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A Third Term for President Roosevelt?, 1940.

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A THIRD TERM FOR PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT?

By
Dr. Abba Hillel Silver

WRHS

At
The Temple



On
Sunday morning, March 31, 1940

This, my good friends, is election year. We are approaching the time when party conventions will nominate their candidates. Politics are warming up. The American people love the game of politics. The preliminaries are even now on. Public opinion is being molded as to party preferences, as to candidates. Presidential possibilities are allowing the public to look them over, as it were. The publicity departments of parties and candidates are shifting into high gear. Soon we shall find ourselves in the very midst of a full-throated noisy, perhaps acrimonious and bitterly contested American election, when one party will view with alarm, and another will point with pride, and when each will call heaven and earth to witness that doom and disaster awaiting the country if the other party wins. The air from now on will be filled with charges and counter-charges. Men will be praised beyond their measure, and condemned beyond their measure. And across their political fences, American citizens will pelt each other with slogans, catch-words and will call each other names.

And when it is all over, on the day after election, life will go on as it did before. Regardless of who is elected, what party wins, there will be no earth-quake; there will be no upheaval. America will remain intact and American problems will remain intact. After being considerably mussed and ruffled during six months of electioneering, the average American will straighten his necktie and smilingly settle down to the business of living again.

Perhaps against the background of the war overseas, and the serious problems at home, the election this year will take on a sharper note and the mutual pummelling may be more severe. It may be that the gloves will have some horse shoes in them. Occasionally, here and there a man will hit below the belt. But the results, one way or another, will not be catastrophic. Neither national political party is offering or intends to offer any revolutionary program of economic reconstruction. At most the issues will concern themselves with

questions of degree, of tempo, of method and personalities.

At this stage of the political game, the supreme interest of the American people seems to center in the as yet unsolved riddle of whether Mr. Roosevelt will stand for re-election. He himself has not declared himself on this score. He has declared himself on other scores, but on this score, not yet. It is seemingly conceded that if he wishes the nomination, he can get it. And if he gets it - and there is a strong possibility that he might be re-elected. His personal preference is unknown. But some of his close friends and associates have public and strongly urged a third term upon the President. They maintain that Roosevelt is the only one who is able to carry on successfully his social program, that only he is able to embody his social philosophy in additional remedial legislation. They maintain that no one possesses his rich experience, his political sagacity, and no one can carry the people along with him quite as much as he can. And in these critical times, their urge, an experienced and courageous leader still in the prime of his strength, should not be permitted to relinquish his high and responsible office to some untried and inexperienced successor. They further remind the people that there is no restriction in the Constitution of the United States concerning re-election. Why, then, permit a tradition to deprive the American people at this critical juncture, of the services and of the valuable experience of the great chief executive.

These friends of the President are also afraid that if he is not re-elected, and if a candidate within his party, or a candidate of the opposing party is elected who is not in sympathy with his social program, that an effort will be made to undo all that was done in the last seven years and that a reaction will set in, that an attempt will be made to go back to the era known as the Harding-Coolidge-Hoover era in America.

There are myriads of job holders in this country who believe that

*this belongs to Seamon
a third term*

Mr. Roosevelt and Mr. Roosevelt alone can insure a victory for their party and thereby protect their jobs. They want their party to win, and here is a man who has always been even stronger than his party, who can keep his party in office - and incidentally, themselves. In other words, without Roosevelt they are afraid they will lose their jobs.

On the other hand, there are others who regard a third term for Mr. Roosevelt as a national disaster, largely because they regard Mr. Roosevelt as a national disaster. If only Roosevelt could be removed from office, why the salvation of this country would be automatic and instantaneous. It is "Roosevelt and Ruin". Roosevelt is a Red. He has been pampering the radicals. He is an enemy of business. He is an irresponsible spendthrift. He has turned over the government to a group of scatter-brained visionary brain-trusters. He has a dictatorship complex. He is a war-monger. These are among the kindest things said about him. Some of the other things said are quite unmentionable.

Begin Their opposition to the third term is largely an opposition to Mr. Roosevelt. *one citizen* There is ~~still another group~~ ^{who} do not favor a third term for ~~Roosevelt~~ ^{President},

not because they are ~~the~~ ^{his} foes of Mr. Roosevelt because they are his friends - the friends of the things he stands for. These people greatly admire him. They

fully appreciate the monumental services which he has rendered this country *during* these last seven years. (They are not necessarily blind partisans. They

greatly admire him. They fully realize that some of his measures were unwise and ill-considered. But they never question, and) They do not ~~now~~ question his true American and humanitarian motives, his honest grasp of realities, and his courage to face these realities. They remember, and they refuse to forget that

Mr. Roosevelt, in 1933, took over a bankrupt nation which had gone through the disaster of twelve years of boom and depression. He came in ^{as} at the head of a

people in panic, a people whose ^{industry} ~~business~~ had been stalled, whose farms were languishing,

a people prostrate not only materially, but even more so spiritually. And ^{they} they remember that Mr. Roosevelt ~~did~~ ^{he} succeed in restoring ^{their} confidence and hope. He set about rebuilding what had been shaken and destroyed. He set about caring for the millions of impoverished and unemployed who were victims of a twelve-year financial joy-ride under Republican sponsorship. They remember that he tried to rally the nation around a thorough-going program of planned economic and social reconstruction, of a long-range program to meet the evils of the so-called economic cycle.

