Saint Louis, Missouri
SAINT LOUIS

It is good to be back home in Missouri.

For the past two months I have been traveling
all over this country, telling the folks about the facts of life.
They have been interested and enthusiastic.

And now they are aroused.

I have been working hard, but I am not tired.
The welcome I have received everywhere has sustained me.
The deep conviction that I am right in fighting for the people
has carried me on.

Now I have come back home to report to
my fellow Missourians.

I bring good news.
We have cracked the Republican East,

Most of New England is going Democratic.

New York is going Democratic.

The North - the South - The east and the West -

are all falling into line.

People ask me where I get my information.

I get it from the best possible source - from the people themselves.

Now I have an old-fashioned notion that a candidate

for public office has a duty to tell the voters where he stands

on the issues in a campaign.

Since Labor Day, I have travelled twenty-two thousand miles -

made Two Hundred and Seventy-one speeches and have taken

a positive position on every issue.
But the Republican candidate refuses to tell
the American people where he stands on any issue.

The campaign is ending and you still don’t know
where he stands.

All you have got is platitudes, double-talk and bewilderment.

The Republican candidate reminds me of an ancient fable
I once heard.

Centuries ago, there was a politician who lived
in a palace - which today would be called Albany.

One day the people in the town gathered in front
of the politician’s palace and called upon him to come out
and enlighten them.
The politician came out - raised his hands, and said;

"Do you know what I am about to say to you?"

The people, afraid of offending the politician, said;

"Oh, yes, we know."

"Well," said the politician,

"if you know what I am about to say, there is no need for me to speak."

And he went back into the palace.

The crowd was disappointed. It had expected big things.

The next day, the crowd gathered again and the politician came out.

He said, "Do you know what I am about to say to you?"
The people remembering what had happened the day before, said,

"No, we don’t know."

And the politician said, "Well, if you are that ignorant it is not proper that I should speak."

And he went back into the palace.

Now the people were very disappointed.

So they gathered again the next day and called upon him to come out.

The politician came out and said,

"Do you know what I am about to say to you?"

Now this time the people had consulted among themselves and they were ready for him. They said,

"Half of us know, and half of us don’t know."
The politician then said, "Well, in that event,

those who know can tell those who do not know."

Now, since the Republican candidate,

like that ancient politician, won't tell you where the Republicans

stand, I guess we'll have to do it for him.

Let's get right to the fundamental difference between

the Democratic and Republican Parties.

That is the basic issue in this campaign.

The Democratic Party stands for service to all the people.

But the Republican Party stands for special privilege.

We found out what the Republican philosophy lends to

under Harding and Coolidge and Hoover.

It led us to the greatest depression in history.
And in the years since Nineteen Thirty-two,
we have learned what happens under the Democratic philosophy.

By looking after the welfare of the people
who work for a living, we brought prosperity back to this country
and we have built a firm foundation for our continued prosperity.

We are enjoying the greatest period of prosperity
for all the people that the world has ever seen.

Be sure to remember that when you hear Republican
propaganda about the mistakes and failures of the Democrats.

Our prosperity is rolling along on the strength of
Democratic programs that were put into effect before the
Republican 86th Congress took office in January, Nineteen
Forty-seven. Since that time, this Republican Congress
has been doing what it could to undermine our Democratic program.
They have been more concerned with what happened
to the profits of big corporations than they have with wages
and farm income.

They have taken the edge off prosperity for many of us.

And there are threats of worse things to come.

The wages of working men have been falling behind
the rise in prices - so that their real wages are lower than
they were in Nineteen Forty-five.

Not so the salaries of corporation executives.

They are not bothered by the high cost of living.

The profits of big corporations are going right on up,

but the profits of small businessmen are going down.

And now the price of wheat and corn is going down

while the profits of grain speculators are going up.
The foundations of our prosperity are threatened
as a result of the failures of the Republican 80th Congress.

Their biggest failure was their refusal to do anything
about controlling prices. I don't need to tell the housewives
about the way skyrocketing prices have eaten into the prosperity
of the average American family. They know it too well already.

And I will have to ask the Republican candidate
to pardon me if I remind him again that having a depression
is much worse than talking about one. And I am going to keep
right on fighting to get the people to reject the Republican policies
that would lead to depression.

The Republicans in the 80th Congress made a vicious
attack on the rights of labor. The Democrats in the Wagner Act,
had assured to working men and women the right to organise
their own unions and to bargain collectively for a fair share
of the product of their own labor.
Under this Act, the labor movement has become strong, healthy, and responsible. It now constitutes a mighty bulwark, not only for prosperity, but also for all of our Democratic freedoms.

But the Republican leaders don't want labor to be strong.

They passed the notorious Taft-Hartley law.

The purpose of this law, according to Republican Senator Wayne Morse was, and I quote:

"This bill is a device for making unions so weak that they cannot carry on effective collective bargaining."

And this is the law that the Republican candidate for President has endorsed.

If we allow it to stay on the books, it will be ruinous not only for labor but for everybody in the United States.
The Taft-Hartley Act is a vicious law.

