Franklin D. Roosevelt — “The Great Communicator”
The Master Speech Files, 1898, 1910-1945

Series 2: “You have nothing to fear but fear itself:” FDR and the New Deal

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1936 October 13

Wichita, KS - Western Campaign Trip - Campaign Address
SPEECH OF THE PRESIDENT
WICHITA, KANSAS,
OCTOBER 13, 1936

If I ever write another book I am going to have a chapter in it about bedtime stories — political bedtime stories. It will be a very amusing chapter. I am going to fill it with whispering ghosts and stalking bogey men, and I am going to end the chapter by telling how the American men and women on the third of November, 1936, refused to be frightened by fairy tales. You do not look a bit scared to me.

The Republican leaders have told you all kinds of things about what this Administration is trying to do. They have tried to spread the gospel of fear not only in the factories, which is an old shopworn trick; but this year they are even trying to bring fear into the homes and firesides of America.

But I know that the people of this country have not such short memories. They remember only too well the real fear — the justified fear — felt all over the Nation in 1932, to be frightened by this silly false fear which is now being preached.
The leaders who are trying to do it are the very ones whose blindness to facts and refusal to act caused the real fear and the real danger of national disaster in 1932.

What this Administration has done since 1933 to clear up the debris which had been left over by twelve years of neglect need not be repeated. You know what the "devil-take-the-hindmost" policy of the nineteen twenties brought down upon our heads. You know that the vast speculative gains of a few were made without any regard to the deep injuries which they were causing to the great masses of our people.

In the spring of 1933, these same speculators pleaded with me for help -- help of any kind -- just so long as it would save them from bankruptcy. Most people thought that they had learned their lesson. We hoped that they would join with our average citizens in working for some kind of security against a recurrence of those panic years.

Yet here they are -- three years later -- giving vague lip service to that word "security" and, at the same time, seeking to block, to thwart, and to annul every measure that we have taken
to restrain the kind of individualism which hurts the community itself -- individualism run amuck.

I use this word "security" not in the narrower sense of old age pensions and of unemployment insurance -- fine as these objectives are. I use it in the broader sense -- confidence on the part of men and women, willing to carry on normal work, and willing to think of their neighbors as well as themselves, that they will not have to worry about losing their homes; about not having enough to eat; about becoming objects of charity. Add to that one more objective -- that all Americans may have full opportunity for education, for reasonable leisure and recreation, for the right to carry on representative government and for freedom to worship God in their own way.

That philosophy has been the philosophy and the practical objective of your national Administration at Washington. I do not seek to discuss with you the pros and cons of your local government, or of your State government in Kansas. You know more about that than I do. Let me say only, and in very simple terms, that I do not believe that Kansas would have pulled through the difficult
problems of the past four years as splendidly as it has, had it not been for Federal cooperation and Federal assistance in many fields of your endeavor. If you think we were wrong to give this assistance, then, to be logical, you must ask that in the days to come every State in the Union shall set itself up as an individual entity for the solution of all of the problems of all of its inhabitants, save possibly the maintenance of the Army, the Navy and the handling of our foreign affairs.

Our broader interpretation of security and of the methods of procuring it is well illustrated by what you have seen us do. Our endeavors have fallen into three broad classifications.

First, immediate and direct assistance -- including work for the unemployed; help for drought areas; buying drought-stricken cattle; building of ponds and irrigation projects; seed loans; assistance to the youth of the Nation, and dozens of other instances.

Secondly, protection against recognized abuses of many kinds -- including the battle of the Federal Government against kidnapping, blackmail, bank robberies and other menaces to life
and liberty; safeguarding innocent investors against fake securities; the regulation of stock exchanges; regulation of over-reaching practices of some utility companies and the establishment of power-yard-sticks to force reasonable electric rates; elimination of unsafe banking practices.

And thirdly, the reduction of interest rates; the saving of farms and homes from mortgage foreclosures; the insurance of bank deposits; the loans that have been made to keep railroads going; the assistance given to States, counties and municipalities, enabling them to build much needed, useful public works; old age pensions; unemployment insurance; assistance to rural schools; the CCC camps; farm-to-market roads; these and many more like them give you a more broad picture of the permanent and long range measures, many of which will improve not only your lives but those of your children.

