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Reel  
156

Box  
55

Folder  
505

The Roosevelt Administration: Its Achievements, Its Failures,  
1936.

Sermon 153

ABSTRACT OF ADDRESS DELIVERED BY RABBI ABBA HILLEL SILVER AT THE TEMPLE,  
ANSEL ROAD AND EAST 105TH STREET ON SUNDAY MORNING, MAY 3, 1936

THE ROOSEVELT ADMINISTRATION - ITS ACHIEVEMENTS - ITS FAILURES

Because of the partisanship and bitterness which are fast developing as the national party pre-conventions and elections approach, and because of the unreasoning hate of President Roosevelt which is manifest in some sections of our population, one who is not a partisan is inclined at this time to make a cool dispassionate estimate of the past administration, of its achievements and failures and at the same time, to caution his fellow citizens against political emotionalism at a time when clear thinking and cool judgment are so much needed.

Many who in 1933-34 hailed Roosevelt as a veritable savior, now when times are much better, have not a kind word to say for the Chief Executive of our nation. Every one knows of business men who lost their money during the Hoover Administration and who religiously cursed that administration thrice daily and lauded Mr. Roosevelt in lyric ecstatic terms who now, in 1936, when their incomes have been restored and their business recovered, are pouring out their vials of wrath on the President, and by implications, are again yearning for the halcyon days of Hoover and the flesh-pots of Republican prosperity.

It is idle to maintain now that the economic chaos which Roosevelt inherited would have reshaped itself into recovery and prosperity if only it had been given time and allowed to run its course. Those business men who now claim for American Industry such automatic powers of recovery were the first to run to Washington in those desperate years and implore the Government to do something about it. Some of the measures of the Roosevelt



Administration which business men are now denouncing as social<sup>istic</sup> and bureaucratic meddling, were requested of the Administration by the business men themselves.

I credit the Roosevelt Administration with courage to assume federal responsibility for the relief of the unemployed. Of course, it costs billions of dollars but a government which can spend billions of dollars on war must find the money with which to feed its hungry citizens. If there was no mass hunger and starvation in the United States during these years, and as a consequence, no riots and revolutions, that is due primarily to the aid extended by the Federal Government. The Roosevelt Administration is also to be credited with the courage to initiate large scale public works and employment projects. The execution of these projects has in many cases been very faulty. There has undoubtedly been much waste and inefficiency. Nevertheless the principle upon which the Administration worked is sound - that at a time when private industry is unable to absorb the job needy of the nation, the government must step in.

The Roosevelt Administration should be credited with breaking the stranglehold of the gold standard and with giving the nation a more flexible currency. Credit, too, is due to the Administration for extending federal supervision over banks, securities and stock markets, The first efforts to curb gambling, stock speculation, frauds in floating securities, should be credited to the Administration. The Administration attacked the iniquities of electric power holding companies and defended vigorously federal water and electric<sup>power</sup> projects and the right of the nation to use for the benefit of its citizens, electric power produced by the people's <sup>own</sup> money.

Lasting credit will go to the Roosevelt Administration for the Federal <sup>social</sup> Securities Act which prepares the way for what will ultimately be sound unemployment insurance, old age pensions, <sup>and</sup> insurance, protection



of the motherhood of the nation and aid for the disabled and the handicapped.

Mr. Roosevelt has renewed the battle which in the last 40 years has been associated with the names and the leadership of Cleveland, Bryan, Theodore Roosevelt and Woodrow Wilson, which under one designation or another, "The Square Deal", the "New Freedom" etc. was the struggle of the American people against the growing concentration of wealth and power in the hands of a few and for a wider distribution of the national income.

The Roosevelt Administration has failed in its efforts to bring about some form of central planning. Such central planning had been intended ~~in our national economy in order~~ to check unwise and harmful economic expansion and wasteful competition as well as to coordinate production, distribution and price. This <sup>failure</sup> / leads one to fear that the present recovery may be only a prelude to another panic of the type of 1929. The elements which brought that panic about are, by and large, still inherent in our economic set up. There have been many important and necessary reforms achieved under the Roosevelt Administration but there has been no "New Deal".

