
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**

File No. 960

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; pensions; old age 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 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 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, 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.

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

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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.

: secund to assist ya, 1110AM transcrib

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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) soread 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 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 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 brazenest 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 distinctions 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 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 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)

STATEMENTS FILE

Shorthand by Kenneb

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FOR RELEASE UPON DELIVERY

CAUTION: This address of the President, to be delivered at Wichita, Kansas, October 13, 1936, is not to be released until delivery, expected about 10:15 A. M., Central Time.

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 ~~fools~~ 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.

Let 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.

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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, when, 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.

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(1)

Draft

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Third of November ~~of~~ 1938, refused to be frightened by fairy tales. You ~~folks~~ ^{are} ~~all~~ ^{real} people. do not look ~~to~~ me a bit like a frightened audience.

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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 -- ~~which~~ 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.

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In the spring of 1933, these speculators pleaded ^{some} 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, ^{I hoped not they} ~~and~~ would join with ^{the} ~~the average of our~~ citizens in working for some kind of security ~~for the~~ ^{so we} ~~that would prevent~~ ^{these} a recurrence of ~~the~~ 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 runs amuck.~~

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of its inhabitants, save possibly the maintenance of the Army
~~the~~ 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~~ ^{here} 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 ~~stricken by~~ drought-stricken ^{and irrigation projects; seed loans,} buying of cattle; building of ponds and ~~the~~ dozens of ^{instances} other steps we have taken. Secondly, ^{protection} legislation which has sought to protect you and all others against recognized abuses of many kinds: — including the battle of the ^{to life and liberty} ~~strengthening of Federal government~~ blackmail, against kidnapping, bank robberies and other menaces; ¹ Safeguarding ~~protecting~~ innocent investors against fake or falsely issued securities; the regulation of stock exchanges; regulation of overreaching practices of some utility companies and the establishment of power yard-sticks to force reasonable and just ~~electric~~ electric rates; elimination of unsafe banking practices.

No. 9

In the same way the Utility Holding Company Bill and the creation of ~~some~~ power yard-sticks, is already bringing lower electrical rates. In directly, in this same classification falls the ~~measures~~ of our farm program, which by more firmly 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 ~~uses~~ 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; these and many more like them, such as old age pensions; unemployment insurance; assistance to rural keeping schools open; the C. C. C. Camps; ~~etc., etc.~~ farm to market roads; these and many more like them give you a broad picture of the permanent measures and long range measures, many of which will affect not only your lives but those of your children.

50A

There has been ~~a~~ at one time a ~~middle~~ 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 ~~sustention~~ security which
~~Government alone 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 WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

5B

The farmers of this nation are
a good example of what government
can do not only in ~~the way~~
of 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 been~~
~~provided with encouragement~~
~~of government which enabled it to~~
~~work again~~
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 moment that he wants to go back to the uncooperative~~
~~many farmers in this audience, a single one who would want~~
~~the rugged individualism, the economic freedom of 1932 formula that existed up to March, 1933.~~

Don't you and your wife and your children look forward to-day 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~~ ^{realization by} city dwellers could not be prosperous until the farmer ~~was~~ ^{were also} prosperous.

-7-

law *This ~~national~~ welfare
is tied up with the
lot of the farmers.*

In the same way I dared to talk to people in great agricultural

States about the needs of the industrial workers in the big cities

or the ~~country~~ and the middle West. *and how closely the welfare of the farmers
are tied up with the*

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

*neither none of these occupations can
survive*

without the survival of the other ~~occupation~~. The people who

these talk about class distinctions are the very ones who are en-

couraging 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 ~~income increasing and expenditures declining~~, ~~this 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.~~ ^{for} 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 for-runners of war. We have taken the lead among the nations of the world in restoring ~~an~~ economic peace which is so essential to ~~a~~ 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,~~ ^{of course,} we propose ~~no~~ interference with the affairs of other nations. We seek ^{order} ~~our own~~ 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.

SPECH 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 houses 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.

STATEMENTS FILE

Shorthand by Kansas

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~~ 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 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 house, 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.