He sought to give greater purchasing power to the people - to the worker, to the farmer, not only so as to raise their standard of living, but also in an effort to circumvent the evil of periodic over-production in this country which menaced our industrial stability. They remember that to this day, Mr. Roosevelt has not permitted the unemployed to starve, and has kept millions of our people from thoughts and acts of desperation. They bear in mind with gratitude the fact that he established measures, ~~thorough-going measures~~ of social security, ~~which told them of the promise of continued good for the American people, security for the aged, and for the unemployed.~~

They remember that Mr. Roosevelt endeavored to establish laws which would protect labor against exploitation, and to build up machinery for the amicable adjustment of employer and employee ~~difficult~~ relationships.

They remember that he was responsible for the enactment of laws to curb the evils of gambling on the stock exchange and the exploitation of the investing public. And ~~All~~ these measures he attempted to achieve within the framework of the system of private enterprise, ~~that system which broke down before so disastrously in so many other countries.~~ And through the enactment of these measures, he succeeded in averting a violent political and economic ~~adventures~~ ^{upheaval in our} in this land.

They are not blind partisans, these friends. They realize that he did not succeed in solving all these problems and that some of them have not yet been solved even in part, and some will not be solved in a decade or two, or in a generation. Everywhere in the world today, any one who has eyes can see the old forms breaking up, and new forms coming into being.

We are passing through a period of social, economic and political re-adjustment. It will take decades, even generations until our form achieves a certain stability.

During his years of administration, these friends remember, and the whole American people should remember - members of his party and those outside - that substantial progress was reached, and regardless of who is to be the next President of the United States, or what party is in power, that his progress must be continued if chaos is to be averted.

No serious person entertains any thought of any possibility of an idyllic restoration in this country of the so-called good old days-which never really existed-, and that so-called rugged individualism which was but another name for ruthless exploitation. No one entertains any thought that in the days to come big business or little business will be totally free from all governmental regulation and control, or that labor, unorganized, will again be left to the mercy of the so-called laws of supply and demand. No one, I am sure, unless he is a day-dreamer, thinks that government in the days to come will be run exclusively for the profit of the members of the Union Club. The basic problems which clamor insistently for solution will confront any new administration and any new personality; and will have to be faced - the problem of the unemployed and of relief; the grievances of the underprivileged; the aged who are unemployed; the sharecropper, the children who live in areas where the Grapes of Wrath are stored; the slums, the Dust Bowls, the exploitation of the negro of the South, and to some extent also in the north, the problem of over-production and under-

consumption - those problems will exist in this country in 1941-42, and no mere negation of the New Deal nor any contemptuous allusion to the New Deal is adequate to meet the situation. If there is to be a new party, that party will have to indicate how it proposes to meet these problems. It is well to talk about balancing the budget. Just how do they intend to balance the budget, and at whose expense? It is well to talk about reducing taxes, but whose taxes are to be reduced? How shall the revenue of government be met? It is well to talk about greater economy, by cutting and slashing expenses, but at whose expense are the cuts and slashes to be made? At the expense of the millions who today are on relief? What is to be substituted for the wage and ^{hour} law, if that is an undesirable law? What is to be substituted for the Securities Act? What is to be substituted for the WPA? And what substitute is proposed for federal relief?

These concrete definite problems which concern the life of men, women and children are specific, concrete; hence they must be faced regardless of who is the candidate, and regardless of what party aspires to office.

In my judgment, Mr. Roosevelt's successor, be he Republican or Democrat, if he is wise, will face these problems realistically and honestly. And in my humble judgment, his successor will in the main, be compelled to do so and will be compelled to follow the same line that Mr. Roosevelt followed. He, too, will have to think in terms of masses and not of classes. He, too, will have to think in terms of relief and reconstruction, from the bottom up, and not from the top down, in terms of laborer, farmer, the young boy seeking a job, and not ~~not~~ in terms of the corporation and the banker.

The friends of the President also remember in gratitude that Mr. Roosevelt's administration was distinguished by his Cabinet whose personal honesty and devotion to office was at all times unimpeachable - such men as Hull, Wallace, Ickes, Hopkins, Perkins, ~~Morgan~~, Jackson, Farley, and all the others right down the line,

who worked with him during these last seven years as President of the United States.