The Roosevelt Administration has been, perhaps, the most "militaristic" in our history. The "big" Army and the "big" Navy men have had a picnic during the past three years in Washington. Recently, Congress voted close on to a billion dollars for our Army and Navy, the largest peace time appropriation in American History. We talk about the policy of the "good neighbor". We know that no nation is threatening us and that we have no quarrel with other nations which need lead to war. We constantly scold those bad, bad nations of Europe for their militarism and their armament. Yet we are actually leading the world in this mad armament race.

The passage of the Bonus Bill can not be charged up against Mr. Roosevelt because he vetoed it. However, it must be charged up against his Administration. It is an unpardonable raid upon the Treasury of the United



States and will undoubtedly inspire other ~~xx~~ high pressure groups to make similar raids in the future.





455  
THE ROOSEVELT ADMINISTRATION - ITS ACHIEVEMENTS -  
ITS FAILURES

A Pre-Convention Estimate of Our National Progress  
During a Period of Crisis

WRHS  
Delivered By  
DR. ABBA HILLEL SILVER

At  
The Temple

On  
Sunday morning, May 3, 1936





My friends, we are on the eve of conventions of parties to select our standard bearers for the campaign of 1936. Our nation is on the eve of a national election which will determine which party shall be in control of our national affairs for the next terms and who shall be the chief executive of these United States. Our people will be summoned in the next few months to make an appraisal of the achievements or lack of achievements of the present administration, will pass judgment whether this administration is to continue to guide and control the destinies of our people for another term. During the next few months, there will, of course, be in discussion much partisanship, much propaganda, considerable heat, considerable abuse, much maligning, much political sneering, considerable over-statement and considerable under-statement. Those politicians who are out will of course look with alarm upon everything which the present administration has done or has failed to do and those politicians who are in and who will stay will of course point with pride to the achievements and failures.

There will be, I am afraid, much bitter talk about radicalism, socialism, and the red menace, whether the present administration is to be elected or not. The Chambers of Commerce and the Liberty League of the United States will speak, I am sure, loud and hysterically as in the past about the stages of bureaucracy, the evils of the Brain Trust, the necessity of balancing the budget, reducing taxes, keeping the government from interfering with business.

I suspect, as others do, that the Campaign will be one of the bitterest campaigns in the political history of the United States.

It is strange that the President of our Country, Roosevelt, has for some <sup>un</sup>accountable reason succeeded in bringing down upon him a torrent of hate, the like of which very few presidents in the country have succeeded



in bringing down upon him a torrent of hate the like of which very few presidents in the country have succeeded in bringing down upon them. Quite recently I read an article in one of the important magazines of the country called "They Hate Roosevelt." I should like to read a few sentences from the beginning of the article.

"A resident of Park Avenue in New York City was sentenced not long ago to a term of imprisonment for threatening violence to the person of President Roosevelt. This episode, with the conclusions as to the man's probably sanity, was recorded at length on the front pages of the newspapers of the land. In itself it was unimportant. Cranks with wild ideas are always to be found here and there in any large community. Yet it was significant as a dramatically extreme manifestation of one of the most extraordinary phenomena of our day, a phenomenon which social historians in the future will very likely record with perplexity if not with astonishment: the fanatical hatred of the President which today obsesses thousands of men and women among the American upper class.

"No other word than hatred will do. It is a passion, a fury, that is wholly unreasoning. Here is no mere political opposition, no mere violent disagreement over financial policies, no mere distrust of a national leader who to these men and women appears to be a demagogue. But the phenomenon to which I refer goes far beyond objection to policies or programs. It is a consuming personal hatred of President Roosevelt.

"It permeates, in greater or less degree, the whole upper stratum of American society. It has become with many persons an idee fixe. One encounters it over and over again in clubs, even in purely social clubs, in locker and card rooms. At luncheon parties, over dinner tables, it is an



incessant theme. And frequently ~~it~~ in conversation it takes a violent and unlawful form, the expression of desires and wishes that can be explained only, it would seem, in terms of abnormal psychology.

"In history this hatred may well go down as the major irony of our time. For the extraordinary fact is that whereas the fanatic who went to prison had lost his fortune and, therefore, had a direct grievance, the majority of those who rail against the President have to a large extent had their incomes restored and their bank balances replenished since the low point of March, 1933."

Because of this fear against the chief executive of our country, one who is not a partisan, one who is interested in watching the progress of our nation regardless under which party it takes place, is inclined at this time to make a cool dispassionate appraisal of the achievements and the failures of the administration and to caution his fellow citizens against this political emotionalism at a time when cool thinking and cool judgment are so desperately needed.