There has been at one time a school of thought in this country that would have us believe that those vast numbers of average citizens who do not get to the top of the economic ladder do not deserve the security which Government alone can give them.
And in the past, unfortunately, that philosophy had had too large a hand in making our national economic policies. That school of thought left Washington on March 4, 1933.

The farmers of the Nation are a good example of what Government can do, not only in direct help but in providing security for the future. From a state of collapse in 1932, agriculture has not only been brought back to life but has received the encouragement of Government which enables it to face the future with confidence.

Is there among the many farmers in this audience, a single one who would want to go back to the uncooperative formula—the rugged individualism, the economic freedom of 1932?

Don't you and your wife and your children look forward to a safer, better future today than you did three and a half short years ago?

I have used farming as an illustration of greater security because Kansas is a great farming State. You know, however, that the mining areas and the livestock areas and the industrial areas of the country are likewise receiving their share of a greater security.

Every part of the Nation shares it together.
Last April in New York I dared to talk farming to a New
York City audience. I told them that one of the best things that
had come out of these three years was the realization by city
dwellers that they could not be prosperous until the farmer was also
prosperous. In the same way I have dared to talk to people in great
agricultural States about the needs of the industrial workers in the
big cities, and how closely their welfare is tied up with the lot
of the farmer.

People who are spreading the gospel of fear talk about
setting one class against another class. They have intimated that
farmers belong to one class and industrial workers to another class,
and business to another class. I deny this. They all belong to
the same class for the very simple reason that none of these
occupations can survive without the survival of the others.

The people who talk about these class distinctions are
the very ones who are encouraging class antagonism. For they tell
one story in the East and another story in the West; one story in
the city and another story on the farm. That is not my way and
never will be my way.
We are coming through a great national crisis with flying colors. We have not lost our self-respect. We have not changed our form of government. We have a net national debt which though greater in dollars is actually less in proportion to the income of the Nation and in proportion to the wealth of the Nation than the national debt was on March 4, 1933.

From the point of view of national income and national wealth, we are better able to bear our debt now than we were then. And, within a year or two, with income increasing and expenditures declining, we shall be able to balance the budget and start paying down on the debt.

There is one final form of security on which I have not yet touched. In addition to security at home and in the home, we have sought for security from war with other Nations. We have not been content merely to talk about peace. We have done something about it. We are trying to break down the economic barriers, to soften the economic rivalries, to end the economic strife between nations; for these have been the causes and forerunners of war. We have taken the lead among the nations of the world in restoring economic peace which is so essential to military peace.
In the whole of the Western Hemisphere we have preached and gained recognition of the doctrine of the good neighbor. We have extended the right hand of fellowship. Many nations of the earth have taken that outstretched hand. We propose, of course, no interference with the affairs of other nations. We seek only by force of our own example to spread the gospel of peace in the world.

We are gaining peace and security at home. I am confident that I have the support of the American people in seeking peace and security abroad.
ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT
WICHITA, KANSAS
October 13, 1936, 10:15 A.M.

Senator McGill, my friends of Kansas:

I am especially happy to come here at the
time of this, your celebration of the seventy-fifth
anniversary of the admission of Kansas to the Union.

In my boyhood days, one of my earliest
recollections was going about fifteen miles back into
Dutchess County, trying to shoot a woodcock. The place
I went through was known locally as Kansas and I often
wondered why it was called Kansas. Long years later,
in trying to find out the origin of the name, I ran
across an old file of a local newspaper and found that
in 1857 an enterprising railroad man had come into
Dutchess County and had offered a free trip to Kansas
for anybody who wanted to go there. That was one of the
ways in which Kansas was settled, as you all know. Back
there in Dutchess we feel that before a great many families,
I think three or four dozen, came out here in those early
days, that we have a special link with this State. That
is another reason why I am very glad to be here on this
Franklin D. Roosevelt Library

This is a transcript made by the White House stenographer from his shorthand notes taken at the time the speech was made. Underlining indicates words extemporaneously added to the previously prepared reading copy text. Words in parentheses are words that were omitted when the speech was delivered, though they appear in the previously prepared reading copy text.