Mr. Roosevelt's friends ~~also~~ remember his courageous leadership in the field of Foreign Relations. He threw the weight of his great office on the side of Democracy, ~~here~~. Mr. Roosevelt hates dictatorship, whether of the Right or of the Left, whether it calls itself Nazi, Communist, or Fascist... Mr. Roosevelt has championed within the restriction of his office, and the status of a neutrality power, the rights of foreign nations and has given them all possible moral support. Had his vision been followed by the nations of Europe, by England and France, when he summoned them, and all free people of the earth ^{to} quarantine the aggressors, there would be no war in Europe today. Even England and France, the two great remaining democracies in the Old World lacked vision and understanding, and when Mr. Roosevelt was talking in terms of aggressive opposition to the dictatorships, they talked in terms of appeasement. Mr. Roosevelt has consistently tried to uphold the hands of free nations which find themselves, because of the blindness of their leadership, in desperate war. He is responsible for the repeal of the Embargo. This was a tremendous help to the allied power.

He has worked and is still working ^{not alone} for ~~not~~ peace, but for a just peace. ~~They are two different things altogether as Munich proved.~~ He has been working for peace which means establishment under international law of all people. ~~And this type of a just peace, Mr. Roosevelt has been working for. And that, his friends maintain, is true to the basic American tradition, and in voicing his sympathy for the cause of the allies, he voices the overwhelming sentiment of the American people.~~

And yet, because of ^{the very best of} the admiration ^{of these} of his friends for Mr. Roosevelt, and the ^{just} recognition of all that he has achieved, among whom I am one, ^{would} ~~they~~ urge him not to stand for re-election. The Third term, my friends, is not a law, but a tradition, a tradition which reflects the political views of the American

people, a custom even more powerful than a law. It is a custom which has not been violated in one hundred fifty years, and during these one hundred fifty years there have been critical times, some of them more critical than the present. ~~And there were many presidents who were urged by their followers to stand for a third term, Washington, Jefferson, Madison, Monroe, Jackson, not to speak of the president during our own lifetime, and they refused.~~ " 510p

~~add 8 B~~
Jefferson, perhaps the greatest mind of the Revolution, when being urged to stand for a third term declared:

"That I should lay down my charge at a proper period is as much a duty as to have borne it faithfully. If some termination to the services of the chief magistrate be not fixed by the Constitution, or supplied by practice, his office, nominally four years, will in fact become for life, and history shows how easily that degenerates into inheritance. Believing that a representative government, responsible at short periods of election, is that which produces the greatest sum of happiness to mankind, I feel it a duty to do no act which shall essentially impair that principle, and I should unwillingly be the person who, disregarding the sound precedent set by an illustrious predecessor, should furnish the first example of prolongation beyond a second term of office."

There was only one President in the history of the United States who really wanted a third term, and that was President Grant. But his own party rebelled against him and a resolution, the famous Springer resolution was introduced in the House of Representatives which declared: "Resolved, that in the opinion of this House, the precedent established by Washington and other presidents of the United States, in retiring from the presidential office after their second term, has become, by universal concurrence, a part of our Republican system of government, and that any departure from this time-honored custom would be unwise, unpatriotic, and fraught with peril to our free institutions." The House adopted this resolution 234 to 18, with 38 not voting.

During the administration of President Coolidge there was considerable talk of a third term. The Senate at that time adopted a resolution similar to the old Springer resolution. The language was identical. The resolution passed the Senate as opposed to a third term. President Theodore Roosevelt reached after a third term, not consecutive term, but after a lapse of twelve years, and he did not get it.

The tradition of rotation in office and restricted tenure in office is a sound one, because the whole philosophy of American democracy is the refutation of the one man leader, the one man savior, the indispensable miracle man in government. That is the philosophy of dictatorship - that the people cannot produce leadership in emergency, that only man has been singled out by destiny, that only one man is adequately equipped to lead the people, that that man does not even need a party - that is dictatorship, the antithesis of democracy. The strength of democracy is not faith in one man, but faith in the people, in the peoples system of representative government, in the people's basic constitution, in the people's laws and free institutions, in the people's wisdom. At the very outset of our government, the founders were suspicious of power too greatly concentrated, and for too long a period in the hands of individuals. So they established a system of checks and balances - restricted tenure in office of executives - and thus kept from concentrating power in the hands of one individual.

And with this tradition the American people has come through a century and a half unscathed. The question which now arises is do these times in which we live require a break in this precedent, and to that I, for one, answer, "No!" Particularly at this time when popular governments are receding all over the earth, where the trend is definitely in the direction of dictatorships and greater concentration in the hands of the individual, is it desirable that the President of the greatest free nation in the earth shall

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shall reaffirm his faith in Democracy by relinquishing a third term, to indicate that free government is not dependent on any one man, however good, noble and able he may be. To insist on a re-election of Roosevelt this year on the ground that he is the sole leader to which the American people can turn, the sole individual among one hundred fifty million people who can guide his people, is to acknowledge public and internationally the bankruptcy of democracy. And even if on the horizon there is no candidate that appears to be as well qualified as Mr. Roosevelt, nevertheless it is preferable to elect one who is seemingly less qualified in the office. The high office will develop that man just as that high office actually did develop Mr. Roosevelt.