On March 4, 1934, on the first anniversary of President Roosevelt's occupancy of his office as President, I had occasion to speak in this pulpit on Roosevelt's first year in office. At that time I expressed that in spite of the crisis, it would probably be his easiest year. The times were desperate and a courageous leader could count on cooperation even from his political opponents. I was conscious that the hard years were ahead of him and I suspected that the heroic mood would vanish and as the heroic mood would vanish, there would set in again that partisanship, that reaction which would set about to undermine the president, sabotage him, that his foes would set about to discredit him - even his friends would become critical and cool, some desert, some even betray. For that



is the fate of all great leaders of men. For it is clear that all plans cannot be realized, because if all the plans would be achieved, they would be achieved imperfectly. And at that time, I said that it is well that we halt on this first anniversary to give voice to cool confidence in the man so that he might draw from this evidence of active good will of his country men, strength for the hard years ahead.

Much of what I foresaw then has come to pass. Many who in 1933 hailed Roosevelt as a veritable savior have today not a kind word to say about him. Strangely, <sup>the</sup> conditions which followed have naturally improved since 1933.

I have a friend who in 1933, lost most of his fortune. During that year he religiously cursed the outgoing administration three times a day. He praised in lyrical ecstatic words the new President. Although his fortune has not yet entirely been recovered, in 1936 his fortune was adequately restored so that he could spend a winter in Florida with his family. Recently I was with him at a dinner party. He appropriated most of the time to pour out vials of wrath and indignation on President Roosevelt and by implication, was yearning for the halcyon days of Hoover and the fleshpots of Republican security. Such is the fickleness of the human being.

Now one need not be a partisan to reject what is unworthy or unjust in the present administration. I believe that a calmer, more objective survey of the situation would induce one, regardless of party affiliation, to give a large measure of praise to Mr. Roosevelt, to his administration for the things that ~~ix~~ were done and done well and also a measure of blame for the things that were not done or could have been done better. But when the final balance is struck, I believe that the



American people have reason, decidedly, to be grateful that in these years of crisis, when our nation was passing through some of the most dangerous critical years of history, its political destinies were in the hands of a man who had the courage and capacity and strength of leadership to lead our people out from the valley of despondency to a freer happier and more confident life. What I am saying now would not require restatement, if we could all recapture the mood in which we found ourselves in 1933, before the election and after. We have forgotten it, most of us - the mood of despair, helplessness. The wheels of industry were run down, down to what seemed to be an inevitable disaster in the offing. Most of the plants were shut down. Millions were thrown out of employment. There were fourteen million unemployed. Banks were closing down. Credit was freezing up. Bankruptcies were increasing daily. Prices were falling to bankruptcy levels. Chaos was in the air. This was the legacy which the new administration inherited from the old one.

It is folly, in my humble judgment, to maintain at this time that this chaos would have reshaped itself with recovery and prosperity if allowed to run its course. They certainly did not hold that possible in 1933. They did not believe in the automatic, matter of course recovery of American industry. They were the first to rush to the Federal Government to do something about it. Those business men today who resent so much Federal interference in business were the first ones who pleaded with the government to come to their rescue. Most of the measures of the Roosevelt Administration which are now denounced by business critics of the administration as government meddling and socialism, were requested of the Administration by the business men themselves. The NRA was the pet child of the United States Chamber of Commerce.



I credit the Roosevelt Administration with the following important and significant achievements. First of all, I credit him with the courage which he had to assume federal responsibility for the relief of unemployed the cost of relief when State relief had proved inadequate, uncertain and of course/not equally distributed. The Roosevelt Administration had the courage and the vision to maintain that the government is responsible for the care of those for whom industry cannot care. Now the cost of relief of the unemployed has been a tremendous drain, exceeding eight and one-half billion dollars. Nevertheless, a government which can spend three times that for war, must find billions to feed people and keep them from mass starvation.

Credit must go the Roosevelt Administration for the care of the unemployed and no administration that had any sense would have done any differently. I credit the Roosevelt Administration with the courage and insight to take care of the unemployed. First of all, the establishment of conservation camps. Hundreds of thousands of people who were becoming candidates for rackets and gangs, were given work.