General Adaptation by Reference to Knowledge

I am especially proud to come here to the University County, trying to make a speech. I know I have

something with me regarding knowledge, and some idea

in aiming to limit the things of the nature of the

science of the life of a professor's profession and much that

I was an educational institution and may have some

Durham County and in filling the case of known

you yourself are wanted to be there. But we are

sense to bring to bear great and effective a great and

I think time to learn about some may more or less on this

to another reason why I am very glad to be here on this
beautiful morning.

I come back here after four years to find that things have changed a good deal. (Applause) I have noticed in traveling on the railroad that there is a different type even of tourists. Four years ago there were a lot of tourists who were riding in box cars and on top of trains. Today they are riding in their own automobiles and in Pullmans. (Applause) You know, on a day like this it seems a pity to have to mention an election. But we people have a habit once every four years of having a grand fight and getting it over with the day after election. November 3rd is exactly three weeks from today and I expect to survive those three weeks.

(The foregoing was extemporaneous.)

(If I ever) If later on I shall have to write another book I am going to have a chapter in it about bedtime stories -- political bedtime stories. It will be a very amusing chapter. I am going to fill it with whispering ghosts and stalking bogey men, and I am going to end the chapter by telling how the American men and
women on the third of November, 1936, refused to be frightened by fairy tales. (Applause) You (folks) people do not look (a bit scared to me) to me the least bit frightened.

(The Republican leaders) And yet some people have (told you) been trying to tell you all kinds of things about what this Administration is trying to do. They have tried, I am sorry to say, to spread the gospel of fear not only in the factories, which is an old (shop) outworn trick; but this year they are even trying to (bring) spread fear into the homes and firesides of America.

(But) And yet I know that the people of this country have not such short memories. They remember only too well the real fear -- the justified fear -- felt all over the Nation in 1932, they know it too well to be frightened by this silly false fear which is now being preached. The leaders who are trying to do it, incidentally, (are) happen to be the very ones whose blindness to facts and refusal to act caused the real fear and the real danger (of national disaster) in 1932.

What (this Administration has done) we have been
trying to do since 1933 to clear up the debris which (had been) was left over (by twelve years of neglect) need not be repeated, you all know it. You know what the "devil-take-the-hindmost" policy of the nineteen twenties brought down upon our heads. You know that the vast speculative gains of a few people were made without any regard to the deep injuries which they were causing to the great masses of our people.

In the spring of 1933, these same speculators (pleaded with) came to me for help -- help of any kind -- just so long as it would save them from bankruptcy. Most people thought that they had learned their lesson. We hoped that they would join with our average citizens in working for some kind of security against a recurrence of those panic years.

Yet here they are -- three years later -- giving, to be sure, a (vague) lip service to that word "security" and, at the same time, seeking to block, to thwart, and to annul every measure that we have taken to restrain the kind of individualism which hurts the community itself, in other words, individualism run amuck.

I use this word "security" not in the narrower
sense of old age pensions and of unemployment insurance --
fine as these objectives are. I use it in the broader
sense -- confidence on the part of men and women, willing
to carry on normal work, and willing to think of their
neighbors as well as themselves, that they will not have
to worry about losing their homes; about not having
enough to eat, about becoming objects of charity. And to
that one more objective -- that all Americans may have full
opportunity for education, for reasonable leisure and
recreation, for the right to carry on representative
government and for freedom to worship God in their own way.

(Applause)

That philosophy has been the philosophy and the
practical objective of your national Administration at
Washington. I do not seek to discuss with you the pros
and cons of your local government, or of your State govern-
ment in Kansas. You know more about that than I do. Let
me say only, and in very simple terms, that I do not believe
that Kansas or any other state would have pulled through
the difficult problems of the past four years as splendidly
as it has, had it not been for Federal cooperation and
Federal assistance in many fields of your endeavor. (Applause)
(If you think we were wrong to give this assistance, then, to be logical, you must ask that in the days to come every State in the Union shall set itself up as an individual entity for the solution of all of the problems of all of its inhabitants, save possibly the maintenance of the Army, the Navy and the handling of our foreign affairs.)

