which necessitate special reconsideration of basic problems with a view to finding a new approach to their solution. Our aim must be to achieve and maintain a national economy whose factors are so finely balanced that the worker is always sure of a job which will guarantee a living wage. By a living wage





I mean a wage which will insure the worker and the worker's dependents a living in accordance with American standards of decency, happiness and self-respect. The wage earners of America do not ask for more. They will not be satisfied with less.

## 120 ¶ The First "Fireside Chat" of 1936, Following the Drought Inspection Trip—"We Are Going to Conserve Soil, Conserve Water, Conserve Life." September 6, 1936

I HAVE been on a journey of husbandry. I went primarily to see at first hand conditions in the drought States, to see how effectively Federal and local authorities are taking care of pressing problems of relief and also how they are to work together to defend the people of this country against the effects of future droughts.

I saw drought devastation in nine States.

I talked with families who had lost their wheat crop, lost their corn crop, lost their livestock, lost the water in their well, lost their garden and come through to the end of the summer without one dollar of cash resources, facing a winter without feed or food—facing a planting season without seed to put in the ground.

That was the extreme case, but there are thousands and thousands of families on Western farms who share the same difficulties.

I saw cattlemen who because of lack of grass or lack of winter feed have been compelled to sell all but their breeding stock and will need help to carry even these through the coming winter. I saw livestock kept alive only because water had been brought to them long distances in tank cars. I saw other farm families who have not lost everything but who because they have made only partial crops must have some form of help if they are to continue farming next spring.

I shall never forget the fields of wheat so blasted by heat that they cannot be harvested. I shall never forget field after field of

corn stunted, earless and stripped of leaves, for what the sun left the grasshoppers took. I saw brown pastures which would not keep a cow on fifty acres.

Yet I would not have you think for a single minute that there is permanent disaster in these drought regions, or that the picture I saw meant depopulating these areas. No cracked earth, no blistering sun, no burning wind, no grasshoppers are a permanent match for the indomitable American farmers and stockmen and their wives and children who have carried on through desperate days, and inspire us with their self-reliance, their tenacity and their courage. It was their fathers' task to make homes; it is their task to keep those homes; it is our task to help them win their fight.

First, let me talk for a minute about this autumn and the coming winter. We have the option, in the case of families who need actual subsistence, of putting them on the dole or putting them to work. They do not want to go on the dole and they are one thousand percent right. We agree, therefore, that we must put them to work for a decent wage; and when we reach that decision we kill two birds with one stone, because these families will earn enough by working, not only to subsist themselves, but to buy food for their stock, and seed for next year's planting. Into this scheme of things there fit of course the Government lending agencies which next year, as in the past, will help with production loans.

Every Governor with whom I have talked is in full accord with this program of providing work for these farm families, just as every Governor agrees that the individual States will take care of their unemployables, but that the cost of employing those who are entirely able and willing to work must be borne by the Federal Government.

If then we know, as we do today, the approximate number of farm families who will require some form of work relief from now on through the winter, we face the question of what kind of work they should do. Let me make it clear that this is not a new question because it has already been answered to a greater





or less extent in every one of the drought communities. Beginning in 1934, when we also had serious drought conditions, the State and Federal Governments cooperated in planning a large number of projects, many of them directly aimed at the alleviation of future drought conditions. In accordance with that program literally thousands of ponds or small reservoirs have been built in order to supply water for stock and to lift the level of the underground water to prevent wells from going dry. Thousands of wells have been drilled or deepened; community lakes have been created and irrigation projects are being pushed.

Water conservation by means such as these is being expanded as a result of this new drought all through the Great Plains area, the Western corn belt and in the States that lie further south. In the Middle West water conservation is not so pressing a problem. Here the work projects run more to soil erosion control and the building of farm-to-market roads.

Spending like this is not waste. It would spell future waste if we did not spend for such things now. These emergency work projects provide money to buy food and clothing for the winter; they keep the livestock on the farm; they provide seed for a new crop, and, best of all, they will conserve soil and water in the future in those areas most frequently hit by drought.

If, for example, in some local area the water table continues to drop and the topsoil to blow away, the land values will disappear with the water and the soil. People on the farms will drift into the nearby cities; the cities will have no farm trade and the workers in the city factories and stores will have no jobs. Property values in the cities will decline. If, on the other hand, the farms within that area remain as farms with better water supply and no erosion, the farm population will stay on the land and prosper and the nearby cities will prosper too. Property values will increase instead of disappearing. That is why it is worth our while as a Nation to spend money in order to save money.

I have used the argument in relation only to a small area. It holds good, however, in its effect on the Nation as a whole. Every State in the drought area is now doing and always will do busi-

ness with every State outside it. The very existence of the men and women working in the clothing factories of New York, making clothes worn by farmers and their families; of the workers in the steel mills in Pittsburgh, in the automobile factories of Detroit, and in the harvester factories of Illinois, depends upon the farmers' ability to purchase the commodities they produce. In the same way it is the purchasing power of the workers in these factories in the cities that enables them and their wives and children to eat more beef, more pork, more wheat, more corn, more fruit and more dairy products, and to buy more clothing made from cotton, wool and leather. In a physical and a property sense, as well as in a spiritual sense, we are members one of another.

I want to make it clear that no simple panacea can be applied to the drought problem in the whole of the drought area. Plans must depend on local conditions, for these vary with annual rainfall, soil characteristics, altitude and topography. Water and soil conservation methods may differ in one county from those in an adjoining county. Work to be done in the cattle and sheep country differs in type from work in the wheat country or work in the corn belt.

The Great Plains Drought Area Committee has given me its preliminary recommendations for a long-time program for that region. Using that report as a basis we are cooperating successfully and in entire accord with the Governors and State planning boards. As we get this program into operation the people more and more will be able to maintain themselves securely on the land. That will mean a steady decline in the relief burdens which the Federal Government and States have had to assume in time of drought; but, more important, it will mean a greater contribution to general national prosperity by these regions which have been hit by drought. It will conserve and improve not only property values, but human values. The people in the drought area do not want to be dependent on Federal, State or any other kind of charity. They want for themselves and their families an opportunity to share fairly by their own efforts in the progress of America.





The farmers of America want a sound national agricultural policy in which a permanent land-use program will have an important place. They want assurance against another year like 1932 when they made good crops but had to sell them for prices that meant ruin just as surely as did the drought. Sound policy must maintain farm prices in good crop years as well as in bad crop years. It must function when we have drought; it must also function when we have bumper crops.

The maintenance of a fair equilibrium between farm prices and the prices of industrial products is an aim which we must keep ever before us, just as we must give constant thought to the sufficiency of the food supply of the Nation even in bad years. Our modern civilization can and should devise a more successful means by which the excess supplies of bumper years can be conserved for use in lean years.

On my trip I have been deeply impressed with the general efficiency of those agencies of the Federal, State and local Governments which have moved in on the immediate task created by the drought. In 1934 none of us had preparation; we worked without blueprints and made the mistakes of inexperience. Hindsight shows us this. But as time has gone on we have been making fewer and fewer mistakes. Remember that the Federal and State Governments have done only broad planning. Actual work on a given project originates in the local community. Local needs are listed from local information. Local projects are decided on only after obtaining the recommendations and help of those in the local community who are best able to give it. And it is worthy of note that on my entire trip, though I asked the question dozens of times, I heard no complaint against the character of a single work relief project.

The elected heads of the States concerned, together with their State officials and their experts from agricultural colleges and State planning boards, have shown cooperation with and approval of the work which the Federal Government has headed. I am grateful also to the men and women in all these States who have accepted leadership in the work in their locality.

In the drought area people are not afraid to use new methods to meet changes in Nature, and to correct mistakes of the past. If over-grazing has injured range lands they are willing to reduce the grazing. If certain wheat lands should be returned to pasture they are willing to cooperate. If trees should be planted as wind-breaks or to stop erosion they will work with us. If terracing or summer fallowing or crop rotation is called for they will carry it out. They stand ready to fit, and not to fight, the ways of Nature.

We are helping, and shall continue to help the farmer, to do those things, through local soil conservation committees and other cooperative local, State and Federal agencies of Government.

I have not the time tonight to deal with other and more comprehensive agricultural policies.

With this fine help we are tiding over the present emergency. We are going to conserve soil, conserve water and conserve life. We are going to have long-time defenses against both low prices and drought. We are going to have a farm policy that will serve the national welfare. That is our hope for the future.

There are two reasons why I want to end by talking about reemployment. Tomorrow is Labor Day. The brave spirit with which so many millions of working people are winning their way out of depression deserves respect and admiration. It is like the courage of the farmers in the drought areas.

That is my first reason. The second is that healthy employment conditions stand equally with healthy agricultural conditions as a buttress of national prosperity. Dependable employment at fair wages is just as important to the people in the towns and cities as good farm income is to agriculture. Our people must have the ability to buy the goods they manufacture and the crops they produce. Thus city wages and farm buying power are the two strong legs that carry the Nation forward.

Reemployment in industry is proceeding rapidly. Government spending was in large part responsible for keeping industry going and putting it in a position to make this reemployment





possible. Government orders were the backlog of heavy industry; Government wages turned over and over again to make consumer purchasing power and to sustain every merchant in the community. Businessmen with their businesses, small and large, had to be saved. Private enterprise is necessary to any Nation which seeks to maintain the democratic form of government. In their case, just as certainly as in the case of drought-stricken farmers, Government spending has saved.

Government having spent wisely to save it, private industry begins to take workers off the rolls of the Government relief program. Until this Administration we had no free employment service, except in a few States and cities. Because there was no unified employment service, the worker, forced to move as industry moved, often traveled over the country, wandering after jobs which seemed always to travel just a little faster than he did. He was often victimized by fraudulent practices of employment clearing houses, and the facts of employment opportunities were at the disposal neither of himself nor of the employer.

In 1933 the United States Employment Service was created—a cooperative State and Federal enterprise, through which the Federal Government matches dollar for dollar the funds provided by the States for registering the occupations and skills of workers and for actually finding jobs for these registered workers in private industry. The Federal-State cooperation has been splendid. Already employment services are operating in thirty-two States, and the areas not covered by them are served by the Federal Government.

We have developed a nationwide service with seven hundred district offices, and one thousand branch offices, thus providing facilities through which labor can learn of jobs available and employers can find workers.

Last spring I expressed the hope that employers would realize their deep responsibility to take men off the relief rolls and give them jobs in private enterprise. Subsequently I was told by many employers that they were not satisfied with the information available concerning the skill and experience of the workers on the

relief rolls. On August 25th I allocated a relatively small sum to the employment service for the purpose of getting better and more recent information in regard to those now actively at work on W.P.A. projects—information as to their skills and previous occupations—and to keep the records of such men and women up-to-date for maximum service in making them available to industry. Tonight I am announcing the allocation of two and a half million dollars more to enable the Employment Service to make an even more intensive search than it has yet been equipped to make, to find opportunities in private employment for workers registered with it.

Tonight I urge the workers to cooperate with and take full advantage of this intensification of the work of the Employment Service. This does not mean that there will be any lessening of our efforts under our W.P.A. and P.W.A. and other work relief programs until all workers have decent jobs in private employment at decent wages. We do not surrender our responsibility to the unemployed. We have had ample proof that it is the will of the American people that those who represent them in national, State and local Government should continue as long as necessary to discharge that responsibility. But it does mean that the Government wants to use resources to get private work for those now employed on Government work, and thus to curtail to a minimum the Government expenditures for direct employment.

Tonight I ask employers, large and small, throughout the Nation, to use the help of the State and Federal Employment Service whenever in the general pick-up of business they require more workers.

Tomorrow is Labor Day. Labor Day in this country has never been a class holiday. It has always been a national holiday. It has never had more significance as a national holiday than it has now. In other countries the relationship of employer and employee has been more or less accepted as a class relationship not readily to be broken through. In this country we insist, as an essential of the American way of life, that the employer-employee relationship should be one between free men and equals. We refuse to





regard those who work with hand or brain as different from or inferior to those who live from their property. We insist that labor is entitled to as much respect as property. But our workers with hand and brain deserve more than respect for their labor. They deserve practical protection in the opportunity to use their labor at a return adequate to support them at a decent and constantly rising standard of living, and to accumulate a margin of security against the inevitable vicissitudes of life.

The average man must have that twofold opportunity if we are to avoid the growth of a class-conscious society in this country.

There are those who fail to read both the signs of the times and American history. They would try to refuse the worker any effective power to bargain collectively, to earn a decent livelihood and to acquire security. It is those shortsighted ones, not labor, who threaten this country with that class dissension which in other countries has led to dictatorship and the establishment of fear and hatred as the dominant emotions in human life.

All American workers, brain workers and manual workers alike, and all the rest of us whose well-being depends on theirs, know that our needs are one in building an orderly economic democracy in which all can profit and in which all can be secure from the kind of faulty economic direction which brought us to the brink of common ruin seven years ago.

There is no cleavage between white-collar workers and manual workers, between artists and artisans, musicians and mechanics, lawyers and accountants and architects and miners.

Tomorrow, Labor Day, belongs to all of us. Tomorrow, Labor Day, symbolizes the hope of all Americans. Anyone who calls it a class holiday challenges the whole concept of American democracy.

The Fourth of July commemorates our political freedom—a freedom which without economic freedom is meaningless indeed. Labor Day symbolizes our determination to achieve an economic freedom for the average man which will give his political freedom reality.

## 31 ¶ A "Fireside Chat" Discussing the Plan for Reorganization of the Judiciary. Washington, D. C. March 9, 1937

LAST Thursday I described in detail certain economic problems which everyone admits now face the Nation. For the many messages which have come to me after that speech, and which it is physically impossible to answer individually, I take this means of saying "thank you."

Tonight, sitting at my desk in the White House, I make my first radio report to the people in my second term of office.

I am reminded of that evening in March, four years ago, when I made my first radio report to you. We were then in the midst of the great banking crisis.

Soon after, with the authority of the Congress, we asked the Nation to turn over all of its privately held gold, dollar for dollar, to the Government of the United States.

Today's recovery proves how right that policy was.

But when, almost two years later, it came before the Supreme Court its constitutionality was upheld only by a five-to-four vote. The change of one vote would have thrown all the affairs of this great Nation back into hopeless chaos. In effect, four Justices ruled that the right under a private contract to exact a pound of flesh was more sacred than the main objectives of the Constitution to establish an enduring Nation.

In 1933 you and I knew that we must never let our economic system get completely out of joint again—that we could not afford to take the risk of another great depression.

We also became convinced that the only way to avoid a repetition of those dark days was to have a government with power to prevent and to cure the abuses and the inequalities which had thrown that system out of joint.

We then began a program of remedying those abuses and inequalities—to give balance and stability to our economic system—to make it bomb-proof against the causes of 1929.





Today we are only part-way through that program—and recovery is speeding up to a point where the dangers of 1929 are again becoming possible, not this week or month perhaps, but within a year or two.

National laws are needed to complete that program. Individual or local or state effort alone cannot protect us in 1937 any better than ten years ago.

It will take time—and plenty of time—to work out our remedies administratively even after legislation is passed. To complete our program of protection in time, therefore, we cannot delay one moment in making certain that our National Government has power to carry through.

Four years ago action did not come until the eleventh hour. It was almost too late.

If we learned anything from the depression we will not allow ourselves to run around in new circles of futile discussion and debate, always postponing the day of decision.

The American people have learned from the depression. For in the last three national elections an overwhelming majority of them voted a mandate that the Congress and the President begin the task of providing that protection—not after long years of debate, but now.

The Courts, however, have cast doubts on the ability of the elected Congress to protect us against catastrophe by meeting squarely our modern social and economic conditions.

We are at a crisis in our ability to proceed with that protection. It is a quiet crisis. There are no lines of depositors outside closed banks. But to the far-sighted it is far-reaching in its possibilities of injury to America.

I want to talk with you very simply about the need for present action in this crisis—the need to meet the unanswered challenge of one-third of a Nation ill-nourished, ill-clad, ill-housed.

Last Thursday I described the American form of Government as a three horse team provided by the Constitution to the American people so that their field might be plowed. The three horses are, of course, the three branches of government—the Congress,

said of the majority opinion that it was a "tortured construction of the Constitution." And two other Justices agreed with him.

In the case holding the New York Minimum Wage Law unconstitutional, Justice Stone said that the majority were actually reading into the Constitution their own "personal economic predilections," and that if the legislative power is not left free to choose the methods of solving the problems of poverty, subsistence and health of large numbers in the community, then "government is to be rendered impotent." And two other Justices agreed with him.

In the face of these dissenting opinions, there is no basis for the claim made by some members of the Court that something in the Constitution has compelled them regretfully to thwart the will of the people.

In the face of such dissenting opinions, it is perfectly clear, that as Chief Justice Hughes has said: "We are under a Constitution, but the Constitution is what the Judges say it is."

The Court in addition to the proper use of its judicial functions has improperly set itself up as a third House of the Congress—a super-legislature, as one of the justices has called it—reading into the Constitution words and implications which are not there, and which were never intended to be there.

We have, therefore, reached the point as a Nation where we must take action to save the Constitution from the Court and the Court from itself. We must find a way to take an appeal from the Supreme Court to the Constitution itself. We want a Supreme Court which will do justice under the Constitution—not over it. In our Courts we want a government of laws and not of men.

I want—as all Americans want—an independent judiciary as proposed by the framers of the Constitution. That means a Supreme Court that will enforce the Constitution as written—that will refuse to amend the Constitution by the arbitrary exercise of judicial power—amendment by judicial say-so. It does not mean a judiciary so independent that it can deny the existence of facts universally recognized.





How then could we proceed to perform the mandate given us? It was said in last year's Democratic platform, "If these problems cannot be effectively solved within the Constitution, we shall seek such clarifying amendment as will assure the power to enact those laws, adequately to regulate commerce, protect public health and safety, and safeguard economic security." In other words, we said we would seek an amendment only if every other possible means by legislation were to fail.

When I commenced to review the situation with the problem squarely before me, I came by a process of elimination to the conclusion that, short of amendments, the only method which was clearly constitutional, and would at the same time carry out other much needed reforms, was to infuse new blood into all our Courts. We must have men worthy and equipped to carry out impartial justice. But, at the same time, we must have Judges who will bring to the Courts a present-day sense of the Constitution—Judges who will retain in the Courts the judicial functions of a court, and reject the legislative powers which the courts have today assumed.

In forty-five out of the forty-eight States of the Union, Judges are chosen not for life but for a period of years. In many States Judges must retire at the age of seventy. Congress has provided financial security by offering life pensions at full pay for Federal Judges on all Courts who are willing to retire at seventy. In the case of Supreme Court Justices, that pension is $20,000 a year. But all Federal Judges, once appointed, can, if they choose, hold office for life, no matter how old they may get to be.

What is my proposal? It is simply this: whenever a Judge or Justice of any Federal Court has reached the age of seventy and does not avail himself of the opportunity to retire on a pension, a new member shall be appointed by the President then in office, with the approval, as required by the Constitution, of the Senate of the United States.

That plan has two chief purposes. By bringing into the judicial system a steady and continuing stream of new and younger blood, I hope, first, to make the administration of all Federal

justice speedier and, therefore, less costly; secondly, to bring to the decision of social and economic problems younger men who have had personal experience and contact with modern facts and circumstances under which average men have to live and work. This plan will save our national Constitution from hardening of the judicial arteries.

The number of Judges to be appointed would depend wholly on the decision of present Judges now over seventy, or those who would subsequently reach the age of seventy.

If, for instance, any one of the six Justices of the Supreme Court now over the age of seventy should retire as provided under the plan, no additional place would be created. Consequently, although there never can be more than fifteen, there may be only fourteen, or thirteen, or twelve. And there may be only nine.

There is nothing novel or radical about this idea. It seeks to maintain the Federal bench in full vigor. It has been discussed and approved by many persons of high authority ever since a similar proposal passed the House of Representatives in 1869.

Why was the age fixed at seventy? Because the laws of many States, the practice of the Civil Service, the regulations of the Army and Navy, and the rules of many of our Universities and of almost every great private business enterprise, commonly fix the retirement age at seventy years or less.

The statute would apply to all the courts in the Federal system. There is general approval so far as the lower Federal courts are concerned. The plan has met opposition only so far as the Supreme Court of the United States itself is concerned. If such a plan is good for the lower courts it certainly ought to be equally good for the highest Court from which there is no appeal.

Those opposing this plan have sought to arouse prejudice and fear by crying that I am seeking to "pack" the Supreme Court and that a baneful precedent will be established.

What do they mean by the words "packing the Court"?

Let me answer this question with a bluntness that will end all *honest* misunderstanding of my purposes.





If by that phrase "packing the Court" it is charged that I wish to place on the bench spineless puppets who would disregard the law and would decide specific cases as I wished them to be decided, I make this answer: that no President fit for his office would appoint, and no Senate of honorable men fit for their office would confirm, that kind of appointees to the Supreme Court.

But if by that phrase the charge is made that I would appoint and the Senate would confirm Justices worthy to sit beside present members of the Court who understand those modern conditions, that I will appoint Justices who will not undertake to override the judgment of the Congress on legislative policy, that I will appoint Justices who will act as Justices and not as legislators—if the appointment of such Justices can be called "packing the Courts," then I say that I and with me the vast majority of the American people favor doing just that thing—now.

Is it a dangerous precedent for the Congress to change the number of the Justices? The Congress has always had, and will have, that power. The number of Justices has been changed several times before, in the Administrations of John Adams and Thomas Jefferson—both signers of the Declaration of Independence—Andrew Jackson, Abraham Lincoln and Ulysses S. Grant.

I suggest only the addition of Justices to the bench in accordance with a clearly defined principle relating to a clearly defined age limit. Fundamentally, if in the future, America cannot trust the Congress it elects to refrain from abuse of our Constitutional usages, democracy will have failed far beyond the importance to it of any kind of precedent concerning the Judiciary.

We think it so much in the public interest to maintain a vigorous judiciary that we encourage the retirement of elderly Judges by offering them a life pension at full salary. Why then should we leave the fulfillment of this public policy to chance or make it dependent upon the desire or prejudice of any individual Justice?

It is the clear intention of our public policy to provide for a constant flow of new and younger blood into the Judiciary. Normally every President appoints a large number of District and Circuit Judges and a few members of the Supreme Court. Until

my first term practically every President of the United States had appointed at least one member of the Supreme Court. President Taft appointed five members and named a Chief Justice; President Wilson, three; President Harding, four, including a Chief Justice; President Coolidge, one; President Hoover, three, including a Chief Justice.

Such a succession of appointments should have provided a Court well-balanced as to age. But chance and the disinclination of individuals to leave the Supreme bench have now given us a Court in which five Justices will be over seventy-five years of age before next June and one over seventy. Thus a sound public policy has been defeated.

I now propose that we establish by law an assurance against any such ill-balanced Court in the future. I propose that hereafter, when a Judge reaches the age of seventy, a new and younger Judge shall be added to the Court automatically. In this way I propose to enforce a sound public policy by law instead of leaving the composition of our Federal Courts, including the highest, to be determined by chance or the personal decision of individuals.

If such a law as I propose is regarded as establishing a new precedent, is it not a most desirable precedent?

Like all lawyers, like all Americans, I regret the necessity of this controversy. But the welfare of the United States, and indeed of the Constitution itself, is what we all must think about first. Our difficulty with the Court today rises not from the Court as an institution but from human beings within it. But we cannot yield our constitutional destiny to the personal judgment of a few men who, being fearful of the future, would deny us the necessary means of dealing with the present.

This plan of mine is no attack on the Court; it seeks to restore the Court to its rightful and historic place in our system of Constitutional Government and to have it resume its high task of building anew on the Constitution "a system of living law." The Court itself can best undo what the Court has done.

I have thus explained to you the reasons that lie behind our





efforts to secure results by legislation within the Constitution. I hope that thereby the difficult process of constitutional amendment may be rendered unnecessary. But let us examine that process.

There are many types of amendment proposed. Each one is radically different from the other. There is no substantial group within the Congress or outside it who are agreed on any single amendment.

It would take months or years to get substantial agreement upon the type and language of an amendment. It would take months and years thereafter to get a two-thirds majority in favor of that amendment in *both* Houses of the Congress.

Then would come the long course of ratification by three-fourths of all the States. No amendment which any powerful economic interests or the leaders of any powerful political party have had reason to oppose has ever been ratified within anything like a reasonable time. And thirteen States which contain only five percent of the voting population can block ratification even though the thirty-five States with ninety-five percent of the population are in favor of it.

A very large percentage of newspaper publishers, Chambers of Commerce, Bar Associations, Manufacturers' Associations, who are trying to give the impression that they really do want a constitutional amendment would be the first to exclaim as soon as an amendment was proposed, "Oh! I was for an amendment all right, but this amendment that you have proposed is not the kind of an amendment that I was thinking about. I am, therefore, going to spend my time, my efforts and my money to block that amendment, although I would be awfully glad to help get some other kind of amendment ratified."

Two groups oppose my plan on the ground that they favor a constitutional amendment. The first includes those who fundamentally object to social and economic legislation along modern lines. This is the same group who during the campaign last Fall tried to block the mandate of the people.

Now they are making a last stand. And the strategy of that last

stand is to suggest the time-consuming process of amendment in order to kill off by delay the legislation demanded by the mandate.

To them I say: I do not think you will be able long to fool the American people as to your purposes.

The other group is composed of those who honestly believe the amendment process is the best and who would be willing to support a reasonable amendment if they could agree on one.

To them I say: we cannot rely on an amendment as the immediate or only answer to our present difficulties. When the time comes for action, you will find that many of those who pretend to support you will sabotage any constructive amendment which is proposed. Look at these strange bed-fellows of yours. When before have you found them really at your side in your fights for progress?

And remember one thing more. Even if an amendment were passed, and even if in the years to come it were to be ratified, its meaning would depend upon the kind of Justices who would be sitting on the Supreme Court bench. An amendment, like the rest of the Constitution, is what the Justices say it is rather than what its framers or you might hope it is.

This proposal of mine will not infringe in the slightest upon the civil or religious liberties so dear to every American.

My record as Governor and as President proves my devotion to those liberties. You who know me can have no fear that I would tolerate the destruction by any branch of government of any part of our heritage of freedom.

The present attempt by those opposed to progress to play upon the fears of danger to personal liberty brings again to mind that crude and cruel strategy tried by the same opposition to frighten the workers of America in a pay-envelope propaganda against the Social Security Law. The workers were not fooled by that propaganda then. The people of America will not be fooled by such propaganda now.

I am in favor of action through legislation:





First, because I believe that it can be passed at this session of the Congress.

Second, because it will provide a reinvigorated, liberal-minded Judiciary necessary to furnish quicker and cheaper justice from bottom to top.

Third, because it will provide a series of Federal Courts willing to enforce the Constitution as written, and unwilling to assert legislative powers by writing into it their own political and economic policies.

During the past half century the balance of power between the three great branches of the Federal Government, has been tipped out of balance by the Courts in direct contradiction of the high purposes of the framers of the Constitution. It is my purpose to restore that balance. You who know me will accept my solemn assurance that in a world in which democracy is under attack, I seek to make American democracy succeed. You and I will do our part.

(For a full discussion of the Supreme Court fight of 1937, see references appended to Item 12, this volume.)

## 32 ¶ A Radio Greeting on St. Patrick's Day. Warm Springs, Ga. March 17, 1937

*My friends of Massachusetts and of Georgia:*

IT GIVES me great pleasure from this quiet spot in the Georgia hills to greet my friends of the Charitable Irish Society of Boston and the Hibernian Society of Savannah.

Although we think of ourselves sometimes as a very young civilization, I know of no better illustration of our historic background than the story of the origin of the great Irish Societies formed for charitable purposes generations ago along the whole line of our Atlantic Seaboard.

You in Boston, celebrating your two hundredth anniversary, are the oldest of the family. You in Savannah, celebrating your

These are the thoughts and reflections that come to mind today as we consign to Arlington National Cemetery the honored dust of a son of Poland who faithfully served the country of his adoption. General Krzyzanowski was the embodiment of the Polish ideal of liberty. Into the making of that ancient ideal had gone the struggles and the vicissitudes of a thousand years of Polish national life. He whom we honor today, no less than those of his blood and kindred, who preceded him to America or who followed him to our shores, brought to us, and with us became partakers in, a common aspiration of freedom.

Neither time nor distance could erase from stout Polish hearts the memory of a glorious struggle for liberty, a struggle which in our own day and generation happily ended in the restoration of Poland to nationhood and to her rightful place as a sovereign state. As we sympathized in her aspirations to freedom, so we rejoice in her attainment of independence.

We as a Nation seek spiritual union with all who love freedom. Of many bloods and of diverse national origins we stand before the world today as one people united in a common determination. That determination is to uphold the ideal of human society which makes conscience superior to brute strength, the ideal which would substitute freedom for force in the governments of the world.

## 134 ¶ The President Calls the Congress into Extraordinary Session. Proclamation No. 2256. October 12, 1937

WHEREAS public interests require that the Congress of the United States should be convened in extra session at twelve o'clock, noon, on the Fifteenth day of November, 1937, to receive such communication as may be made by the Executive;

NOW, THEREFORE, I, Franklin D. Roosevelt, President of the United States of America, do hereby proclaim and declare that





an extraordinary occasion requires the Congress of the United States to convene in extra session at the Capitol in the City of Washington on the Fifteenth day of November, 1937, at twelve o'clock, noon, of which all persons who shall at that time be entitled to act as members thereof are hereby required to take notice.

(See Item 152, this volume, for the message to this extraordinary session of the Congress.)

## 135 ¶ A "Fireside Chat" Discussing Legislation to be Recommended to the Extraordinary Session of the Congress. October 12, 1937

THIS afternoon I have issued a Proclamation calling a special session of the Congress to convene on Monday, November 15, 1937.

I do this in order to give to the Congress an opportunity to consider important legislation before the regular session in January, and to enable the Congress to avoid a lengthy session next year, extending through the summer.

I know that many enemies of democracy will say that it is bad for the tranquillity of the country, to have a special session — even one beginning only six weeks before the regular session. But I have never had sympathy with the point of view that a session of the Congress is an unfortunate intrusion of what they call "politics" into our national affairs. Those who do not like democracy want to keep legislators at home. But the Congress is an essential instrument of democratic government; and democratic government can never be considered an intruder into the affairs of a democratic nation.