We ought to bear in mind that ^{he is} if the only man ~~is~~ strong enough to carry on, if he is the only man strong enough to carry on the reform program - that is an indication that American people clearly don't want any more of it. And American people living in democracy should have their way. If it is true that the tide has turned, as it frequently does turn, if it is true, and I am not at all sure that it is true, the personality of an individual should not be thrown athwart that.

The true test of whether the American people still want the type of philosophy embodied by Mr. Roosevelt's laws enacted, will come when the American people will seek to approve his program apart from the glamor of his personality, when his party is led by another. Great experience is very valuable in a man, in a president, and should be taken in account. But great experience is also valuable in a nation, and that, too, should be taken into account.

Again, to renominate Roosevelt would be to obscure the real issue in the campaign, namely: "Mr. Roosevelt, the would-be dictator, and the Republican party will be relieved of the necessity of presenting any program. It will become a campaign centered around a personality, and when it is all over, nothing

will have been decided.

So, in my humble judgment, on January 20, 1941, when Frankin Delano Roosevelt retires from the White House, and he will retire, if he does, as the first and foremost private citizen of the United States, he will still remain a great, inspiring liberal thinker, still a powerful voice in the molding and determining of the American people, and the very act of relinquishing office when it is within his grasp if he reaches out for it, will raise him in the esteem and admiration of the American people. Men will realize what his friends have known all along, that his motives have always been of the highest, patriotic and above party. It is a mistake to assume friends, that only men who occupy public office can lead the American people and help to determine its policy. Many men who occupy no public office, by their confidence, by their vision and their courage help to make the laws of this nation and help in a very real way to govern this nation.

What Mr. Roosevelt will do, I tell you he has not confided in me. What he should do, I am now confiding in you.

2/ At this stage - supreme pol. interest centers in the unresolved riddle,
whether R. will ~~stand~~ ^{stand} for re-election.

He has not declared himself for this score - for reasons best known to himself.
It is generally conceded that if he makes the nomination - he can get
it. And if he gets it - strong possibility that he may be elected.

His personal preference is unknown - But some of his close friends
and associates have strongly & publicly urged a Third Term pol.

Only one able to carry on successfully his social program - em-
body his social phil. in additional remedial legislation -
no one possesses his rich experience - his pol. sagacity -
and no one can carry the people along with him as well as

So these are tried ^{and} experienced & conspicuous leaders, who
in the prime of his strength, should be not be permitted to
relinquish his high & responsible office, to an untried
& inexperienced successor -

- There is no restriction in the Constitution ^(the U.S.) concerning
re-election. Why permit a tradition to deprive the am.
people at this critical juncture, the services of the valuable
experience of a great pol. leader?

From a Reaction - Undo - a return of Harding-Coolidge-Hoover era -
Others have urged a Third Term on grounds less disinterested

There are myriads of job-holders who believe that R. ~~can~~
alone can insure ~~the~~ a victory for their party at the polls next
Nov. - & thereby ^{also} protect them in their jobs. They want their
party to win - and here is a man, always stronger & his party -
who can keep their party - and themselves - in power - They
are afraid of losing their jobs!

3/ There are others who regard a Third Term pol. as a nat. disaster
bec. they regard him as a nat. disaster.

If only R. would be removed from office - the salvation of this country
would be automatic & instantaneous. His Roosevelt and Lenin!
He is a Red! ^{He panders the race rules.} He is an enemy of business! He is an invincible
spend thrift! He has turned ^{over} the spirit to a group of scatter-brained
his practical brain-trusters! ^{He is a dictatorship expert} He is a war-monger! There are
among the kindest things said of him. There are others, but they are un-
gratable. Their opposition to the 3rd term is their opposition to R.!

4/ On the other hand, there are those who do not fear a 3rd, at least. They
are the foes of R. but here they are the friends of R. of the things he
stands for.

They greatly admire him. They fully understand the massive services
which he rendered his country during these 7 desperate years. They are
not blind partisans. Some measures unwise. Some methods ill-
considered. ^{never questioned} his true Amer. & human motives,
his ^{honest purpose} ~~concern~~ to face realities and his courage in facing
them.

He took over a bankrupt nation in 1933, after 12 yrs. of
(Rep. rule of) boom and depression. - a people in panic -
banks closed - industry stalled - agriculture languishing.

He restored confidence & hope. He set about rebuilding what
had been destroyed, and caring for the millions, the unemployed
& impoverished victims of that ^{financial famine} ~~repulse~~ debacle, under Repub.
misgovernment.