Our broader interpretation of security and of the methods of procuring it is well illustrated by what you have seen us do. Our endeavors have fallen into three broad classifications.

First, we have to take care of the problem of immediate and direct assistance -- including work for the unemployed; help for drought areas; buying of drought-stricken cattle; building of ponds and irrigation projects; seed loans; assistance to the youth of the Nation, and dozens of other instances of that kind.

Secondly, protection against recognized abuses of many kinds -- including the battle of the Federal Government against kidnapping, blackmail, bank robberies and other menaces to life and liberty; safeguarding (innocent) investors against fake securities; the regulation of stock exchanges; regulation of over-reaching
practices of some utility companies and the establishment of power-yard-sticks to force reasonable electric rates; elimination of unsafe banking practices. (Applause)

And (thirdly) third, the reduction of interest rates; the saving of farms and homes from mortgage foreclosures; the insurance of bank deposits; the loans that have been made to keep railroads going; the assistance given to States, counties and (municipalities) cities, enabling them to build much needed, useful public works; old age pensions; unemployment insurance; assistance to rural schools; the CCC camps; farm-to-market roads; these and many more like them give you a broad picture of the more permanent and long range measures, many of which will improve not only your lives but those of your children as well. (Applause)

You know, there has been (at one time) a school of thought in this country that would have us believe that those vast numbers of average citizens who do not get to the top of the economic ladder do not deserve the security which Government alone can give them. And in the past, unfortunately, that philosophy has had too large a hand in making our national economic policies. That school of thought left Washington on March 4, 1933. (Applause)
The farmers of the Nation are a very good example of what Government can do, not only in direct help but in providing security for the future. From a state of collapse in 1932, agriculture has not only been brought back to life but has received the encouragement of Government which enables it to face the future with confidence.

I never want to see thirty cent wheat again. (Applause)

Is there among (the many farmers in this audience, a single one) this great audience, one single farmer who would want to go back to the uncooperative formula -- the kind of rugged individualism, the economic freedom of 1932?

Don't you and your wife and your children look forward to a safer, better future today than you did three and a half short years ago? (Applause)

I have used farming as an illustration of greater security because Kansas is a great farming State. You know, however, that the mining areas, (and) the livestock areas and the industrial areas of the country are likewise receiving their share of a greater security. Every part of the nation is sharing it together.
Last April in the City of New York I dared
to talk farming to a New York City audience. It was
the brashest thing I ever did in my life. I told
them that one of the best things that had come out of
these three years was the realization by city dwellers
that they could not be prosperous until the farmer was
also prosperous. In the same way I have dared to talk
to people in great agricultural States about the needs
of the industrial workers in the big cities, and how
closely their welfare is tied up with the lot of the
farmer.

People who are spreading the gospel of fear
talk about setting one class against another. (class)
They have intimated that farmers belong to one class
and industrial workers to another class, and business
to still another class. I deny this. They all belong
to the same class for the very simple reason that none
of these occupations can survive without the survival
of the others. (Applause)

The people who talk about these class dis-
tinctions are the very ones who are encouraging class
antagonism. For they tell one story in the East and
another story in the West; (Applause) they tell one story in the city and another story on the farm. My friends, that is not my way and never will be my way. (Applause)

Taking it by and large, I think we are coming through a great national crisis with flying colors. (Applause) We have not lost our self-respect. We have not changed our form of government. We have a net national debt which though greater in dollars is actually less in proportion to the income of the Nation and in proportion to the wealth of the Nation than the national debt was on March 4, 1933. (Applause)

From the point of view of national income and national wealth, we are better able to bear our debt now than we were then. And, within a year or two, with income increasing and expenditures declining, we shall be able to balance the budget and start paying down on the debt. (Applause)

One word more: There is one final form of security on which I have not yet touched. In addition to security at home and in the home, we have sought for security from war with other Nations. (Applause) We have not been content merely to talk about peace.
We have done something about it. We are trying to break down (the) economic barriers, to soften the economic rivalries, to end the economic strife between nations; for these have been the causes and forerunners of war. We have taken the lead among the nations of the world in restoring economic peace which is so essential to military peace.