I shall ask this special session to consider immediately certain important legislation which my recent trip through the nation convinces me the American people immediately need. This does not mean that other legislation, to which I am not referring to

night, is not important for our national well-being. But other legislation can be more readily discussed at the regular session.

Anyone charged with proposing or judging national policies should have first hand knowledge of the nation as a whole.

That is why again this year I have taken trips to all parts of the country. Last spring I visited the Southwest. This summer I made several trips in the East. Now I am just back from a trip all the way across the continent, and later this autumn I hope to pay my annual visit to the Southeast.

For a President especially it is a duty to think in national terms.

He must think not only of this year but of future years when someone else will be President.

He must look beyond the average of the prosperity and well-being of the country, for averages easily cover up danger spots of poverty and instability.

He must not let the country be deceived by a merely temporary prosperity which depends on wasteful exploitation of resources which cannot last.

He must think not only of keeping us out of war today, but also of keeping us out of war in generations to come.

The kind of prosperity we want is the sound and permanent kind which is not built up temporarily at the expense of any section or any group. And the kind of peace we want is the sound and permanent kind, which is built on the cooperative search for peace by all the nations which want peace.

The other day I was asked to state my outstanding impression gained on this recent trip. I said that it seemed to me to be the general understanding on the part of the average citizen of the broad objectives and policies which I have just outlined.

Five years of fierce discussion and debate, five years of information through the radio and the moving picture, have taken the whole nation to school in the nation's business. Even those who have most attacked our objectives have, by their very criticism, encouraged the mass of our citizens to think about and understand the issues involved, and understanding, to approve.

Out of that process, we have learned to think as a nation. And out of that process we have learned to feel ourselves a nation. As





never before in our history, each section of America says to every other section, "Thy people shall be my people."

For most of the country this has been a good year, better in dollars and cents than for many years, far better in the soundness of its prosperity. And everywhere I went, I found particular optimism about the good effect on business which is expected from the steady spending by farmers of the largest farm income in many years.

But we have not yet done all that must be done to make this prosperity stable. The people of the United States were checked in their efforts to prevent future piling up of huge agricultural surpluses and the tumbling prices which inevitably follow them. They were checked in their efforts to secure reasonable minimum wages and maximum hours and the end of child labor. And because they were checked, many groups in many parts of the country still have less purchasing power and a lower standard of living than the nation as a whole can permanently allow.

Americans realize these facts. That is why they ask government not to stop governing simply because prosperity has come back a long way.

They do not look on government as an interloper in their affairs. On the contrary, they regard it as the most effective form of organized self-help.

Sometimes I get bored sitting in Washington hearing certain people talk and talk about all that government ought *not* do, people who got all *they* wanted from government back in the days when the financial institutions and the railroads were being bailed out by the Government in 1933. It is refreshing to go out through the country and feel the common wisdom that the time to repair the roof is when the sun is shining.

They want the financial budget balanced. But they want the human budget balanced as well. They want to set up a national economy which balances itself with as little government subsidy as possible, for they realize that persistent subsidies ultimately bankrupt their government.

They are less concerned that every detail be immediately right

than they are that direction be right. They know that just so long as we are traveling on the right road, it does not make much difference if occasionally we hit a "Thank you marm."

The overwhelming majority of our citizens who live by agriculture are thinking very clearly how they want government to help them in connection with the production of crops. They want government help in two ways: first, in the control of surpluses, and, second, in the proper use of land.

The other day a reporter told me he had never been able to understand why the government seeks to curtail crop production and, at the same time, to open up new irrigated acres.

He was confusing two totally separate objectives.

Crop surplus control relates to the total amount of any major crop grown in the whole nation on all cultivated land—good or bad—control by the cooperation of the crop growers and with the help of the government. Land use, on the other hand, is a policy of providing each farmer with the best quality and type of land we have, or can make available, for his part in that total production. Adding good new land for diversified crops is offset by abandoning poor land now uneconomically farmed.

The total amount of production largely determines the price of the crop, and, therefore, the difference between comfort and misery for the farmer.

If we were foolish enough to run every shoe factory twenty-four hours a day, seven days a week, we would soon have more shoes than the nation could possibly buy, a surplus of shoes that would have to be destroyed, or given away, or sold at prices far below the cost of production. That simple law of supply and demand equally affects the price of all our major crops.

You and I have heard big manufacturers talk about control of production by the farmer as an indefensible "economy of scarcity." And yet these same manufacturers never hesitate to shut down their own huge plants, throw men out of work, and cut down the purchasing power of whole communities whenever they think they must adjust their production to an oversupply of the goods they make. When it is their baby who has the





measles, they call it not "an economy of scarcity" but "sound business judgment."

Of course, speaking seriously, what you and I want is such governmental rules of the game that labor, agriculture and industry will produce a balanced abundance without waste.

We intend this winter to find a way to prevent four-and-a-half cent cotton, nine-cent corn and thirty-cent wheat—with all the disaster those prices mean for all of us—from ever coming back again. To do that, the farmers themselves want to cooperate to build an all-weather farm program so that in the long run prices will be more stable. They believe this can be done, and the national budget kept out of the red.

And when we have found that way to protect the farmers' prices from the effects of alternating crop surpluses and crop scarcities, we shall also have found the way to protect the nation's food supply from the effects of the same fluctuation. We ought always to have enough food at prices within the reach of the consuming public. For the consumers in the cities of America, we must find a way to help the farmers to store up in years of plenty enough to avoid hardship in the years of scarcity.

Our land use policy is a different thing. I have just visited much of the work that the national government is doing to stop soil erosion, to save our forests, to prevent floods, to produce electric power for more general use, and to give people a chance to move from poor land on to better land by irrigating thousands of acres that need only water to provide an opportunity to make a good living.

I saw bare and burned hillsides where only a few years ago great forests were growing. They are now being planted to young trees, not only to stop erosion, but to provide a lumber supply for the future.

I saw CCC boys and WPA workers building check-dams and small ponds and terraces to raise the water table and make it possible for farms and villages to remain in safety where they now are. I saw the harnessing of the turbulent Missouri, muddy

with the top soil of many States. And I saw barges on new channels carrying produce and freight athwart the nation.

Let me give you two simple illustrations of why government projects of this type have a national importance for the whole country.

In the Boise Valley in Idaho I saw a district which had been recently irrigated to enormous fertility so that a family can now make a pretty good living from forty acres of its land. Many of the families, who are making good in that valley today, moved there from a thousand miles away. They came from the dust strip that runs through the middle of the nation all the way from the Canadian border to Mexico, a strip which includes large portions of ten States. That valley in western Idaho, therefore, assumes at once a national importance as a second chance for willing farmers. And, year by year, we propose to add more valleys to take care of thousands of other families who need the same kind of second chance in new green pastures.

The other illustration was at the Grand Coulee Dam in the State of Washington. The engineer in charge told me that almost half of the whole cost of that dam to date had been spent for materials that were manufactured east of the Mississippi, giving employment and wages to thousands of industrial workers in the eastern third of the nation, two thousand miles away.

All of this work needs a more businesslike system of planning and greater foresight than we use today.

That is why I recommended to the last session of the Congress the creation of seven planning regions, in which local people will originate and coordinate recommendations as to work of this kind to be done in their particular regions. The Congress will, of course, determine the projects to be selected within the budget limits.

To carry out any twentieth century program, we must give the Executive Branch of the Government twentieth century machinery to work with. I recognize that democratic processes are necessarily and rightly slower than dictatorial processes. But I





refuse to believe that democratic processes need be dangerously slow.

For many years we have all known that the executive and administrative departments of the Government in Washington are a higgledy-piggledy patchwork of duplicate responsibilities and overlapping powers. The reorganization of this vast government machinery which I proposed to the Congress last winter does not conflict with the principle of the democratic process, as some people say. It only makes that process work more efficiently.

On my recent trip many people have talked to me about the millions of men and women and children who still work at insufficient wages and overlong hours.

American industry has searched the outside world to find new markets, but it can create on its very doorstep the biggest and most permanent market it has ever had. It needs the reduction of trade barriers to improve its foreign markets, but it should not overlook the chance to reduce the domestic trade barrier right here, right away, without waiting for any treaty. A few more dollars a week in wages, a better distribution of jobs with a shorter working day will almost overnight make millions of our lowest-paid workers actual buyers of billions of dollars of industrial and farm products. That increased volume of sales ought to lessen other costs of production so much that even a considerable increase in labor costs can be absorbed without imposing higher prices on the consumer.

I am a firm believer in fully adequate pay for all labor. But right now I am most greatly concerned in increasing the pay of the lowest-paid labor, those who are our most numerous consuming group but who today do not make enough to maintain a decent standard of living or to buy the food, clothes and other articles necessary to keep our factories and farms fully running.

Farsighted business men already understand and agree with this policy. They agree also that no one section of the country can permanently benefit itself, or the rest of the country, by maintaining standards of wages and hours far inferior to other sections of the country.

Most business men, big and little, know that their government neither wants to put them out of business nor to prevent them from earning a decent profit. In spite of the alarms of a few who seek to regain control of American life, most business men, big and little, know that their government is trying to make property more secure than ever before by giving every family a real chance to have a property stake in the nation.

Whatever danger there may be to the property and profits of the many, if there be any danger, comes not from government's attitude toward business but from restraints now imposed upon business by private monopolies and financial oligarchies. The average business man knows that a high cost of living is a great deterrent to business and that business prosperity depends much upon a low price policy which encourages the widest possible consumption. As one of the country's leading economists recently said, "The continuance of business recovery in the United States depends far more upon business policies, business pricing policies, than it does on anything that may be done, or not done, in Washington."

Our competitive system is not altogether competitive. Anybody who buys any large quantity of manufactured goods knows this, whether it be the government or an individual buyer. We have anti-trust laws, to be sure, but they have not been adequate to check the growth of many monopolies. Whether or not they might have been adequate originally, interpretation by the courts and the difficulties and delays of legal procedure have now definitely limited their effectiveness.

We are already studying how to strengthen our anti-trust laws in order to end monopoly—not to hurt but to free legitimate business.

I have touched briefly on these important subjects, which, taken together, make a program for the immediate future. To attain it, legislation is necessary. . . .

As we plan today for the creation of ever higher standards of living for the people of the United States, we are aware that





our plans may be most seriously affected by events in the world outside our borders.

By a series of trade agreements, we have been attempting to recreate the trade of the world which plays so important a part in our domestic prosperity; but we know that if the world outside our borders falls into the chaos of war, world trade will be completely disrupted.

Nor can we view with indifference the destruction of civilized values throughout the world. We seek peace, not only for our generation but also for the generation of our children.

We seek for them the continuance of world civilization in order that their American civilization may continue to be invigorated by the achievements of civilized men and women in the rest of the world.

I want our great democracy to be wise enough to realize that aloofness from war is not promoted by unawareness of war. In a world of mutual suspicions, peace must be affirmatively reached for. It cannot just be wished for. It cannot just be waited for.

We have now made known our willingness to attend a conference of the parties to the Nine Power Treaty of 1922, the Treaty of Washington, of which we are one of the original signatories. The purpose of this conference will be to seek by agreement a solution of the present situation in China, In efforts to find that solution, it is our purpose to cooperate with the other signatories to this Treaty, including China and Japan.

Such cooperation would be an example of one of the possible paths to follow in our search for means toward peace throughout the whole world.

The development of civilization and of human welfare is based on the acceptance by individuals of certain fundamental decencies in their relations with each other. The development of peace in the world is dependent similarly on the acceptance by nations of certain fundamental decencies in their relations with each other.

Ultimately, I hope *each* nation will accept the fact that vio-

lations of these rules of conduct are an injury to the well-being of *all* nations.

Meanwhile, remember that from 1913 to 1921, I personally was fairly close to world events, and in that period, while I learned much of what to do, I also learned much of what *not* to do.

The common sense, the intelligence of America agree with my statement that "America hates war. America hopes for peace. Therefore, America actively engages in the search for peace."

(See Item 152, this volume, for the message to the extraordinary session of the Congress.)

## 136 ¶ Informal Extemporaneous Remarks at the Dedication of the New Post Office at Poughkeepsie, N.Y. October 13, 1937

*Mr. Chairman, Mayor Spratt, Mr. Postmaster,*
*Ladies and Gentlemen:*

I HAVE come today, not in an official capacity, not to make a speech, but as one of your neighbors to take part in your celebration.

Before I say anything about the history of Poughkeepsie, let me straighten out this matter of my being an architect.

I think the easiest way to put it is this: If, when this new Post Office is completed and the murals are in place and you good people of Poughkeepsie have had a chance to look at it, day after day, if, then, you like it, I will take all the credit in the world. But, if you don't like it when it is finished, why, I had nothing to do with it whatsoever.

As a matter of fact, what the Secretary of the Treasury has said to you about government architecture is well worth further study. The government every year builds a great many buildings in order to conduct government business more efficiently. The principal criterion for putting up a new building is, of course,





need. The second is economy. It probably is better, in most cases, for the government to own a building than to rent a building. It saves money in the long run.

All over the United States, there are scattered the most terrible monstrosities of architecture perpetrated by the Government on the people of the United States. To be sure, many of them were built during an unfortunate period of art, but in these latter years we think that we have returned to the simpler forms, returned to practical architecture, which, at the same time, has beauty.

And during these past four or five years, partly because of the situation of unemployment in the Nation, we have been able to bring into the Government service many, many people who otherwise might have been out doing private work. To them much credit is due for the improvement of the architecture of all the Federal buildings in every county and every state of the United States.

Poughkeepsie is to be congratulated not only on its past but also on its future on this 250th anniversary of its founding. This City has a memorable history, a history that is concerned with the development of our earliest American civilization, a history that goes back to the days when the first white people came to the Hudson River on this side, in this section, and began tilling the soil, began putting up mills on the banks of the river, began organizing a county form of government.

As a community it became of sufficient importance by the time of the Revolution to become for a period the Capital of the State of New York. It had become of sufficient importance in 1788 to be the scene of the convention called to pass on the ratification of the Federal Constitution. Only two blocks from here that Convention met in the little old courthouse.

I have wished much that we knew more about that Convention a hundred and forty-nine years ago. We do know of the terrific struggle that went on between the Clintonians and the Hamiltonians; how, for many weeks, it looked as if New York State would fail to ratify the Federal Constitution. We know also

# 50 ¶ "Dictatorships Do Not Grow Out of Strong and Successful Governments, but Out of Weak and Helpless Ones." Fireside Chat on Present Economic Conditions and Measures Being Taken to Improve Them. April 14, 1938

FIVE months have gone by since I last spoke to the people of the Nation about the state of the Nation.

I had hoped to be able to defer this talk until next week because, as we all know, this is Holy Week. But what I want to say to you, the people of the country, is of such immediate need and relates so closely to the lives of human beings and the prevention of human suffering that I have felt that there should be no delay. In this decision I have been strengthened by the thought that by speaking tonight there may be greater peace of mind and the hope of Easter may be more real at firesides everywhere, and that it is not inappropriate to encourage peace when so many of us are thinking of the Prince of Peace.

Five years ago we faced a very serious problem of economic and social recovery. For four and a half years that recovery proceeded apace. It is only in the past seven months that it has received a visible setback.

And it is only within the past two months, as we have waited patiently to see whether the forces of business itself would counteract it, that it has become apparent that government itself can no longer safely fail to take aggressive government steps to meet it.

This recession has not returned us to the disasters and suffering of the beginning of 1933. Your money in the bank is safe; farmers are no longer in deep distress and have greater purchasing power; dangers of security speculation have been minimized; national income is almost 50 per cent higher than in 1932; and





government has an established and accepted responsibility for relief.

But I know that many of you have lost your jobs or have seen your friends or members of your families lose their jobs, and I do not propose that the government shall pretend not to see these things. I know that the effect of our present difficulties has been uneven; that they have affected some groups and some localities seriously, but that they have been scarcely felt in others. But I conceive the first duty of government is to protect the economic welfare of all the people in all sections and in all groups. I said in my message opening the last session of Congress that if private enterprise did not provide jobs this spring, government would take up the slack—that I would not let the people down. We have all learned the lesson that government cannot afford to wait until it has lost the power to act.

Therefore, I have sent a message of far-reaching importance to the Congress. I want to read to you tonight certain passages from that message, and to talk with you about them.

In that message I analyzed the causes of the collapse of 1929 in these words: "overspeculation in and overproduction of practically every article or instrument used by man . . . millions of people had been put to work, but the products of their hands had exceeded the purchasing power of their pocketbooks. . . . Under the inexorable law of supply and demand, supplies so overran demand which would pay that production was compelled to stop. Unemployment and closed factories resulted. Hence the tragic years from 1929 to 1933."

I pointed out to the Congress that the national income—not the Government's income, but the total of the income of all the individual citizens and families of the United States—every farmer, every worker, every banker, every professional man and every person who lived on income derived from investments—that national income amounted, in the year 1929, to eighty-one billion dollars. By 1932 this had fallen to thirty-eight billion dollars. Gradually, and up to a few months ago, it had risen to

couragement of housing, slum clearance and home ownership, in our supervision of stock exchanges and public utility holding companies and the issuance of new securities, in our provision for social security, the electorate of America wants no backward steps taken.

"We have recognized the right of labor to free organization, to collective bargaining; and machinery for the handling of labor relations is now in existence. The principles are established even though we can all admit that, through the evolution of time, administration and practices can be improved. Such improvement can come about most quickly and most peacefully through sincere efforts to understand and assist on the part of labor leaders and employers alike.

"The never-ceasing evolution of human society will doubtless bring forth new problems which will require new adjustments. Our immediate task is to consolidate and maintain the gains achieved.

"In this situation there is no reason and no occasion for any American to allow his fears to be aroused or his energy and enterprise to be paralyzed by doubt or uncertainty."

I came to the conclusion that the present-day problem calls for action both by the Government and by the people, that we suffer primarily from a failure of consumer demand because of lack of buying power. It is up to us to create an economic upturn.

"How and where can and should the Government help to start an upward spiral?"

I went on to propose three groups of measures and I will summarize the recommendations.

First, I asked for certain appropriations which are intended to keep the Government expenditures for work relief and similar purposes during the coming fiscal year at the same rate of expenditure as at present. That includes additional money for the Works Progress Administration; additional funds for the Farm Security Administration; additional allotments for the National Youth Administration, and more money for the Civil-





ian Conservation Corps, in order that it can maintain the existing number of camps now in operation.

These appropriations, made necessary by increased unemployment, will cost about a billion and a quarter more than the estimates which I sent to the Congress on the third of January.

Second, I told the Congress that the Administration proposes to make additional bank reserves available for the credit needs of the country. About one billion four hundred million dollars of gold now in the Treasury will be used to pay these additional expenses of the Government, and three-quarters of a billion dollars of additional credit will be made available to the banks by reducing the reserves now required by the Federal Reserve Board.

These two steps, taking care of relief needs and adding to bank credits, are in our judgment insufficient by themselves to start the Nation on a sustained upward movement.

Therefore, I came to the third kind of Government action which I consider to be vital. I said to the Congress:

"You and I cannot afford to equip ourselves with two rounds of ammunition where three rounds are necessary. If we stop at relief and credit, we may find ourselves without ammunition before the enemy is routed. If we are fully equipped with the third round of ammunition, we stand to win the battle against adversity."

The third proposal is to make definite additions to the purchasing power of the Nation by providing new work over and above the continuing of the old work.

First, to enable the United States Housing Authority to undertake the immediate construction of about three hundred million dollars of additional slum clearance projects.

Second, to renew a public works program by starting as quickly as possible about one billion dollars worth of needed permanent public improvements in states, counties and cities.

Third, to add one hundred million dollars to the estimate for federal aid highways in excess of the amount I recommended in January.

Fourth, to add thirty-seven million dollars over and above the former estimate of sixty-three million dollars for flood control and reclamation.

Fifth, to add twenty-five million dollars additional for federal buildings in various parts of the country.

In recommending this program I am thinking not only of the immediate economic needs of the people of the Nation, but also of their personal liberties—the most precious possession of all Americans. I am thinking of our democracy and of the recent trend in other parts of the world away from the democratic ideal.

Democracy has disappeared in several other great nations—not because the people of those nations disliked democracy, but because they had grown tired of unemployment and insecurity, of seeing their children hungry while they sat helpless in the face of government confusion and government weakness through lack of leadership in government. Finally, in desperation, they chose to sacrifice liberty in the hope of getting something to eat. We in America know that our own democratic institutions can be preserved and made to work. But in order to preserve them we need to act together, to meet the problems of the Nation boldly, and to prove that the practical operation of democratic government is equal to the task of protecting the security of the people.

Not only our future economic soundness but the very soundness of our democratic institutions depends on the determination of our Government to give employment to idle men. The people of America are in agreement in defending their liberties at any cost, and the first line of that defense lies in the protection of economic security. Your Government, seeking to protect democracy, must prove that Government is stronger than the forces of business depression.

History proves that dictatorships do not grow out of strong and successful governments, but out of weak and helpless ones. If by democratic methods people get a government strong enough to protect them from fear and starvation, their democ-





racy succeeds; but if they do not, they grow impatient. Therefore, the only sure bulwark of continuing liberty is a government strong enough to protect the interests of the people, and a people strong enough and well enough informed to maintain its sovereign control over its government.

We are a rich Nation; we can afford to pay for security and prosperity without having to sacrifice our liberties in the bargain.

In the first century of our republic we were short of capital, short of workers and short of industrial production; but we were rich in free land, free timber and free mineral wealth. The Federal Government rightly assumed the duty of promoting business and relieving depression by giving subsidies of land and other resources.

Thus, from our earliest days we have had a tradition of substantial government help to our system of private enterprise. But today the government no longer has vast tracts of rich land to give away and we have discovered that we must spend large sums to conserve our land from further erosion and our forests from further depletion. The situation is also very different from the old days, because now we have plenty of capital, banks and insurance companies loaded with idle money; plenty of industrial productive capacity and several millions of workers looking for jobs. It is following tradition as well as necessity, if Government strives to put idle money and idle men to work, to increase our public wealth and to build up the health and strength of the people—and to help our system of private enterprise to function.

It is going to cost something to get out of this recession this way, but the profit of getting out of it will pay for the cost several times over. Lost working time is lost money. Every day that a workman is unemployed, or a machine is unused, or a business organization is marking time, is a loss to the Nation. Because of idle men and idle machines this Nation lost one hundred billion dollars between 1929 and the spring of 1933. This year you, the people of this country, are making about twelve billion dollars less than last year.

If you think back to the experiences of the early years of this Administration you will remember the doubts and fears expressed about the rising expenses of Government. But to the surprise of the doubters, as we proceeded to carry on the program which included Public Works and Work Relief, the country grew richer instead of poorer.

It is worthwhile to remember that the annual national people's income was thirty billion dollars more in 1937 than in 1932. It is true that the national debt increased sixteen billion dollars, but remember that in this increase must be included several billion dollars worth of assets which eventually will reduce that debt and that many billion dollars of permanent public improvements—schools, roads, bridges, tunnels, public buildings, parks and a host of other things—meet your eye in every one of the thirty one hundred counties in the United States.

No doubt you will be told that the Government spending program of the past five years did not cause the increase in our national income. They will tell you that business revived because of private spending and investment. That is true in part, for the Government spent only a small part of the total. But Government spending acted as a trigger to set off private activity. That is why the total addition to our national production and national income has been so much greater than the contribution of the Government itself.

In pursuance of that thought I said to the Congress today: "I want to make it clear that we do not believe that we can get an adequate rise in national income merely by investing, lending or spending public funds. It is essential in our economy that private funds be put to work and all of us recognize that such funds are entitled to a fair profit."

As national income rises, "let us not forget that Government expenditures will go down and Government tax receipts will go up."

The Government contribution of land that we once made to business was the land of all the people. And the Government





contribution of money which we now make to business ultimately comes out of the labor of all the people. It is, therefore, only sound morality, as well as a sound distribution of buying power, that the benefits of the prosperity coming from this use of the money of all the people should be distributed among all the people—at the bottom as well as at the top. Consequently I am again expressing my hope that the Congress will enact at this session a wage and hour bill putting a floor under industrial wages and a limit on working hours—to ensure a better distribution of our prosperity, a better distribution of available work, and a sounder distribution of buying power.

You may get all kinds of impressions in regard to the total cost of this new program, or in regard to the amount that will be added to the net national debt.

It is a big program. Last autumn in a sincere effort to bring Government expenditures and Government income into closer balance, the Budget I worked out called for sharp decreases in Government spending.

In the light of present conditions those estimates were far too low. This new program adds two billion and sixty-two million dollars to direct Treasury expenditures and another nine hundred and fifty million dollars to Government loans—and the latter sum, because they are loans, will come back to the Treasury in the future.

The net effect on the debt of the Government is this: between now and July 1, 1939—fifteen months away—the Treasury will have to raise less than a billion and a half dollars of new money.

Such an addition to the net debt of the United States need not give concern to any citizen, for it will return to the people of the United States many times over in increased buying power and eventually in much greater Government tax receipts because of the increase in the citizen income.

What I said to the Congress in the close of my message I repeat to you.

"Let us unanimously recognize the fact that the Federal debt, whether it be twenty-five billions or forty billions, can

only be paid if the Nation obtains a vastly increased citizen income. I repeat that if this citizen income can be raised to eighty billion dollars a year the national Government and the overwhelming majority of State and local governments will be 'out of the red.' The higher the national income goes the faster shall we be able to reduce the total of Federal and state and local debts. Viewed from every angle, today's purchasing power—the citizens' income of today—is not sufficient to drive the economic system at higher speed. Responsibility of Government requires us at this time to supplement the normal processes and in so supplementing them to make sure that the addition is adequate. We must start again on a long steady upward incline in national income.

". . . And in that process, which I believe is ready to start, let us avoid the pitfalls of the past—the overproduction, the overspeculation, and indeed all the extremes which we did not succeed in avoiding in 1929. In all of this, Government cannot and should not act alone. Business must help. I am sure business will help.

"We need more than the materials of recovery. We need a united national will.

"We need to recognize nationally that the demands of no group, however just, can be satisfied unless that group is prepared to share in finding a way to produce the income from which it and all other groups can be paid. . . . You, as the Congress, I, as the President, must, by virtue of our offices, seek the national good by preserving the balance between all groups and all sections.

"We have at our disposal the national resources, the money, the skill of hand and head to raise our economic level—our citizens' income. Our capacity is limited only by our ability to work together. What is needed is the will.

"The time has come to bring that will into action with every driving force at our command. And I am determined to do my share.





". . . Certain positive requirements seem to me to accompany the will—if we have that will.

"There is placed on all of us the duty of self-restraint. . . . That is the discipline of a democracy. Every patriotic citizen must say to himself or herself, that immoderate statement, appeals to prejudice, the creation of unkindness, are offenses not against an individual or individuals, but offenses against the whole population of the United States. . . .

"Self-restraint implies restraint by articulate public opinion, trained to distinguish fact from falsehood, trained to believe that bitterness is never a useful instrument in public affairs. There can be no dictatorship by an individual or by a group in this Nation, save through division fostered by hate. Such division there must never be."

Finally I should like to say a personal word to you.

I never forget that I live in a house owned by all the American people and that I have been given their trust.

I try always to remember that their deepest problems are human. I constantly talk with those who come to tell me their own points of view; with those who manage the great industries and financial institutions of the country; with those who represent the farmer and the worker; and often with average citizens without high position who come to this house. And constantly I seek to look beyond the doors of the White House, beyond the officialdom of the National Capital, into the hopes and fears of men and women in their homes. I have traveled the country over many times. My friends, my enemies, my daily mail, bring to me reports of what you are thinking and hoping. I want to be sure that neither battles nor burdens of office shall ever blind me to an intimate knowledge of the way the American people want to live and the simple purposes for which they put me here.

In these great problems of government I try not to forget that what really counts at the bottom of it all, is that the men and women willing to work can have a decent job to take care of themselves and their homes and their children adequately; that

the farmer, the factory worker, the storekeeper, the gas station man, the manufacturer, the merchant—big and small—the banker who takes pride in the help he gives to the building of his community, that all these can be sure of a reasonable profit and safety for the savings they earn—not today nor tomorrow alone, but as far ahead as they can see.

I can hear your unspoken wonder as to where we are headed in this troubled world. I cannot expect all of the people to understand all of the people's problems; but it is my job to try to understand those problems.

I always try to remember that reconciling differences cannot satisfy everyone completely. Because I do not expect too much, I am not disappointed. But I know that I must never give up—that I must never let the greater interest of all the people down, merely because that might be for the moment the easiest personal way out.

I believe we have been right in the course we have charted. To abandon our purpose of building a greater, a more stable and a more tolerant America, would be to miss the tide and perhaps to miss the port. I propose to sail ahead. I feel sure that your hopes and your help are with me. For to reach a port, we must sail—sail, not tie at anchor—sail, not drift.

(See also on the same subject, Item 49, this volume.)

## 51 ¶ Presidential Statement on Accord Reached Between Great Britain and Italy. April 19, 1938

As THIS Government has on frequent occasions made it clear, the United States, in advocating the maintenance of international law and order, believes in the promotion of world peace through the friendly solution by peaceful negotiation between nations of controversies which may arise between them. It has also urged the promotion of peace through the finding of means for economic appeasement. It does not attempt to pass upon the





political features of accords such as that recently reached between Great Britain and Italy, but this Government has seen the conclusion of an agreement with sympathetic interest because it is proof of the value of peaceful negotiations.

*NOTE:* The foregoing statement by me followed the announcement that Great Britain and Italy had concluded a series of accords relating primarily to the Mediterranean Sea and to a settlement of the Abyssinian problem which was still an issue between the two governments.

My statement made it clear that this government in no sense attempted "to pass upon the political features" of the agreement. The agreement involved the *de jure* recognition by Great Britain of the Italian conquest of Ethiopia.

The foregoing statement in no way implied any change in the position of the American Government with respect to recognition of the Ethiopian conquest. This government has consistently refused, in so far as possible, to recognize the seizure of territory by force.

The statement merely expressed the gratification that a solution of the controversial questions between the two nations had been arrived at through peaceful negotiations, especially at a time when other nations in the world had decided upon the use of force alone as a method of solving political differences.