He called the nation to a thorough program of planned
econ. & social reconstruction, to ^{the purpose} ~~the~~ effect to ^{meet} ~~solve~~ the
evils, the economic cycle - (worker-farmer -

He sought to give more purchasing power to the people
not only to raise their standard of living, but to circumvent
the evils of over production which menace indust. stability

- He would not permit the unemployed to starve, and kept millions of our people from those acts, & deprivation.
- He established measures, Social Security.
- Sought to protect labor from exploitation - but build up machinery for adjustment of Employer-Employee difficulties
- Curt evils of gambling on Stock Exchange - + exploitation of investing public.
- All within system of private enterprise - but down completely in other countries.
- Averted violent pol. + econ. adventures.
- Problems by means all solved - ^{cannot} still not be solved in a decade? (in two)
- Every where old forms changing - breaking up into new forces
- But some substantial progress made - and regardless of who is elected - what party - will have to be continued if chaos is to be averted.
- No serious person in either party - entertains any ^{thought of an} idyllic restoration of "the good-old days" which really never existed.
- "Nipped undergrowth" of the B. or small business totally free from govt. regulation; - of Labor left to the mercy of the so-called law, supply & demand - / a giant run for the exclusive benefit of the members, the Union ^(club) regime.
- The basic problems which clamor insistently for solutions will confront any admin. regardless its pol. contours
- RE Unemployed - ^{Relief - The Underprivileged - Their Discontent} The Aged - the Homeless - the Sick - the Invalid
- RE Slaves - the Exploitation, the Taxation Regime - the Just Deal - Over-production . Under consumption

No more negations to New Deal will be ^{super} adequate.

Rep. party will have to indicate how it proposes to meet them.
Balancing the Budget is good, but how, at what expense?
Reducing Taxes is good, but what taxes, and how shall
revenue of govt. be made up.

Economy - at what expense - Relief?

What will it substitute for
① Wop. How Law
② Fair Relations Act
③ Securities Act
④ WPA
⑤ Relief

Ris successor ^{Rep. a Democrat} will face these problems - & if he is wise,
he will in the main follow the same line - liberal!

- Thinking in terms of Masses - not Classes
- Beg. at bottom - not at top - bankers - corporations

4/15) The administration, Honest Men - Hull, Wallace, Lester, Hopkins,
Terkins, Worthington, Jackson,
Farley - then does the work

5/ Mr. Ris. friends fully appreciate his great, proven services
in these fields of econ. & social services

Foreign Relations - Thun - wright, his this - Memorandum - (For all the good work done against the enemy)

- Championed smaller nations - Moral support.
- Had his vision - granular - no war to-day!
- Repealed Embargo - Sympathy for allies -
- Has worked - well work for post Peace.

Any President - from to amer. had - reflect sentiment of
Am. people -

6/ And now, these friends - his admirers - among whom I am
am - would strongly urge him not to stand for re-election -
- if he was considering it -

- Hard Term - not a law - a challenge - reflects p.p. genius & Am. people. - / 13 - 20/11 -
- Nerves violated - 32 h - 150 ps - Critical - Wash-⁽²⁾Jefferson Madison
Jackson - Presumption
- Grant - His own party rebelled - Spring Resolution - 234-18
- Coolidge - Senate - 1928 - identical language -
- H.R. refused re-nomination in 1908 - Sought it 1912 -
- Sound! whole phil. of Democ. is based on reputation of the one-man redeemer - the one-man savior - the indispensable miracle man... Dictatorship!
- Strength of Democ. - is not the Man - but the People's system of self-govt - its courts - its laws free institutions - its faith in wisdom & common sense - not in a Man - but in the people!
- Check excessive power - their system of checks & balances - and then principles of rotation in office which freedom established.
- With this challenge - we have come the many crises
- Do the times require a break with this age-old precedent? Superman
- I do not think so! [pop. govt reading] (salvation rests with a Man)
- Particularly at this time - trend toward dictators & a Pres. of the great free nation - would wish to give injury proof of reaffirmation of Dem. Faith - that no part of free man is not dependent upon any one man, however good and able - (Sole leader) 150M
- To insist on re-election of R. in continuation to 150 years is to acknowledge Bonapartes & Am. Democ.

- ^{Even if} no candidate as the horizon ^{appears to come as} equal -
- The high office may develop the man - even as it did F.D.R.
- If R. is the only man strong enough to carry on his reform program - then Amer. people clearly don't want it any more & it - and the people should have their way. Tides. ^{1919-1931 - ~~conservative~~} ^{1931-1940 - ~~progressive~~} ^{may be Rhymer}
- The true test of their endorsement - if they approve of his program - ^{apart from glamour of his personality} where led by one man...
- Experience is valuable in a man. So also in a nation change Chief Executives! "best on good order should corrupt the world"
- Again - R. nominating R. man - will obscure real issues in campaign - ^{possibly} the one issue - R. the Dictator!
- Refut. will be record of necessity of presenting their solutions - and defending ideas, instead of attacking personalities.