In the whole of the Western Hemisphere here, all the way from the North Pole to the South Pole we have preached and we have gained recognition of the doctrine of the good neighbor. (Applause) We have extended the right hand of fellowship. Many nations of the earth have taken that outstretched hand. We propose, of course, no interference with the affairs of other nations. We seek only by force of our own example to spread the gospel of peace (in) throughout the world. (Applause)

And so, my friends, I think we are gaining peace and security at home. I am confident that I have the support of the American people in seeking peace and security abroad. (Prolonged Applause)
If ever I write another book I am going to have a chapter in it about bedtime stories — political bedtime stories. It will be a very amusing chapter. I am going to fill it with whispering ghosts and striking bogey men, and I am going to end the chapter by telling you how the American men and women of the third of November, 1932, refused to be frightened by fairy tales. You folks do not look like scared to me.

The Republican leaders have told you all kinds of things about what this Administration is trying to do. They have tried to spread the gospel of fear not only in the factories, which is an old, worn-out trick; but this year they are even trying to bring fear into the homes and firesides of America.

But I know that the people of this country have not such short memories. They remember only too well the real fear — the justified fear — felt all over the Nation in 1932, to be frightened by this silly false fear which is now being preached. The leaders who are trying to do it are the very ones whose blindness to facts and refusal to act caused the real fear and the real danger of national disaster in 1932.

What this Administration has done since 1933 to clear up the debris which has been left over by twelve years of neglect need not be repeated. You know what the "devil-take-the-hindmost" policy of the nineteen twenties brought down upon our heads. You know that the vast speculative gains of a few were made without any regard to the deep injuries which they were causing to the great masses of our people.

In the spring of 1933, these same speculators pleaded with us for help — help of any kind — just so long as it would save them from bankruptcy. Lost people thought that they had learned their lesson. We hoped that they would join with our average citizens in working for some kind of security against a recurrence of those panic years.

But here they are — three years later — giving a vague lip service to that word "security" and, at the same time, seeking to block, to thwart, and to annul every measure that we have taken to restrain the kind of individualism which hurts the community itself — individualism run amuck.

I use this word "security" not in the narrower sense of old age pensions and of unemployment insurance — fine as these objectives are. I use it in the broader sense — confidence on the part of men and women, willing to carry on normal work, and willing to think of their neighbors as well as themselves, that they will not have to worry about losing their homes; about not having enough to eat, about becoming objects of charity. Add to that one more objective — that all Americans may have full opportunity for education, for reasonable leisure and recreation, for the right to carry on representative government and for freedom to worship God in their own way.

That philosophy has been the philosophy and the practical objective of your national Administration at Washington. I do not seek to discuss with you the pros and cons of your local government, or of your State government in Kansas, You know more about that than I do. Let me say only, and in very simple terms, that I do not believe
that Kansas would have pulled through the difficult problem of the past four years as splendidly as it has, had it not been for Federal cooperation and Federal assistance in many fields of your endeavor. If you think we were wrong to give this assistance, when, to be logical, you must ask that in the days to come every State in the Union shall set itself up as an independent entity for the solution of all of the problems of all of its inhabitants, save possibly the maintenance of the Army, the Navy and the handling of our foreign affairs.

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Secondly, protection against recognized abuses of many kinds -- including the battle of the Federal Government against kidnaping, blackmail, bank robberies and other menaces to life and liberty; safeguarding innocent investors against fake securities; the regulation of stock exchanges; regulation of over-reaching practices of some utility companies and the establishment of power-yard-sticks to force reasonable electric rates; elimination of unsafe banking practices.

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Is there among the many farmers in this audience, a single one who would want to go back to the uncooperative formula -- the rugged individualism, the economic freedom of 1932?