In other words, it was the method of solution and not the substance thereof which prompted the statement.

## 52 ¶ A Special Press Conference with Members of the Associated Church Press. Washington, D.C. April 20, 1938

(*The fight for progressivism—The type of opposition to the reorganization bill—Effect of the arms embargo on Spain—Civil liberties—The danger of fascism—Naval defense and its uses.*)

DR. JOHN VAN SCHAICK: [after introducing the individual members] Well, the first man that has something burning in his soul to ask the President should speak up or forever hold his peace. (*Laughter*)

*Q.* I would like to ask, if you feel at liberty to answer, if there

## Nomination of William J. Haynes II To Be General Counsel of the Department of the Army

*November 22, 1989*

The President has nominated William James Haynes II to be General Counsel of the Department of the Army. This is a new position.

Since April 1989 Mr. Haynes has served as an attorney with the law firm of Sutherland, Asbill and Brennan in Washington, DC. Prior to this, he served as counsel to the transition at the Department of Defense, 1989; Assistant to the General Counsel of the Department of the Army, 1984–1989; and law clerk to the Honorable James B. McMillan, U.S. district judge for the Western District of North Carolina, 1983–1984.

Mr. Haynes graduated from Davidson College (B.A., 1980) and Harvard Law School (J.D., 1983). He was born March 30, 1958, in Waco, TX. Mr. Haynes served in the U.S. Army, 1984–1989, and was awarded the Meritorious Service Medal in 1987 and 1989. He is married, has two children, and resides in Takoma Park, MD.

## Thanksgiving Address to the Nation

*November 22, 1989*

Good evening. Like many of you, I'm spending tomorrow with family. And we'll say grace and carve the turkey and thank God for our many blessings and for our great country.

This holiday also marks the adjournment of Congress. And I've worked with Congress, extending my hand across the party aisle, advancing legislation to free our streets of the fear of crime and drugs. We proposed ways to clean the air, the water, and the land around us; and we've joined with the Nation's Governors to enter an historic compact to better our schools. And especially touching is that so many Americans have answered the call for community service, the Thousand Points of Light, by rolling up their sleeves and pitching in for the hopeless, the helpless—each volunteer, a beacon of light for someone who has lost his way.

And this will be a very special Thanksgiving. It marks an extraordinary year. But before our families sit down tomorrow, we will give thanks for yet another reason: Around the world tonight, new pilgrims are on a voyage to freedom, and for many, it's not a trip to some place faraway but to a world of their own making.

On other Thanksgivings, the world was haunted by the images of watchtowers, guard dogs, and machineguns. In fact, many of you had not even been born when the Berlin Wall was erected in 1961. But now the world has a new image, reflecting a new reality: that of Germans, East and West, pulling each other to the top of the wall, a human bridge between nations; entire peoples all across Eastern Europe bravely taking to the streets, demanding liberty, pursuing democracy. This is not the end of the book of history, but it's a joyful end to one of history's saddest chapters.

Not long after the wall began to open, West German Chancellor Kohl telephoned, and he asked me to give you, the American people, a message of thanks. He said that the remarkable change in Eastern Europe would not be taking place without the steadfast support of the United States—fitting praise from a good friend. For 40 years, we have not wavered in our commitment to freedom. We are grateful to our American men and women in uniform, and we should also be grateful to our postwar leaders. You see, we helped rebuild a continent through the Marshall plan; and we built a shield, NATO, behind which Ameri-

cans, Europeans could forge a future in freedom.

For so many of these 40 years, the test of Western resolve, the contest between the free and the unfree, has been symbolized by an island of hope behind the Iron Curtain: Berlin. In the 1940's, West Berlin remained free because Harry Truman said: Hands off! In the 1950's, Ike backed America's words with muscle. In the 1960's, West Berliners took heart when John F. Kennedy said: "I am a Berliner." In the 1970's, Presidents Nixon, Ford, and Carter stood with Berlin by standing with NATO. And in the 1980's, Ronald Reagan went to Berlin to say: "Tear down this wall!" And now we are at the threshold of the 1990's. And as we begin the new decade, I am reaching out to President Gorbachev, asking him to work with me to bring down the last barriers to a new world of freedom. Let us move beyond containment and once and for all end the cold war.

We can make such a bold bid because America is strong and 40 years of perseverance and patience are finally paying off. More recently, quiet diplomacy, working behind the scenes, has achieved results. We can now dare to imagine a new world, with a new Europe, rising on the foundations of democracy. This new world was taking shape when my Presidency began with these words: "The day of the dictator is over." And during the spring and summer we told the people of the world what America believes and what America wants for the future. America believes that "liberty is an idea whose time has come in Eastern Europe." America wants President Gorbachev's reforms, known as *perestroika*, to succeed. And America wants the Soviets to join us in moving beyond containment to a new partnership. Some wondered if all this was realistic. And now, though we are still on the course set last spring, events are moving faster than anyone imagined or predicted.

Look around the world. In the developing nations, the people are demanding freedom. Poland and Hungary are now fledgling democracies—a non-Communist government in Poland and free elections coming soon in Hungary. And in the Soviet Union itself, the forces of reform under Mikhail Gorbachev are bringing unprecedented openness and change.

But nowhere in the world today, or even in the history of man, have the warm hearts of men and women triumphed so swiftly, so certainly, over cold stone as in Berlin, indeed, in all of East Germany. If I may paraphrase the words of a great poet, Robert Frost: There is certainly something in us that doesn't love a wall.

When I spoke to the German people in Mainz last May, I applauded the removal of the barriers between Hungary and Austria, saying: "Let Berlin be next." And the West German people joined us in a call for a Europe whole and free.

Just yesterday, the West German Foreign Minister gave me a piece of the Berlin Wall, and it's on my desk as a reminder of the power of freedom to bring down the walls between people. It brought back memories of 7 years ago, when I went to Modlareuth, a small town in Germany also known as Little Berlin—a divided village, really, its cobbled streets were blocked by barbed wire and concrete; and on the one side freedom and on the other, despair. And I talked with the townspeople not 150 yards from the specter of armed guards in towers. Someday I'd like to go back to Little Berlin and see families reunited, see neighbors once apart coming together. How wonderful that would be!

Change is coming swiftly, and with this change the dramatic vindication of free Europe's economic and political institutions. The new Europe that is coming is being built—must be built—on the foundation of democratic values. But the faster the pace, the smoother our path must be. After all, this is serious business. The peace we are building must be different than the hard, joyless peace between two armed camps we've known so long. The scars of the conflict that began a half a century ago still divide a continent. So, the historic task before us now is to begin the healing of this old wound.

During our visit to Poland and Hungary last July, I found new encouragement that we were on track: There was, at long last, the chance for a fundamental change. I saw firsthand acts of healing and reconciliation.

And it was in Warsaw, at my lunch for General Jaruzelski and the leaders of Solidarity, that I met a woman who had worked, at great personal risk, for the release of jailed Solidarity members. And she was asked: "How is it possible, after such a short time, to break bread with the men who ordered those imprisonments? Why the absence of bitterness?" And she replied: "Our joy at what is happening now is more powerful than memory." I wish you could have been there, for what we witnessed was extraordinary. The old antagonisms melted away as former adversaries stood up, often with tears in their eyes, and toasted the future. Our guests knew that history would judge them by how well they would cooperate. Well, there is a spirit of cooperation in Eastern Europe. The result: Poland and Hungary are being transformed.

They deserve our support, and they're getting it. We have matched our words with action: new loans and grants, teams of American economic experts working to help them adjust to a free market society, clearing the way for U.S. investment and trade with Poland and Hungary. Now the peoples of these nations can finally expect their hard work to lead to a better life.

These same winds of change are sweeping our own hemisphere, democracy transforming the Americas with stunning speed. Regrettably, there are some exceptions—Panama, Nicaragua, and Cuba. And these last two are holding out against their people only because of the massive support of weapons and supplies from their Communist allies. And so, when I see President Gorbachev, I'll ask him to join with us to help bring freedom and democracy to all the people of Latin America.

And so, as we celebrate the events of Eastern Europe, remember that some walls still remain between East and West. These are the invisible walls of suspicion, the walls of doubt, misunderstanding, and miscalculation.

It was while in Eastern Europe last summer that I decided to make a personal effort to break through these last barriers. And back in May, I set down five steps that the Soviets should take that would inevitably result in improved relations with the West: First, reduce Soviet forces; second, support self-determination in Eastern Europe; third, work with us to end regional disputes; fourth, achieve a lasting pluralism and respect for human rights; and fifth, join with us in addressing global problems, including the international drug menace and dangers to the environment. Serious problems still remain, especially those regional conflicts, but the Soviet Union has made progress in these five areas that is undeniable.

With that in mind, I invited President Gorbachev to meet me 10 days from now. This is a first meeting, a time for exploration. It is not a time for detailed arms control negotiations best left for next year's summit. I want President Gorbachev to know exactly where the United States stands. Let me be clear: America stands with freedom and democracy. We are not meeting to determine the future of Europe. After all, the peoples of Europe are determining their own future. And though there will be no surprises sprung on our allies, we will miss no opportunity to expand freedom and enhance the peace. But to those who question our prudent pace, they must understand that a time of historic change is no time for recklessness. The peace and the confidence and the security of our friends in Europe—it's just too important.

We will seek President Gorbachev's assurance that this process of reform in Eastern Europe will continue, and we will give him our assurance that America welcomes this reform not as an adversary seeking advantage but as a people offering support. Our goal is to see this historic tide of freedom broadened, deepened, and sustained. We find enormous encouragement in its peaceful advance and its acceptance by the Soviet Union. We can now raise our hopes on other issues: our common environment, our common war against drugs, as well as human rights and the regional conflicts that remain.

Immediately after my visit with President Gorbachev, I'll go to Brussels to consult with our partners in NATO, the very alliance that has kept the West free for 40 years. I will assure them that no matter how dramatic the change in Eastern Europe or in the Soviet Union itself, the

United States will continue to stand with our allies and our friends. For in a new Europe, the American role may change in form, but not in fundamentals. After all, the Soviet Union maintains hundreds of thousands of troops throughout Eastern Europe. Study the map, review history, and you'll see that this presence, with the Soviet Union's natural advantage of geography, cannot be ignored. So, even if forces are significantly reduced on both sides, a noble goal indeed, we will remain in Europe as long as our friends want and need us.

Off the island nation of Malta, Mikhail Gorbachev and I will begin the work of years. We can help the peoples of Europe achieve a new destiny in a peaceful Europe whole and free. And I will tell President Gorbachev, the dynamic architect of Soviet reform, that America wants the people of the Soviet Union to fulfill their destiny, and I will assure him that there is no greater advocate of *perestroika* than the President of the United States.

And when we meet, we will be on ships at anchor in a Mediterranean bay that has served as a sealane of commerce and conflict for more than 2,000 years. This ancient port has been conquered by caesar and sultan, crusader and king. Its forts and watchtowers survey a sea that entombs the scuttled ships of empires lost—slave galleys, galleons, dreadnoughts, destroyers. These ships, once meant to guard lasting empires, now litter the ocean floor and guard nothing more than reefs of coral. So, if the millennia offers us a lesson, perhaps it's this: True security does not come from empire and domination. True security can only be found in the growing trust of free peoples.

It's been said that peace is not the work of a single day, nor will it be the consequence of a single act; and yet every constructive act contributes to its growth; every omission impedes it. Peace will come, in the end, as a child grows to maturity—slowly, until we realize one day in wonder the child is almost grown. It is our hope that Malta will be such a constructive act: guiding brave pilgrims on their journey to a new world of freedom. And so, on this Thanksgiving Eve, as I prepare for my journey to Malta, I wish you a good night and safe travel. God bless you and your family, and God bless the United States of America.

*Note: The President spoke at 9:01 p.m. from Camp David, MD. The address was broadcast live on nationwide radio and television.*

## Interview With Foreign Journalists
*November 21, 1989*

*Conventional Force Reductions in Europe*

*Q.* Mr. President, Secretary Cheney was saying on the weekend that he might envision deeper troop cuts after the CAFE One, as sort of CAFE Two. Now, do you think that such talk is premature, or have you calculated that you may need further troop cuts in order to avoid raising taxes next year?

*The President.* Well, there are pressures on the defense budget; and Dick Cheney, a man who has always believed in a strong defense, still believes in a strong defense. But for those who follow our budget process, they know that defense has been hit 5 years in a row, and so, it is appropriate that any Secretary of Defense encourage active reviews.

What I want to do is get on with the—you call it CAFE One—and get those conventional forces reduced in accordance with that and do it on schedule, and then see where we go. But there's a rapidity of change around the world. It's self-evident, very evident. And I'm not suggesting that forevermore we'll have the same levels of troops anywhere—standing army, Europe, Korea, anywhere else. But we're certainly not doing to take any unilateral action. We do what we do in conjunction with allies. We'll be perfectly prepared to think anew—always—because we're living in fas-

## Week Ending Friday, November 30, 1990

### Thanksgiving Day Message to American Troops
*November 21, 1990*

As we gather together for Thanksgiving this year, America has much to be truly grateful for. To those of you who are spending this holiday away from your loved ones to defend our nation's security and that of our allies, I am deeply grateful. To those of you on duty in the Persian Gulf, I say a special thank you.

Recent events prove the world is still a dangerous and unstable place. Along with the triumph of freedom around the world comes new challenges, especially in the Middle East. Once again, you, the men and women of our Armed Forces, have responded to the call of duty to protect freedom and stand firm against aggression. And once again, you have the full support of the American people and the thanks of this President.

You know, Barbara and I have spent a lot of Thanksgivings with a family we're proud of. Well, this year is no different, as we spend Thanksgiving in the Persian Gulf. And as Americans celebrate this special day back home, know that you are in their hearts. America is proud of you and the job you're doing. Almost 2 years ago, I began my Inaugural Address with a prayer, seeking God's wisdom and guidance in all that we face. Earlier this month, with American troops facing down aggression overseas, I asked the Nation to join me in prayer, a prayer for the brave service men and women in whom we entrust the future of this country—as well as for those Americans held hostage. Now, this Thanksgiving, I hope that all Americans of all faiths and walks of life will bow their heads in appreciation for God's power to protect us and His wisdom to guide us.

As members of our Armed Forces worldwide, your strength and readiness allow the flames of freedom and democracy to glow brightly. You represent America's best—the world's best hope for the future. No matter where you are, I hope you're safe and well. The entire Bush family wishes you and your family a happy Thanksgiving. May God bless you and bring you home safely and soon.

*Note: This message was recorded on October 18 in the Oval Office at the White House. It was broadcast on the Armed Forces Radio Network to American troops worldwide on Thanksgiving Day. A tape was not available for verification of the content of these remarks.*

### Remarks and a Question-and-Answer Session With Reporters in Jeddah, Saudi Arabia, Following Discussions With Amir Jabir al-Ahmad al-Jabir Al Sabah of Kuwait
*November 21, 1990*

#### *Persian Gulf Crisis*

***The President.*** May I say that I just had a very useful meeting with His Highness, the Amir, and I reiterated the total commitment of the United States to the objectives that are enshrined in 10 United Nations Security Council resolutions. And as you all know, these objectives include Iraq's immediate and unconditional withdrawal from Kuwait, the restoration of Kuwait's legitimate government, the release of all individuals held against their will from whatever country they come, and it also includes the eventual stability and security of the Gulf.

We agreed on the desirability that these objectives be realized peacefully. At the same time, we also agreed that all options remained open and that steps needed to be taken right now in order to make these options credible and effective.

His Highness the Amir told me of the atrocities and acts of destruction that are being committed daily against the Kuwaiti

concerned that many provisions of the Act would unreasonably undercut the flexibility needed by the Administration to implement effectively our international counternarcotics program. Despite the fact that the Administration has consistently kept the relevant congressional committees fully informed of its efforts to implement an international counternarcotics strategy, the Act includes cumbersome reporting, determination, and notification requirements that could impair the effectiveness of the program.

Many of these provisions, however, need not impair implementation of our counternarcotics strategy because, as a matter of law, they may not apply to funds appropriated in the recently enacted Foreign Operations, Export Financing, and Related Programs Appropriations Act (P.L. 101–513). This is because many of the restrictions of H.R. 5567 expressly apply only to funds authorized to be appropriated by H.R. 5567, and funds appropriated by P.L. 101–513 were not expressly made available under the authorization contained in H.R. 5567. Accordingly, I sign H.R. 5567 into law with the understanding that it may not subject our counternarcotics program to the most burdensome constraints of H.R. 5567. Nevertheless, recognizing the concerns that the provisions of H.R. 5567 reflect, we will work with the Congress to help ensure that congressional concerns are carefully considered in the implementation of our programs.

The Administration is committed to conditioning Andean counternarcotics assistance on effective counternarcotics performance, the implementation of sound economic policies, and respect for human rights. I note that section 4 requires that I make certain determinations on additional conditionality as a prerequisite to furnishing assistance authorized to be appropriated by sections 2(a) and 3(a) of the Act, or provided pursuant to section 517 of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, as amended. I do not believe that the Congress intended this provision to require a termination of vital antinarcotics assistance, and, to the degree appropriate, will interpret the section 4 requirements in a manner consistent with the shared concerns of the Congress and myself regarding the effective implementation of the Andean initiative. For instance, I appreciate the concern expressed in the Act regarding the control of the governments of these countries over police and military operations related to counternarcotics and counterinsurgency activities. I understand, however, that this legislation would not preclude my ability to make the necessary determinations if the amount and nature of government control is sufficient to ensure that assistance is effective. I am signing the Act on the basis of this understanding.

I have certain additional concerns. First, while the Administration is already working toward the goal of increasing host country capability to conduct air operations, the arbitrary deadline contained in section 13 could endanger the lives and property of U.S. and foreign citizens. Second, I regret that the Congress has not provided a satisfactory provision regarding title to aircraft, and I hope to work with the new Congress to resolve this important problem.

Finally, I do not believe as a matter of principle that development and economic assistance should be necessarily conditioned on the same standards as military assistance, since its nature and purpose is considerably different. Subjecting these countries to a degree of scrutiny unmatched in other assistance programs risks alienating the very countries that we are seeking to engage in our narcotics control efforts.

George Bush

The White House,
November 21, 1990.

*Note: H.R. 5567, approved November 21, was assigned Public Law No. 101–623.*

## Remarks to the Military Airlift Command in Dhahran, Saudi Arabia

*November 22, 1990*

Thank you all. Thank you for that warm welcome. I'm just delighted to be here, and so is Barbara. And I don't normally speak for the joint leadership of the United States Congress, but it is most fitting that on this Thanksgiving Day we have with me here the Speaker of the House, Tom Foley; Bob

Michel, the minority leader in our House; Senator Mitchell, the leader in the United States Senate; and Bob Dole, the minority leader in the Senate. I'm just delighted they're out here with us.

And, of course, I salute not only Colonel McBroom but also General Schwarzkopf. And, Norm, we have a little present for you. It comes from the families and friends of our troops around the world, and it's just exactly your size. [*Laughter*] This thing will fit you. [*Laughter*]

Well, Barbara and I are very proud to be sharing this Thanksgiving with the men and women of our allied forces. And later we're going to visit your partners in the Army, the Navy, Coast Guard, Marines—together, the finest Armed Forces in the entire world. And we are here because we believe in freedom: our freedom and the freedom of others. And we're here because we believe in principle. And we're here because we believe in you.

And I'm very impressed with the Air Force—people like Airman First Class Wade West. He was home on leave to get married when this got started. On August 7th he was called up. Within an hour he had the ceremony performed—his wedding ceremony—and left for the Middle East. You talk about a guy who gets things done. [*Laughter*] Fantastic.

Over the past 4 months, you have launched what history will judge as one of the most important deployments of allied military power since 1945. And I'm here today to personally thank you—the Saudi, Kuwaiti, British, and American air men and women here today, and the forces from 23 other nations—here to see that an unprecedented series of U.N. resolutions is honored.

Thanksgiving is indeed the oldest, some say the most American of holidays, dating back to our very origins as a people. It's a day apart from all others—a day of peace, a day of thanks, a day to remember what we stand for and, this Thanksgiving, why we're here. It isn't all that complicated. Earlier this week I set out the key reasons why we're here, making a stand in defense of peace and freedom. And we're here to protect freedom, here to protect the future, and here to protect innocent lives.

First, freedom: Protecting freedom means standing up to aggression. The brutality inflicted on the people of Kuwait and on innocent citizens of every country must not be rewarded. Kuwait is small, but one conquered nation is one too many. And remember, remember, the invasion of Kuwait was without provocation. The invasion of Kuwait was without excuse. And the invasion of Kuwait simply will not stand.

Second: Protecting our future means protecting our national security and the stability and security of the Gulf area that is so vital to all nations. Today the worldwide march of freedom is threatened by a man hell-bent on gaining a choke-hold on the world's economic lifeline. And that's why Iraq's aggression is not just a challenge to the security of our friends in the Gulf but to the new partnership of nations we're all hoping to build. Energy security is national security for us and for every country.

And third: We're here to protect innocent lives, including American lives. Every diplomat and every citizen of every country held hostage must be freed.

Three simple reasons—protecting freedom, protecting our future, protecting innocent lives—any one is reason enough why Iraq's unprincipled, unprovoked aggression must not go unchallenged. Together, as 10 United Nations Security Council resolutions made clear, they are a compelling case for your mission.

What we're confronting is a classic bully who thinks he can get away with kicking sand in the face of the world. And so far, we have acted with restraint, as is our way. But Saddam [Hussein, President of Iraq] is making the mistake of his life if he confuses an abundance of restraint and patience with a lack of resolve. And every day that passes brings Saddam Hussein one step closer to realizing his goal of a nuclear weapons arsenal. And that's another reason, frankly, why, more and more, our mission is marked by a real sense of urgency.

Our objectives in the Gulf have never varied. We want a free and restored Kuwait, protect American citizens, safeguard the security and stability of the region. To force Iraq to comply, we and our allies have forged a strong, diplomatic, economic and, yes, military strategy. No President, none at all, is quick to order American troops abroad. But there are times

when all nations that value freedom must confront aggression.

Sometimes it's a question of some pain—some pain now to avoid even worse pain later. In World War II, the world paid dearly for appeasing an aggressor who could have been stopped early on. We're not going to make that mistake again. We will not appease this aggressor.

The world is still a dangerous place, and those in uniform will always bear the heaviest burden. And we want every single American home. And this we promise: No American will be kept in the Gulf a single day longer than necessary. But we won't pull punches. We're not here on some exercise. This is a real world situation and we're not walking away until our mission is done, until the invader is out of Kuwait.

There is no way Americans can forget the contribution you are making to world peace and to our country. Year after year on this very special day, special to every American, no doubt each of you has given thanks to your country. This year your country gives thanks to you. We think of you with pride in our hearts and a prayer on our lips.

May God bless you and watch over you. To those with whom we stand shoulder to shoulder, our friends from other lands, may God bless each and every one of you. And may God bless the United States of America. Thank you very much. Thank you. Good to see all of you. Thank you.

*Note: The President spoke at 11:05 a.m. at the Military Airlift Command ramp at Dhahran International Airport. In his remarks, he referred to Col. John McBroom, commander of the 1st Tactical Fighter Wing, and Gen. H. Norman Schwarzkopf, commander of U.S. forces in the Persian Gulf.*

## Remarks to United States Army Troops Near Dhahran, Saudi Arabia
*November 22, 1990*

Hey, listen, thanks for that warm desert welcome, and I mean warm. Let me first introduce you to the leaders of the United States Congress. This is Speaker Tom Foley, the Speaker of the House. Next to him, Senator George Mitchell, the leader of the United States Senate. Senator Bob Dole, minority leader. And Congressman Bob Michel of Illinois, the minority leader. And to you, Ted—Colonel Reid—thank you, sir. And let me give a special salute, if I might, to the host unit for our visit, the 2d Battalion of the 18th Infantry Regiment.

I can't do much about this warm weather, but I hope you're getting enough MRE's. [*Laughter*] I'm told that's a military term meaning "I'd rather have a Bud Light." [*Laughter*] Now, look, look, we know that the days can get pretty long out here, and you'll be glad to know that if it goes on too long we have a secret weapon in reserve. If push comes to shove, we're going to get Roseanne Barr to go to Iraq and sing the national anthem. Baghdad Betty, eat your heart out. [*Laughter*]

Barbara and I are very, very pleased to be here today, joined by the bipartisan leadership of the Congress on this mission of peace, this mission of pride. And we're honored to be here to tell you that on this special Thanksgiving Day, Americans will thank God for many things, but first they will thank God for each one of you.

The 18th Airborne, with the strength of the 197th Infantry Brigade and the 24th Infantry Division—[*applause*]—okay, you're entitled to 2 seconds—[*laughter*]—and so many other brave Americans, has spearheaded what history will judge as one of the most important deployments of military power in the last half century. You've done it for principle, you've done it for freedom, and you've done it to make America proud. And so, I've come out here today personally to thank you, the men and women who endured much and sacrificed more to stand tall against aggression.

I hope you'll excuse a personal reference, but seeing you all here brings back a personal memory of another Thanksgiving—another group of young Americans far from home—and for me it was November 23, 1944. And I was 20 years old and 6 days away from my last mission as a carrier pilot. And our ship, the *San Jacinto,* laid off the coast of the Philippines. And while we celebrated without family that year, like you, we all came together as friends and as part

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of something bigger than ourselves to thank God for our blessings. And we joined together then, as you are now, as a part of a proud force for freedom.

You know, back then, the 24th was there in the northern Philippines, as I was flying raids in the south on Manila Bay; and 10,000 miles away in another theater where the stakes were just as high—one well-known to some standing right with me—the predecessor of today's 197th were on the front lines of the fight for Europe. And they don't call you "forever forward" for nothing. And now, almost 50 years later, there are still proud troops like you, commanders like you, Americans like you ready to stand in defense of peace and freedom. And the whole world—and believe me—I'm just here from Paris where I met with all the CSCE [Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe] countries of Europe—the whole world thanks you.

Today we face a similar mission, but in a world far different than the one we faced in 1944. Today we have a vision of a new partnership of nations united by principle and seeking a lasting peace for this generation and generations to come. And that is why we are here in this land so far from husbands and wives and parents and children on this day, this special day for Americans, this Thanksgiving Day. And that's why we sacrificed, so that those kids and all children can grow up in a new world, a safer and a better world.

And simply put, we are here to guarantee that freedom is protected and that Iraq's aggression will not be rewarded. We must send a signal to any would-be Saddam Hussein's [President of Iraq] that the world will not tolerate tyrants who violate every standard of civilized behavior—invading, bullying, and swallowing whole a peaceful neighbor. We will not tolerate the raping and the brutalizing and the kidnaping and the killing of innocent civilians. And we will not tolerate those who try to starve out foreign embassies, breaking a diplomatic code of conduct that has been in place for centuries.

You see, we must also ensure our future. Clearly, our national security's at stake here in the Gulf, not just from the threat of force but from the potential economic blackmail of a Gulf dominated by a power-hungry Iraq. Even now, without an actual shortage of oil, Saddam's aggression is directly responsible for skyrocketing oil prices, causing serious problems at home and throughout the entire world, especially for smaller countries who are hurt the most.

You know, in Eastern Europe, the economic shock wave of the Gulf threatens to disrupt the already difficult process of creating both new and democratic governments and free market economies. And while Saddam loudly professes his desire to help the most impoverished nations of the region—the have-nots, he calls them—his aggression is taking a terrible toll on the already hard lives of millions. And we can't hope to achieve our vision of a new world order, the safer and better world for all our kids, if the economic destiny of the world can be threatened by a vicious dictator. The world cannot, must not and, in my view, will not let this aggression stand.

And finally—and I know you don't forget it, and I hope no American forgets it on this special day when we give our thanks to our God—finally, innocent lives are at stake here. The cynical manipulation of civilians, be it as bargaining chips or as pawns to deter attack, is an affront to acceptable behavior. And nothing is more cynical than Iraq's announcement earlier this week that the hostages would be freed in batches like chattel, beginning Christmas Day. There is no reason to wait for Christmas. I say to him today: Free the hostages—all the hostages—and free them today, or you're going to pay the price.

And it is also time that Saddam conformed to the unanimous demand of the United Nations. And remember, we're not in this alone—all the countries in the United Nations standing up. It is the United Nations against Saddam Hussein. It is not Iraq against the United States. It's also time, then, that he conformed to the unanimous demand of the United Nations that our Embassy be resupplied and that our diplomats treated with the respect they deserve under international law. The outrageous treatment of the United States Embassy in Kuwait must stop.

So, to sum it up, the United States is joined in the Gulf with other members of the United Nations for these three simple

reasons: First, to ensure that freedom will be protected and aggression will not be rewarded; second, to protect our future by ensuring our national security; and finally, to protect innocent lives.

Any one is reason enough why Iraq's unprincipled, unprovoked aggression must not go unchallenged. And together, as 10 United Nations Security Council resolutions make clear, they are a compelling argument for your important mission. All of us know only too well the inevitable outcome of appeasement. The kind of aggression we see in Kuwait today is not just a threat to regional peace but a promise of wider conflict tomorrow.

And we understand that we can sacrifice now, or we can pay an even stiffer price later as Saddam moves to multiply his weapons of mass destruction: chemical, biological and, most ominous, nuclear. And we all know that Saddam Hussein has never possessed a weapon that he hasn't used. And we will not allow the hope for a more peaceful world to rest in the hands of this brutal dictator.

Our goals in the Gulf have never changed. We have no quarrel at all—and I'll repeat it here—we have no quarrel with the Iraqi people. It is with the outrageous aggression of Saddam Hussein. We want the immediate, complete, and unconditional withdrawal of all Iraqi forces from Kuwait. We want the reestablishment of Kuwait's legitimate government. We want the protection of lives of American citizens and the restoration of the security and stability of the Gulf.

No President, believe me, no President is quick to order American troops abroad. But there are times when all nations that value their own freedom and hope for a new world of freedom must confront aggression. You know, you guys know it, all of you men and women out here in the sands know it, and we still live in dangerous times. And those in uniform, I guess, will always continue to bear the heaviest burden. We want every single American soldier home.

And this we promise: No American will be kept in the Gulf a single day longer than necessary. But we won't pull punches. We are not here on some exercise. This is a real world situation. And we're not walking away until our mission is done.