I credit the Roosevelt Administration with the courage to launch Public Works projects - the slum clearance, home building projects. These projects, I know, are full of waste and inefficiency. They call for considerable over-hauling. Nevertheless, the principle is sound. Whenever private industry can not provide work for its workers, it is imperative that the Administration step in and make work to take up the surplus labor.

I credit the Administration with having the courage to break the stranglehold of the gold standard on American currency. It devaluated the American dollar by 40 percent and has placed it on a modified gold basis. Our country, in following belatedly the example of Great Britain, is now



operating on a program of a currency. Our people today have a more flexible currency, a currency sufficiently flexible to meet the economic needs of our people whose real wealth is not gold but goods and commodities and resources.

I credit the Roosevelt Administration with having had the courage to extend Federal control of banks, the extension of credits and the security markets and of the stock exchange for taking the first step and only the first step to curb the infamy of all kinds of gambling which swept over the American people in that decade between 1920 and 1930.

I credit the Administration of Mr. Roosevelt with having had the courage to extend political control of public utilities and more particularly to attack the iniquities of the electric power holding companies, those octopuses of which created so much havoc in our economic life.

I credit the Roosevelt Administration with the courage it had in defending the rights of the American people to produce its own water power and electric power represented in the TVA and to sell that power to the American people with whose money they built those huge plants.

I credit the Administration with one of the greatest achievements, I believe, in the annals of the American people - social security - whereby our government is stimulating unemployment insurance, security against the hazards of old age, where the government will help to protect the motherhood of our country, the disabled, the blind - humanitarian measures which we should have had on our statute books decades ago and which finally have been written into the law of the land. I know that some of these measures are not all that they should be. Nevertheless, the first important step has been taken by this Administration.



And I credit that Administration with the courage to renew the battle which in the last 40 years has been associated with the names and the leadership of Cleveland, Bryan, Theodore Roosevelt and Woodrow Wilson, which under one designation or another - "The Square Deal", the "New Freedom" etc. was the struggle of the American people against the growing concentration of wealth and power in the hands of a few and for the wider distribution of the national income, the struggle of the two percent against the 98 percent.

While the Administration is to be credited with these commendable achievements, with these most important reforms in many fields, it should be charged up with a few failures. First, that it has given up in a real sense, the very heart of the New Deal. Long before the NRA was constitutionally outlawed by the Supreme Court of the United States, long before some of the measures of the United States had been declared unconstitutional, the Administration had turned away from the essentials of the program which men came to call the New Deal. I am referring specifically to the lack of central planning of our economic life. There was need for curbing wasteful and harmful economic expansion. There was need for checking wasteful competition. There was need for coordinating price, distribution and production. In other words, there was need to revise our whole economic system. Such central had been intended to check unwise and harmful economic expansion and wasteful competition. That is the heart of the New Deal. That has not been achieved, of course. That has been practically abandoned and abandonment leads some of to fear that recovery only is a temporary recovery, that the things which brought about the panic are still inherent in our economic set up, and that this present recovery may be only a prelude to another panic of the



type of 1929.

I charge the Roosevelt Administration with another great failure. The Roosevelt Administration has been among the most militaristic in the history of our country. The Big army men and navy men have had a picnic in the last few years. Everything they asked for and more - they received. A few weeks ago, our government voted the largest peace time appropriation in American history - 543 million dollars. A day or two ago, the Roosevelt Administration and the Senate will approve the largest naval appropriation - 531 million dollars. Our peace is being threatened by no one. We are spending close to a thousand million dollars a year on our army and navy. Then we talk about being peace minded. In the last few years, we have taken to scolding other nations for their militarism and armament when we are the greatest nation on earth as far as militarism and arms are concerned.

I charge the Roosevelt Administration, not the President, himself, for the passage of the infamous Bonus Bill. It is a clear cut raid on the Treasury of the United States and unpardonable, which will serve as a precedent for other organizations in the United States which I am afraid will be similarly successful.

So, when we come to strike a balance for the last three years, of the present administration, we will discover that while it has not been a messianic administration, as some expected or hoped it would be while it has not ~~xx~~ achieved miracles, while it has failed in many of its measures because it attempted too much, because of its lack of central planning, the opposition, the Supreme Court, nevertheless, the present Administration must be credited first and that credit in itself is sufficient to make the Administration an outstanding one, in that it



has brought a degree of confidence, hope, courage into our national life - that it has dispelled the mood of despair and helplessness and fear, that it has materially improved business conditions in the country. It must also be credited with some of the measures which I itemized - measures which will have to be expanded, elaborated upon, if our nation is to progress from strength to strength in the future.