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People who are spreading the gospel of fear talk about setting one class against another. They have intimated that farmers belong to one class and industrial workers to another class, and business to another class. I deny this. They all belong to the same class for the very simple reason that none of these occupations can survive without the survival of the others.

The people who talk about these class distinctions are the very ones who are encouraging class antagonism. For they tell one story in the East and another story in the West; one story in the city and another story on the farm. That is not my way and never will be my way.

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That philosophy has been the philosophy of the practical objective of your national Administration. I do not seek to discuss it with you the pros and cons of your local government, or of your State government in Kansas. You know more about that than I do. Let me say only, and in very simple terms, that I do not believe that Kansas would have pulled through the difficult problems of the past four years as splendidly as it has, had it not been for Federal cooperation and Federal assistance in many fields of your endeavor. If in this you think that we were wrong in giving this assistance, then to be logical you must ask that in the days to come every State in the Union shall set itself up as an individual entity for the solution of all of the problems of all of its inhabitants, save possibly the maintenance of the Army and the Navy and the handling of our foreign affairs.
Our broader interpretation of security and of the
methods of procuring it is well illustrated by what you have seen us
have done with your own eyes. These endeavors fall into three broad
classifications. The first relates to immediate assistance; drought,
including work for the unemployed; help for areas struck by
drought, buying of cattle; building of ponds, and the downing of
wheat; protection and other steps we have taken. Secondly, the legislation which has
ought to protect you and all other citizens against recognized
abuses of many kind: strengthening of Federal activities
against kidnapping, bank robberies and other menaces; the
safeguarding innocent investors against fake or falsely issued
securities; the regulation of stock exchanges; regulation of
overreaching practices of some utility
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just electric rates; elimination
of unsafe banking practices.
In the same way the utility holding company Bill and the creation of a new power yard-sticks, is already bringing lower electrical rates. In the same way classification fails that of our farm program, which by more closely stabilizing crop prices discourages the mere speculator in farm products of all kinds. Finally, in the third category, the reduction of interest rates; the saving of farms and homes from mortgage foreclosure; the insurance of bank deposits; the 

made to keep railroads going, the assistance given to states, counties and municipalities, enabling them to build much needed, useful public works—these and many more, such as old age pensions; unemployment insurance; assistance to rural poor. Keeping schools open; the C. C. C. Camps; the new farm to market tracks; these and many more give you a broad picture of the permanent measures which will affect not only your lives, but those of your children.
There has been at one time a particular school of thought in this country that would have us believe that those vast numbers of average citizens of the economic ladder who do not get to the top do not deserve protection and security which Government can give them. And in the past, unfortunately, that school of thought philosophy has had too large a hand in making our national economic policies. That school of thought left Washington on March 4, 1933.
The farmers of this nation are a good example of what government can do not only in providing direct help but in providing security for the future. From a state of collapse in 1932, agricultural law has not only been brought back to life but has been provided with encouragement by government which expects it to face the future with confidence.
As you and I review between now and election day the many practical accomplishments which I have recited, we can add many other practical results which we know of at firsthand.

The farmer is a good example of the many kinds of security which have been added to his welfare. I do not believe for a single moment that he wants to go back to the uncooperative formula that existed up to March, 1933.

Don't you and your wife and your children look forward to a safer, better future than you did three and a half short years ago?

I have used farming as an illustration of greater security because Kansas is a great farming State. You know, however, that the mining areas and the livestock areas and the industrial areas of the country are likewise receiving their share of a greater security. Every part of the Nation shares it together.

Last April in New York I dared to talk farming to a New York audience, and I told them that one of the best things that had come out of these three years was the fact that city dwellers could not be prosperous until the farmer was prosperous.
In the same way I dared to talk to people in a great agricultural State about the needs of the industrial workers in the big cities and how closely the welfare of the farmers of the East and the Middle West are tied up with the welfare of the farmers and the Middle West.

People who are spreading the gospel of fear talk about setting one class against another class. They have intimated that farmers belong to one class and industrial workers to another class. I deny this. They belong to the same class for the very simple reason that no occupation can survive without the survival of the other. The people who talk about these class distinctions are the very ones who are encouraging class distinctions for they tell one story in the East and another story in the West; one story in the city and another story on the farm. That is not my way and never will be my way.