I think Americans understand the contribution that you are making to world peace and to our own country. And on this very special Thanksgiving Day, when every American thanks God for our blessings, we think of you. Barbara and I will always remember this time out here that we've shared with you all today. And so, we want you to know that you have our love and our prayers, and we're proud of each and every one of you.

May God bless you and watch over you. And may God bless the greatest country on the face of the Earth, the United States of America. Thank you. God bless you all.

*Note: The President spoke at 12:30 p.m. at an Army tactical site in the desert. In his remarks, he referred to Col. Ted Reid, commander of the 197th Infantry Brigade. Following his remarks, the President and Mrs. Bush had Thanksgiving dinner with the troops.*

## Remarks During a Thanksgiving Day Service on Board the U.S.S. "Nassau"
*November 22, 1990*

Thank you, Chaplain Bebee. And let me thank Captain Dow. Let me, on behalf of Barbara and myself and the four congressional leaders that are with us—the Speaker of the House of Representatives, Tom Foley; the leader of the United States Senate, George Mitchell; the minority leader of the House, Bob Michel; and the minority leader of the Senate, Bob Dole—express to all of you our joy at being here and our great respect for what all aboard *Nassau* and all that are out here from other units, including our CINC, General Schwarzkopf, are doing. It's a joy to be with you. And I want to thank once again Captain Dow and the ship's company for, I know, an unusual amount of arrangements that go with one of these visits. But we promise to leave on time. [*Laughter*]

Barbara and I treasure this distinctly American sense of sharing with the families and friends in the faith of our fathers. For many of us, this is a time of contemplation about things greater than ourselves, an op-

## Remarks to Allied Armed Forces Near Dhahran, Saudi Arabia

*November 22, 1990*

With us today, we have four very special guests out here. The leaders, if you will, the top leadership of the United States Congress: the Speaker of the House, Tom Foley; the leader of the Senate, George Mitchell, next to him, Senator Mitchell; Congressman Bob Michel, the Republican leader, minority leader in the House; and Senator Bob Dole [Senate minority leader].

Let me just say how pleased that Barbara and I are to be here. And I want to thank all of you for this welcome, this warm welcome. I want to thank General Myatt for greeting us—Mike Myatt—and all of his people. I want to thank General Boomer. I want to thank Brigadier General Cordingly of the famed Desert Rats who are with us here.

I guess like all of you, Barbara and I always try to spend our Thanksgiving with our own family. I know that's true of these leaders in the Congress. But after spending the morning visiting with the men and women of our Army, Air Force, Navy, and Coast Guard, and now with the First Marine Division here today, there could hardly be a prouder moment than sharing Thanksgiving with this family, this American family out here.

This is quite a crowd. I can't help but think of the warning one soldier gave comedian Steve Martin last month—true story. He said, "You'd better be funny. We've got bullets." [*Laughter*] Well, look at it this way: You guys better be nice to me. I've got Norm Schwarzkopf with me. [*Laughter*] And I've got Al Gray back there, so—[*laughter*].

But I do first want to give a very special welcome to our staunch friends and allies, to General Cordingley and the famed Desert Rats. You, too, are a long way from home this day and your families. And I hope you will forgive me if I focus on the fact that this, at home for Americans, is our very special Thanksgiving Day.

As we gather it is dawn in America at—lost track—10 minutes of eight on the East Coast and about 10 minutes to six out on the West and the beginning of our day of thanksgiving and remembrance. You know, as you drive by the farms and the cities in the early morning light, the windows all look the same. But inside each house and apartment there are people with stories to tell, families bound together in hope and love. And believe me on this one, in all of those homes, in all of those families, you right here out in this desert are very much on the minds of the American people in all of those families.

You know, Thanksgiving is the oldest, some might say the most American of holidays, dating back to our very origins as a people. And it's a day, I think we would all agree, separate and apart from others. It's a day of peace; it's a day of thanks; a day to remember what we stand for and what it means to be an American and why our forebears sacrificed so much to cross ocean and build a great land. And on this day, with all that America has to be thankful for, it is fair for Americans to say, why are we here?

It's not all that complicated. There are three key reasons why we're here with our U.N. allies making a stand in defense of peace and freedom. We're here to protect freedom. We're here to protect our future. And we're here to protect innocent life.

And number one, protecting freedom means standing up to aggression. You know, the brutality inflicted on the people of Kuwait and on innocent citizens of every country must not be rewarded. Because a bully unchecked today is a bully unleashed for tomorrow.

Last August 2d, this brutal dictator set out to wipe another country from the face of the Earth. And Kuwait, a little, tiny country, awoke to the flashing guns of cold-blooded troops, to fire and ice of Saddam Hussein's [President of Iraq] invasion. Now Kuwait is struggling for survival, an entire nation ransacked, looted, held hostage. Maybe you can strike a name from the maps, but you can't strike a country from the hearts of its people. The invasion of Kuwait was without provocation, the looting of Kuwait is without excuse, and the occupation of Kuwait will not stand.

And number two, our mission is about protecting national security, which is to say protecting our future. Because energy security is national security for us and, indeed, for every country.

Last year on a snowy Thanksgiving eve up there at Camp David, I spoke to the American people about the newly fallen Berlin Wall. The piece of the wall that sits on my desk is a reminder of our steadfast role in the worldwide explosion of freedom. But now the march of freedom must not be threatened by the man whose invasion of Kuwait is causing great economic hardship in the countries which can afford it the least.

We just saw it in Czechoslovakia. Barbara and I are just back from Czechoslovakia, where the progress of their peaceful revolution has already been damaged by the shock waves from Iraq's aggression. President Havel told me that Saddam's aggression is having a severe effect on his struggling economy. And every day that goes by increases the damage. But when he was asked if our action in the Gulf was taking too much money away from the problems of Eastern Europe, he answered plainly. He said, "All the resources that are expended on resisting aggression anywhere in the world are finally turned to the good of all humankind." This from that playwright that was jailed not so many months ago by aggression itself. Listen to the words of this man who stands for freedom.

Václav Havel is right. Iraq's aggression is not just a challenge to the security of Kuwait and the other Gulf neighbors but to the better world we all hope to build in the wake of the Cold War. We're not talking simply about the price of gas; we are talking about the price of liberty.

Number three, we're here because innocent lives are at stake. We've all heard of atrocities in Kuwait that would make the strongest among us weep. It turns your stomach when you listen to the tales of those that have escaped the brutality of Saddam, the invader. Mass hangings. Babies pulled from incubators and scattered like firewood across the floor. Kids shot for failing to display the photos of Saddam Hussein. And he has unleashed a horror on the people of Kuwait.

Our diplomats and our citizens held hostage must be freed. And it's time to stop toying with the American hostages. And it's time for Saddam to stop trying to starve out our little beleaguered Embassy in Kuwait City. And the same General Cordingly, is true of the British Embassy that is courageously holding on—the two of us side by side in Kuwait as we're shoulder to shoulder in the sands of Saudi Arabia. And it's time to put an end to this cruel hostage bazaar, bartering in human beings like the days of the slave trade. Because if we let Iraq get away with this abuse now, Americans will pay a price in future hostage-taking for decades to come, and so will other nations.

Three simple reasons: protecting freedom, protecting our future, protecting innocent lives. And any one is reason enough why Iraq's unprincipled, unprovoked aggression must not go unchallenged. Together they make a compelling case for you to be away from your families on this special Thanksgiving Day. They make a compelling case for your mission.

No President is quick to order American troops abroad. But there are times when any nation that values its own freedom must confront aggression. Czechoslovakia—they know firsthand about the folly of appeasement. They know about the tyranny of dictatorial conquest. And in the World War that followed, the world paid dearly for appeasing an aggressor who should and could have been stopped. We're not going to make that mistake again. We will not appease this aggressor.

As in World War II—the threat to American lives from a seemingly distant enemy must be measured against the nature of the aggression itself: a dictator who has gassed his own people—innocent women and children—unleashing chemical weapons of mass destruction, weapons that were considered unthinkable in the civilized world for over 70 years.

And let me say this: Those who would measure the timetable for Saddam's atomic program in years may be seriously underestimating the reality of that situation and the gravity of the threat. Every day that passes brings Saddam one step closer to realizing his goal of a nuclear weapons arsenal. And that's why more and more, your mission is marked by a real sense of urgency. You know, no one knows precisely when this dictator may acquire atomic weapons, or exactly who they may be aimed at down the road. But we do know this for sure: He has never possessed a weapon that he didn't

use. What we're confronting is a classic bully who thinks he can get away with kicking sand in the face of the world.

So far, I've tried to act with restraint and patience. I think that's the American way. But Saddam is making the mistake of his life if he confuses an abundance of restraint—confuses that with a lack of resolve.

Over the past 4 months, you have launched what history will judge as one of the most important deployments of allied military power since 1945. And I have come here today to personally thank you. The world is watching. Our objectives in the Gulf have never varied. We want to free and restore Kuwait's government, protect American citizens abroad, safeguard the security and stability of the region. The united world has spelled out these objectives in 10 United Nations Security Council resolutions. To force Iraq to comply, we and our allies have forged a strong diplomatic, economic, and military strategy. But the Iraqi dictator still hasn't gotten the message.

Maybe he's confused by his own propaganda, this ridiculous radio broadcast that I understand the marines have labeled "Baghdad Betty." [*Laughter*] Well, she plays all the oldies, so one guy suggested we send Iraq a tape of M.C. Hammer and a note that says: This is how we entertain ourselves. Just imagine how we fight.

We have been patient. We've gone to the United Nations time and time again. I'm prepared to go another time. We still hope for a peaceful settlement, but the world is a dangerous place. And we must make all of these options credible. Those in uniform, it seems to me, will always bear the heaviest burden. We understand something of what you endure—the waiting, the uncertainty, the demands of family and military life. And we want every single troop home. We want every Brit to be able to go home as soon as possible. We want every single American home. And this I promise: No American will be kept in the Gulf a single day longer than necessary. But we won't pull punches; we are not here on some exercise. This is a real-world situation. And we're not walking away until our mission is done, until the invader is out of Kuwait. And that may well be where you come in.

As we meet, it is dawn in America. It is Thanksgiving Day. The church bells ring an hour of prayer, a day of rest, a nation at peace. And especially today, Americans understand the contribution that you all are making to world peace and to our country. Year after year on this special day, no doubt each of you has given thanks for your country. This year, your country gives thanks for you. Thanksgiving is a day of prayer, a day when we thank God for our many, many blessings. And I have done that today. This has been an unforgettable visit, an unforgettable visit.

And I leave—as I know our Congressmen do, and I know Barbara does—with pride in our heart, a prayer on our lips. God bless you all. God bless our faithful allies, the United Kingdom. God bless the Marines, and may God bless the greatest, freest country on the face of the Earth, the United States of America. Thank you and bless you all. Good luck to all of you guys.

Now, wait a minute, we've got a challenge to offer here. I brought you a present because I thought maybe you could find a place to use these things. No, and it's not a flyswatter. All right, I want to get the general to organize a little tournament around here. And I'll bet you—and I invite the winners—this team—you need two on a team here—invite the winners to the White House as soon as you get through your workout here. And my son and I will be prepared at any time, at your convenience, to take on the winners on the White House horseshoe pit. It's a challenge; it's a firm invitation. I want the two best men you've got, possibly women—we had a woman champion in the White House this year—come and get it. I think we can whip you. Good luck.

*Note: The President spoke at 3:50 p.m. to troops gathered at a Marine tactical site in the desert. In his remarks, he referred to Brig. Gen. J.M. Myatt, commanding general, 1st Marine Division; Lt. Gen. Walt Boomer, commanding general, I Marine Expeditionary Force; Brig. Gen. Patrick Cordingly, commander of the British 7th Armoured Battalion; Gen. H. Norman Schwarzkopf, commander of U.S. forces in the Persian Gulf; and Gen. A.M. Gray, Jr.,*

reasons: First, to ensure that freedom will be protected and aggression will not be rewarded; second, to protect our future by ensuring our national security; and finally, to protect innocent lives.

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May God bless you and watch over you. And may God bless the greatest country on the face of the Earth, the United States of America. Thank you. God bless you all.

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## Remarks During a Thanksgiving Day Service on Board the U.S.S. "Nassau"

*November 22, 1990*

Thank you, Chaplain Bebee. And let me thank Captain Dow. Let me, on behalf of Barbara and myself and the four congressional leaders that are with us—the Speaker of the House of Representatives, Tom Foley; the leader of the United States Senate, George Mitchell; the minority leader of the House, Bob Michel; and the minority leader of the Senate, Bob Dole—express to all of you our joy at being here and our great respect for what all aboard *Nassau* and all that are out here from other units, including our CINC, General Schwarzkopf, are doing. It's a joy to be with you. And I want to thank once again Captain Dow and the ship's company for, I know, an unusual amount of arrangements that go with one of these visits. But we promise to leave on time. [*Laughter*]

Barbara and I treasure this distinctly American sense of sharing with the families and friends in the faith of our fathers. For many of us, this is a time of contemplation about things greater than ourselves, an op-

portunity to seek perspective. I notice that Chaplain Bebee called his sermon a meditation. And I'm reminded of the story of the kid that went to church with his grandfather. And he said to the grandfather, "Grandfather, what are all the flags there along the side of the church?" The grandfather said, "Well, that's for those who died in service." The kid said, "Oh, really? The 9 o'clock or the 11 o'clock service?" And I noticed how brief your chaplain was, and I will try to be the same.

I notice that both Chaplain Dallmann and Chaplain Bebee referred to the Pilgrim fathers. In the early days, Americans gave thanks for the Lord's many blessings. And those, as was pointed out to us here today in the meditation, were indeed hard times—times of privation, lonely times in foreign surroundings, dangerous times, fearful, perilous. What is so remarkable about the first Thanksgiving is that those hearty souls were giving thanks in an age of extreme adversity, recognizing the Lord's bounty during extraordinary hardship, understanding that his bounty is not in things material but more importantly in things spiritual.

I reminded some at an Army base a while ago that this reminds me a bit of a Thanksgiving that I spend 46 years ago on a carrier, U.S.S. *San Jacinto* CVL30, off the coast of the Philippines during World War II. I found then that the Lord does provide many blessings to men and women who face adversity in the name of a noble purpose. They are the blessings of faith and friendship, strength and determination, courage and camaraderie and dedication to duty. And I found that the Lord allows the human spirit the inner resolve to find optimism and hope amidst the most challenging and difficult times. He instills confidence when despair tries to defeat us and inspires teamwork when the individual feels overwhelmed by the events of day to day.

Thanksgiving reminds us of America's most cherished values. Freedom was, indeed, as we've heard from our chaplain, the watchword for the *Mayflower*'s journey. Freedom united the Pilgrims in a common purpose. Freedom was the idea that inspired the first Thanksgiving of the colony there at Plymouth Bay.

The grand experiment called America is but a recent manifestation of humanity's timeless yearning to be free. Only in freedom can we achieve humanity's greatest hope: peace. From the wisdom of Solomon to the wonder of the Sermon on the Mount, from the prophecies of Isaiah to the teachings of Islam, the holy books that are our common heritage speak often of the many blessings bestowed upon mankind, often of the love of liberty, often of the cause of peace. And so, I would like to close these remarks with a prayer.

Lord, bless us and keep us. Show us your way, the way of liberty and love. Soften the hearts of those who would do us harm. Strengthen the hearts of those who protect and defend us. Sustain the hearts of those at home who pray for our safe return. We rely upon your guidance and trust in your judgment, for we are one nation under God. Amidst this threat of war, help us find the will to search for peace. As was said upon the Mount: "Blessed are the peacemakers, for they shall be called the children of God." Amen.

Thank you all very much for inviting these four congressional leaders, for inviting Barbara and me to share this very special day with the sailors, the marines, the coastguardsmen all out here aboard the U.S.S. *Nassau* today on this spectacularly beautiful day halfway around the world from the home that we love.

I cannot overstate to you the outpouring of support from your friends and families. General Schwarzkopf was telling me of the mail system here: You get a lot of mail that doesn't even have a name on it, and they spread it all around. I hope some of you have received it. And it does express the support that the American people have for you on this important mission.

So, God bless you all on this very special day. And God bless the United States of America. Thank you.

*Note: The President spoke at 2:23 p.m. on the flight deck. In his remarks, he referred to Capt. Jack Dow, commanding officer of the U.S.S. "Nassau," and Gen. H. Norman Schwarzkopf, commander of U.S. forces in the Persian Gulf.*

Ref.
PN6151
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W14

Also by Robert Orben

THE JOKE-TELLER'S HANDBOOK

THE AD-LIBBER'S HANDBOOK

THE ENCYCLOPEDIA OF ONE-LINER COMEDY

2500 JOKES TO START 'EM LAUGHING

ORBEN'S CURRENT COMEDY
(a topical humor service for public speakers)

# 2100 Laughs For All Occasions

*Robert Orben*

DOUBLEDAY & COMPANY, INC.
GARDEN CITY, NEW YORK
1983

Last night I was trying to watch a baseball game, and I told my kid if he interrupted me one more time with a question about his homework he was gonna get it!

I heard a wild thing on a game show last night. The emcee asked a contestant: "Why did George Washington stand up in the boat crossing the Delaware? But first, this message from Preparation H."

## TELEVISION NEWS

The human race is paying its dues.
If you don't believe it, tune in the news!

TV news broadcasts are turning a lot of us into Quakers. I shake every time I hear one.

I'm an optimist. I watch the Five O'Clock News, the Six O'Clock News, and the Seven O'Clock News. I keep hoping it'll get better.

Hear no evil, see no evil, and speak no evil—and you'll never get to be the anchor man on the Seven O'Clock News.

If there's no divine plan for this world, how come just enough happens each day to fill the Seven O'Clock News?

## TENNIS

I lost interest in tennis when I found out "Fifteen–Love" wasn't an orgy.

My brother-in-law lost interest in tennis when he found out that "serve" had nothing to do with food.



I can understand why tennis is so popular these days. You ever try to leap over a volleyball net?

Tennis is a fascinating game, particularly if you're middle-aged. If there was no such thing as tennis, cardiologists would have had to invent it.

To be a good tennis player, you have to be thin. Really thin. Like, not only can you jump over the net, but through it too!

One of the great medical problems today is tennis elbow. It comes from watching tennis on television with your elbow on a bar.

## THANKSGIVING

It's Thanksgiving. Let's all microfilm our troubles and Xerox our blessings.

The Pilgrims didn't have an easy time of it. Can you imagine eating a meal of turkey, stuffing, gravy, cranberries, corn, cider, squash, rolls, turnips, pumpkin pie, apple pie, mince pie and fruit—when Alka-Seltzer was still three hundred years away?

The Pilgrims were the people who had those guns with the barrel that looked like a lily. They were called "cold tablet" guns. You pulled the trigger and the bullet could go four ways.

If you're ever feeling unloved, unwanted and unnoticed—just imagine how the celery feels at a Thanksgiving dinner.

Thanksgiving dinner is a very time-consuming event. It takes an hour to eat; a day to cook; a week to arrange; and a few months to pay for.

Thanksgiving dinner is the American equivalent to a Chinese dinner. You eat it and a year later you're hungry again.

Restaurants are so crowded on Thanksgiving Day, they make a fortune selling Indian cocktails. Indian cocktails—that's what you drink while you're waiting for your reservation.

This is the month we play Thanksgiving roulette. That's when six different friends invite you to Thanksgiving dinner and one is on Weight Watchers.

We always go to Grandmother's on Thanksgiving Day. She owns a McDonald's.

I always take my family and all the relatives out for Thanksgiving dinner. I figure the wife I save may be my own.

Thanksgiving is when millions of Americans get together to drink, talk, eat and go home again. It's known as the Four Gs —Giggle, Gabble, Gobble and Git!

Every Thanksgiving we have relatives over, and my wife has come up with a great recipe for roasting the turkey. You cook it one family argument for each five pounds.

My neighbor has an interesting theory about Thanksgiving. He feels that most families have so many relatives coming over for Thanksgiving dinner, they'll never notice one more. So for the last ten years he's been going into some strange house on Thanksgiving Day and saying he's Uncle Harry. Nine times it worked out well—the tenth time it worked out great. There was another phony claiming she was Aunt Harriet and they put them up for the night.

Inviting your relatives over for Thanksgiving dinner performs a very useful function. It eliminates loneliness, quiet and leftovers.

One year they all burped at the same time and blew out windows in Omaha, Nebraska!



You don't know what fear is until you've invited twenty-five people over for Thanksgiving dinner and your wife is making it from a mix!

I knew we were in trouble this Thanksgiving the minute my wife asked me to carve the Big Mac.

And my wife made a gravy I'll never forget. One quart of vodka, two quarts of rum and three quarts of brandy. I asked her, "Where did you get this recipe?" She said, "From a cookbook." I said, "Who wrote it?" She said, "Betty Crocked!"

I like those turkeys you can just stick in the oven. You know the ones. For two whole months before Thanksgiving Day they're mainlining butter!

We had a very upsetting thing happen at Thanksgiving dinner. One of the guests complained that the turkey was tough. What made it so upsetting, it was our butcher.

I don't want to brag, but we have an oven that can cook our Thanksgiving turkey in three minutes. It's not a microwave oven. It's a two-pound turkey.

We had kind of an exciting Thanksgiving last year. My wife's recipe for stuffing called for a dash of salt—and she used Epsom. If you think the salt had a dash, you should have seen us!

I have to admit, I have a terrible time carving turkey. I'll tell you how bad it is—one year the turkey's family sued for malpractice.

I'm one of those nervous carvers. I shake so much, each year we have an etiquette problem. What wine do you serve with fingers?

And every Thanksgiving I get very suspicious of butchers.

Yesterday I saw one trying to teach a parakeet to say, "Gobble! Gobble! Gobble!"

For Thanksgiving, the Poultry Raisers of America are sending the biggest turkey in the country to the White House. The (OPPOSITION PARTY) claim he's already there.

[redacted]

I know a farmer who has a foolproof way of getting ready for Thanksgiving. For a week before, all he does is show the turkeys the Seven O'Clock News, the morning headlines, the editorials, *Time* and *Newsweek*—then they go quietly. Some even volunteer.

Feeling down and tired of living?
Then here's a thought for this Thanksgiving:
If you think your future's murky—
Compare it to that of a turkey!

Thanksgiving is when turkeys who fatten up all year go to the chopping block. With humans, it's April 15th.

Thanksgiving turkeys have the same complaint as our receptionist: "All they want is my body!"

I once roasted a turkey and he really took it hard. Kept calling me a no-good baster.

[redacted]



We had spaghetti for Thanksgiving dinner. I won't say why we had spaghetti for Thanksgiving dinner but that's the last time I ever buy a turkey that knows karate!

I watched some of those special Thanksgiving shows on TV and I wanna tell you something: all the turkeys weren't in ovens!

And after one of our Thanksgiving dinners everybody likes to sit back and enjoy a good smoke. It's the one coming from the oven!

Now I sit me down to eat.
The food looks great, the setting neat;
And if I overdo it, well, sir—
Would you pass the Bromo Seltzer?

Thanksgiving is when 200,000,000 Americans gorge themselves on turkey dinners—then turn on the TV to watch 22 football players get exercise.

The day after Thanksgiving is when you can go to any garage sale in America and get a good buy on half a turkey.

## THEFT

Two drunks came out of a bar and saw someone siphoning gas out of their car. One drunk nudged the other and said, "Man, I hope I never get that thirsty!"

Last night our house was broken into and robbed, but it's just wonderful the detailed record the police keep on these things. We were the thirty-fourth ditto mark from the top.

I've been robbed three times in the last year and I've had it. The next time I'm robbed, I'm gonna call the cops. You should hear what I'm gonna call the cops!

teachers sees to it that the mathematics teacher gets a zero in his subject by setting him a fiendishly difficult question, suggested by someone in the Graduate Math Department at Berkeley.

**Tennant Creek Show Day** See HOBART REGATTA DAY.

**Tenth of April**
'The name of this day', says Chambers in *The Book of Days*, 'is almost the only one applied in England as a denomination for an event.' He was writing in 1863, when the phrase 'the Tenth of April' still reminded many people of the English Revolution that might have taken place on that day in 1848. The Chartists, mostly working men, had arranged to petition parliament in huge numbers to demonstrate their strength. The government, fearing violence, brought in the troops, swore in citizens as special constables and displayed cannon near Westminster Bridge as a deterrent. These measures succeeded, so that 'the *Tenth of April* remained only a memory of an apprehended danger judiciously met and averted.' The Chartist movement itself collapsed after this anti-climax, and the *People's Charter*, drawn up in 1838, was allowed to lapse.

***Tenth of September, The***
The title of a novel by A. R. and R. K. Weekes, published in 1934. The story hinges on the fact that the heroine, Annette Damerel, will inherit a considerable sum of money on her twenty-third birthday, which occurs on September 10th.

**Term Day**
A Scottish expression for a day in the year fixed for a specific purpose, such as the payment of rent, hiring of servants, etc. The two main term days of the year were traditionally WHIT SUNDAY and MARTINMAS, though the other QUARTER DAYS, CANDLEMAS DAY and LAMMAS DAY were also term days. In the nineteenth century, 'term days' were also those on which scientific observations were systematically made, for example in the study of the weather.

**Texas Independence Day**
March 2nd. This was the birthday of Sam Houston (1793–1863), who led the Texans to victory over the Mexicans at the Battle of San Jacinto and thus assured Texan independence. Texas remained an independent republic from 1836 until 1845, when it was annexed to the United States. The day was especially important in 1986, as Texas celebrated its sesquicentennial.

**Thamesday**
Early September. A celebration on and alongside the River Thames between the Westminster and Waterloo bridges. Various events begin at noon and end at night with a grand fireworks display. The purpose seems to be to remind Londoners that the city can be a place of fun as well as business.

**Thanksgiving Day**
The last Thursday in November in the USA; the second Monday in October in Canada. In 1621 the settlers of the Plymouth colony celebrated their first harvest home with a day of thanksgiving to God for his bounty. The day was primarily a religious one, but inevitably it was also a day of family and social enjoyment. The observance of an annual day of thanksgiving first became general throughout New England. After the Revolution it spread to the Middle States, then to the West. It reached the Southern states after the Civil War. It has been observed nationally in the US since 1863 by presidential proclamation.

In modern times the day is associated with family reunions and family traditions. Americans who spend Thanksgiving Day with another family will say that they ate all the usual food and did all the usual things, but not in quite the correct order – the order in which they do things in their own home. For countless Americans meticulous attention to detail where traditions are concerned is very important indeed. O. Henry comments on this aspect of American

life in his short story *Two Thanksgiving Day Gentlemen*. Louisa M. Alcott also comments on it in *Little Men*. She describes the 'good old-fashioned way' of observing the day, and refers to the 'popular belief that Thanksgiving must be kept by coming as near apoplexy as possible, and escaping with merely a fit of indigestion or a headache.' For Whittier it was the day 'When the gray-haired New Englander sees round his board/ The old broken links of affection restored.' Nowadays a morning visit to church may precede the meal, or perhaps a sortie to see one of the parades which take place on this day. New Yorkers are especially fond of Macy's Parade, and will be out on the often freezing streets at an early hour, waiting to see the giant floats pass by. One has only to be amongst the crowd of onlookers, preferably near the starting point of the parade, listening to the affectionate remarks of young and old as each float begins its journey, to realize just how much such traditional events mean to Americans.

Erica Jong was well aware of these sentimental associations of the day when she began *How To Save Your Own Life* with the bleak sentence: 'I left my husband on Thanksgiving Day.' An English writer would probably have had to say: 'I murdered my mother on Christmas Day' to achieve the same effect. Mark Twain's comment on the day actually hints at the wholesale slaughter (of turkeys) which accompanies it, but as usual displays his wit. In *Pudd'nhead Wilson's Calendar* he writes: 'Thanksgiving Day. Let all give humble, hearty, and sincere thanks now, but the turkeys. In the island of Fiji they do not use turkeys: they use plumbers. It does not become you or me to sneer at Fiji.'

**Thanksgobble Day**
A humorous reference to THANKSGIVING DAY, which is noted for the consumption of turkeys.

***These Were the Days***
An autobiographical work by the American writer Clarence Day. See DAY.

**Thinking Day**
February 22nd. The birthday, in 1857, of Lord Baden-Powell, founder of the Boy Scout movement. Scouts and Guides are encouraged on this day to think about Lord and Lady Baden-Powell and fellow scouts throughout the world.

**Third Day**
Tuesday. An expression used by the Society of Friends (Quakers).

**Thirtieth of January**
'We must neither play cards, nor read, nor sew on the fifth of November and on the thirtieth of January, but must go to church, and meditate all the rest of the day'. This is the narrator, Margaret Dawson, describing life at the house of her kinswoman, Lady Ludlow, in the short novel by Mrs Gaskell, *My Lady Ludlow*. The 'fifth of November' reference is to the Gunpowder Plot (see GUY FAWKES DAY); the 'thirtieth of January' refers to Charles I, who was executed on that day in 1649. The king was beheaded by the supporters of Cromwell after many indignities had been thrust upon him, and was buried the same night in St George's Chapel, Windsor. The execution is referred to briefly in a poem by Andrew Marvell (1621–78):

He nothing common did or mean
Upon that memorable scene,
But with his keener eye
The axe's edge did try:
Nor called the gods, with vulgar spite,
To vindicate his helpless right,
But bowed his comely head
Down, as upon a bed.
('Horatian Ode upon Cromwell's Return from Ireland')

Charles I is one of a lengthy list of royal personages bearing that name to have suffered great misfortune, causing the super-

## ——NOVEMBER 26——

*Zodiac sign for the day:* Sagittarius, the archer.
*Zodiac birthstone for the day:* Topaz.

**The day in history:**

1716–First lion to be seen in America was exhibited in Boston.
1825–First college social fraternity, Kappa Alpha, formed at Union College, Schenectady, N.Y. (See also December 5.)
1950–Red China moved into the Korean War, sending troops into North Korea to fight U.S. and allied forces.

**The day's birthdays:**

Playwright Eugene Ionesco 1912, Slatany, Rumania; television's Eric Sevareid 1912, Velva, N.D.; actor Emlyn Williams 1905, Mostyn, Wales; actor-singer Robert Goulet 1933, Lawrence, Mass.