It would be highly desirable, in the next few months, when we engage in political discussions, as we undoubtedly will, that all of us try to keep an emotional poise and mental balance about the whole situation and give credit where credit is due. Too often criticism is given when it is unjustifiable. That is unfair, and un-American.





⑩ Renewed battle against money concentration,  
wealth power in hands of few - & for a wide  
distributing means - which was put  
40 yrs ago in the time of Cleveland & Bryan,  
and 25 yrs ago in the time of Thunder Roosevelt  
The W - "Square Deal" The "New Freedom"

⑪ This is not radicalism - but sane Amer. plan  
can run - our ind. sys. as mass prod. basis  
simply cannot operate unless masses have large  
income - not by sharing <sup>nat</sup> wealth which exists  
at moment - pro rata - \$450 per capita - but  
by given greater share in increasing wealth of  
nat. as it is being produced - basis in profit &  
~~dividend~~ <sup>that</sup> wealth to 2 or 3% who own ~~control~~ <sup>control</sup> it  
and over to 97%  
to worker - farmer - with which to buy what  
- a using standard of living for Am. people  
less millionaires - but also fewer paupers!

⑫ Not successes - but efforts in right directions.  
Some defeated by lack of experience, by Supreme Court,  
by opposition - But all efforts in behalf of people -  
not for special interests; NA always clear plan.  
Econ. is not exact science! Attempted too much in  
short time -

⑬ Army & Navy - huge apparatuses - no effort  
to check them -



- ① Navy - 1937. greatest peace-time naval apph. built in  
 Am. hist. 531 m -
- ② Army. 543 m. - also largest - for largest army  
 over a thousand dollars.

Mad Race is on - & we are in it

84 vessels building  
 12 new submarines  
 344 new airplanes  
 2 new battleships.

No one is conceivably threatening us - we have  
 no quarrel with any other nation -  
 2 great oceans separate us by 1000's of miles  
 from Europe & Russia - And yet /  
 - "Scholarship"

- ③ Bonus Bill - against R's veto - nevertheless  
 charged up against his admin - It was a  
 piece of Treasury rifting unprecedented in our  
 hist - and will serve as an imp. to the  
 well ap. pressure group to follow suit -  
 Raising the Treasury - & then passing on  
 unbearable burdens upon the taxpayers.



④ Conroy - to break through hold of gold standard on Am. currency. It devaluated Am. dollar by 40% and has placed it on modified gold basis. The country, following belatedly the example of S.B., is now operating on a paper, a managed currency, a currency sufficiently flexible to meet the econ. needs, ~~for~~ <sup>for</sup> people whose national wealth is not gold - but goods & <sup>commodities</sup> services.

⑤ Conroy to <sup>increase</sup> ~~extend~~ ~~on~~ ~~the~~ ~~control~~ ~~over~~ banks, <sup>the foreign</sup> ~~and~~ <sup>credit</sup> ~~the~~ security markets - and to check the more glaring forms of gambling on the stock exchanges -

⑥ Conroy to demand public control in <sup>of</sup> ~~the~~ <sup>public utilities</sup> ~~the~~ <sup>electric power</sup> ~~the~~ holding companies - and to attack the injustices

⑦ Conroy to defend vigorously the Federal Water Power project in the TVA. and the right of the govt to locate power plants which it built with its own money - for the benefit of the people.

⑧ Conroy - to tackle problem of central planning in industry. - NRA - unconstitutional - was not even unsound, a unnecessary - It will come up again again - The day of uncontrolled comp. ind. in industry is practically over - <sup>not</sup> <sup>representations</sup> - but Constitutional <sup>guidance</sup> -

⑨ Personal Security - Old Age - Un. etc.



7. I credit R. H. - with following sig. achievements.  
under shadow of a great crisis

① - Convey to assume Fed. resp. for the relief  
of the Un - local relief inadequate - uncertain -  
and cost of relief not equally distributed -  
It cost billions - but a point that can spend  
billions for war - must find the billions with  
which to feed its hungry citizens. If there was  
no mass hunger & starvation in the U.S. during  
these long years of depression - and no consequent  
riots and revolutions - due, in part, to aid  
extended by Fed. Govt.

