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Speeches*

Address to be delivered by the Honorable John E. Fogarty, Member of Congress from the Second Rhode Island Congressional District, over Radio Station WJAR, Providence, Rhode Island, on Friday evening, October 20, 1944.

Because the War occupies just about all of our waking moments, and - in truth - will not leave us - - even while we seek in sleep the necessary strength to face the worries and cares of a new day, a day we know will be replete with headlines and announcements and communiques - all reflecting our progress on the battlefield - - it is not too easy to avoid getting a bit mixed up in our thinking. This is a fact known to us all, and is the fact which is taken advantage of by some who seek public office in this election year.

There are those who take the air to advance their Party's candidates, and while they pay lip-service to the prospect of a better future for everyone, all over the world, devote every possible effort to the creation of confusion here at home. G.O.P. candidates for office who spend their time denouncing our President for the confusion which they charge existed prior to the outbreak of war - are so bereft of honest argument - they turn themselves over to the out-moded trick of plucking words and sentences out of context and setting these isolated utterances up as evidence of confusion. In our daily lives - all of us have seen countless instances where this same trick has been used in street-corner arguments and out in the kitchen when it starts to get late - and the present campaign tactics of the G.OP go no further than this type of debate.

As the campaign progresses, the statements of persons all over the world are culled to see if somewhere there isn't some criticism that can be construed as damning Roosevelt. Recently, the G.O.P. quoted the Prime Minister of England as critical of our President. Churchill was quoted as having said - "The well-being of the United States may spell not only the well-being but the safety of all sorts and conditions of men". If the tons upon tons of food, clothing, medicines, tools, supplies, munitions, tanks, ships, airplanes and above all MEN - which have been sent abroad, is any criterion, then, taking the words of the Prime Minister, I'd say the well-being of America has been at a pretty high level.

Never, in the history of mankind, has any Nation produced and given up so much as has been the case with the proud and free people of America during the present conflict. To say we have failed is contemptible.

Yet - no criticism is too cheap to be directed at our President. No accusation is too vile to hurl at him - and not once is there apparent the honesty to admit that our President's leadership has produced the wherewithal to save the free peoples all over the world - and if America hasn't done it, then in Heaven's name - who has?

Our President is vilified because of his friends - - he is vilified because of his critics.

His recognition of Russia was castigated as a horrible travesty on free government - - while he is presently assailed for failing to get over to Moscow to talk things over with Stalin. G.O.P. candidates stoutly acclaim the great valor of Russia, but at home the policy seems to be - if you can't think of anything else to call a Democrat - call him a Communist. These same G.O.P. candidates who talk about their courage and ability - and their confidence in the future - who promise to do such great things to build a greater America - are loud in their pronouncements of fear of Russia in the future. By their declarations on this score they confess their lack of confidence in America - they express their lack of belief in the greatness of America, and they set themselves apart from the rest of us who know America is fearless.

Our President is attacked for not providing adequate help for China - while the fact is he was criticized mightily for paying any attention to the Pacific, and right here in Providence he was warned not to meddle in the China-Japan dispute.

He is attacked on the one hand for attempting to set up a dictatorship, and the very criticism that is directed against him is proof positive of the complete absence of any desire for power. He is accused, on the one hand, of suppressing information - and, on the other hand, he is attacked for releasing reports which demonstrate his complete belief in telling the truth, without color and without distortion.

He is assailed for all the utterances, out-of-hand and otherwise, made by his subordinates - while at the same time he is accused of failing to give his subordinates authority to make any utterances at all.

He is charged, on the one hand, with being an enemy of private enterprise - on the other hand, he is calumniated for his opposition to cut-throat competition, ruthless monopolies, and combines which, as everyone knows, have sought to throttle small business and free competition.

He is branded an enemy of Labor because he seeks to dominate the unions - and from the same platform - frequently out of the mouth of the same campaigner - he is charged with having given the Unions too much authority - with having permitted them to grow too powerful.