**Quotation of the day:**

"We suppose that the rupture of the present negotiations does not necessarily mean war between Japan and the United States..."–Ambassadors Nomura and Kurusu, November 26, 1941

## ——NOVEMBER 27——

*Zodiac sign for the day:* Sagittarius, the archer.
*Zodiac birthstone for the day:* Topaz.

**The day in history:**

1901–Army War College in Washington, D.C. was authorized.
1914–Joint Distribution Committee for relief of Jews all over world was organized in New York City.
1942–French Navy scuttled its ships in Toulon harbor rather than see the Nazis take them over in World War II.

**The day's birthdays:**

Deposed Communist leader Alexander Dubcek 1921, Uhroved, Czechoslovakia; theatrical producer David Merrick 1912, St. Louis; President's daughter Caroline Kennedy 1957, New York City.

**Quotation of the day:**

"Civilization and profits go hand in hand."–Calvin Coolidge, November 27, 1920

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

November 19, 1990

MEMORANDUM FOR CHRISS WINSTON

FROM: BOB SIMON

SUBJECT: GB THANKSGIVING

According to Don Rhodes, the Bushes have spent most Thanksgivings over the last two decades like most Americans: at home, having a traditional dinner. From at least 1983 through 1988, they were in Kennebunkport. Last year, they were at Camp David. There are, however, a couple of interesting cases.

In 1974 and 1975, George and Barbara Bush spent Thanksgiving in China.

On Nov. 26, 1942, George Bush spent what is believed to be his first Thanksgiving away from home. That summer, he enlisted in the Navy. In November, he had Thanksgiving dinner at the Naval Flight Training Center in Minneapolis, MN. On the menu: fruit cocktail, sweet pickles, chicken noodle soup, Waldorf salad, turkey, ham, giblet gravy, sweet potatoes, mashed potatoes, cranberry sauce, turnips, mince pie, pumpkin pie, and apple pie.

On November 25, 1943 -- Thanksgiving -- Bush was at the Hyannis, Mass. Naval Air Station completing his flight training. He flew a training mission that day. (During this period, he was based at Chincoteague, Va. but happened to be in Hyannis on Thanksgiving.) At this point, he knew he would be shipping out to the Pacific on the USS San Jacinto. He reported to that ship three weeks later in Philadelphia on Dec. 15. The Bushes had secretly gotten engaged in Kennebunkport in August, 1943.

On Nov. 23, 1944 -- Thanksgiving -- Bush was on the USS San Jacinto off the coast of the Philippines. He did not fly that day. Six days later, on Nov. 29, Bush flew his 58th and final combat mission of the war. The next day, he began the long journey home, culminating in a Christmas eve reunion with his family in Connecticut. Their wedding had been planned for Dec. 19, but had to be pushed back to Jan. 6, 1945.

financing of medium term credits, and to speed up these transactions by permitting the exporter to deal with his bank, rather than with Eximbank in Washington.

The objective of both programs is to assure that U.S. exporters will not lose sales because of a lack of credit facilities where the extension of credit is appropriate. I believe that American exporters will be more disposed to extend credit to their customers if they hold an export credit insurance policy issued through the FCIA, and that commercial banks will be prepared to discount such insured paper. Accordingly, our exporters, through use of the insurance and bank guarantee programs, will be better able to compete successfully with exporters in other countries on sales where credit is required by the customers overseas.

I am deeply appreciative of the splendid response of private industry in furthering the national interest in this area. Both the participating insurance companies and the commercial banks have rendered a public service through their cooperation in making these export credit facilities available as part of the national effort to improve the balance of payments to the United States.

## 438 Proclamation 3438: Thanksgiving Day, 1961. *October* 28, 1961

*By the President of the United States of America a Proclamation:*

"It is a good thing to give thanks unto the Lord."

More than three centuries ago, the Pilgrims, after a year of hardship and peril, humbly and reverently set aside a special day upon which to give thanks to God for their preservation and for the good harvest from the virgin soil upon which they had labored. Grave and unknown dangers remained. Yet by their faith and by their toil they had survived the rigors of the harsh New England winter. Hence they paused in their labors to give thanks for the blessings that had been bestowed upon them by Divine Providence.

This year, as the harvest draws near its close and the year approaches its end, awesome perils again remain to be faced. Yet we have, as in the past, ample reason to be thankful for the abundance of our blessings. We are grateful for the blessings of faith and health and strength and for the imperishable spiritual gifts of love and hope. We give thanks, too, for our freedom as a nation; for the strength of our arms and the faith of our friends; for the beliefs and confidence we share; for our determination to stand firmly for what we believe to be right and to resist mightily what we believe to be base; and for the heritage of liberty bequeathed by our ancestors which we are privileged to preserve for our children and our children's children.

It is right that we should be grateful for the plenty amidst which we live; the productivity of our farms, the output of our factories, the skill of our artisans, and the ingenuity of our inventors. But in the midst of our thanksgiving, let us not be unmindful of the plight of those in many parts of the world to whom hunger is no stranger and the plight of those millions more who live without the blessings of liberty and freedom. With some we are able to share our material abundance through our Food-for-Peace Program and through our support of the United

Nations Freedom-from-Hunger Campaign. To all we can offer the sustenance of hope that we shall not fail in our unceasing efforts to make this a peaceful and prosperous world for all mankind.

Now, THEREFORE, I, JOHN F. KENNEDY, President of the United States of America, in consonance with the joint resolution of Congress approved December 26, 1941, which designates the fourth Thursday in November of each year as Thanksgiving Day, do hereby proclaim Thursday, the twenty-third day of November of this year, as a day of national thanksgiving.

I urge all citizens to make this Thanksgiving not merely a holiday from their labors, but rather a day of contemplation. I ask the head of each family to recount to his children the story of the first New England Thanksgiving, thus to impress upon future generations the heritage of this nation born in toil, in danger, in purpose, and in the conviction that right and justice and freedom can through man's efforts persevere and come to fruition with the blessing of God.

Let us observe this day with reverence and with prayer that will rekindle in us the will and show us the way not only to preserve our blessings, but also to extend them to the four corners of the earth. Let us by our example, as well as by our material aid, assist all peoples of all nations who are striving to achieve a better life in freedom.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the Seal of the United States of America to be affixed.

DONE at the City of Washington this twenty-seventh day of October in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred and [SEAL] sixty-one, and of the Independence of the United States of America the one hundred and eighty-sixth.

JOHN F. KENNEDY

By the President
DEAN RUSK
Secretary of State

## 439 Message to President Gürsel Following His Election Under the New Turkish Constitution. *October 29, 1961*

*Dear Mr. President:*

I congratulate you on your election as President of the Republic of Turkey. I also wish to congratulate, in the name of the United States Government and its people, the Turkish Government and people for their success in promulgating a new constitution and in establishing a freely-elected Grand National Assembly.

As you assume your Presidential responsibilities, let me assure you of my country's dedication to the firm friendship and cooperation which have consistently characterized Turco-American relations. We are united in our aims of preserving the security of our homelands and creating a world where mankind can live in peace and freedom. In these cherished causes, we are proud to work side by side with the Government and people of Turkey.

Please accept my warmest greetings and best wishes.

Sincerely,

JOHN F. KENNEDY

LLIAMS

k, October 2, 1789.
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Sir Yours etc.[74]

F THE STATES

, October 2, 1789.
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posed to be added to the Constitution of the United States. I have the honor etc.[76]

## THANKSGIVING PROCLAMATION[77]

City of New York, October 3, 1789.

Whereas it is the duty of all Nations to acknowledge the providence of Almighty God, to obey his will, to be grateful for his benefits, and humbly to implore his protection and favor, and Whereas both Houses of Congress have by their joint Committee[78] requested me "to recommend to the People of the United States a day of public thanks-giving and prayer to be observed by acknowledging with grateful hearts the many signal favors of Almighty God, especially by affording them an opportunity peaceably to establish a form of government for their safety and happiness."

Now therefore I do recommend and assign Thursday the 26th. day of November next to be devoted by the People of these States to the service of that great and glorious Being, who is the beneficent Author of all the good that was, that is, or that will be. That we may then all unite in rendering unto him our sincere and humble thanks, for his kind care and protection of the People of this country previous to their becoming a Nation, for the signal and manifold mercies, and the favorable interpositions of his providence, which we experienced in the course and conclusion of the late war, for the great degree of tranquillity, union, and plenty, which we have since enjoyed, for the peaceable and rational manner in which we have been

[76] In the writing of William Jackson. From the letter sent to Gov. Beverley Randolph, of Virginia.

[77] A copy of this proclamation was sent to the executives of the States by the President in a brief form letter (October 3). This form is recorded in the "Letter Book" in the *Washington Papers*.

[78] The Senate concurred in the House resolve to this effect, September 26.

enabled to establish constitutions of government for our safety and happiness, and particularly the national One now lately instituted, for the civil and religious liberty with which we are blessed, and the means we have of acquiring and diffusing useful knowledge and in general for all the great and various favors which he hath been pleased to confer upon us.

And also that we may then unite in most humbly offering our prayers and supplications to the great Lord and Ruler of Nations and beseech him to pardon our national and other transgressions, to enable us all, whether in public or private stations, to perform our several and relative duties properly and punctually, to render our national government a blessing to all the People, by constantly being a government of wise, just and constitutional laws, discreetly and faithfully executed and obeyed, to protect and guide all Sovereigns and Nations (especially such as have shown kindness unto us) and to bless them with good government, peace, and concord. To promote the knowledge and practice of true religion and virtue, and the encrease of science among them and Us, and generally to grant unto all Mankind such a degree of temporal prosperity as he alone knows to be best.[79]

## To THE ACTING SECRETARY OF STATE

New York, October 5, 1789.

Sir: It is with singular pleasure that I address you as Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, for which Office your Commission is enclosed.

In nominating you for the important station which you now fill, I not only acted in conformity to my best judgment; but I trust I did a grateful thing to the good Citizens of these

[79] From the original in the writing of William Jackson. It was signed by Washington, who had written in the day "third" in the date.
This was the first national Thanksgiving Day proclamation under the Constitution.

order. Following speeches, the governor gave a formal dinner at Fraunces Tavern, where 13 toasts were offered to commemorate the occasion.

Governor Clinton established himself in the DeLancey mansion on Queen Street and began to conduct the affairs of government. On December 2 a public fireworks display took place at the Bowling Green. Two days later, in a most touching scene, George Washington bade farewell to his troops at Fraunces Tavern. Finally, on December 11 the activities concluded appropriately with a national day of public thanksgiving observed with a number of religious programs.

For decades after the departure of the British from New York City, patriot organizations sponsored special celebrations to commemorate the event. These observances lapsed during the first and middle years of the 20th century, but the approach of the bicentennial of the American Revolution revived interest in Evacuation Day ceremonies.

In 1970 several organizations including the American-Irish Historical Society, the Irish Institute, the Sons of the American Revolution, the New York City National Shrines Associates, and the New York City Revolutionary Bicentennial Citizens Committee combined Evacuation Day observances with special ceremonies honoring Hercules Mulligan. Mulligan, a tailor who served as a secret agent for the Continental army during the British occupation of New York, provided much important information to the patriots throughout the Revolution. George Washington personally recognized Mulligan by breakfasting with him on the morning after American forces reoccupied the city, and almost two centuries later, on November 24, 1970, the aforementioned societies paid tribute to Mulligan by unveiling a plaque at the site of his house at 160 Water Street, where a skyscraper stands today. William B. Mulligan, a direct descendant of the tailor and patriot, unveiled the plaque, the US Army band played patriotic music, and color guards from the various armed services also participated in the ceremonies.

In 1971 the New York City American Revolutionary Bicentennial Committee, the New York City National Shrines Associates, the Battery–Castle Clinton Monument Association, the Sons of the Revolution, the US Flag Foundation, and the New York Chapter of the Association of the US Army noted Evacuation Day with observances in New York's Battery Park. The color guards of the Sons of the Revolution, of the various branches of the armed forces, and of the American Legion and the New York City Fire Department took part in ceremonies; the US Army band provided appropriate music, and speakers added pertinent remarks. The Battery Park observances were the first in a series planned for annual observance during the Bicentennial commemoration of the American Revolution.

## NOVEMBER 26

### Thanksgiving Day

*This is a movable event. See note on page xxvi.*

Every year on the fourth Thursday of November the people of the United States pause to express their gratitude for the bounty and good fortune that they enjoy both as individuals and as a nation. Thanksgiving Day is a legal holiday, observed everywhere throughout the United States and in US territories, as well as in the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico. Customarily, the President of the United States issues a proclamation of Thanksgiving Day, and the governors of many of the 50 states often add their own messages.

Although Thanksgiving is one of the most popular holidays in the United States, the idea of setting aside a day to express gratitude for good fortune did not originate in this country. In ancient times many peoples held special festivals in the autumn to give thanks for bountiful harvests. The Greeks honored Demeter, their goddess of agriculture, with a nine-day celebration, and in a similar fashion the Romans paid tribute to Ceres (identified with Demeter). After the crops had been gathered, the Anglo-Saxons rejoiced at a "harvest home," which featured a hearty feast. In Scotland the harvest celebration was known as a *kirn* and included special church services and a substantial dinner. Since biblical days, Jews have given thanks for abundant harvests with the eight-day Feast of Tabernacles, an observance that continues to the present era (see October 15). From ancient times, it also was common for people to set aside special days on which to give thanks for military victories, for deliverance from epidemics, and for other occasions of good fortune.

Thus, since most of the settlers who came to America probably had known some form of thanksgiving day in their homelands, it is not surprising that they transplanted this custom to the New World. The first thanksgiving day service in what was to become the United States was the one held on August 9, 1607, by colonists en route to found the short-lived Popham Colony at what is now Phippsburg, Maine. After their two ships had reached one of the Georges Is-

lands off the Maine coast, the Reverend Richard Seymour led the group in "gyvinge God thanks for our happy metinge & saffe aryval into the country."

The first permanent English settlement in America was founded at Jamestown, on the James River in Virginia, also in 1607. After the tobacco introduced there in 1612 proved to be a successful crop, plantation settlements, or "hundreds" – an early British designation for areas smaller than counties – sprang up elsewhere along the banks of the James. As early as December 4, 1619, the settlers at one of them – Berkeley Hundred – set aside a day to give thanks for the survival of their small company. The settlers at Berkeley, between what are now Richmond and Charles City, observed December 4 each year with special religious services until 1622, when a conflict with Indians almost devastated the colony. Records of the Virginia observances are scant, and for many years most persons were unaware of their existence. Today, however, a special Thanksgiving Festival lasting several days takes place annually at the site of the original. Civic ceremonies, church services, and a football game are among the scheduled events, but the culmination of the festival is a pageant reenacting the thanksgiving of 1619.

Although the Berkeley thanksgiving was probably the first full celebration of its kind by colonists in the New World – the "first official" thanksgiving is a term favored by some – it was another thanksgiving, which took place in Plymouth Colony in 1621, that set the pattern for present-day observances. After landing on the bleak New England coast in 1620, the Pilgrim band had endured tremendous hardships (see December 21, Forefathers' Day, and May 19, William Bradford's Death). During the winter of 1620 about half the 101 passengers of the *Mayflower* died. But those who survived persevered. In the spring and summer of 1621 they constructed a number of wooden houses, and with the aid of Squanto, a Pawtuxet Indian, they planted and cultivated fields of corn and barley. In the fall the Pilgrims gathered a rich harvest, and Governor Bradford proclaimed a day of thanksgiving.

The first Pilgrim thanksgiving probably occurred some time in the middle of October 1621. Governor Bradford "sent four men fowling, so they might in a special manner rejoice together after they had gathered the fruit of their labor." According to Bradford's history *Of Plimoth Plantation*, the hunters brought back a "great store of wild Turkies," and to this were added lobsters, clams, bass, corn, green vegetables, and dried fruits.

The Pilgrims invited Massasoit, the chief of the Wampanoag tribe, to share their feast. Massasoit enthusiastically agreed to attend the celebration, but when he unexpectedly brought along 90 companions the Pilgrim settlers feared that the natives would consume their entire winter larder. Fortunately, however, Massasoit recognized their difficult position and sent his hunters into the forest. They returned with five deer, and the feast began.

For three days the Pilgrims and the Wampanoag shared the bountiful feast. The militia under the leadership of Captain Myles Standish drilled and fired their muskets and cannon to entertain their guests, and in turn the Wampanoag delighted their hosts with demonstrations of their traditional dances. The group also competed in foot races and other athletic contests.

The Pilgrims did not celebrate a thanksgiving in 1622. But in 1623, after a rainstorm ended a summer drought and saved the settlers' crops, the Plymouth populace again observed a day of thanks, probably toward the end of July. And in November after the crops were gathered, Governor Bradford ordered that "all the Pilgrims with your wives and little ones, do gather at the meetinghouse, on the hill, . . . there to listen to the pastor, and render thanksgiving to the Almighty God for all His blessings."

The Pilgrims never set a regular Thanksgiving day, although they held such observances at various times. A law of November 15, 1636, permitted the governor "to command solemn days of humiliation by fasting, etc., and also for thanksgiving as occasion shall be offered." In the decades that followed, harvest festivals were held sporadically in the area around Boston, in the Massachusetts Bay Colony to the north; and in 1665 Connecticut observed a solemn day of thanksgiving on the last Wednesday of October. Beginning in 1644, the Dutch residents of New Amsterdam set aside special Thank Days, and this custom continued even after the British captured the city and renamed it New York in 1664. Typically, though, the early thanksgiving celebrations were to be found in New England. Other colonists in other areas may also have marked thanksgiving occasions of one kind or another, but these were local, isolated events.

Appropriately, the War of Independence, during which the 13 colonies joined in a common effort for the first time, also caused the first Thanksgiving Day to be observed simultaneously throughout all the colonies. The occasion for the celebration was the patriot victory over the British at Saratoga in October 1777. So important to the rebel cause was this battle that Samuel Adams called upon the Continental Congress to declare a national day of thanks. On

November 1, 1777, the Congress approved Adams's proclamation, setting December 18, 1777, as a day of "Thanksgiving and praise," and the residents of the colonies enthusiastically observed the day with prayers and feasts.

In the course of the American Revolution, the Continental Congress called for a number of days of thanksgiving, although none was observed by all the colonies. A number of local thanksgiving celebrations took place, the most notable of which was at the headquarters of the Continental army at Valley Forge, Pennsylvania, after General George Washington received news that France had allied with the colonies. To celebrate the alliance, Washington ordered his troops to assemble on May 7, 1778. Ceremonies began with the army chaplains offering prayers of gratitude. Then the general reviewed the troops; 13 cannons fired a salute; and the soldiers shouted "Long live the king of France and the American states." After the day's festivities concluded, the troops enjoyed a hearty dinner, and the French officers and other guests attended an outdoor banquet.

The end of the American Revolution in 1783 secured independence of the 13 American colonies, and the adoption of the Constitution established a viable government that began to function in 1789. Both the Revolutionary War and the formulation of the Constitution were massive undertakings, and to celebrate their successful outcomes, Washington, who by then had become the first President of the United States, proclaimed Thursday, November 26, 1789, a day of national thanksgiving. At the request of the President, citizens assembled in churches that day and thanked God for his beneficence.

In 1795 Washington proclaimed another day of thanksgiving, but after that the national celebration of the holiday lapsed. New Englanders, however, continued the custom of holding harvest feasts each autumn, and in other parts of the country, days of thanksgiving were also observed. In 1769, meanwhile, some Spanish colonists in California set aside July 1 as a day to give thanks after surviving the many hazards that had accompanied their settlement of San Diego. Years later a more traditional thanksgiving was held at Portsmouth House in San Francisco, where a superb dinner was served; and in 1849, shortly before gaining statehood, Californians observed Thanksgiving on October 24.

The establishment of a national Thanksgiving Day on a permanent annual basis was largely the result of the work of Sarah Josepha Hale. Beginning in 1827, when she was editor of the *Ladies' Magazine* in Boston, she began to urge the observance of a uniform day throughout the country to express thanks for the blessings of the year. She continued her agitation in a desultory manner until the *Ladies' Magazine* was consolidated with *Godey's Lady's Book*. As editor of *Godey's*, a magazine with a circulation of 150,000 and the largest periodical of its kind in the country, she wrote editorial after editorial in support of an annual Thanksgiving Day. She also wrote personal letters to the successive Presidents and to the governors of all the states and succeeded in persuading many of the latter to fix the last Thursday in November as a day of thanksgiving. Hale's last editorial on the subject appeared in September 1863 and said in part:

> Would it not be a great advantage, socially, nationally, religiously, to have the day of our American Thanksgiving positively settled? Putting aside the sectional feelings and local incidents that might be urged by any single State or isolated territory that desired to choose its own time would it not be more noble, more truly American, to become national in unity when we offer to God our tribute of joy and gratitude for the blessings of the year?

Hale's editorial appeared at a significant moment. The Civil War divided the nation into two armed camps in 1863. For more than two years Northern and Southern forces had clashed, and, only weeks before the editorial appeared, hundreds of Union and Confederate soldiers had died at Gettysburg. Despite the staggering loss of human life, the battle of Gettysburg was an important victory for the North. The result produced great rejoicing throughout the North, and this general feeling of elation, together with the clamor produced by Hale's editorials, undoubtedly prompted Abraham Lincoln to issue the proclamation on October 3, 1863, setting a last Thursday in November 1863 as a national Thanksgiving Day.

Lincoln's proclamation, expressing both his gratitude for God's blessings and his hope that the terrible war would come to a speedy end, entreated Americans not to forget that prosperity and freedom were God's gifts.

> It has seemed to me fit and proper that they should be solemnly, reverently and gratefully acknowledged as with one heart and one voice by the whole American people. I do, therefor, invite my fellow citizens in every part of the United States, and also those who are at sea and those who are sojourning in foreign lands, to set apart and observe the last Thursday of November next as a day of thanksgiving and praise to our beneficent Father who dwelleth in the heavens.

Ever since 1863, Thanksgiving has been observed annually; and for three-quarters of a century it was scheduled, with only two exceptions, for the last Thursday of November. Pres-

ident Andrew Johnson designated the first Thursday in December as Thanksgiving in 1865; and President Ulysses S. Grant selected the third Thursday in November for the observance in 1869.

A more controversial exception came in 1939. President Franklin D. Roosevelt issued a proclamation setting November 23 – rather than November 30, which was the last Thursday in November that year – as Thanksgiving Day. Roosevelt's action was not favorably received. Despite the proclamation, many states observed Thanksgiving on November 30, and even where celebrations were held on November 23, citizens expressed dissatisfaction with the change. Roosevelt himself realized in the spring of 1941 that he had erred, and he announced that, beginning in 1942, his innovation of marking Thanksgiving on the next to last Thursday in November would be abandoned. Congress formalized this decision in December 1941 with a joint resolution that placed the holiday thenceforth on the fourth Thursday in November.

Thanksgiving has become one of the best loved and most widely celebrated holidays in the United States. Each year citizens across the land pause to give thanks. In time of war, when large numbers of armed forces personnel have been overseas, Americans have even observed Thanksgiving Day in foreign lands. One of the most impressive of many foreign Thanksgiving services took place in 1942 at Westminster Abbey in London. More than 3,500 American troops who were stationed in England during World War II jammed into the historic church and participated in services that included the singing of "The Star-Spangled Banner" and "America the Beautiful." The special service of thanksgiving was the first service other than a Church of England ritual to be held at the abbey's altar in nine centuries.

Whether in Westminster Abbey or in a local house of worship, Thanksgiving is an occasion on which people assemble to express their gratitude to God. Many churches and synagogues hold special services on the day or preceding evening, and interfaith observances have become increasingly popular in recent years. The fruits of the harvest, traditionally distributed to the poor afterwards, are often used to decorate places of worship (as well as schools and other places of public gathering). Thanksgiving sermons stress the need for gratitude and for regarding material possessions appropriately. One of the readings from Scripture frequently heard at Thanksgiving comes from the eighth chapter of Deuteronomy, in which Moses reminds his listeners that they must not forget God:

> Man does not live by bread alone, but . . . by everything that proceeds out of the mouth of the Lord. . . . Take heed lest you forget the Lord your God, by not keeping his commandments . . . lest, when you have eaten and are full, and have built goodly houses and live in them, . . . and your silver and gold is multiplied, . . . your heart be lifted up, and you forget the Lord your God.

Another is from the sixth chapter of Matthew, in which Jesus says to his followers:

> Therefore I tell you, . . . do not be anxious, saying "What shall we eat?" or "What shall we drink?" or "What shall we wear?" For . . . your heavenly Father knows that you need [these things]. But seek first his kingdom and his righteousness, and all these things shall be yours as well.

One hymn often sung at this time, set to a traditional Dutch melody so familiar that it is synonymous with Thanksgiving to many, begins with the words "We gather together to ask the Lord's blessing." Others frequently heard preserve the traditional harvest theme:

> Come, ye thankful people, come,
> Raise the song of harvest home:
> All is safely gathered in,
> Ere the winter storms begin;
> God, our Maker, doth provide
> For our wants to be supplied;
> Come to God's own temple, come,
> Raise the song of harvest home.

Another well-known Thanksgiving hymn begins with words that epitomize as well as any the fundamental significance of the observance:

> Now thank we all our God
> With heart and hands and voices,
> Who wondrous things hath done,
> In whom His world rejoices.

Thanksgiving has always been a day on which families come together for a sumptuous dinner. Just as the Pilgrims in Plymouth enjoyed "a great store of wild Turkies," many Americans now feast on the domesticated descendants of these birds. Dressing, sweet potatoes, squash, creamed onions, and cranberries generally complement the turkey, as does a vast array of other culinary attractions. Pumpkin and mincemeat pies are the favored desserts of the day, with Indian and plum puddings as close seconds.

Many special events are held on Thanksgiving and the following weekend. It is traditionally a period for professional and college football games, some nationally televised.

Among the local traditional Thanksgiving

celebrations is the annual two-day fund-raising festival held at Pilgrim Place, a home for retired Christian workers in Claremont, California. For the occasion, residents of the home wear colonial dress, and visitors may partake of a turkey dinner, explore the many exhibits, and see a pageant, Pilgrims Triumphant, that traces the history of the Pilgrims from Scrooby, England, to their first thanksgiving in Plymouth.

Plymouth, Massachusetts, is, appropriately, the scene of special Thanksgiving festivities. Places of importance in Plymouth history, including several 17th century houses and Pilgrim Hall, a repository of many Pilgrim artifacts, are regularly open, but the public is extended a special welcome, and refreshments are served on Thanksgiving Day. The highlight of Plymouth's celebration is a procession entitled The Pilgrim's Progress. Each of the 52 Pilgrims who survived the first winter in New England is represented by a Plymouth resident dressed in a replica of 17th century garb. The line of march begins at the Plymouth waterfront near the reproduction of the first house and, to a slow drum beat, proceeds up Leyden Street to Burial Hill, the site of Plymouth's first fort-meetinghouse. After reaching Burial Hill, the marchers and spectators generally attend services at the First Church, which stands on the hill on the site of the original Pilgrim Church.

Although Thanksgiving Day is generally a peaceful time in Plymouth, the holiday has been marked by American Indian demonstrations protesting unjust treatment. The first occurred in 1970, when about 25 Indians observed a day of mourning. Dressed in native garb, they first gathered in front of the statue of the Indian chief Massasoit, which overlooks Plymouth Harbor. Then they buried Plymouth Rock under mounds of sand and ripped the colors from the replica of the *Mayflower* that is moored in the harbor.

While Thanksgiving is a holiday in its own right, it is also the unofficial beginning of the Christmas season, and in many places it is the only day on which Santa Claus comes to town. On Thanksgiving Day in 1920, Gimbel Brothers sponsored the first toy parade in Philadelphia, and ever since that date the department store has organized a gigantic Thanksgiving parade featuring floats, mammoth balloons, and college and high school bands.

Many other cities followed the lead of Philadelphia; the best known and largest Thanksgiving toy parade takes place in New York City. On a lesser scale, holiday parades also take place in smaller cities and towns around the nation, but wherever a toyland parade is held, Santa Claus is the guest of honor – much to the delight of the children who throng the line of march.

## NOVEMBER 27

### Robert R. Livingston's Birthday

Robert R. Livingston, a distinguished jurist, statesman, and political leader during and after the American Revolution, and the man who administered the oath of office to President George Washington, was born in New York City on November 27, 1746. He was the eldest son of Judge Robert R. Livingston and Margaret Beekman Livingston. Born into a family that had attained prominence soon after establishing its roots in the American colonies in the latter part of the 17th century, the younger Robert Livingston became the most important of the numerous members of the family who were public figures in his day.

After completing his education at King's College (now Columbia University) in 1765, he studied law privately. In 1770, the year in which he was admitted to the bar, he married Mary Stevens, the sister of the inventor John Stevens. The couple had two daughters. Livingston was later associated with Stevens in experiments relating to the development of steam navigation. Livingston and John Jay, who subsequently served as the first chief justice of the United States, were law partners for a time. In 1773 Livingston was appointed by the British government to the judicial post of recorder of New York City. However, because of his sympathy with the goal of independence, he was removed from office in 1775.

Livingston was elected a delegate that year to the Continental Congress. In the next decade in intermittent membership in the Congress, he made many valuable contributions in widely diverse areas. Perhaps in hopes of exerting pressure on the New York Provincial Congress, which had not yet authorized its delegation to vote in favor of independence, the Congress named Livingston one of five delegates appointed to draft a declaration of independence. Most of this task was performed by Thomas Jefferson. Because the New York delegation was still not authorized to vote "yea," it abstained from voting when the Lee resolution for independence was adopted by the Continental Congress on July 2, 1776, and when the final version of the Declaration of Independence was adopted two days later (see July 4) by an otherwise unanimous vote. On July 9 the newly elected New York Provincial Congress endorsed the declara-

## To George G. Meade[1]

Executive Mansion,
Major-General Meade, Washington, D.C., October 3, 1863.
Army of Potomac:

Have you a man in jeopardy as a deserter by the name T. Evers, private in Company D, Brooklyn Fourteenth [illegible] tia, or Eighty-fourth Volunteers? If you have please send me the facts and conditions of his case.