It must be repealed.

There is another way in which the 80th Congress showed its indifference to the welfare of working people.

That is its refusal to increase the minimum wage.

The minimum wage is only forty cents an hour now.

It ought to be raised to at least seventy-five cents an hour.

But the Republicans refused to increase it.

Some of them say they favor a minimum wage but the lower the minimum, the better they like it.

The Republican 80th Congress was not satisfied just to attack the rights of labor. They went after the farmer, too.
Remember, this is the Congress that the Republican
candidate said delivered for the future of the country
like no other Congress ever did.

Apparently, he approves of what the Republican 80th Congress
did to the farmers' price support program.

This program was originated by the Democrats.
Its purpose is to prevent the bottom from dropping out
from under farm prices.

Fair prices for the farmers are a very important part
of the foundation of our prosperity.

But the Republicans in Congress - or most of them -
don't like farm price supports.
They didn't dare attack the price support program openly, however, at least not in an election year. So they slipped in through the back door with a sly trick to keep price supports from working.

They knew that price supports wouldn't work unless there was enough storage space for the grain. They knew there wouldn't be enough storage space unless the Government provided grain bins. So they passed a law that would prevent the Government from providing grain bins.

The result is just what I said it would be when I spoke at Dexter, Iowa, and at Springfield, Illinois.

The Republicans have made it impossible for price supports to work and grain is selling below support prices.
The farmers are not getting a fair price for their corn.

The prevailing price is only about One Dollar and Fifteen cents a bushel and I have heard of one instance where a farmer got only fifty-six cents a bushel.

We must not allow that to continue.

We must not go back to the disastrous farm prices of Nineteen Thirty-two.

This is not a matter of concern to the farmers alone. It concerns every one of us.

When the farmers have no money, the merchants in the small towns feel it mighty quick. Then it is not long before industrial workers are being laid off in the cities. Depression spreads to everybody like an evil disease.
None of us want to go back to the conditions of Nineteen thirty-two.

And we are not going to have a Republican Congress and a Republican President who wants to take us back down that road.

Now, let me talk to you about some of the other issues where the Democratic Party stands on the side of the people and the Republican Party stands on the side of special privilege.

The record shows that you can't get the right kind of action on these issues from a Republican Congress.

What this country needs is not a new President, but a new Congress.

There is an acute housing shortage in this country.
It is a disgrace that in a Nation as wealthy as ours,
five million families live in slums, and that three million
other families live doubled up.

For three years I have been fighting for a comprehensive
housing law that would permit the Federal Government
to aid State and local governments in clearing away slums,
in building large-scale low-rent housing projects, and
in improving farm houses.

For three years, the Real Estate Lobby has blocked
the passage of an excellent bill which was before the Congress
of the United States.

For three years the leaders of the Republican Party
have refused to act.
The American people can wait no longer for a Congress that will provide the Housing we need so badly.

We must have a Congress that will provide homes for our people, and not just profits for Real Estate owners!

We must have a Democratic Congress.

There is also an acute shortage of schools and teachers in the United States.

We have fallen far behind in building schools for our children. States are financially unable to build new schools fast enough.

The shortage of teachers is even more alarming. Tens of thousands of teachers all over the country are turning to better-paying jobs as the rising cost of living makes it impossible for them to live on their teacher's salaries.
I have urged the Republican 80th Congress

time and again to provide three hundred million dollars
to the states to help them meet this crisis.

The Republican 80th Congress refused to provide
a nickel, yet it was willing to provide millions of dollars
each year to the States to help them build roads.

We must have a Congress that regards school children
as more important than the roads over which their school
buses pass!

We must have a Democratic Congress!

Republican high prices have worked their cruelest
hardship on our old people, on widows, and on dependent children
who are forced to live on small fixed incomes.
I urged the Republican 80th Congress to increase Social Security benefit payments in many cases, and I have also urged the extension of Social Security coverage to millions of workers who do not now receive its protection.

The Republican 80th Congress absolutely refused to increase payments, and instead of extending social security, they stripped nearly one million workers of their social security rights:

We must have a Congress that will consider the pittances received by elderly people and dependent children as more important than tax relief for the rich!

We must have a Democratic Congress!
Another condition that must be improved at once

is the level of our national health. There is an acute shortage

of modern hospitals and clinics. We need thousands

of new doctors and trained medical personnel.

Each year more than three hundred and twenty-five thousand

Americans die, whose lives could have been saved if they had

had the proper medical care we know how to provide.

That is a greater number of Americans than were killed

throughout World War Two.

I have been urging the Congress to pass laws which

would permit the Government to aid in building hospitals,

medical schools and clinics.
I have been urging the adoption of a national system of health insurance, so that the heavy medical expenses of the average family could be paid for out of an insurance fund.

This is not socialized medicine;

It is plain American common sense;

The Republican 86th Congress flatly refused to act.

We must have a Congress that will consider the health of our people more important than the health of the livestock on our farms;

We must have a Democratic Congress;

The Democratic Party stands for the kind of America where the government serves the people and the people work together for the common good.