2/ Jan. 20-1941 - the first private citizens of U.S.
a great, inspiring liberal leader - still a force - ^{powerful}
The very act of relinquishing office - when he could have -
raised him in esteem - admiration of his fellow-citizens
men will realize - women were highest - above party - self-interest
It is not only men in office who lead Am. & make its laws -
& determine its policies -

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A THIRD TERM FOR PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT?

By
Dr. Abba Hillel Silver

WRHS

At
The Temple



On
Sunday morning, March 31, 1940

This, my good friends, is election year. We are approaching the time when party conventions will nominate their candidates. Politics are warming up. The American people love the game of politics. The preliminaries are even now on. Public opinion is being molded as to party preferences, as to candidates. Presidential possibilities are allowing the public to look them over, as it were. The publicity departments of parties and candidates are shifting into high gear. Soon we shall find ourselves in the very midst of a full-throated noisy, perhaps acrimonious and bitterly contested American election, when one party will view with alarm, and another will point with pride, and when each will call heaven and earth to witness that doom and disaster awaiting the country if the other party wins. The air from now on will be filled with charges and counter-charges. Men will be praised beyond their measure, and condemned beyond their measure. And across their political fences, American citizens will pelt each other with slogans, catch-words and will call each other names.

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These friends of the President are also afraid that if he is not re-elected, and if a candidate within his party, or a candidate of the opposing party is elected who is not in sympathy with his social program, that an effort will be made to undo all that was done in the last seven years and that a reaction will set in, that an attempt will be made to go back to the era known as the Harding-Coolidge-Hoover era in America.

There are myriads of job holders in this country who believe that

Mr. Roosevelt and Mr. Roosevelt alone can insure a victory for their party and thereby protect their jobs. They want their party to win, and here is a man who has always been even stronger than his party, who can keep his party in office - and incidentally, themselves. In other words, without Roosevelt they are afraid they will lose their jobs.

On the other hand, there are others who regard a third term for Mr. Roosevelt as a national disaster, largely because they regard Mr. Roosevelt as a national disaster. If only Roosevelt could be removed from office, why the salvation of this country would be automatic and instantaneous. It is "Roosevelt and Ruin". Roosevelt is a Red. He has been pampering the radicals. He is an enemy of business. He is an irresponsible spendthrift. He has turned over the government to a group of scatter-brained visionary brain-trusters. He has a dictatorship complex. He is a war-monger. These are among the kindest things said about him. Some of the other things said are quite unmentionable. Their opposition to the third term is largely an opposition to Mr. Roosevelt.

There is still another group ^{who} do not favor a third term for Roosevelt, not because they are the foes of Mr. Roosevelt - because they are his friends - the friends of the things he stands for. These people greatly admire him. They fully appreciate the monumental services which he has rendered this country these last seven years. They are not necessarily blind partisans. They greatly admire him. They fully realize that some of his measures were unwise and ill-considered. But they never question, and they do not now question his true American and humanitarian motives, his honest grasp of realities, and his courage to face these realities. They remember, and they refuse to forget that Mr. Roosevelt, in 1933, took over a bankrupt nation which had gone through the disaster of twelve years of boom and depression. He came in at the head of a people in panic, a people whose ^{industry} ~~business~~ had been stalled, whose farms were languishing,

a people prostrate not only materially, but even more so spiritually. And they remember that Mr. Roosevelt did succeed in restoring confidence and hope. He set about rebuilding what had been shaken and destroyed. He set about caring for the millions of impoverished and unemployed who were victims of a twelve-year financial joy-ride under Republican sponsorship. They remember that he tried to rally the nation around a thorough-going program of planned economic and social reconstruction, of a long-range program to meet the evils of the so-called economic cycle.

He sought to give greater purchasing power to the people - to the worker, to the farmer, not only so as to raise their standard of living, but also in an effort to circumvent the evil of periodic over-production in this country which menaced our industrial stability. They remember that to this day, Mr. Roosevelt has not permitted the unemployed to starve, and has kept millions of our people from thoughts and acts of desperation. They bear in mind with gratitude the fact that he established measures, thorough-going measures of social security, which told them of ^{the} promise of continued good for the American people, security for the aged, for the unemployed.

They remember that Mr. Roosevelt endeavored to establish laws which would protect labor against exploitation, and to build up machinery for the amicable adjustment of employer and employee difficult relationships.

They remember that he was responsible for the enactment of laws to curb the evils of gambling on the stock exchange and the exploitation of the investing public. And all these measures he attempted to achieve within the framework of the system of private enterprise, that system which broke down before so disastrously in so many other countries. And through the enactment of these measures, he succeeded in averting a violent political and economic adventures in this land.

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They are not blind partisans, these friends. They realize that he did not succeed in solving all these problems and that some of them have not yet been solved even in part, and some will not be solved in a decade or two, or in a generation. Everywhere in the world today, any one who has eyes can see the old forms breaking up, and new forms coming into being.