② Convey to establish C. C. Camps - to give  
useful & healthful employment to hundreds, thousands  
of young men - candidates for gangs & racketeering

③ Convey to launch ~~public works~~ <sup>Shirley Chace - Brown</sup> ~~public works~~ <sup>public works</sup>  
projects - to give employment to hundreds, thousands  
of them. These ~~large~~ projects have encountered considerable  
difficulties. They are not free of inefficiency &  
waste & other evils incidental to newly org.  
emergency ~~work~~ project. They call for considerable  
overhauling. But the principle is sound -  
In depression, when private inst. cannot absorb  
all under - govt. must step in with public  
works to take up the surplus labor -



~~happier~~ ~~and~~ life. .

6. This would need no restatement, if people would recall the mood, the country in 1933 - before the election - & after - Wagner - Helplessness - The Indust. machine was running down ~~with~~ <sup>at</sup> precipitancy - with disaster in the thing. Plants were shutting down. Un. was increasing <sup>in 1932</sup> ~~appalling~~. Banks were closing. Credit was freezing up. Bankruptcies were increasing daily. Prices were falling to bankruptcy levels. Chaos was threatened. This was the hyacy. while was left by the outgoing admin - when <sup>head</sup> ~~head~~ Hoover is to day still keeping the admin. wheel measured his - on the virtues of my feel individual - and the danger, the New Deal.

It is idle to maintain now that this chaos would have reshaped itself into recovery & progress if ~~it~~ allowed to run its course - if given time. The big <sup>men</sup> who were claim such automatic power, recovery in Am. industry - were the first to run to work & demand impose the post to do something about it - Most of the measures <sup>of</sup> admin which were denounced by bus. critics, the admin - as post unduly & irresponsible were requested of the admin - by the bus. men themselves. It was the U.S. C. I. 9 6 that asked for the N. R. A.



4. Much, what I presaw happened. - And many  
who in 1933 and 4 handled him a favor - now  
have him an exceedingly much better  
hand not a hand word to say for the Chief Ex.  
of the Nation. - ~~and, much for~~ such is the fickleness  
of men - and such is the shallowness, their judgments  
and appraisals.

② My Friend - 1933 - lost <sup>much</sup> his money. Thence  
and vehemently cursed Hoover and then 1933 - the  
boke - landed R. to the skies - in lyric, ecstatic terms -  
In 1936 - returning sun - landed after a winter <sup>spent</sup> in  
Florida - his business <sup>with his family</sup> prospered - his income, <sup>restored</sup>  
profuse again - I found him pouring out vials  
of wrath on R - and, by implication, yearning for  
the Halyan days, H - & the phibets, Bp. security.

5. One need not be a Republican to reject as unjust  
and unworthy such furious and unwarranted reactions.  
A calmer and more sober survey of R. adm. & post  
3 yrs. will, we believe, justify a large measure of praise  
for what was ~~ach~~ done, and well done in fact, crises -  
and some ~~real criticism~~ blame for what was  
not done or poorly done. Alas, the Am. people  
have reason to be thankful that during the last ~~three~~  
years which were among the most trying and  
dangerous in our history - its pol. destinies were  
in the hands of a man who, while not perfect  
and <sup>well</sup> <sup>on</sup> the strength & leadership to lead it out  
the valley & upward to a more confident and



party under which it takes place - is tempted to  
make a cool, objective appraisal of our nation's progress  
under R. admin - and to caution his fellow citizens  
against pol. emotionalism at a time when sound  
judgment and clear thinking are deep. needed.

3. On March 4 - 1934 -

First year - earnest, in spite  
times desperate - and a courageous leader could count  
on cooperation, even from pol. opponents - But the  
hard years are coming. The heroic word will sound.  
Partisan ship, Rerthum, vested interests, the old guard,  
will begin ~~to~~ their work of sapping & sabotage.  
R. will be attacked, bitterly. They will seek to discredit  
him and his measures. Friends will become critical  
and many will desert. That is the fate of all  
heroes given - all of his plans & projects cannot  
succeed. Those which will succeed - only partially.  
He may hurry from weary. These deep critical  
times have a way of breaking and saddening all  
leaders - It is  $\therefore$  well that at this <sup>crucial</sup> ~~substan~~ <sup>point</sup>  
his presence - the Am. people should voice its  
high faith & confidence in him - that he may  
draw from this evidence, active good will of  
his countrymen - Strength for the hard years  
ahead.



