

FOR ROOSEVELT DAY DINNERS--a dedication to F.D.R.

At a time when democracy was challenged everywhere, at a time when men the world over began to look outside of democracy for relief from their economic problems, Franklin Delano Roosevelt was elected president of the United States.

Huge and all-encompassing problems faced the world in 1932. Part of the world met these problems with force, with police states, with tyranny. There were those in this country who had the same answers.

What freedom is left in the world today has persisted only because Franklin Roosevelt looked for and found answers through democracy.

Let us remember what our world was when Franklin Roosevelt became president.

Depression had engulfed nearly the entire world. One nation after another tried to wall itself off from the rest of the world. Italy had already turned to fascism.

Franklin Roosevelt was elected to solve our economic chaos. But there was no ready-made solution. America had never developed a philosophy of economic democracy other than laissez faire. To many Americans in 1932, democracy and laissez faire economics were synonymous.

Then 20 million Americans were thrown out of work, and a new economy had to be developed--a new economy with the same political democracy. Franklin Roosevelt had to have a new philosophy.

And he <sup>DEVELOPED</sup> ~~had~~ it. In the critical day when he

took office, Franklin Roosevelt set forth the same philosophy that we of the democratic left still hold. It is the philosophy of ADA, the philosophy of Europe's stalwart third-force. It is the philosophy which I believe saved democracy in our time.

Franklin Roosevelt's doctrine was the concept of economic democracy. He brought America out of ~~the~~ stale and sterile thinking ~~of democracy~~, the 19th Century belief in a democracy that could not exist without laissez faire economics. He brought us into a new area of thinking about democracy, and made us review our beliefs and understand them. What we discovered in that year of crisis was the meaning of democracy--the will of the majority shall be the will of the community. Then we could understand the real meaning of economic democracy--that majority rule can apply in the economy and that a mechanism--laissez faire capitalism--~~xxxxxxxx~~ is not more important than ~~our~~ people.

But~~x~~ the important thing about 1933 was not the change from pure capitalism to democratically controlled capitalism. The ~~important~~ great event--the miracle, if you will--was that the change was made democratically. That was done only because of~~x~~ the philosophy of Franklin Roosevelt, and through his supreme ability.

The capabilities of Franklin Roosevelt, like his beliefs, were exactly what the nation needed that year. In times of great change, new ideas are welcome and are needed. Plans, solutions, experiments--these are part of the daily life of a nation in crisis. But the grasping for new ideas,

the sifting and selection of them, presuppose in the final arbiter outstanding traits--the traits of openmindedness, of self-confidence, of ease in human relations and of an ability to refuse a man's idea but maintain his friendship. All of these were character traits of Franklin Roosevelt.

In critical days, too, ~~xxxx~~ the people must cooperate completely. Dissidents within a society can never be allowed to throw ~~into~~ it into panic when great changes are imperative. And the confidence of the nation so necessary at such a time is perhaps the most-remembered of all the great virtues and ~~xxxxxx~~ achievements of Franklin Roosevelt.

But confidence is not enough. Hitler won the confidence of the German people and Mussolini of the Italians. ~~We have reminded ourselves that the greatness, the lasting value of Franklin Roosevelt's work is that he solved our problems democratically.~~ <sup>IN A DEMOCRACY, IT IS NOT ENOUGH</sup> To win confidence ~~in~~ <sup>WITH</sup> a democracy it is not enough <sup>alone</sup> to have a winning smile and a smooth radio voice. Roosevelt had more. He knew how to bring in all the people as partners of his experiments, of the advances he was charting. He explained each step as he went along. <sup>THAT</sup> ~~And who~~ of us who listened from early youth until maturity as he explained to the nation what he was doing and what he was trying to do--~~who of us~~ <sup>WE</sup> can say that every step of the new philosophy was not part of our lives. Outside of the depths of economic theory, we did understand what we were trying to accomplish. In simple terms we under-



stood, and the great majority of us approved wholeheartedly.

But as Franklin Roosevelt took office there was a second problem facing all the ~~nation~~ world. Nations were breaking from other nations in fear of want and were moving toward autarky<sup>can</sup>. But this nation swam against the stream and moved toward world cooperation. Reciprocal trade was born in these days, created by Roosevelt in the face of growing barriers raised by other nations. And in the later years, America's role as a member of a world community was played out to its fullest under his guidance--and the concept of a moral world order was set out under his hand.

Few of us here today can remember clearly a world without torment or great trouble. But the crisis of our time came 15 ~~by~~ years ago, and the world was blessed that our leader then was Franklin Roosevelt. Under his leadership we held our democratic course and enlarged our understanding of democracy to help solve the problems that many other nations tried to solve through dictatorship. It was then that the world began apart, and Roosevelt stepped in with moral force to make effective the concept of a community of nations.

The problems we faced then are not <sup>yet</sup> ~~not~~ solved/  
~~today~~. As 1948 was a victory for hard-hitting, forthright President Harry Truman, so was it a victory for~~x~~ Franklin Delano Roosevelt. Here is final proof that he brought the issues to the people--final proof that they understood. For that is just what Harry Truman did ~~in~~ last November--and the response of Americans was the response of a people well-schooled

in the philosophy of economic democracy and in the understanding of the real issues of the day.

For all of this we pay tribute to one of the ~~greatest~~ world's great men--to Franklin Delano Roosevelt. A leader in time of conflict, a philosopher in time of crisis, a teacher in time of ~~of~~ confusion, a humanitarian in time of mistrust. No man could ask for more from a president. No man could ask for more from a friend.



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