A. Lincoln

[1] Tarbell (Appendix), p. 389. Meade replied the same day, "Private Wm. T. Evers Brooklyn 14th State militia 84th New York Vols. is being tried by a Division Court martial proceedings not yet recd here." (DLC-RTL). The roster of Company D lists Evers as dishonorably discharged on May 25, 1863.

## Proclamation of Thanksgiving[1]

October 3, 1863

By the President of the United States of America.

A Proclamation.

The year that is drawing towards its close, has been filled with the blessings of fruitful fields and healthful skies. To these bounties, which are so constantly enjoyed that we are prone to forget the source from which they come, others have been added, which are of so extraordinary a nature, that they cannot fail to penetrate and soften even the heart which is habitually insensible to the ever watchful providence of Almighty God. In the midst of a civil war of unequalled magnitude and severity, which has sometimes seemed to foreign States to invite and to provoke their aggression, peace has been preserved with all nations, order has been maintained, the laws have been respected and obeyed, and harmony has prevailed everywhere except in the theatre of military conflict, while that theatre has been greatly contracted by the advancing armies and navies of the Union. Needful diversions of wealth and of strength from the fields of peaceful industry to the national defence, have not arrested the plough, the shuttle or the ship; the axe has enlarged the borders of our settlements, and the mines, as well of iron and coal as of the precious metals, have yielded even more abundantly than heretofore. Population has steadily increased, notwithstanding the waste that has been made in the camp, the siege and the battle-field; and the country, rejoicing in the consciousness of augmented strength and vigor, is permitted to expect continuance of years with large increase of freedom. No human counsel hath devised nor hath any mortal hand worked out these great things. They are the gracious gifts of the Most High God, who,





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By the President:
William H. Seward, S

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## To Jo

Sec. of Interior, please see.
friend T. J. Carter.
Oct. 3. 1863

[1] ALS, ORB. Timothy J. Cart
Western Railroad at Springfield
it may concern, October 5, *inf*

while dealing with us in anger for our sins, hath nevertheless remembered mercy. It has seemed to me fit and proper that they should be solemnly, reverently and gratefully acknowledged as with one heart and one voice by the whole American People. I do therefore invite my fellow citizens in every part of the United States, and also those who are at sea and those who are sojourning in foreign lands, to set apart and observe the last Thursday of November next, as a day of Thanksgiving and Praise to our beneficent Father who dwelleth in the Heavens. And I recommend to them that while offering up the ascriptions justly due to Him for such singular deliverances and blessings, they do also, with humble penitence for our national perverseness and disobedience, commend to His tender care all those who have become widows, orphans, mourners or sufferers in the lamentable civil strife in which we are unavoidably engaged, and fervently implore the interposition of the Mighty Hand to heal the wounds of the nation and to restore it as soon as may be consistent with the Divine purposes to the full enjoyment of peace, harmony, tranquillity and Union.

In testimony whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the Seal of the United States to be affixed.

Done at the City of Washington, this Third day of October, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-three, and of the Independence of the United States the Eighty-eighth.

By the President:

ABRAHAM LINCOLN

WILLIAM H. SEWARD, Secretary of State.

DNA FS RG 11, Proclamations. On September 28, 1863, Sara Josepha Lincoln "as Editress of the 'Lady's Book,' to request a few minutes precious time, while laying before you a subject of deep interest . . . President of our Republic. . . . This subject is to have the *day of Thanksgiving made a National and fixed Union Festival.* . . ." final draft of this proclamation has not been located, but a letter from to John Hay from New York, April 1, 1864, relates that "the President's Thanksgiving Proclamation, which was written by in his handwriting" had been sent by the State Department to be sold at the Fair." (DLC-Nicolay Papers).

## To John P. Usher[1]

Mr. Usher, please see, hear, & oblige of [*sic*] you can my friend Carter.

A. LINCOLN

[1] Timothy J. Carter was a civil engineer associated with the Great Western in Springfield, Illinois. See Lincoln's communication to whom it may concern, October 5, *infra*.

1314 Louis IV crowned King of Germany
1413 Sigismund crowned King of the Lombards
1491 Treaty signed between Spain and the Moors in Granada
1542 English defeated the Scots at Solway Moss
1609 Henrietta Marie of France, Queen to King Charles I of England, born
1638 Catherine of Braganza, wife of King Charles II of England, born
1758 Americans routed the French from Fort Duquesne (Pittsburgh)
1759 Construction of Fort Pitt on the ruins of Fort Duquesne begun
1764 Stanislaus II crowned King of Poland
1771 Albany Gazette, New York newspaper, founded
1783 British evacuation of New York completed
1795 William Henry Harrison, U.S. President, married Anna T. Symmes
1799 U.S. brig Nancy confiscated by the British for carrying goods to France
1834 A three-course meal could be obtained at Delmonico's, a New York hotel, for 12¢
1835 Andrew Carnegie, industrialist-philanthropist, born
1846 Carrie Nation, temperance agitator, born
1851 First Young Men's Christian Association in North America organized
1863 Union victory at Missionary Ridge, Tennessee
1870 Paraguay's Assembly adopted a constitution
1881 Angelo Guiseppe Roncalli, Pope John XXIII, born
1914 Joe DiMaggio, baseball great, born
1921 Hirohito became Regent of Japan
1931 Kill van Kull Bridge opened, connecting Staten Island to New Jersey
1936 Japan and Germany signed an anti-Comintern pact
1941 British battleship Bacham torpedoed in the Mediterranean
1947 U.S. freighter Clarksdale Victory sank off western Canada
1951 Train wreck near Woodstock, Alabama
1960 John F. Kennedy, Jr., son of the President, born
1969 Niagara Falls, stopped for a disintegration study, started again

## November 26th

311 AD St. Peter of Alexandria martyred (Feast Day)
399 Pope St. Siricius died, not to be canonized for 1,400 years
885 Vikings attacked Paris
1237 Second Lombard League smashed by Frederick II, Holy Roman Emperor

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| 1267 | St. Silvester Gozzolini died (Feast Day) |
| 1346 | Charles IV crowned King of Germany |
| 1377 | Charter issued for the founding of St. Mary's College at Oxford, England |
| 1621 | St. John Berchmans died (Feast Day) |
| 1706 | King Frederick William II of Prussia married Sophia Dorthea of Hanover |
| 1751 | St. Leonard of Porto Maurizio died (Feast Day) |
| 1780 | 900,000 gold guineas sank in New York harbor |
| 1783 | Annapolis, Maryland, became the capitol of the United States |
| 1789 | Thanksgiving, as appointed by George Washington |
| 1807 | William Sidney Mount, artist, born |
| 1818 | Encke's comet discovered |
| 1825 | Kappa Alpha, first social fraternity, organized |
| 1836 | John MacAdam, road-paving inventor, born |
| 1847 | Marie Feodorovna, Empress of Russia, born |
| 1869 | Maud Charlotte Mary Victoria of England, Queen of Norway, born |
| 1875 | Grand Sable on Reunion Island buried by a rock-slide |
| 1879 | Charles W. Goddard, serial author ("Perils of Pauline"), born |
| 1894 | Nicholas II, last Czar of Russia, married Alix of Hesse |
| 1898 | Portland sank off Cape Cod |
| 1907 | Turkish ship Kaptan sank in the North Sea |
| 1912 | Eric Sevareid, author-newscaster, born |
| 1914 | British battleship Bulwark exploded at Sheerness |
| 1922 | Charles M. Schulz, creator of "Peanuts," born<br>King Tutankhamen's tomb opened (Egypt) |
| 1926 | John M. Browning, inventor of a machine gun, died |
| 1934 | Duke of Kent married Princess Mariana of Greece |
| 1941 | Lebanon was declared an independent nation |
| 1943 | British ship Rohna bombed off Algeria |
| 1950 | Communist Chinese allies of North Korea crossed the Yalu River |
| 1964 | Norwegian tanker Stoldt Dagali and Israeli liner Shalom collided off New Jersey |
| 1966 | First tidal-powered hydroelectric dam went into use (France) |
| 1969 | BTHS-West Hobo Day held at Belleville, Illinois |

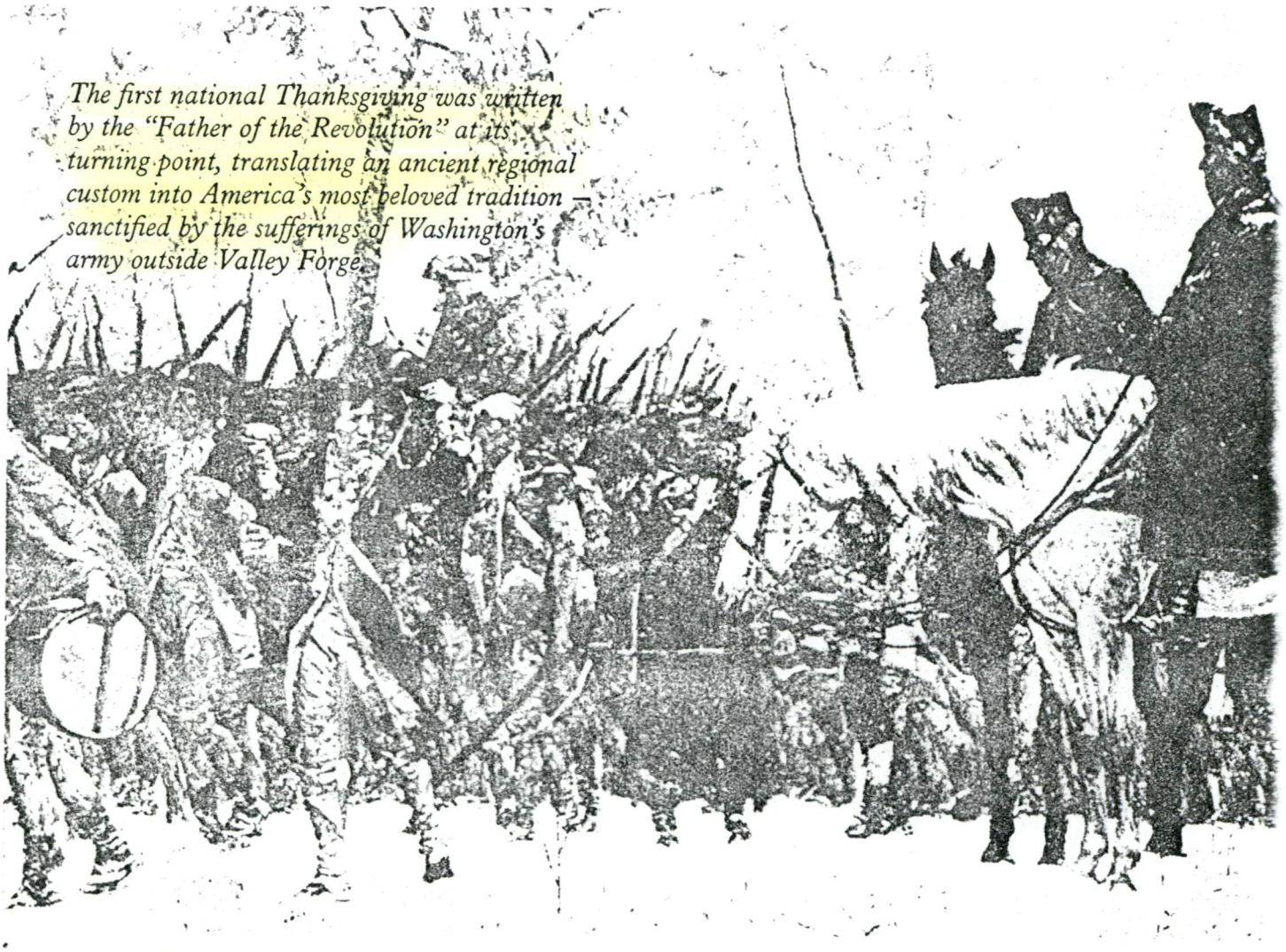
## November 27th

| | |
|---|---|
| | Labor-Thanksgiving Day in Japan<br>Feast of Sts. Barlaam and Josaphat |
| 43 BC | Octavius, Antonius and Lepidus formed a Roman triumverate |
| 784 AD | St. Virgil of Salzburg died (Feast Day) |
| 1198 | Constance, widow of Holy Roman Emperor Henry IV, died |
| 1308 | Henry VII elected King of Germany |

Thanksgiving in spite of suffering

12621

# *The First Thanksgiving of the UNITED STATES*



*The first national Thanksgiving was written by the "Father of the Revolution" at its turning point, translating an ancient regional custom into America's most beloved tradition — sanctified by the sufferings of Washington's army outside Valley Forge.*

**"Mankind is never truly thankful for the benefits of life until they have experienced the want of them."**

*—An Army surgeon near Valley Forge on the first national Thanksgiving Day*

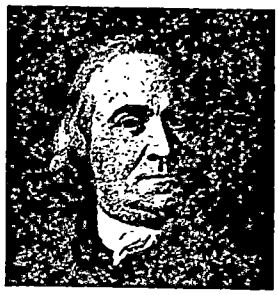
*A final roar from the old lion, Samuel Adams, – not raging against tyranny this time, but praising God – crowns the career of the "Father of the Revolution." At the moment of the "Turning Point of the Revolution" he translated an ancient New England custom (by a Proclamation written with his own hand) into the most universal and beloved of all American traditions – Thanksgiving. On the bitter December day Thanksgiving was celebrated, the emerging giant George Washington with his army sanctified by their suffering this first national Thanksgiving in the bitter cold outside Valley Forge.*

*From this time on, Thanksgiving became the property of all Americans, instinctively rooted in all cultures and religions, vitally expressing in humility and gratitude what one President has called, "The story of the American spirit." At a tumultuous moment in world history, this universal spirit began to saturate the soul of America – gratitude to God for life itself.*

## Prayer Unites People

From the earliest days, the English colonies proclaimed fasts or thanksgivings to mark a time of great crisis or rejoicing. In New England they became regular, fasts in the spring and thanksgivings in the fall. Sometimes a town would proclaim one of these days of prayer in sympathy with another town's need or joy – Salem reached out to Plymouth and in 1774 Williamsburg in Virginia reached out to Boston. It united them in spirit. Because of the Williamsburg Proclamation, the Virginia Royal Governor dissolved the House of Burgesses. The "rump session" then promptly issued the call to the other colonies for the First Continental Congress. Proclamations of special days of prayer are based on the oldest principle in American or perhaps any society – prayer unites people.

The first issue of the first day of the First Continental Congress in 1774 was – can we open the business with prayer? Can we pray together? Despite their diversity of religions, inspired by Samuel Adams, they decided that they could – unanimously. From that first day miraculous unity seemed to hold the far flung colonies together. Nearly a year later in June of 1775 the Second Continental Congress dared to ask a whole continent to pray and fast together.



It had an electric effect, uniting the American people in spirit a year before the Declaration of Independence.

1777 began with a third call to national prayer and fasting by the Continental Congress saying, "the war . . . is likely to be carried to the greatest extremity . . . it becomes all public bodies, as well as private persons, to reverence the Providence of God, and look up to Him as the Supreme Disposer of all events and the arbiter of the fate of nations . . ." Washington observed it with his army near Morristown, New Jersey. Though weeks apart by fast post rider, the states felt together in spirit – united in the worship of God.

## 1777 Unfolds

In England John Burgoyne had convinced Lord North and George III that the only way to halt the revolution was to split New England from the Southern states. On June 18th he found himself at the head of the British expedition starting southward from Canada to join up with the British force who were to proceed northward from New York City in a classic pincers movement.

But, instead British General Howe in New York sailed southward to capture the American capital of Philadelphia on September 26th just behind the Continental Congress who fled westward to York, Pennsylvania. By October 17th after several days of battle near Saratoga, New York – with winter coming on and with no assistance from New York – Burgoyne surrendered his army of 5,728 officers and men to American General Horatio Gates. It was the "Turning Point of the Revolution."



General Gates dispatched his adjutant, an improbable 21 year old Colonel with a genius for trouble, James Wilkinson, to present his official report to the Congress at York. Then, with the

nation waiting for the official account of the greatest news of the war, Wilkinson unaccountably took 12 days to cover the 285 miles between Saratoga and York . . . saying he was hampered by heavy rains and swollen rivers. Actually, he went by to see Ann Biddle (later his wife) at Easton and at Reading he let slip the hottest conspiracy of the Revolution, "The Conway Cabal" (later he challenged General Gates to a duel and became a co-conspirator with Aaron Burr). By the 21st of October the Continental Congress had unofficially received the news of Saratoga through General Washington although there was still no official news from Gates. State capitals meanwhile were unofficially receiving the news and proclaiming Thanksgiving; each, of course, at different times.



Still waiting at York, Samuel Adams on Sunday, October 26th wrote a friend, "The Express (Gates' official account) is expected every Hour." Then this master strategist and mover of men wrote what was in the back of his mind – a vision many others shared, "I hope our Countrymen will render the just Tribute of Praise to the Supreme Ruler for . . . His Interposition in favor of a People struggling for their Liberties." Then came his own inspiration and design, "Congress will, I suppose, recommend the setting apart *one Day of publick Thanksgiving* to be observed throughout the United States."

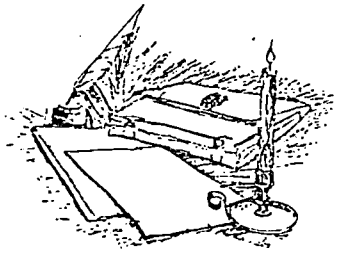
## The Thanksgiving Resolution

Finally, Colonel Wilkinson arrived. The "Journals of Congress" for Friday, October 31st (the 13th day since the victory and the 10th day since Congress had first received the unofficial news) tells its own story:

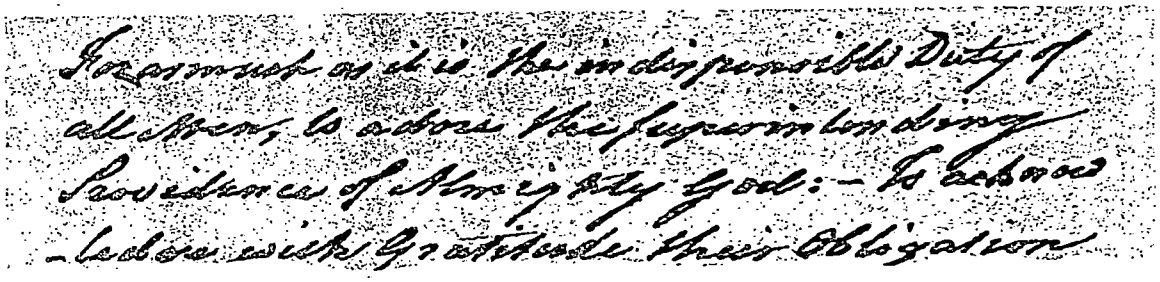
"Prayers. A letter of the 18th of October, from General Gates, with the copy of the convention at Saratoga . . . were read." The immediate reaction of Congress was a Thanksgiving resolution which carried out the intention of Adams' letter of the previous Sunday, "Resolved, that a committee of three be appointed to prepare a recommendation to the several states to set apart a day of thanksgiving . . ." (members chosen were S. Adams, R. H. Lee [Adams' usual ally from Virginia] and D. Roberdeau [Adams' landlord]).

So at sunset Friday, Samuel Adams, 55, had the authority to write the first Thanksgiving Proclamation, the gratitude of the people of an infant nation for the decisive turning point in the fight for independence to which for 29 years he had passionately devoted his life. For him it was a God-given victory in a righteous cause.

In the next few hours before midnight he must have scratched out by candlelight in his own deliberate hand (shown here) the three pages of the first national Thanksgiving Proclamation. That night he gave each of us the national thanksgiving tradition which every American has known since infancy. Thanksgiving could have died out as a quaint New England custom, an accident of history, but Adams' determination started this – our most beautiful national tradition.



Next morning, Saturday, November 1st, the Journal reports – "The committee brought in a report; which was agreed to as follows: Forasmuch as it is the indispensible duty of all men to adore the superintending providence of Almighty God; to acknowledge with gratitude their obligation to him . . ." (the Proclamation went in part) "It is



therefore recommended . . . to set apart Thursday the eighteenth day of December next, for solemn thanksgiving and praise, that with one heart and one voice the good people may express the grateful feelings of their hearts and consecrate themselves to the service of their divine benefactor . . ." (the Proclamation proper was a single sentence of more than 360 words – a real outpouring). On the same day Henry Laurens, President of the Congress, wrote a letter to each of the Governors of the 13 states enclosing the Thanksgiving Proclamation.



So for the first time it happened that a Thanksgiving was kept in the United States. The times before it had been dark. Many had become discouraged. In states in which the Thanksgiving custom was comparatively new there was much preaching and feasting. The army everywhere observed it with reverence.

## Thanksgiving in suffering

But war was grim with Washington's army near Philadelphia. Countermarching and maneuvering in the face of Howe's occupation of Philadelphia – Washington and his army, tattered and hungry from months of constant marching and fighting, now had to take up winter quarters close enough to limit British foraging and supply. Crossing the Schuylkill River, "We at last settled down at a place called 'The Gulph' (so named on account of a remarkable chasm in the hills) . . . starvation here rioted in its glory," said Private Joseph Martin.

In Washington's general orders of the 17th of December (note the date) he explained why he intended to establish the army at Valley Forge (6 miles distant) with confidence that the army would "with one heart and one mind resolve to surmount every difficulty with a fortitude and a patience, becoming their profession, and the sacred cause in which we are engaged." Foreseeing the necessary sacrifice, he added that he himself would "share in the hardship and partake of every inconvenience." The army was preparing to fight for survival, not against bullets and cannon, but against snow and frost and hunger.

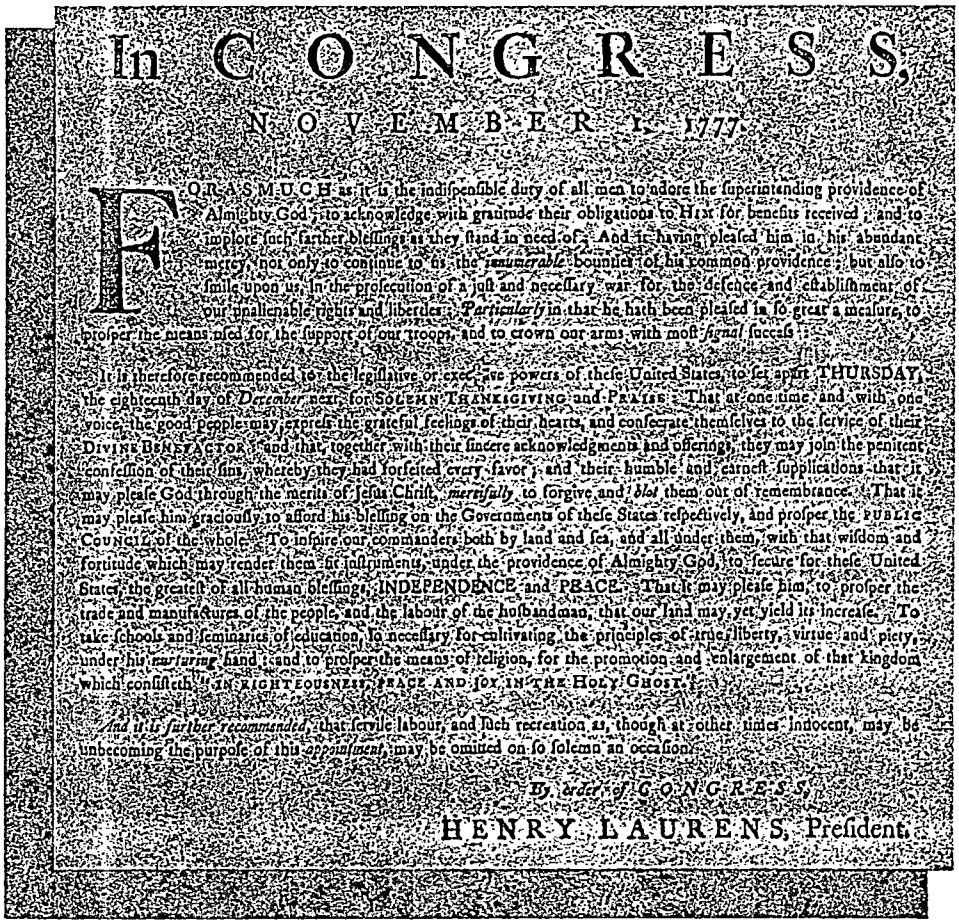
So as a grand paradox of history Washington added to his order – "Tomorrow being the day set apart by the Honorable Congress for public Thanksgiving and Praise; and duty calling us devoutely to express our grateful acknowledgements to God for the manifold blessings he has granted us, the General directs that the army remain in its present quarters, and that the Chaplains perform divine service with their several Corps and Brigades. And earnestly exhorts, all officers and soldiers, whose absence is not indispensibly necessary, to attend with reverence the solemnities of the day."

This first national Thanksgiving Day "was dark and misty, cold rain fell. Had not Congress long before this time appointed the day as a day of general thanksgiving, the celebration, because of the weather conditions, might not have been held."

Thanksgiving in suffering. Here is repeated the classic pattern of great Thanksgivings of history, thanksgiving despite suffering seems to presage a growth of soul in individual or nation.

"This is Thanksgiving Day" Lt. Col. Henry Dearborn wrote in his dairy on Thursday the 18th of December, "God knows we have very little to keep it with, this being the third day we have been without flour or bread, and are living on a high, uncultivated hill, in huts and tents, lying on the cold ground. Upon the whole I think all we have to be thankful for is that we are alive and not in the grave with many of our friends."

The army was not only starved but naked . . . many shirtless and barefoot. "Hundreds of my companions . . . might be tracked by their blood on the rough, frozen ground . . . but hunger, nakedness and sore shins were not the only difficulties . . . we had hard duty to perform and little or no strength to perform it with."



In CONGRESS,

NOVEMBER 1, 1777.

FORASMUCH as it is the indispensible duty of all men to adore the superintending providence of Almighty God; to acknowledge with gratitude their obligations to HIM for benefits received; and to implore such farther blessings as they stand in need of: And it having pleased him in his abundant mercy, not only to continue to us the *innumerable* bounties of his common providence; but also to smile upon us, in the prosecution of a just and necessary war, for the defence and establishment of our unalienable rights and liberties: *Particularly* in that he hath been pleased in so great a measure, to prosper the means used for the support of our troops, and to crown our arms with most *signal* success:

It is therefore recommended to the legislative or executive powers of these United States, to set apart THURSDAY, the eighteenth day of *December* next, for SOLEMN THANKSGIVING and PRAISE: That at one time, and with one voice, the good people may express the grateful feelings of their hearts, and consecrate themselves to the service of their DIVINE BENEFACTOR; and that, together with their sincere acknowledgments and offerings, they may join the penitent confession of their sins, whereby they had forfeited every favor; and their humble and earnest supplications that it may please God through the merits of Jesus Christ, *mercifully* to forgive and *blot* them out of remembrance. That it may please him graciously to afford his blessing on the Governments of these States respectively, and prosper the PUBLIC COUNCILS of the whole. To inspire our commanders both by land and sea, and all under them, with that wisdom and fortitude which may render them fit instruments, under the providence of Almighty God, to secure for these United States, the greatest of all human blessings, INDEPENDENCE and PEACE. That it may please him, to prosper the trade and manufactures of the people, and the labour of the husbandman, that our land may yet yield its increase. To take schools and seminaries of education, so necessary for cultivating the principles of true liberty, virtue and piety, under his *nurturing* hand; and to prosper the means of religion, for the promotion and enlargement of that kingdom which consisteth "IN RIGHTEOUSNESS, PEACE AND JOY IN THE HOLY GHOST."

*And it is further recommended*, that servile labour, and such recreation as, though at other times innocent, may be unbecoming the purpose of this *appointment*, may be omitted on so solemn an occasion.

*By order of* CONGRESS,

HENRY LAURENS, President.

"Mankind is never truly thankful for the benefits of life," philosophized Surgeon Albigence Waldo that day, "until they have experienced the want of them."

The day after Thanksgiving, December 19th, "Was a day in history. Under the lash of stormy winds and piercing cold, ice formed on the roads . . . The little army of some 11,000 men, of whom nearly 3,000 were incapacitated by sickness and nakedness, and which had so recently sustained a campaign with . . . unparalleled courage and bravery," commenced the march west to Valley Forge, and started there a test of suffering which was to result in the strength that brought victory and a new nation.

Across the Atlantic in Paris, Benjamin Franklin, with news of the victory at Saratoga, had played on the fears of the French that the British might offer a treaty to the Americans. So, on that same December 17th that George Washington issued his poignant Thanksgiving order, the French Foreign Minister promised the American Commissioners in Paris that France would recognize American independence and make a treaty – thus insuring eventual American victory.

The army's terrible experience at Valley Forge became its emerging strength as the winter snows started melting. It showed the amazing rightness of a Thanksgiving in crisis and suffering – the assertion of faith that carries humans through terrible trials.

From this first Thanksgiving in December of 1777 the prayer proclamations of fasts and thanksgivings each year did not cease throughout the Revolution. From the local pulpit or as a broadside at the tavern door, these proclamations of prayer were the voice of the people's deepest sentiments in their free legislatures. They saw the religious and political convictions in the same document as merely the two sides of a life of action. They proved their sincerity by staking their lives on it. "The sacred cause" so often repeated by Washington and others, was certainly seen as freedom for America, but also God's plan for the freedom of humanity.

It was Washington who began the Presidential Thanksgiving Proclamations in 1789 voicing his own conviction that, "it is the duty of all Nations to acknowledge the providence of Almighty God." Washington's final Thanksgiving Proclamation in 1795 captures a nobility never exceeded by any President, ". . . impart all the blessings we possess, or ask for ourselves to the whole family of mankind."

With the growth of peace, power and prosperity, outspoken reliance on God by a President in a prayer proclamation ceased after John Adams and James Madison. But, in the 1840's a determined woman editor, Mrs. Sarah Josepha Hale, started a one woman campaign to restore this public expression of a nation's trust in God. Yet it was not until the nation was on the brink of civil war in December of 1860 that President Buchanan issued the first prayer and fasting proclamation in 44 years. He beseeched God, "to save us from the horrors of civil war . . . to remember us as he did our fathers in the darkest day of the Revolution." But it was not to be.