We are coming through a great national crisis with flying colors. We have not lost our self-respect. We have not changed our form of government. We have a net national debt which though greater in dollars is actually less in proportion to the income of the Nation and in proportion to the wealth of the Nation than the national debt was on March 4, 1933.
In other words, from the point of view of national income and national wealth, we are better able to bear our debt now than we were then. And, incidentally, within a year or two with increased income and declining expenditures, we shall be able to balance the budget and start paying down on the debt.

But there is one final form of security on which I have not yet touched. In addition to security at home and in the home, we seek security from war with other Nations. We have not been content merely to talk about peace. We have done something about it. We are trying to break down the economic barriers, to soften the economic rivalry, to end the economic strife between Nations; for these have been the causes and fore-runners of war. We have taken the lead among the nations of the world in restoring economic peace which is so essential to military peace.

In the whole of the Western Hemisphere we have preached and gained recognition of the doctrine of the good neighbor. We have extended the right hand of fellowship, and many nations of the earth have taken that outstretched hand. In these difficult days in other hemispheres, we propose no interference with the affairs of other nations. We seek by force of example to spread the gospel of peace in the world.
We are gaining peace and security at home. I am confident that I have the support of the American people in seeking peace and security abroad.
If I ever write another book I am going to have a chapter in it about bedtime stories — political bedtime stories. It will be a very amusing chapter. I am going to fill it with whispering ghosts and stalking bogey men, and I am going to end the chapter by telling how the American men and women on the third of November, 1936, refused to be frightened by fairy tales. You do not look a bit scared to me.

The Republican leaders have told you all kinds of things about what this Administration is trying to do. They have tried to spread the gospel of fear not only in the factories, which is an old shopworn trick; but this year they are even trying to bring fear into the homes and firesides of America.

But I know that the people of this country have not such short memories. They remember only too well the real fear — the justified fear — felt all over the Nation in 1932, to be frightened by this silly false fear which is now being preached.
The leaders who are trying to do it are the very ones whose blindness to facts and refusal to act caused the real fear and the real danger of national disaster in 1932.

What this Administration has done since 1933 to clear up the debris which had been left over by twelve years of neglect need not be repeated. You know what the "devil-take-the-hindmost" policy of the nineteen twenties brought down upon our heads. You know that the vast speculative gains of a few were made without any regard to the deep injuries which they were causing to the great masses of our people.

In the spring of 1933, these same speculators pleaded with me for help — help of any kind — just so long as it would save them from bankruptcy. Most people thought that they had learned their lesson. We hoped that they would join with our average citizens in working for some kind of security against a recurrence of those panic years.

Yet here they are — three years later — giving vague lip service to that word "security" and, at the same time, seeking to block, to thwart, and to annul every measure that we have taken
to restrain the kind of individualism which hurts the community itself — individualism run amuck.

I use this word "security" not in the narrower sense of old age pensions and of unemployment insurance — fine as these objectives are. I use it in the broader sense — confidence on the part of men and women, willing to carry on normal work, and willing to think of their neighbors as well as themselves, that they will not have to worry about losing their homes; about not having enough to eat; about becoming objects of charity. Add to that one more objective — that all Americans may have full opportunity for education, for reasonable leisure and recreation, for the right to carry on representative government and for freedom to worship God in their own way.

That philosophy has been the philosophy and the practical objective of your national Administration at Washington. I do not seek to discuss with you the pros and cons of your local government, or of your State government in Kansas. You know more about that than I do. Let me say only, and in very simple terms, that I do not believe that Kansas would have pulled through the difficult
problems of the past four years as splendidly as it has, had it not been for Federal cooperation and Federal assistance in many fields of your endeavor. If you think we were wrong to give this assistance, then, to be logical, you must ask that in the days to come every State in the Union shall set itself up as an individual entity for the solution of all of the problems of all of its inhabitants, save possibly the maintenance of the Army, the Navy and the handling of our foreign affairs.