✓ We are passing through a period of social, economic and political re-adjustment. It will take decades, even generations until our form achieves a certain stability.

During his years of administration, these friends remember, and the whole American people should remember - members of his party and those outside - that substantial progress was reached, and regardless of who is to be the next President of the United States, or what party is in power, that his progress must be continued if chaos is to be averted.

No serious person entertains any thought of any possibility of an idyllic restoration in this country of the so-called good old days - which never really existed - and that so-called rugged individualism which was but another name for ruthless exploitation. No one entertains any thought that in the days to come big business or little business will be totally free from all governmental regulation and control, or that labor, unorganized, will again be left to the mercy of the so-called laws of supply and demand. No one, I am sure, unless he is a day-dreamer, thinks that government in the days to come will be run exclusively for the profit of the members of the Union Club. The basic problems which clamor insistently for solution will confront any new administration and any new personality; and will have to be faced - the problem of the unemployed and of relief; the grievances of the underprivileged; the aged who are unemployed; the sharecropper, the children who live in areas where the Grapes of Wrath are stored; the slums, the Dust Bowls, the exploitation of the negro of the South, and to some extent also in the north, the problem of over-production and under-

consumption - those problems will exist in this country in 1941-42, and no mere negation of the New Deal nor any contemptuous allusion to the New Deal is adequate to meet the situation. If there is to be a new party, that party will have to indicate how it proposes to meet these problems. It is well to talk about balancing the budget. Just how do they intend to balance the budget, and at whose expense? It is well to talk about reducing taxes, but whose taxes are to be reduced? How shall the revenue of government be met? It is well to talk about greater economy, by cutting and slashing expenses, but at whose expense are the cuts and slashes to be made? At the expense of the millions who today are on relief? What is to be substituted for the wage and ^{hour} law, if that is an undesirable law? What is to be substituted for the Securities Act? What is to be substituted for the WPA? And what substitute is proposed for federal relief?

These concrete definite problems which concern the life of men, women and children are specific, concrete; hence they must be faced regardless of who is the candidate, and regardless of what party aspires to office.

In my judgment, Mr. Roosevelt's successor, be he Republican or Democrat, if he is wise, will face these problems realistically and honestly. And in my humble judgment, his successor will in the main, be compelled to do so and will be compelled to follow the same line that Mr. Roosevelt followed. He, too, will have to think in terms of masses and not of classes. He, too, will have to think in terms of relief and reconstruction, from the bottom up, and not from the top down, in terms of laborer, farmer, the young boy seeking a job, and not ~~not~~ in terms of the corporation and the banker.

The friends of the President also remember in gratitude that Mr. Roosevelt's administration was distinguished by his Cabinet whose personal honesty and devotion to office was at all times unimpeachable - such men as Hull, Wallace, Ickes, Hopkins, Perkins, Morgenthau, Jackson, Farley, and all the others right down the line,

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who worked with him during these last seven years as President of the United States.

Mr. Roosevelt's friends also remember his courageous leadership in the field of Foreign Relations. He threw the weight of his great office on the side of Democracy here. Mr. Roosevelt hates dictatorship, whether of the Right or of the Left, whether it calls itself Nazi, Communist, or Fascist...Mr. Roosevelt has championed within the restriction of his office, and the status of a neutrality power, the rights of foreign nations and has given them all possible moral support. Had his vision been followed by the nations of Europe, by England and France, when he summoned them, and all free people of the earth ^{to} quarantine the aggressors, there would be no war in Europe today. Even England and France, the two great remaining democracies in the Old World lacked vision and understanding, and when Mr. Roosevelt was talking in terms of aggressive opposition to the dictatorships, they talked in terms of appeasement. Mr. Roosevelt has consistently tried to uphold the hands of free nations which find themselves, because of the blindness of their leadership, in desperate war. He is responsible for the repeal of the Embargo. This was a tremendous help to the allied power.

He has worked and is still working for not peace, but for a just peace. They are two different things altogether as Munich proved. He has been working for peace which means establishment under international law of all people. ~~xxx~~ And this type of a just peace, Mr. Roosevelt has been working for. And that, his friends maintain, is true to the basic American tradition, and in voicing his sympathy for the cause of the allies, he voices the overwhelming sentiment of the American people.

And yet, because of the admiration of his friends for Mr. Roosevelt, and the recognition of all that he has achieved, among whom I am one, ^{would} ~~they~~ urge him not to stand for re-election. The Third term, my friends, is not a law, but a tradition, a tradition which reflects the political views of the American

people, a custom even more powerful than a law. It is a custom which has not been violated in one hundred fifty years, and during these one hundred fifty years there have been critical times, some of them more critical than the present. And there were many presidents who were urged by their followers to stand for a third term, Washington, Jefferson, Madison, Monroe, Jackson, not to speak of the president during our own lifetime, and they refused.