The new President, Abraham Lincoln, asked for days of fast and prayer in 1861, 1862 and 1863. Finally, on July 15, 1863 President Lincoln proclaimed the first Thanksgiving in 48 years and since then every American President has issued at least one Thanksgiving Proclamation every year. So another even more terrible struggle implanted firmly the ancient heritage.

Today, official Thanksgivings are observed in Japan, Switzerland, Canada and Liberia in addition to innumerable other ancient celebrations of gratitude around the world. In 1975 the United Nations Meditation Group celebrated the first "International Thanksgiving."

Thanksgiving unites people. The Continental Congress dared to ask for Thanksgiving on a national scale – declaring publicly their dependence upon God. Healing and harmony and growth have been the result. In gratitude we recognize our common dependence, and therefore, under God, our common humanity.

*This brochure was made possible by many people, but we are especially thankful to Richard L. Bushman, Kenneth E. Harris, Bill Murchison, Nicholas Olsberg, Albert Outler, Martin J. A. G. Petersilia, John F. Reed, Landon Charles Reisinger, David Steindl-Rast, Peter Stewart, Waldo E. Stewart and many others for text, history and interpretation. For illustrations we appreciate the cooperation of the Valley Forge Historical Society, the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (detail of Adams by Copley), every effort was made to contact the owners of copyright material reproduced in these pages especially the portrait of James Wilkinson and Ann Biddle reproduced in "Tarnished Warrior" by James R. Jacobs, published by Macmillan in 1938, the National Archives, the Massachusetts Historical Society and from "Men Without Countries" an illustration by Rick Duiker, copyright 1969 by John Edward Weems, reproduced by permission of Houghton Mifflin Co.*

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advance, congratulations to each and every one of you.

[*At this point, the awards were presented.*]

Well done, everybody. What a great day. What an inspiring day here at the White House. Thank you all very, very much.

*Note: The President spoke at 10:28 a.m. in Room 450 of the Old Executive Office Building. Bart Simpson is a character in the television show "The Simpsons."*

## Letter to the Speaker of the House and the President of the Senate Transmitting a Report on the Potential Effects of Space Nuclear Reactors on Gamma-Ray Astronomy Missions

*November 14, 1990*

*Dear Mr. Speaker: (Dear Mr. President:)*

I herewith forward a Report on the Potential Effects of Space Nuclear Reactors on Gamma-Ray Astronomy Missions pursuant to section 1012 of the National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Years 1990 and 1991 (Public Law 101–189).

Sincerely,

George Bush

*Note: Identical letters were sent to Thomas S. Foley, Speaker of the House of Representatives, and Dan Quayle, President of the Senate.*

## Proclamation 6229—Thanksgiving Day, 1990

*November 14, 1990*

*By the President of the United States of America*

*A Proclamation*

In the first Presidential Thanksgiving Day proclamation, George Washington observed that "it is the Duty of all Nations to acknowledge the Providence of Almighty God, to obey his Will, to be grateful for his Benefits, and humbly to implore His Protection and Favor." As a people who have long enjoyed unparalleled material prosperity and the priceless blessings of peace and freedom, we Americans cannot fail to fulfill this great, yet joyous, duty. Thus, we pause each year on Thanksgiving Day to express our gratitude for the goodness and generosity of our Creator and to ask His continued protection and guidance in all our endeavors, both as individuals and as a Nation.

The observance of Thanksgiving was a cherished tradition in America long before George Washington called his countrymen "to the service of that great and glorious Being who is the beneficent Author of all the good that was, that is, or that will be." Indeed, we trace the tradition of giving thanks back to some of the earliest settlers in this country—not only the Pilgrims at Plymouth but also early colonists at Jamestown, New Amsterdam, and St. Augustine. With hands clasped in prayer and hearts full of gratitude, these men and women gave public thanks to God for having been sustained through times of hardship and peril.

William Bradford's account of the experience of the settlers at Plymouth Colony is not only a moving description of the trials of emigration to a wilderness but also captures their profound faith and contains a timeless exhortation to succeeding generations:

> Being thus passed the vast ocean . . . they had now no friends to welcome them, nor inns to entertain or refresh their weatherbeaten bodies, no houses or much less towns to repair to . . . . And for the season it was winter, and they that know the winters of that country know them to be sharp and violent . . . . Besides, what could they see but a hideous and desolate wilderness? . . . Neither could they, as it were, go to the top of Pisgah, to view from this wilderness a more goodly country to feed their hopes, for which way soever they turned their eyes

(save upwards to the heavens) they could have little solace or content . . . . What could now sustain them but the spirit of God and His grace? They cried to the Lord, and He heard their voice, and looked on their adversity. Let them therefore praise the Lord, because He is good, and His mercies endure for ever.

The historic observance of a day of thanksgiving at Plymouth in 1621 was one of many occasions on which our ancestors paused to acknowledge their dependence on the mercy and favor of Divine Providence. Today, on this Thanksgiving Day, likewise observed during a season of celebration and harvest, we have added cause for rejoicing: the seeds of democratic thought sown on these shores continue to take root around the world. In Central and Eastern Europe, in Latin America, and elsewhere, courageous men and women are beginning to reap the blessings of freedom and self-government. Peoples who once suffered under the heavy yoke of totalitarianism have begun to claim the liberty to which all are heirs.

Our gratitude for the rights and opportunities we enjoy as Americans may be measured by how carefully we use and preserve these gifts, as when we cultivate in our children a love of freedom and an understanding of the responsibilities that freedom demands of us. We tend the precious blossom of our liberty when we recall the example of our ancestors and strive to ensure that our own lives are firmly rooted in faith. Like our forebears, we must cherish the values and beliefs that are the foundation of strong, loving families and caring communities and recognize the importance of learning and hard work, because these are the wellspring of progress and prosperity.

The great freedom and prosperity with which we have been blessed is cause for rejoicing—and it is equally a responsibility. Indeed, Scripture tells us that much will be asked of those to whom much has been given. Our "errand in the wilderness," begun more than 350 years ago, is not yet complete. Abroad, we are working toward a new partnership of nations. At home, we seek lasting solutions to the problems facing our Nation and pray for a society "with liberty and justice for all," the alleviation of want, and the restoration of hope to all our people.

This Thanksgiving, as we enjoy the company of family and friends, let us gratefully turn our hearts to God, the loving Source of all Life and Liberty. Let us seek His forgiveness for our shortcomings and transgressions and renew our determination to remain a people worthy of His continued favor and protection. Acknowledging our dependence on the Almighty, obeying His Commandments, and reaching out to help those who do not share fully in this Nation's bounty is the most heartfelt and meaningful answer we can give to the timeless appeal of the Psalmist: "O give thanks to the Lord for he is good; for his steadfast love endures forever."

Finally, on this Thanksgiving Day, let us also remember all those Americans abroad who labor to advance the ideals for which this great Nation stands. Whether Peace Corps volunteers or military or diplomatic personnel, these selfless individuals often accept great personal risks and sacrifices to serve our country. Let us remember, in particular, those Americans held hostage and members of the Armed Forces serving in the Persian Gulf region. On this day, let us pray for their well-being and their safe return to the United States. And let us be thankful that such fine men and women are still willing to answer the call of duty to country and to defend the cause of liberty.

**Now, Therefore, I, George Bush,** President of the United States of America, do hereby call upon the American people to observe Thursday, November 22, 1990, as a National Day of Thanksgiving and to gather together in homes and places of worship on that day of thanks to affirm by their prayers and their gratitude the many blessings God has bestowed upon us.

**In Witness Whereof,** I have hereunto set my hand this fourteenth day of November,

in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred and ninety, and of the Independence of the United States of America the two hundred and fifteenth.

George Bush

[*Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 2:32 p.m., November 15, 1990*]

## Remarks at the Thanksgiving Turkey Presentation Ceremony
*November 14, 1990*

Is that the bird? Hey, Sam! I know you've been waiting out here and getting cold, but I want to welcome all you kids and all you older kids to the Rose Garden, especially Tom over there. After everything that's been going on in Washington these past few months, it's great to finally be sharing a stage with someone I can call a turkey and get away with it. [*Laughter*] So, I welcome him. I want to assure those of you who fear that a terrible fate awaits Tom Turkey that we've decided to spare him. He will not be subjected to questions from the Washington press corps after this ceremony. [*Laughter*]

Tom, since you come from North Carolina, and out of respect for the Governor of that State, my friend Jim Martin, I'm going to give you a Presidential pardon, and you can spend the rest of your life at a nearby children's farm. So, he'll be all right at Thanksgiving. Other turkeys may not; this one's going to be okay.

I'm glad to see the kids from the Key Elementary School and the New Hampshire Estates Elementary School. Here's a story you can take back to your teachers. Ben Franklin was upset that the bald eagle was named our national symbol because he wanted it to be the turkey. He said: "The turkey is a much more respectable bird, and a true original native of America." I'm sure that's a sentiment that Wyatt Upchurch and Stuart Proctor here and the National Turkey Federation would strongly applaud.

You know, Thanksgiving is really special to me because it's a truly American holiday, one that sums up the good, generous heart of this country. And it reminds us of our real American values, the ones we just can't afford to forget: values like deep gratitude for the rich blessings of this great land, unselfish generosity towards those in need, and commitment to the primary importance of family.

With those values in mind, inside there in the Oval Office, I just signed the 1990 Thanksgiving Day Proclamation, continuing a Presidential tradition that was begun by our first President, George Washington. I was pleased to have five religious leaders from different denominations on hand for the signing. And continuing an even longer tradition that dates back to the Pilgrims, we can draw our inspiration from these early Americans. They suffered and lost so much and yet gave a day of genuine rejoicing for the little bit that they did have. How much more gratitude we, who have so much, owe today to our God, our fellow citizens, our country, and our brave service men and women so far from home this holiday.

Barbara and I will be with them, incidentally, Thanksgiving Day—with some of them over in Saudi Arabia. And I know I'll express what's in the heart of every American when I shake their hands—young men and young women—and say: Thank you. Thank you for standing for freedom, for our security, and for peace in our world.

And perhaps their sacrifice will make those of us at home this Thanksgiving Day reflect even more deeply. So that when we give thanks for our food, we will think of those that are ravaged by hunger; when we give thanks for our health, we will think of those imprisoned by pain or illness or despair; when we give thanks for our freedom, we will also think of those who live in darkness or tyranny; when we give thanks for our future, we will think of those who don't know hope. And we will realize that we have two obligations above all others. First: We must not take for granted the blessings of our lives. And second: For our lives to have true meaning, we must share with others. For this holiday reminds us that it's inner riches, not external wealth, by which we are measured. After all, Thanksgiving is not a time of the year, but it really is an attitude of the heart.

Thanks for coming. God bless everyone here, your families, all those being held hos-

tage, and our service men and women here and abroad. And to all you kids, Happy Thanksgiving. I'm glad you came to the White House. Thanks a lot.

*Note: The President spoke at 1:42 p.m. in the Rose Garden at the White House. In his remarks, he referred to Wyatt Upchurch and Stuart Proctor, president and executive vice president of the National Turkey Federation, respectively.*

## Proclamation 6230—National American Indian Heritage Month, 1990

*November 14, 1990*

*By the President of the United States of America*

*A Proclamation*

Long before European explorers set foot on the North American continent, this great land had been cultivated and cherished by generations of American Indians. Unbeknownst to their fellowman halfway around the world, these Native peoples had developed rich, thriving cultures, as well as their own systems of social order. They also possessed a wealth of acquired wisdom and skills in hunting, tracking, and farming—knowledge and skills that would one day prove to be invaluable to traders and settlers from Europe.

Today Americans of all ages recognize the many outstanding achievements of this country's original inhabitants and their descendants. Young and old alike know the story of Sacajawea, the Shoshone woman who helped to guide Lewis and Clark on their historic expedition and, in so doing, helped to open the door to the Great West. The giant redwood trees protected in a number of our national parks bear the name of Sequoia, in honor of the great Cherokee leader who taught thousands of Indians to read and write and, in so doing, helped to unite and strengthen the Cherokee Nation. We also recall the achievements of Charles Curtis, the proud descendant of Native Americans who served this country not only as a member of Congress but also as Vice President. However, such celebrated examples constitute only a small portion of the rich, centuries-old heritage of American Indians. Indeed, each of the many tribes that have inhabited this great land boasts a long and fascinating legacy of its own.

Last year, when signing into law the "National Museum of the American Indian Act," I noted that our Nation would be moving forward with a new and deeper understanding of the diverse heritage of Native Americans. Like the many educational and cultural events currently being held across the country in observance of National American Indian Heritage Month, the development of a national museum dedicated to the preservation of American Indian history, art, language, literature, anthropology, and culture will help to enhance public awareness of—and appreciation for—these proud peoples.

During National American Indian Heritage Month, as we celebrate the fascinating history and time-honored traditions of Native Americans, we also look to the future. Our Constitution affirms a special relationship between the Federal Government and Indian tribes and—despite a number of conflicts, inequities, and changes over the years—our unique government-to-government relationship has endured. In recent years, we have strengthened and renewed this relationship. Today we reaffirm our support for increased Indian control over tribal government affairs, and we look forward to still greater economic independence and self-sufficiency for Native Americans.

The Congress, by Public Law 101–343, has designated November 1990 as "National American Indian Heritage Month" and has authorized and requested the President to issue a proclamation in observance of this month.

**Now, Therefore, I, George Bush,** President of the United States of America, do hereby proclaim November 1990 as National American Indian Heritage Month. I encourage all Americans and their elected representatives at the Federal, State, and local levels to observe this month with appropriate programs, ceremonies, and activities.

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# JOURNALS OF THE CONTINENTAL CONGRESS

# 1774-1789

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WORTHINGTON CHAUNCEY FORD,
CHIEF, DIVISION OF MANUSCRIPTS

## Volume IX. 1777

October 3-December 31

WASHINGTON
GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE
1907

## FRIDAY, OCTOBER 31, 1777

Prayers.

A letter, of the 18 October, from General Gates, with the copy of the convention at Saratoga, ~~whereby General Burgoyne surrenders himself and his whole army;~~ and another, of the 20th, enclosing the copy of a letter from him to Major General John Vaughan, were read:[1]

*Ordered*, That the letters from General Gates, with the papers enclosed, be referred to the Board of War, and that the Committee of Intelligence publish the convention.

*Resolved*, That a committee of three be appointed to prepare a recommendation to the several states, to set apart a day of thanksgiving, for the signal success, lately obtained over the enemies of these United States:

The members chosen, Mr. S[amuel] Adams, Mr. R[ichard] H[enry] Lee, and Mr. [Daniel] Roberdeau.

A letter from Robert Towers, to Mr. Roberdeau, was laid before Congress and read:

*Ordered*, That it be referred to the Board of War.

*Ordered*, That Colonel Wilkinson, who brought the despatches from General Gates, be directed to attend [Congress]:

Colonel Wilkinson attending, was admitted, and having informed Congress that he had sundry papers to lay before Congress as soon as he could have time to digest and arrange them, and having answers to sundry questions relative to the situation of our army, and those of the enemy, before, at the time of, and since the capitulation of General Burgoyne, he withdrew.

*Ordered*, That an express be immediately despatched to General Washington, with a copy of General Gates's letter to Congress, and the enclosed capitulation.

Adjourned to 4 o'Clock.

[1] The letter of the 18th is in the *Papers of the Continental Congress*, No. 154, I, folio 278.

The question being then put on the first motion, and the yeas and nays required:

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| *New Hampshire*, | | *New Jersey*, | |
| Mr. Folsom, | no } no | Mr. Elmer, | ay } ay |
| *Massachusetts Bay*, | | *Pennsylvania*, | |
| Mr. S. Adams, | no | Mr. Roberdeau, | no } no |
| J. Adams, | no } no | *Maryland*, | |
| Gerry, | no | Mr. Smith, | ay } * |
| Lovell, | no | *Virginia*, | |
| *Rhode Island*, | | Mr. Jones, | ay |
| Mr. Marchant, | no } no | R. H. Lee, | no } ay |
| *Connecticut*, | | F. L. Lee, | ay |
| Mr. Dyer, | ay | Harvie, | ay |
| Law, | ay } ay | *North Carolina*, | |
| Williams, | ay | Mr. Penn, | ay |
| *New York*, | | Harnett, | ay } ay |
| Mr. Duane, | ay | *South Carolina*, | |
| Duer, | ay } ay | Mr. Heyward, | ay |
| | | Laurens, | ay } ay |

So it was resolved in the affirmative.

||The several matters to this day referred, being postponed,||

Adjourned to 10 o'Clock to Morrow.

## SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 1, 1777

Mr. [William] Clingan, a delegate from Pensylvania, attended and took his seat.

Congress proceeded to the choice of a president; and, the ballots being taken,

The Hon^ble^ Henry Laurens was elected.[1]

The committee appointed to prepare a recommendation to these states, to set apart a day of thanksgiving, brought in a report; which was agreed to as follows:

Forasmuch as it is the indispensable duty of all men to adore the superintending providence of Almighty God; to acknowledge with

[1] Roberdeau wrote: "Henry Laurens, Vice President of South Carolina, a worthy, sensible, indefatigable Gentleman, was this day chosen by a unanimous vote, except his own, President of Congress." *Pennsylvania Archives*, First Series, V, 735.

gratitude their obligation to him for benefits received, and to implore such farther blessings as they stand in need of; and it having pleased him in his abundant mercy not only to continue to us the innumerable bounties of his common providence, but also to smile upon us in the prosecution of a just and necessary war, for the defence and establishment of our unalienable rights and liberties; particularly in that he hath been pleased in so great a measure to prosper the means used for the support of our troops and to crown our arms with most signal success: It is therefore recommended to the legislative or executive powers of these United States, to set apart Thursday, the eighteenth day of December next, for solemn thanksgiving and praise; that with one heart[1] and one voice the good people may express the grateful feelings of their hearts, and consecrate themselves to the service of their divine benefactor; and that together with their sincere acknowledgments and offerings, they may join the penitent confession of their manifold sins, whereby they had forfeited every favour, and their humble and earnest supplication that it may please God, through the merits of Jesus Christ, mercifully to forgive and blot them out of remembrance; that it may please him graciously to afford his blessing on the governments of these states respectively, and prosper the public council of the whole; to inspire our commanders both by land and sea, and all under them, with that wisdom and fortitude which may render them fit instruments, under the providence of Almighty God, to secure for these United States the greatest of all human blessings, independence and peace; that it may please him to prosper the trade and manufactures of the people and the labour of the husbandman, that our land may yet yield its increase; to take schools and seminaries of education, so necessary for cultivating the principles of true liberty, virtue and piety, under his nurturing hand, and to prosper the means of religion for the promotion and enlargement of that kingdom which consisteth "in righteousness, peace and joy in the Holy Ghost."

And it is further recommended, that servile labour, and such recreation as, though at other times innocent, may be unbecoming the purpose of this appointment, be omitted on so solemn an occasion.[2]

||The several matters to this day referred, being postponed,||

Adjourned to 10 o'Clock on Monday.

[1] The original read: "That at one time and with one voice."

[2] This report, in the writing of Samuel Adams, is in the *Papers of the Continental Congress*, No. 24, folio 431.

condition of the country to the Congress assembled at Washington. I believe I have a like duty to convey to the people themselves a clear picture of the situation at Washington itself whenever there is danger of any confusion as to what the Government is undertaking.

That there may be a clear understanding as to just what has taken place during the last two days since the passage of this Act it is my intention, over the national radio networks, at ten o'clock Sunday evening, to explain clearly and in simple language to all of you just what has been achieved and the sound reasons which underlie this declaration to you.

The fact that banks will be opened under this plan does not mean that anyone should draw the inference that the banks opening Monday are in any different condition as to soundness from the banks licensed to open on Tuesday or Wednesday or any subsequent day.

*NOTE:* There had always been so much mystery thrown around the banking business, there was so much fear in the minds of bank depositors during these days of the banking crisis, and so much had happened during this first week, that I decided to use the radio to explain to the average men and women of the Nation who had their money tied up in some bank, what we had done and what we intended to do in the banking situation. It was my endeavor to explain these things in non-technical language, so that the great mass of our citizens who had had little or no experience with the technicalities of banking would be relieved of their anxiety as to whether they would ever see their money again.

The following is the first so-called fireside chat, which has been applied by the Press to the various radio reports I have made to the people of the Nation. It had been my custom as Governor to make similar reports from time to time to the people of the State, not only for the purpose of informing them of what had been done, but also to enlist their support on various occasions when a hostile Legislature declined to enact legislation for the benefit of the people.

The name "fireside chat" seems to be used by the Press even when the radio talk is delivered on a very hot mid-summer evening.





## 16 ¶ The First "Fireside Chat" — An Intimate Talk with the People of the United States on Banking. March 12, 1933

I WANT to talk for a few minutes with the people of the United States about banking — with the comparatively few who understand the mechanics of banking but more particularly with the overwhelming majority who use banks for the making of deposits and the drawing of checks. I want to tell you what has been done in the last few days, why it was done, and what the next steps are going to be. I recognize that the many proclamations from State capitols and from Washington, the legislation, the Treasury regulations, etc., couched for the most part in banking and legal terms, should be explained for the benefit of the average citizen. I owe this in particular because of the fortitude and good temper with which everybody has accepted the inconvenience and hardships of the banking holiday. I know that when you understand what we in Washington have been about I shall continue to have your cooperation as fully as I have had your sympathy and help during the past week.

First of all, let me state the simple fact that when you deposit money in a bank the bank does not put the money into a safe deposit vault. It invests your money in many different forms of credit — bonds, commercial paper, mortgages and many other kinds of loans. In other words, the bank puts your money to work to keep the wheels of industry and of agriculture turning around. A comparatively small part of the money you put into the bank is kept in currency — an amount which in normal times is wholly sufficient to cover the cash needs of the average citizen. In other words, the total amount of all the currency in the country is only a small fraction of the total deposits in all of the banks.

What, then, happened during the last few days of February and the first few days of March? Because of undermined confidence on the part of the public, there was a general rush by a large portion of our population to turn bank deposits into cur-

rency or gold—a rush so great that the soundest banks could not get enough currency to meet the demand. The reason for this was that on the spur of the moment it was, of course, impossible to sell perfectly sound assets of a bank and convert them into cash except at panic prices far below their real value.

By the afternoon of March 3d scarcely a bank in the country was open to do business. Proclamations temporarily closing them in whole or in part had been issued by the Governors in almost all the States.

It was then that I issued the proclamation providing for the nationwide bank holiday, and this was the first step in the Government's reconstruction of our financial and economic fabric.

The second step was the legislation promptly and patriotically passed by the Congress confirming my proclamation and broadening my powers so that it became possible in view of the requirement of time to extend the holiday and lift the ban of that holiday gradually. This law also gave authority to develop a program of rehabilitation of our banking facilities. I want to tell our citizens in every part of the Nation that the national Congress—Republicans and Democrats alike—showed by this action a devotion to public welfare and a realization of the emergency and the necessity for speed that it is difficult to match in our history.

The third stage has been the series of regulations permitting the banks to continue their functions to take care of the distribution of food and household necessities and the payment of payrolls.

This bank holiday, while resulting in many cases in great inconvenience, is affording us the opportunity to supply the currency necessary to meet the situation. No sound bank is a dollar worse off than it was when it closed its doors last Monday. Neither is any bank which may turn out not to be in a position for immediate opening. The new law allows the twelve Federal Reserve Banks to issue additional currency on good assets and thus the banks which reopen will be able to meet every legitimate call. The new currency is being sent out by the Bureau of





Engraving and Printing in large volume to every part of the country. It is sound currency because it is backed by actual, good assets.

Q
A
- Direct
- In control

A question you will ask is this: why are all the banks not to be reopened at the same time? The answer is simple. Your Government does not intend that the history of the past few years shall be repeated. We do not want and will not have another epidemic of bank failures.

As a result, we start tomorrow, Monday, with the opening of banks in the twelve Federal Reserve Bank cities—those banks which on first examination by the Treasury have already been found to be all right. This will be followed on Tuesday by the resumption of all their functions by banks already found to be sound in cities where there are recognized clearing houses. That means about 250 cities of the United States.

On Wednesday and succeeding days banks in smaller places all through the country will resume business, subject, of course, to the Government's physical ability to complete its survey. It is necessary that the reopening of banks be extended over a period in order to permit the banks to make applications for necessary loans, to obtain currency needed to meet their requirements and to enable the Government to make common sense checkups.

Let me make it clear to you that if your bank does not open the first day you are by no means justified in believing that it will not open. A bank that opens on one of the subsequent days is in exactly the same status as the bank that opens tomorrow.

I know that many people are worrying about State banks not members of the Federal Reserve System. These banks can and will receive assistance from member banks and from the Reconstruction Finance Corporation. These State banks are following the same course as the National banks except that they get their licenses to resume business from the State authorities, and these authorities have been asked by the Secretary of the Treasury to permit their good banks to open up on the same schedule as the national banks. I am confident that the State Banking Departments will be as careful as the national Government in the policy

relating to the opening of banks and will follow the same broad policy.

It is possible that when the banks resume a very few people who have not recovered from their fear may again begin withdrawals. Let me make it clear that the banks will take care of all needs—and it is my belief that hoarding during the past week has become an exceedingly unfashionable pastime. It needs no prophet to tell you that when the people find that they can get their money—that they can get it when they want it for all legitimate purposes—the phantom of fear will soon be laid. People will again be glad to have their money where it will be safely taken care of and where they can use it conveniently at any time. I can assure you that it is safer to keep your money in a reopened bank than under the mattress.

The success of our whole great national program depends, of course, upon the cooperation of the public—on its intelligent support and use of a reliable system.

Remember that the essential accomplishment of the new legislation is that it makes it possible for banks more readily to convert their assets into cash than was the case before. More liberal provision has been made for banks to borrow on these assets at the Reserve Banks and more liberal provision has also been made for issuing currency on the security of these good assets. This currency is not fiat currency. It is issued only on adequate security, and every good bank has an abundance of such security.

One more point before I close. There will be, of course, some banks unable to reopen without being reorganized. The new law allows the Government to assist in making these reorganizations quickly and effectively and even allows the Government to subscribe to at least a part of new capital which may be required.

I hope you can see from this elemental recital of what your Government is doing that there is nothing complex, or radical, in the process.

We had a bad banking situation. Some of our bankers had shown themselves either incompetent or dishonest in their handling of the people's funds. They had used the money entrusted





to them in speculations and unwise loans. This was, of course, not true in the vast majority of our banks, but it was true in enough of them to shock the people for a time into a sense of insecurity and to put them into a frame of mind where they did not differentiate, but seemed to assume that the acts of a comparative few had tainted them all. It was the Government's job to straighten out this situation and do it as quickly as possible. And the job is being performed.

I do not promise you that every bank will be reopened or that individual losses will not be suffered, but there will be no losses that possibly could be avoided; and there would have been more and greater losses had we continued to drift. I can even promise you salvation for some at least of the sorely pressed banks. We shall be engaged not merely in reopening sound banks but in the creation of sound banks through reorganization.

It has been wonderful to me to catch the note of confidence from all over the country. I can never be sufficiently grateful to the people for the loyal support they have given me in their acceptance of the judgment that has dictated our course, even though all our processes may not have seemed clear to them.

After all, there is an element in the readjustment of our financial system more important than currency, more important than gold, and that is the confidence of the people. Confidence and courage are the essentials of success in carrying out our plan. You people must have faith; you must not be stampeded by rumors or guesses. Let us unite in banishing fear. We have provided the machinery to restore our financial system; it is up to you to support and make it work.

It is your problem no less than it is mine. Together we cannot fail.

*NOTE:* By this time there had been such restoration of confidence that as soon as the banks were reopened a large volume of currency was redeposited. Money in circulation which had reached a peak of over seven and one-half billion dollars early in March, 1933, declined by about one and a quarter billion dollars during the remainder of

March, and by about two billion dollars at the end of August. The return flow of money came principally from hoarded funds rather than from active circulation as was evidenced by the fact that most of the paper currency turned in after March was in the larger denominations of fifty dollars and over, which are not frequently used in day-to-day transactions.

There was also a rapid return of gold and gold certificates to the Reserve banks and to the Treasury. Between March 4th and March 15th, $370,000,000 in gold coin and gold certificates was returned, and $260,000,000 was returned during the second half of March. With this return of currency and gold came an increase in bank deposits. By the middle of April, deposits in the reporting member banks had increased by one billion dollars and before the end of June by more than two billion dollars.

During the first three days after the banking holiday, 4,507 national banks and 567 State member banks were opened, or about 76 percent of all the member banks of the Federal Reserve System. By April 12th, State banking authorities had licensed approximately 7,400 non-member banks other than mutual savings banks or about 72 percent of the total of such banks. By the end of the year the number of licensed member banks had increased to 6,011 and the number of non-member banks had increased to 8,333. A great many of those that were reopened had been strengthened with new capital, supplied either by local interests or with funds from the Reconstruction Finance Corporation.

On April 12, 1933, when the first comprehensive figures became available after the banking crisis, nearly four billion dollars of deposits were tied up in about 4,200 unlicensed or restricted banks, member and non-member, which had been open prior to the banking holiday. By the end of June this had been reduced through reopening the banks or placing them in liquidation to about $2,330,000,000, and by the end of the year to about $1,025,000,000 in 1,772 banks of which 1,257 were non-member banks.

## 17 ¶ The First Step Toward the Repeal of the Volstead Act. March 13, 1933

*To the Congress:*

I RECOMMEND to the Congress the passage of legislation for the immediate modification of the Volstead Act, in order to legalize the manufacture and sale of beer and other beverages of such





alcoholic content as is permissible under the Constitution; and to provide through such manufacture and sale, by substantial taxes, a proper and much-needed revenue for the Government.

I deem action at this time to be of the highest importance.

*NOTE:* The foregoing message was probably one of the shortest on record; and was practically a literal quotation from the language of the Democratic Platform. It was the first step in the legalizing of beer and light wines.

## 18 ¶ The Third Press Conference. March 15, 1933

*(Putting unemployed men to work in the forests—Farm production adjustment.)*

THE PRESIDENT: Sorry to keep you waiting, but the Secretary of the Treasury was over, as usual, this morning.

*Q.* You are kept busy.