All his friends are communists - all his critics are incompetent and dishonest.

If you agree with the President entirely - you are a rubber stamp - if you disagree with him in any respect, unless, of course, you are a G.O.P. candidate for office, you are an unmitigated bounder.

It is a fact that American politics fills a great place in our system of government. Beyond doubt, any attempt to change it would be met with violent opposition. We like politics, I suppose, but it has been many, many years since politics in America went to the extremes which are evident today.

There have been, in the past, appeals to various classes of voters, just as there have always been men who made a sincere appeal to all classes of voters; but never before, at least from my reading of history, has there been this concentrated effort on the part of a candidate to appear to be all things to all men - and at one and the same time.

Everything seems to depend on the locality of a campaign speech - and the audience which the G.O.P. campaigner is addressing.

If it is an audience of manufacturers in the East - then the South and West are portrayed as diabolical evils. If the speech is on the West Coast, then that audience is

guaranteed they'll have all the attention - they'll be given sole consideration - while the East is held by the throat lest our superior ability will gobble up all the business of the future.

If it's working people - then they are promised Social Security - on a scale not yet realized - the New Deal hasn't done half enough. If it's Union Men - then Labor is to get all the Breaks after election - the only thing they have to fear is Roosevelt.

And all this, while campaigners are rushing about the country promising to cut Washington in half - Civil Servants are to be chased home to look for jobs - no more are going to be put on the pay-roll - - - But, the following night, in the next city, they'll confess that Franklin D. Roosevelt's sweeping proposals for recovery and reform have become so enduring a part of our governmental structure that the G.O.P. is forced to embrace them. They promise to out-do the President - his Social reforms will be made broader and will embrace twice as many people - but - they want to do away with the agencies that have been doing the job for years.

In general terms these G.O.P. campaigners repeat promises that crippling agencies are going to be eliminated, as soon as they reach the Capitol. However, there is a significant silence on the score of just what agencies are to be eliminated.

Every single G.O.P. campaigner has, at one time or another, expounded the work of some of these agencies. Almost all have been endorsed, if all the speeches were rolled into one.

Surely, they don't advocate the abolition of Federal Deposit Insurance or Social Security, or Unemployment Insurance and Old-Age Pensions.

They have proclaimed to all, their firm purpose of retaining the National Labor Relations Board - the Railway Labor Board - the Wage and Hour Administration - the Food and Drug Administration, and Price support for Agriculture. There is also the F.B.I. and the Federal Communications Commission, and the Federal Trade Commission. All of these require employees to administer them. All of them, of necessity, impose certain restrictions, just

as does the Interstate Commerce Commission. By virtue of their very existence there is an element of control over those affected by their operations. Yet, it is believed by the G.O.P. to be popular to shout "Bureaucrat" - - but careful watch is maintained lest they commit the error of being specific in their criticism of so-called Bureaucrats.

There isn't anyone in the land who will shed even a crocodile tear when the War Agencies are liquidated. No one will attempt to deny that these agencies have restricted and in a certain sense regulated our lives. But - at the same time - there isn't a thinking person in the country who will attempt to deny that these necessary agencies have done a good job. In the midst of the greatest war that ever confronted mankind - it is at times positively amazing that the task at hand was handled as efficiently as has been the case.

The G.O.P. campaigners deliberately strive to create the impression that the war is just about over. I wish they were correct - but in spite of what we might wish - we have to face facts. The war is not over, and even tomorrow we might be thrilled by the exhilarating news that the Nazis had been broken and destroyed - we would be compelled to temper our enthusiasm by the knowledge that hundreds of thousands of our boys are in the Pacific facing a more fanatical enemy - we would be forced to the contemplation that victory over this most vicious enemy is still some distance off.