1. On eve of Conventions - chose standard bearers  
" " " Nat. Elect. - what party - what man  
Our people will be summoned to make an appraisal  
of the Admin. & R. - to determine whether entitled -  
There will be much partisanship - propaganda - <sup>above</sup> ~~heart~~  
much maliciousness and smeary - <sup>name-calling - H. L. Newell</sup> much under-  
and over-estimation. Politicians hungry for  
jobs will look with alarm - Pol. sweating to  
keep their jobs - will point with pride -  
There will be much <sup>long</sup> bitter talk about radicalism,  
socialism, and the Red menace, if R. is  
re-elected or not re-elected.

C. & C. and the Liberty League, ~~will~~ and allied  
& related orgs. will talk loud and <sup>hysterically</sup> ~~long~~ about  
balancing the budget and reducing taxes  
and freeing business from govt. interference -  
and the dangers, hear-away - and the evils, the  
Chain Trust -

The coming campaign threatens to be one, the  
bitterest on record -

For R., sharp as it may seem has had down  
upon him <sup>of personal hate</sup> ~~is~~ torrent of <sup>the gutter</sup> ~~hate~~ of artisans classes -  
the like of which few Presidents in our hist. have  
evoked.

"They Hate Roosevelt" - (J. H. B.)

Because of this - one who is not a partisan - and  
who is interested in nat. progress, regardless, the pro.



Reheated from New Deal - Heart -

next planning - social control / custody -  
planned rednt. for next income -

not solved in -

Traveling peaks - not done.

↓ { control misuse + harmful econ. operations  
check wasteful expenditures -  
Calculate prod - distr. price -

Private 'caps - no interference by govt

May be building up new law 1940  
buying in 7 prosp. followed by another -  
- last depression to run its course.

not given us a new deal -  
Saw necessary reforms -



1/ On eve - Summoned - There will be much -  
Politicians - Bitter-radicalism - C.C. - hysterical - in Tor  
Bitterest on Record - torrent of hate - "They Hate R" (Jub)

2/ Because of this, one - to walk a cool - caution  
On Mar. 4-1934 - easiest - courageous - Hard plans - Heroic -  
Partizanship - will be attacked - Discredit - Friends  
Fake - all of his plans - Saddening -  
It is, ∴ well -

3/ Much of what I presave - Many who in 1933 - Savior -  
(c) My friend

4/ One need not be a partizan to reflect as unjust.  
A calmer - survey - much -  
Decidedly the Am. people - Messianic -

5/ This world need no retaliation - M/ord -  
Despair - Helplessness - Chaos.  
This was legacy -

✓ It is idle to maintain - automatic - N.R.A.

6/ I credit R. Gidman.

① Courage to assume Fed. Resp. for Relief & U.  
Local Relief -  
Cost Billions -



7/ Failures - Central Planning - NRA -

Control union & harmful econ. expansion

Check waste for competition

Control Prod. Abst. - Prices

(a) May be building up new panic - 1940 -

(b) Some necessary reforms - not here that -

8/ Navy - 531.

Army - 545

} 5 Billions - Greatest pos. trans  
appropriations in Am. hist

(a) No one is threatening us.

(b) "School wars"

9/ Bornes Kill - raid

10/ Wt all Success - Some failures due to (1)  
Hatch (2) Loft & Plans (3) Supreme Court (4) Opposition

11/ But in right direction -  
Any President -



If there was no man hunger.

- (2) Consume - to make work - C. C. C. - give us for -  
gangs
- (3) .. launch public works - Shun - Home.  
encountered - not free from work + ineff.  
Principle sound
- (4) .. break strangle hold of Gold Standard.  
Devaluated dollar 40% - modified gold basis  
Country, following belatedly, operating - "managed c." -  
a currency flexible
- (5) .. increase fed. control over banks, stock markets  
and securities - something
- (6) .. .. field of Public Utilities  
attack enterprises of Elect. Power Holding Co.
- (7) .. Defend vigorously Fed. Water <sup>power</sup> projects  
TVA. - and the right
- (8) Social Securities -
- (9) Renewed Battle - conservation - Wider charter  
40 ex - 25 - "Square Deal" - "New Freedom"  
Not Radicalism - Our ind. org. Shending  
270 -