THE PRESIDENT: The Japanese Admiral is coming to see me this morning. Steve will tell you all about him.

*Q.* Are we going to have a war? (*Laughter*)

THE PRESIDENT: I haven't any real news, but I suppose you would like to have me talk a little bit about the two other measures. Entirely just for background, the general thought has been this: that even if we can get through the three measures—banking economics, the economy bill and the beer bill—we still shall have done nothing on the constructive side, unless you consider the beer bill partially constructive.

There are two other matters that I would very much like to get started while the Congress is here—both of them constructive. The first is a definite effort to put people to work. And the way I would put it is this: Like all very big projects, it is in a sense experimental, therefore we do not want to launch it on too big a scale until we know how practical it is.

## 50 ¶ The Second "Fireside Chat" — "What We Have Been Doing and What We Are Planning to Do." May 7, 1933

On a Sunday night a week after my Inauguration I used the radio to tell you about the banking crisis and the measures we were taking to meet it. I think that in that way I made clear to the country various facts that might otherwise have been misunderstood and in general provided a means of understanding which did much to restore confidence.

Tonight, eight weeks later, I come for the second time to give you my report; in the same spirit and by the same means to tell you about what we have been doing and what we are planning to do.

Two months ago we were facing serious problems. The country was dying by inches. It was dying because trade and commerce had declined to dangerously low levels; prices for basic commodities were such as to destroy the value of the assets of national institutions such as banks, savings banks, insurance companies, and others. These institutions, because of their great needs, were foreclosing mortgages, calling loans, refusing credit. Thus there was actually in process of destruction the property of millions of people who had borrowed money on that property in terms of dollars which had had an entirely different value from the level of March, 1933. That situation in that crisis did not call for any complicated consideration of economic panaceas or fancy plans. We were faced by a condition and not a theory.

There were just two alternatives: The first was to allow the foreclosures to continue, credit to be withheld and money to go into hiding, thus forcing liquidation and bankruptcy of banks, railroads and insurance companies and a recapitalizing of all business and all property on a lower level. This alternative meant a continuation of what is loosely called "deflation," the net result of which would have been extraordinary hardships on all



yes! active movement in control & engaged.



property owners and, incidentally, extraordinary hardships on all persons working for wages through an increase in unemployment and a further reduction of the wage scale.

It is easy to see that the result of this course would have not only economic effects of a very serious nature, but social results that might bring incalculable harm. Even before I was inaugurated I came to the conclusion that such a policy was too much to ask the American people to bear. It involved not only a further loss of homes, farms, savings and wages, but also a loss of spiritual values — the loss of that sense of security for the present and the future so necessary to the peace and contentment of the individual and of his family. When you destroy these things you will find it difficult to establish confidence of any sort in the future. It was clear that mere appeals from Washington for confidence and the mere lending of more money to shaky institutions could not stop this downward course. A prompt program applied as quickly as possible seemed to me not only justified but imperative to our national security. The Congress, and when I say Congress I mean the members of both political parties, fully understood this and gave me generous and intelligent support. The members of Congress realized that the methods of normal times had to be replaced in the emergency by measures which were suited to the serious and pressing requirements of the moment. There was no actual surrender of power, Congress still retained its constitutional authority, and no one has the slightest desire to change the balance of these powers. The function of Congress is to decide what has to be done and to select the appropriate agency to carry out its will. To this policy it has strictly adhered. The only thing that has been happening has been to designate the President as the agency to carry out certain of the purposes of the Congress. This was constitutional and in keeping with the past American tradition.

values

Lincoln

The legislation which has been passed or is in the process of enactment can properly be considered as part of a well-grounded plan.

First, we are giving opportunity of employment to one-quarter

of a million of the unemployed, especially the young men who have dependents, to go into the forestry and flood-prevention work. This is a big task because it means feeding, clothing and caring for nearly twice as many men as we have in the regular army itself. In creating this civilian conservation corps we are killing two birds with one stone. We are clearly enhancing the value of our natural resources, and we are relieving an appreciable amount of actual distress. This great group of men has entered upon its work on a purely voluntary basis; no military training is involved and we are conserving not only our natural resources, but our human resources. One of the great values to this work is the fact that it is direct and requires the intervention of very little machinery.

Second, I have requested the Congress and have secured action upon a proposal to put the great properties owned by our Government at Muscle Shoals to work after long years of wasteful inaction, and with this a broad plan for the improvement of a vast area in the Tennessee Valley. It will add to the comfort and happiness of hundreds of thousands of people and the incident benefits will reach the entire Nation.

Next, the Congress is about to pass legislation that will greatly ease the mortgage distress among the farmers and the home owners of the Nation, by providing for the easing of the burden of debt now bearing so heavily upon millions of our people.

Our next step in seeking immediate relief is a grant of half a billion dollars to help the States, counties and municipalities in their duty to care for those who need direct and immediate relief.

The Congress also passed legislation authorizing the sale of beer in such States as desired it. This has already resulted in considerable reemployment and incidentally has provided much-needed tax revenue.

We are planning to ask the Congress for legislation to enable the Government to undertake public works, thus stimulating directly and indirectly the employment of many others in well-considered projects.





Further legislation has been taken up which goes much more fundamentally into our economic problems. The Farm Relief Bill seeks by the use of several methods, alone or together, to bring about an increased return to farmers for their major farm products, seeking at the same time to prevent in the days to come disastrous overproduction which so often in the past has kept farm commodity prices far below a reasonable return. This measure provides wide powers for emergencies. The extent of its use will depend entirely upon what the future has in store.

Well-considered and conservative measures will likewise be proposed which will attempt to give to the industrial workers of the country a more fair wage return, prevent cut-throat competition and unduly long hours for labor, and at the same time encourage each industry to prevent overproduction.

Our Railroad Bill falls into the same class because it seeks to provide and make certain definite planning by the railroads themselves, with the assistance of the Government, to eliminate the duplication and waste that is now resulting in railroad receiverships and continuing operating deficits.

I am certain that the people of this country understand and approve the broad purposes behind these new governmental policies relating to agriculture and industry and transportation. We found ourselves faced with more agricultural products than we could possibly consume ourselves and with surpluses which other Nations did not have the cash to buy from us except at prices ruinously low. We found our factories able to turn out more goods than we could possibly consume, and at the same time we were faced with a falling export demand. We found ourselves with more facilities to transport goods and crops than there were goods and crops to be transported. All of this has been caused in large part by a complete lack of planning and a complete failure to understand the danger signals that have been flying ever since the close of the World War. The people of this country have been erroneously encouraged to believe that they could keep on increasing the output of farm and factory indefinitely and that

some magician would find ways and means for that increased output to be consumed with reasonable profit to the producer.

Today we have reason to believe that things are a little better than they were two months ago. Industry has picked up, railroads are carrying more freight, farm prices are better, but I am not going to indulge in issuing proclamations of over-enthusiastic assurance. We cannot ballyhoo ourselves back to prosperity. I am going to be honest at all times with the people of the country. I do not want the people of this country to take the foolish course of letting this improvement come back on another speculative wave. I do not want the people to believe that because of unjustified optimism we can resume the ruinous practice of increasing our crop output and our factory output in the hope that a kind Providence will find buyers at high prices. Such a course may bring us immediate and false prosperity but it will be the kind of prosperity that will lead us into another tailspin.

It is wholly wrong to call the measures that we have taken Government control of farming, industry, and transportation. It is rather a partnership between Government and farming and industry and transportation, not partnership in profits, for the profits still go to the citizens, but rather a partnership in planning, and a partnership to see that the plans are carried out.

Let me illustrate with an example. Take the cotton-goods industry. It is probably true that 90 percent of the cotton manufacturers would agree to eliminate starvation wages, would agree to stop long hours of employment, would agree to stop child labor, would agree to prevent an overproduction that would result in unsalable surpluses. But, what good is such an agreement if the other 10 percent of cotton manufacturers pay starvation wages, require long hours, employ children in their mills and turn out burdensome surpluses? The unfair 10 percent could produce goods so cheaply that the fair 90 percent would be compelled to meet the unfair conditions. Here is where Government comes in. Government ought to have the right and will have the right, after surveying and planning for an industry, to prevent, with the assistance of the overwhelming majority of



important for GB: delicate balance between optimism / assurance & perception of callousness & being out of touch



that industry, unfair practices and to enforce this agreement by the authority of Government. The so-called anti-trust laws were intended to prevent the creation of monopolies and to forbid unreasonable profits to those monopolies. That purpose of the anti-trust laws must be continued, but these laws were never intended to encourage the kind of unfair competition that results in long hours, starvation wages and overproduction.

The same principle applies to farm products and to transportation and every other field of organized private industry.

We are working toward a definite goal, which is to prevent the return of conditions which came very close to destroying what we call modern civilization. The actual accomplishment of our purpose cannot be attained in a day. Our policies are wholly within purposes for which our American Constitutional Government was established 150 years ago.

I know that the people of this country will understand this and will also understand the spirit in which we are undertaking this policy. I do not deny that we may make mistakes of procedure as we carry out the policy. I have no expectation of making a hit every time I come to bat. What I seek is the highest possible batting average, not only for myself but for the team. Theodore Roosevelt once said to me: "If I can be right 75 percent of the time I shall come up to the fullest measure of my hopes."

Remember, POTUS likes sports metaphor

Much has been said of late about Federal finances and inflation, the gold standard, etc. Let me make the facts very simple and my policy very clear. In the first place, Government credit and Government currency are really one and the same thing. Behind Government bonds there is only a promise to pay. Behind Government currency we have, in addition to the promise to pay, a reserve of gold and a small reserve of silver. In this connection it is worth while remembering that in the past the Government has agreed to redeem nearly thirty billions of its debts and its currency in gold, and private corporations in this country have agreed to redeem another sixty or seventy billions of securities and mortgages in gold. The Government and private corporations were making these agreements when they knew full

well that all of the gold in the United States amounted to only between three and four billions and that all of the gold in all of the world amounted to only about eleven billions.

If the holders of these promises to pay started in to demand gold the first comers would get gold for a few days and they would amount to about one-twenty-fifth of the holders of the securities and the currency. The other twenty-four people out of twenty-five, who did not happen to be at the top of the line, would be told politely that there was no more gold left. We have decided to treat all twenty-five in the same way in the interest of justice and the exercise of the constitutional powers of this Government. We have placed everyone on the same basis in order that the general good may be preserved.

Nevertheless, gold, and to a partial extent silver, are perfectly good bases for currency, and that is why I decided not to let any of the gold now in the country go out of it.

A series of conditions arose three weeks ago which very readily might have meant, first, a drain on our gold by foreign countries, and second, as a result of that, a flight of American capital, in the form of gold, out of our country. It is not exaggerating the possibility to tell you that such an occurrence might well have taken from us the major part of our gold reserve and resulted in such a further weakening of our Government and private credit as to bring on actual panic conditions and the complete stoppage of the wheels of industry.

The Administration has the definite objective of raising commodity prices to such an extent that those who have borrowed money will, on the average, be able to repay that money in the same kind of dollar which they borrowed. We do not seek to let them get such a cheap dollar that they will be able to pay back a great deal less than they borrowed. In other words, we seek to correct a wrong and not to create another wrong in the opposite direction. That is why powers are being given to the Administration to provide, if necessary, for an enlargement of credit, in order to correct the existing wrong. These powers will be used when, as, and if it may be necessary to accomplish the purpose.





Hand in hand with the domestic situation which, of course, is our first concern is the world situation, and I want to emphasize to you that the domestic situation is inevitably and deeply tied in with the conditions in all of the other Nations of the world. In other words, we can get, in all probability, a fair measure of prosperity to return in the United States, but it will not be permanent unless we get a return to prosperity all over the world.

In the conferences which we have held and are holding with the leaders of other Nations, we are seeking four great objectives: first, a general reduction of armaments and through this the removal of the fear of invasion and armed attack, and, at the same time, a reduction in armament costs, in order to help in the balancing of Government budgets and the reduction of taxation; second, a cutting down of the trade barriers, in order to restart the flow of exchange of crops and goods between Nations; third, the setting up of a stabilization of currencies, in order that trade can make contracts ahead; fourth, the reestablishment of friendly relations and greater confidence between all Nations.

Our foreign visitors these past three weeks have responded to these purposes in a very helpful way. All of the Nations have suffered alike in this great depression. They have all reached the conclusion that each can best be helped by the common action of all. It is in this spirit that our visitors have met with us and discussed our common problems. The international conference that lies before us must succeed. The future of the world demands it and we have each of us pledged ourselves to the best joint efforts to this end.

To you, the people of this country, all of us, the members of the Congress and the members of this Administration, owe a profound debt of gratitude. Throughout the depression you have been patient. You have granted us wide powers; you have encouraged us with a widespread approval of our purposes. Every ounce of strength and every resource at our command we have devoted to the end of justifying your confidence. We are encouraged to believe that a wise and sensible beginning has been made. In the

present spirit of mutual confidence and mutual encouragement we go forward.

## 51 ¶ White House Statement Promising Review of Veterans' Regulations and Schedules. May 10, 1933

As a result of conferences between the President, the National Commander of the American Legion, Louis Johnson, and the Director of the Budget, the following conclusions have been reached.

As a result of the application of the veterans' regulations, it now seems that the cut in compensation of service-connected World War veterans with specific injuries has been deeper than was originally intended. The regulation and schedules in this respect will, therefore, be reviewed so as to effect more equitable levels of payment. Careful study also will be made of the other regulations and their effects.

By reason of the burden incident to rerating and in order that undue hardship will not be imposed upon veterans in their application for adjudication of their cases, regional offices of the Veterans' Administration will not be closed as has been reported, except where it has been clearly demonstrated that regional facilities are not necessary.

It is not contemplated that Government hospitals will be closed pending a careful, studious survey of the entire hospital situation. This, of necessity, will require considerable time.

These conclusions are in line with the President's original statement that the regulations and schedules would be drafted so as to effect the most humane possible treatment of veterans truly disabled in war service.

*NOTE:* At the time I issued the Executive Orders of March 31, 1933 (see Item 28, this volume), I expected that some modifications might have to be made later in the drastic reductions of veterans' allowances effected by them. As a result of a careful study of the effects of these new regulations, to discover injustices or inequalities, I issued four liberalizing Executive Orders on June 6, 1933 (Nos. 6156-6159, inclusive; see Item 69, this volume).





## 52 ¶ The Nineteenth Press Conference (Excerpts). May 10, 1933

*(Foreign consultative pacts — Disarmament — Foreign debts and the Economic Conference.)*

THE PRESIDENT: Good morning. The really important news is that we are going to have a moratorium on news over Saturday and Sunday.

*Q.* Speaking of moratoriums, did you see the speech that Ramsay MacDonald made yesterday in which he said that an agreement had been reached that we should enter into a consultative pact?

THE PRESIDENT: Careful; don't misquote him, get it right.

*Q.* Will you read it and comment on it, please?

THE PRESIDENT: You can print his language.

*Q.* What was that, Mr. President?

THE PRESIDENT: You can print his language.

*Q.* What he said was that agreements were entered into here . . .

THE PRESIDENT: What did you say? I will have to read it to you.

*Q.* You will find it on the front page, in the box, in the *Times*. *(Laughter)*

THE PRESIDENT: For your information, I will read what he said. I take it that it was properly transmitted.

"One of the points we both considered and had very clearly in front of us was the menace to the tranquillity of mind of Europe which the recent events in Europe had created. We saw quite clearly the new risks with which the Disarmament Conference was being faced.

"Yet I am very happy to say that the United States Government is prepared to play a further part in tranquilizing Europe by agreeing, if the Disarmament Conference comes to anything like a satisfactory issue, to take its part in consultative pacts, the effect of which will

by a completely Federal organization.

In the beginning it was necessary to depend for suggested locations and advice as to projects upon the various local applications for funds, which came in by the thousands from local sponsoring committees and individuals throughout the United States. After the first year, however, there was organized in the Division, an Initiation and Planning Section, whose duty was to make a survey of the country as a whole in order to determine where the various types of projects might be most effectively undertaken.

The majority of the projects initiated were of an industrial type, established near large industrial centers or close to small industrial villages or cities.

In addition to the industrial type of project, however, the Division undertook in the beginning to deal with several more specialized problems. Four projects, for example, were undertaken in locations where whole communities had been thrown into unemployment because of the decline of a particular industry in the community or because of the relocation of the industry elsewhere—for the so-called stranded groups of industrial workers. These projects were located in the mining and timber areas of West Virginia, Pennsylvania and Tennessee, where the miners and timber workers as a whole had become destitute.

By the end of the first ten months, fifty-seven projects had been approved and allotted their portion of the funds; land had been purchased for twenty-five projects, and construction of houses had been started on nine projects.

On April 28, 1934, the first fifty families were moving into the 165-family project near Reedsville, West Virginia, set up for stranded coal miners from the closed mines of Preston andMonongahela Counties. This project provided an experimental ground for community planning, house construction, community farming and education, and for other activities which presented some particular problem the solution of which would be beneficial to the entire subsistence homesteads program. Originally this project was called Reedsville's Experimental Community and is now known as Arthurdale.

For each one thousand dollars advanced for a homestead in the subsistence homesteads program, interest and amortization amounted to less than $4.22 per month, or $50.59 per year. The Federal Subsistence Homesteads Corporation retained title to the property until 75 percent of the purchase price had been paid; and measures were taken to prevent homesteads from falling into the hands of real-estate speculators. The low amount of these interest and amortization requirements made it possible for homesteads of varying prices to be purchased by persons with cash incomes of from $600 to $1200 a year. This was the low in-



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tain financing from private sources. Division were transferred to the
On April 24, 1934 I visited the Resettlement Administration. See
Subsistence Homesteads Exhibition, also Chapter XIX, Vol. I.

## 101 ¶ The Third "Fireside Chat"—"The Simple Purposes and the Solid Foundations of Our Recovery Program." July 24, 1933

AFTER the adjournment of the historical special session of the Congress five weeks ago I purposely refrained from addressing you for two very good reasons.

First, I think that we all wanted the opportunity of a little quiet thought to examine and assimilate in a mental picture the crowding events of the hundred days which had been devoted to the starting of the wheels of the New Deal.

Secondly, I wanted a few weeks in which to set up the new administrative organization and to see the first fruits of our careful planning.

I think it will interest you if I set forth the fundamentals of this planning for national recovery; and this I am very certain will make it abundantly clear to you that all of the proposals and all of the legislation since the fourth day of March have not been just a collection of haphazard schemes, but rather the orderly component parts of a connected and logical whole.

Long before Inauguration Day I became convinced that individual effort and local effort and even disjointed Federal effort had failed and of necessity would fail and, therefore, that a rounded leadership by the Federal Government had become a necessity both of theory and of fact. Such leadership, however,

had its beginning in preserving and strengthening the credit of the United States Government, because without that no leadership was a possibility. For years the Government had not lived within its income. The immediate task was to bring our regular expenses within our revenues. That has been done.

It may seem inconsistent for a government to cut down its regular expenses and at the same time to borrow and to spend billions for an emergency. But it is not inconsistent because a large portion of the emergency money has been paid out in the form of sound loans which will be repaid to the Treasury over a period of years; and to cover the rest of the emergency money we have imposed taxes to pay the interest and the installments on that part of the debt.

So you will see that we have kept our credit good. We have built a granite foundation in a period of confusion. That foundation of the Federal credit stands there broad and sure. It is the base of the whole recovery plan.

Then came the part of the problem that concerned the credit of the individual citizens themselves. You and I know of the banking crisis and of the great danger to the savings of our people. On March sixth every national bank was closed. One month later 90 percent of the deposits in the national banks had been made available to the depositors. Today only about 5 percent of the deposits in national banks are still tied up. The condition relating to State banks, while not quite so good on a percentage basis, is showing a steady reduction in the total of frozen deposits —a result much better than we had expected three months ago.

The problem of the credit of the individual was made more difficult because of another fact. The dollar was a different dollar from the one with which the average debt had been incurred. For this reason large numbers of people were actually losing possession of and title to their farms and homes. All of you know the financial steps which have been taken to correct this inequality. In addition the Home Loan Act, the Farm Loan Act and the Bankruptcy Act were passed.

It was a vital necessity to restore purchasing power by reducing





the debt and interest charges upon our people, but while we were helping people to save their credit it was at the same time absolutely essential to do something about the physical needs of hundreds of thousands who were in dire straits at that very moment. Municipal and State aid were being stretched to the limit. We appropriated half a billion dollars to supplement their efforts and in addition, as you know, we have put 300,000 young men into practical and useful work in our forests and to prevent flood and soil erosion. The wages they earn are going in greater part to the support of the nearly one million people who constitute their families.

In this same classification we can properly place the great public works program running to a total of over three billion dollars—to be used for highways and ships and flood prevention and inland navigation and thousands of self-sustaining State and municipal improvements. Two points should be made clear in the allotting and administration of these projects: first, we are using the utmost care to choose labor-creating, quick-acting, useful projects, avoiding the smell of the pork barrel; and second, we are hoping that at least half of the money will come back to the Government from projects which will pay for themselves over a period of years.

Thus far I have spoken primarily of the foundation stones—the measures that were necessary to reestablish credit and to head people in the opposite direction by preventing distress and providing as much work as possible through governmental agencies. Now I come to the links which will build us a more lasting prosperity. I have said that we cannot attain that in a Nation half boom and half broke. If all of our people have work and fair wages and fair profits, they can buy the products of their neighbors, and business is good. But if you take away the wages and the profits of half of them, business is only half as good. It does not help much if the fortunate half is very prosperous; the best way is for everybody to be reasonably prosperous.

For many years the two great barriers to a normal prosperity have been low farm prices and the creeping paralysis of unem-

ployment. These factors have cut the purchasing power of the country in half. I promised action. Congress did its part when it passed the Farm and the Industrial Recovery Acts. Today we are putting these two Acts to work and they will work if people understand their plain objectives.

First, the Farm Act: It is based on the fact that the purchasing power of nearly half our population depends on adequate prices for farm products. We have been producing more of some crops than we consume or can sell in a depressed world market. The cure is not to produce so much. Without our help the farmers cannot get together and cut production, and the Farm Bill gives them a method of bringing their production down to a reasonable level and of obtaining reasonable prices for their crops. I have clearly stated that this method is in a sense experimental, but so far as we have gone we have reason to believe that it will produce good results.

It is obvious that if we can greatly increase the purchasing power of the tens of millions of our people who make a living from farming and the distribution of farm crops, we shall greatly increase the consumption of those goods which are turned out by industry.

That brings me to the final step—bringing back industry along sound lines.

Last Autumn, on several occasions, I expressed my faith that we can make possible by democratic self-discipline in industry general increases in wages and shortening of hours sufficient to enable industry to pay its own workers enough to let those workers buy and use the things that their labor produces. This can be done only if we permit and encourage cooperative action in industry, because it is obvious that without united action a few selfish men in each competitive group will pay starvation wages and insist on long hours of work. Others in that group must either follow suit or close up shop. We have seen the result of action of that kind in the continuing descent into the economic hell of the past four years.

There is a clear way to reverse that process: If all employers in





each competitive group agree to pay their workers the same wages—reasonable wages—and require the same hours—reasonable hours—then higher wages and shorter hours will hurt no employer. Moreover, such action is better for the employer than unemployment and low wages, because it makes more buyers for his product. That is the simple idea which is the very heart of the Industrial Recovery Act.

On the basis of this simple principle of everybody doing things together, we are starting out on this nationwide attack on unemployment. It will succeed if our people understand it—in the big industries, in the little shops, in the great cities and in the small villages. There is nothing complicated about it and there is nothing particularly new in the principle. It goes back to the basic idea of society and of the Nation itself that people acting in a group can accomplish things which no individual acting alone could even hope to bring about.

Here is an example. In the Cotton Textile Code and in other agreements already signed, child labor has been abolished. That makes me personally happier than any other one thing with which I have been connected since I came to Washington. In the textile industry—an industry which came to me spontaneously and with a splendid cooperation as soon as the Recovery Act was signed—child labor was an old evil. But no employer acting alone was able to wipe it out. If one employer tried it, or if one State tried it, the costs of operation rose so high that it was impossible to compete with the employers or States which had failed to act. The moment the Recovery Act was passed, this monstrous thing which neither opinion nor law could reach through years of effort went out in a flash. As a British editorial put it, we did more under a Code in one day than they in England had been able to do under the common law in eighty-five years of effort. I use this incident, my friends, not to boast of what has already been done but to point the way to you for even greater cooperative efforts this summer and autumn.

We are not going through another winter like the last. I doubt if ever any people so bravely and cheerfully endured a season

half so bitter. We cannot ask America to continue to face such needless hardships. It is time for courageous action, and the Recovery Bill gives us the means to conquer unemployment with exactly the same weapon that we have used to strike down child labor.

The proposition is simply this:

If all employers will act together to shorten hours and raise wages we can put people back to work. No employer will suffer, because the relative level of competitive cost will advance by the same amount for all. But if any considerable group should lag or shirk, this great opportunity will pass us by and we shall go into another desperate winter. This must not happen.

We have sent out to all employers an agreement which is the result of weeks of consultation. This agreement checks against the voluntary codes of nearly all the large industries which have already been submitted. This blanket agreement carries the unanimous approval of the three boards which I have appointed to advise in this, boards representing the great leaders in labor, in industry, and in social service. The agreement has already brought a flood of approval from every State, and from so wide a cross-section of the common calling of industry that I know it is fair for all. It is a plan—deliberate, reasonable and just—intended to put into effect at once the most important of the broad principles which are being established, industry by industry, through codes. Naturally, it takes a good deal of organizing and a great many hearings and many months, to get these codes perfected and signed, and we cannot wait for all of them to go through. The blanket agreements, however, which I am sending to every employer will start the wheels turning now, and not six months from now.

There are, of course, men, a few men, who might thwart this great common purpose by seeking selfish advantage. There are adequate penalties in the law, but I am now asking the cooperation that comes from opinion and from conscience. These are the only instruments we shall use in this great summer offensive against unemployment. But we shall use them to the limit





to protect the willing from the laggard and to make the plan succeed.

In war, in the gloom of night attack, soldiers wear a bright badge on their shoulders to be sure that comrades do not fire on comrades. On that principle, those who cooperate in this program must know each other at a glance. That is why we have provided a badge of honor for this purpose, a simple design with a legend, "We do our part," and I ask that all those who join with me shall display that badge prominently. It is essential to our purpose.

Already all the great, basic industries have come forward willingly with proposed codes, and in these codes they accept the principles leading to mass reemployment. But, important as is this heartening demonstration, the richest field for results is among the small employers, those whose contribution will be to give new work for from one to ten people. These smaller employers are indeed a vital part of the backbone of the country, and the success of our plan lies largely in their hands.

Already the telegrams and letters are pouring into the White House—messages from employers who ask that their names be placed on this special Roll of Honor. They represent great corporations and companies, and partnerships and individuals. I ask that even before the dates set in the agreements which we have sent out, the employers of the country who have not already done so—the big fellows and the little fellows—shall at once write or telegraph to me personally at the White House, expressing their intentions of going through with the plan. And it is my purpose to keep posted in the post office of every town, a Roll of Honor of all those who join with me.

I want to take this occasion to say to the twenty-four Governors who are now in conference in San Francisco, that nothing thus far has helped in strengthening this great movement more than their resolutions adopted at the very outset of their meeting, giving this plan their instant and unanimous approval, and pledging to support it in their States.

To the men and women whose lives have been darkened by

the fact or the fear of unemployment, I am justified in saying a word of encouragement because the codes and the agreements already approved, or about to be passed upon, prove that the plan does raise wages, and that it does put people back to work. You can look on every employer who adopts the plan as one who is doing his part, and those employers deserve well of everyone who works for a living. It will be clear to you, as it is to me, that while the shirking employer may undersell his competitor, the saving he thus makes is made at the expense of his country's welfare.

While we are making this great common effort there should be no discord and dispute. This is no time to cavil or to question the standard set by this universal agreement. It is time for patience and understanding and cooperation. The workers of this country have rights under this law which cannot be taken from them, and nobody will be permitted to whittle them away but, on the other hand, no aggression is now necessary to attain those rights. The whole country will be united to get them for you. The principle that applies to the employers applies to the workers as well, and I ask you workers to cooperate in the same spirit.

When Andrew Jackson, "Old Hickory," died, someone asked, "Will he go to Heaven?" and the answer was, "He will if he wants to." If I am asked whether the American people will pull themselves out of this depression, I answer, "They will if they want to." The essence of the plan is a universal limitation of hours of work per week for any individual by common consent, and a universal payment of wages above a minimum, also by common consent. I cannot guarantee the success of this nationwide plan, but the people of this country can guarantee its success. I have no faith in "cure-alls" but I believe that we can greatly influence economic forces. I have no sympathy with the professional economists who insist that things must run their course and that human agencies can have no influence on economic ills. One reason is that I happen to know that professional economists have changed their definition of economic laws every five or ten years for a very long time, but I do have faith, and





retain faith, in the strength of the common purpose, and in the strength of unified action taken by the American people.

That is why I am describing to you the simple purposes and the solid foundations upon which our program of recovery is built. That is why I am asking the employers of the Nation to sign this common covenant with me—to sign it in the name of patriotism and humanity. That is why I am asking the workers to go along with us in a spirit of understanding and of helpfulness.

(See Items 59, 78, 79, 81, 93, 98, 105 of this volume.)

## 102 ¶ Radio Address to Governors' Conference at San Francisco—"Mutual State and Federal Undertakings." July 25, 1933

I SEND my greetings across many States to the Conference of Governors assembled tonight. I wish I could meet with you and renew old and pleasant associations, created during the four years during which I was one of you. I like to recall that I was a member of the Executive Committee of the Conference of Governors and that I attended all four meetings during my term of office as Governor of New York. I found then, and subsequent observation has confirmed my belief, that the Governors' Conference is a vital and necessary organization.

I take this occasion to assure you of my deep appreciation of the cooperative spirit which you have recently shown in your resolution addressed to me. We are all engaged in the business of lifting this country from economic chaos and I congratulate you on the efforts that you are making.

I feel that one of the great problems before us is to adjust the balance between mutual State and Federal undertakings—to determine the joint responsibilities of many great tasks. I think we are making progress in this direction. There are many problems that extend beyond the power of single States. I can use