We know from the daily news dispatches that the Japs are moving heaven and earth to get themselves securely set on the continent of Asia. They are determined to sell their lives dearly, and no one in authority is mistaken about that fact. In my service on the Naval Affairs Committee I have been in touch with this problem, and what I have learned convinces me that it will not be sufficient merely to destroy Tokyo - nor will it suffice to bomb the bulk of their civilian population into eternity. They are committed to the diabolical plans of their militarists, and victory will not be ours until every last one of these militarists has been hunted down and destroyed.

We cannot afford to tamper, in any degree, with the plans for that extermination. The plans which have progressed so far.

To my mind, the question in this election does not concern the indispensability of anyone - nor is it a question of some one man being the only man who could do the job.

The bald fact is - this election is to be decided by the American people on their choice between Franklin D. Roosevelt and Thomas Dewey.

Our decision must be - who can bring this war to a conclusion in the shortest possible time? Who can offer us the best guarantee of carrying through a program that will give the fathers and mothers of America's sons assurance that there will be no more wars?

These G.O.P. campaigners, with their Political Black Market, asserting they alone can bring our boys back home soon, while they promise also to use whatever force is necessary to keep the peace, do not contribute anything worthwhile to the solving of this problem.

I submit to you - no matter what rosy promises are offered in order to curry favor with the voter - no matter what tongue-in-cheek assurances are given that all is going to be easy - I don't believe we can look with complacency on the promises of a man who is already committed to a program of tearing Washington wide open - who has already given his word to scuttle the Federal agencies presently coping with this problem, both in the Nation's Capitol and all over the world.

Neither can we impose trust in a political campaigner who promises in one breath to leave the Military establishment intact - and in the next breath, in order to cull some votes through the reputation of a great general, threatens to interfere with the successful management of the War in the Pacific. By this candidate's smug reference to a great officer, he has proven himself entirely unfitted for the herculean task of waging victorious war against Japan.

These G.O.P. campaigners speak glibly of peace, as if it were accepted as a foregone conclusion. They bandy words about a strong peace - and express their opinions on a weak peace. What we need is more discussion of an intelligent peace.

The American people want peace and - I am firmly of the opinion - expect to make whatever sacrifices are necessary to insure that peace.

We don't want a peace based on power politics, such as comes from the exclusive combinations of Powerful Nations. Nor do we want a peace based on the antagonisms that spring from racial or religious backgrounds.

This has been a war in which the people have made the sacrifices - to which they have given, actually, their life's blood. It must have its permanent end in a people's peace, and such a peace can come only with patient and concentrated effort. It is not to be picked off the next bush, as some of the G.O.P. would have us believe. It will come, if it comes at all, step by step.

As we all know, the preliminary steps have been taken. The foundation has been laid. The errors of the last attempt at the establishment of a permanent peace are being avoided. We must strive to avoid them all.

The foundation for peace which we are witnessing - is being installed before hostilities have ceased. I think we all agree this is as it should be. We cannot afford again to wait until there has been an opportunity for a rebirth of the hatred, jealousy and selfish searching for power, which we saw after the end of hostilities in 1918.

We cannot afford to gamble away our hope of the future - the hopes and prayers of the mothers of tomorrow's children.

The conduct of the War will permit no moment's interruption. The planning of the peace cannot be allowed a single day's delay. We cannot afford to break up a winning combination.

Our President has set his foot on the road to a just and an honorable peace. We can have confidence in him.

We know him as a great leader and a great Statesman, so recognized everywhere on this earth. We know him as a war leader of brilliance and determination, as a match for other outstanding world figures; we know him as a President who entered office in our darkest hour, then electrified the country with his courageous utterance - "The only thing we have to fear is fear itself". We know him as a great humanitarian, whose broad measures

for recovery and social progress have been espoused by all, even by the G.O.P.

Life moves on - the present is ours to do with what we will. Our actions on November 7th will determine our well-being for many generations, and the well-being of the United States may spell not only the well-being but the safety of all sorts and conditions of men.

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