Our broader interpretation of security and of the methods of procuring it is well illustrated by what you have seen us do. Our endeavors have fallen into three broad classifications.

First, immediate and direct assistance — including work for the unemployed; help for drought areas; buying drought-stricken cattle; building of ponds and irrigation projects; seed loans; assistance to the youth of the Nation, and dozens of other instances.

Secondly, protection against recognized abuses of many kinds — including the battle of the Federal Government against kidnapping, blackmail, bank robberies and other menaces to life
and liberty; safeguarding innocent investors against fake securities; the regulation of stock exchanges; regulation of over-reaching practices of some utility companies and the establishment of pow- yard-sticks to force reasonable electric rates; elimination of unsafe banking practices.

And thirdly, the reduction of interest rates; the saving of farms and homes from mortgage foreclosures; the insurance of bank deposits; the loans that have been made to keep railroads going; the assistance given to States, counties and municipalities, enabling them to build much needed, useful public works; pensions; unemployment insurance; assistance to rural schools; CCC camps; farm-to-market roads; these and many more like them give you a more broad picture of the permanent and long range measures, many of which will improve not only your lives but those of your children.

There has been at one time a school of thought in this country that would have us believe that those vast numbers of average citizens who do not get to the top of the economic ladder do not deserve the security which Government alone can give them.
And in the past, unfortunately, that philosophy has had too large a hand in making our national economic policies. That school of thought left Washington on March 4, 1933.

The farmers of the Nation are a good example of what Government can do, not only in direct help but in providing security for the future. From a state of collapse in 1932, agriculture has not only been brought back to life but has received the encouragement of Government which enables it to face the future with confidence.

Is there among the many farmers of this audience, a single one who would want to go back to the uncooperative formula — the rugged individualism, the economic freedom of 1932?

Don't you and your wife and your children look forward to a safer, better future today than you did three and a half short years ago?

I have used farming as an illustration of greater security because Kansas is a great farming State. You know, however, that the mining areas and the livestock areas and the industrial areas of the country are likewise receiving their share of a greater security.

Every part of the Nation shares it together.
Last April in New York I dared to talk farming to a New
York City audience. I told them that one of the best things that
had come out of these three years was the realization by city
dwellers that they could not be prosperous until the farmer was also
prosperous. In the same way I have dared to talk to people in great
agricultural States about the needs of the industrial workers in the
big cities, and how closely their welfare is tied up with the lot
of the farmer.

People who are spreading the gospel of fear talk about
setting one class against another class. They have intimated that
farmers belong to one class and industrial workers to another class,
and business to another class. I deny this. They all belong to
the same class for the very simple reason that none of these
occupations can survive without the survival of the others.

The people who talk about these class distinctions are
the very ones who are encouraging class antagonism. For they tell
one story in the East and another story in the West; one story in
the city and another story on the farm. That is not my way and
never will be my way.
We are coming through a great national crisis with flying colors. We have not lost our self-respect. We have not changed our form of government. We have a net national debt which though greater in dollars is actually less in proportion to the income of the Nation and in proportion to the wealth of the Nation than the national debt was on March 4, 1833.

From the point of view of national income and national wealth, we are better able to bear our debt now than we were then. And, within a year or two, with income increasing and expenditures declining, we shall be able to balance the budget and start paying down on the debt.

There is one final form of security on which I have not yet touched. In addition to security at home and in the home, we have sought for security from war with other Nations. We have not been content merely to talk about peace. We have done something about it. We are trying to break down the economic barriers, to soften the economic rivalries, to end the economic strife between nations; for these have been the causes and forerunners of war. We have taken the lead among the nations of the world in restoring economic peace which is so essential to military peace.
In the whole of the Western Hemisphere we have preached and gained recognition of the doctrine of the good neighbor. We have extended the right hand of fellowship. Many nations of the earth have taken that outstretched hand. We propose, of course, no interference with the affairs of other nations. We seek only by force of our own example to spread the gospel of peace in the world.

We are gaining peace and security at home. I am confident that I have the support of the American people in seeking peace and security abroad.

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