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Jefferson, perhaps the greatest mind of the Revolution, when being urged to stand for a third term declared:

"That I should lay down my charge at a proper period is as much a duty as to have borne it faithfully. If some termination to the services of the chief magistrate be not fixed by the Constitution, or supplied by practice, his office, nominally four years, will in fact become for life, and history shows how easily that degenerates into inheritance. Believing that a representative government, responsible at short periods of election, is that which produces the greatest sum of happiness to mankind, I feel it a duty to do no act which shall essentially impair that principle, and I should unwillingly be the person who, disregarding the sound precedent set by an illustrious predecessor, should furnish the first example of prolongation beyond a second term of office."

There was only one President in the history of the United States who really wanted a third term, and that was President Grant. But his own party rebelled against him and a resolution, the famous Springer resolution was introduced in the House of Representatives which declared: "Resolved, that in the opinion of this House, the precedent established by Washington and other presidents of the United States, in retiring from the presidential office after their second term, has become, by universal concurrence, a part of our Republican system of government, and that any departure from this time-honored custom would be unwise, unpatriotic, and fraught with peril to our free institutions." The House adopted this resolution 234 to 18, with 38 not voting.

During the administration of President Coolidge there was considerable talk of a third term. The Senate at that time adopted a resolution similar to the old Springer resolution. The language was identical. The resolution passed the Senate as opposed to a third term. President Theodore Roosevelt reached after a third term, not consecutive term, but after a lapse of twelve years, and he did not get it.

The tradition of rotation in office and restricted tenure in office is a sound one, because the whole philosophy of American democracy is the refutation of the one man leader, the one man savior, the indispensable miracle man in government. That is the philosophy of dictatorship - that the people cannot produce leadership in emergency, that only man has been singled out by destiny, that only one man is adequately equipped to lead the people, that that man does not even need a party - that is dictatorship, the antithesis of democracy. The strength of democracy is not faith in one man, but faith in the people, in the people's system of representative government, in the people's basic constitution, in the people's laws and free institutions, in the people's wisdom. At the very outset of our government, the founders were suspicious of power too greatly concentrated, and for too long a period in the hands of individuals. So they established a system of checks and balances - restricted tenure in office of executives - and thus kept from concentrating power in the hands of one individual.

And with this tradition the American people has come through a century and a half unscathed. The question which now arises is do these times in which we live required a break in this precedent, and to that I, for one, answer, "No!" Particularly at this time when popular governments are receding all over the earth, where the trend is definitely in the direction of dictatorships and greater concentration in the hands of the individual, is it desirable that the President of the greatest free nation in the earth shall

shall reaffirm his faith in Democracy by relinquishing a third term, to indicate that free government is not dependent on any one man, however good, noble and able he may be. To insist on a re-election of Roosevelt this year on the ground that he is the sole leader to which the American people can turn, the sole individual among one hundred fifty million people who can guide his people, is to acknowledge public and internationally the bankruptcy of democracy. And even if on the horizon there is no candidate that appears to be as well qualified as Mr. Roosevelt, nevertheless it is preferable to elect one who is seemingly less qualified in the office. The high office will develop that man just as that high office actually did develop Mr. Roosevelt.

We ought to bear in mind that he is if the only man ~~is~~ strong enough to carry on, if he is the only man strong enough to carry on the reform program - that is an indication that American people clearly don't want any more of it. And American people living in democracy should have their way. If it is true that the tide has turned, as it frequently does turn, if it is true, and I am not at all sure that it is true, the personality of an individual should not be thrown athwart that.

The true test of whether the American people still want the type of philosophy embodied by Mr. Roosevelt's laws enacted, will come when the American people will seek to approve his program apart from the glamor of his personality, when his party is led by another. Great experience is very valuable in a man, in a president, and should be taken in account. But great experience is also valuable in a nation, and that, too, should be taken into account.

Again, to renominate Roosevelt would be to obscure the real issue in the campaign, namely: "Mr. Roosevelt, the would-be dictator, and the Republican party will be relieved of the necessity of presenting any program. It will become a campaign centered around a personality, and when it is all over, nothing

will have been decided.

So, in my humble judgment, on January 20, 1941, when Frankin Delano Roosevelt retires from the White House, and he will retire, if he does, as the first and foremost private citizen of the United States, he will still remain a great, inspiring liberal thinker, still a powerful voice in the molding and determining of the American people, and the very act of relinquishing office when it is within his grasp if he reaches out for it, will raise him in the esteem and admiration of the American people. Men will realize what his friends have known all along, that his motives have always been of the highest, patriotic and above party. It is a mistake to assume friends, that only men who occupy public office can lead the American people and help to determine its policy. Many men who occupy no public office, by their confidence, by their vision and their courage help to make the laws of this nation and help in a very real way to govern this nation.

What Mr. Roosevelt will do, I tell you he has not confided in me. What he should do, I am now confiding in you.