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. 961

1936 October 13

Kansas City, MO - Western Campaign Trip -
Campaign Address
SPEECH OF THE PRESIDENT
KANSAS CITY, MISSOURI,
OCTOBER 13, 1936

It is good to see once again smiling faces, and to hear happy cheers from young America.

I have just come through eastern Colorado and western Kansas -- parts of our national dust bowl -- where deep holes in the ground and swirling clouds of dust show the erosion which years of man's neglect has wrought in the soil. And in your own States you have all seen other examples of waste in the physical resources of our country -- water, trees, birds and other wild life.

But through the years of this depression we have had destruction even more tragic than that -- waste in men and women, in human skill, character and life. Of all of the appalling waste of the days of false prosperity and recent disaster, human erosion has been the most ominous.

There was, unfortunately, for a long time in the high places of government in Washington a school of thought that human waste was the concern only of private charity and local communities.
We have learned a lot since those days. We no longer believe that human beings hit by flood, drought, unemployment or any other national disaster should be left to themselves with the sole help of such charity as may be locally available to them. It may not be enough to go round.

Government since 1933 has begun to take stock of the human resources of the Nation and it is determined to preserve them.

As we take stock, we recognize that the most priceless of our human assets are the young men and women of America -- the raw material out of which the United States must shape its future.

Nature's deepest instinct is the concern in every parent's heart for the welfare of the children. It is a law of nature which equals even the instinct for the preservation of life. Indeed it is part of that law, for without the preservation of youth, the race itself would perish. And so, the highest duty of any government is to order public affairs so that opportunities for youth shall be made ever broader and firmer.

We Americans have never lost our sense of this obligation.
To a greater degree than any other peoples we have sought to give each rising generation a little better chance in life than the one that preceded it. The little red school house for the education of the young, and the church for the training of his spiritual qualities, have always been the first structures to rise in every new settlement, as our ancestors pushed new frontiers through the wilderness. The school is the last expenditure upon which America should be willing to economize.

Those of us who helped build up the fantastic jazz era of the nineteen twenties, which crashed down over our heads, must feel a peculiarly deep sense of responsibility to our boys and girls who were sunk with us in the ruins.

I need not remind the young people of this country of the black future which lay ahead of them in those days. That was the era of the wanderers -- boys and girls who had grown tired of living on the vanishing savings of their parents, and who had set out on the highways in all directions to look for work which they could not find.
Those in school and those out of school could not look forward to a place in the community. The door of opportunity had been slammed in their faces.

Hanging around on street corners, roaming about the country in bands vainly looking for work — there was the real danger which America faced.

When the history of the dark days out of which we are now coming is written, it will be said that the great marvel of this period was that those young people have come through, with a full faith in democracy and with a high resolve to preserve it at all costs.

Cities couldn’t help, counties couldn’t help, states couldn’t help. Even big business couldn’t help. The youth of America had apparently come to the end of the road.

That was the condition that confronted your Federal Government on March 4, 1933. Your Federal Government acted.

Before it laid its hands to any other problem — and there were many of them — it set up the CCC camp to put an immediate end to that hopeless condition. It cost money to do that, just as it
cost our pioneer fathers and mothers money to build the schools in which we have all been trained.

We have done much in the way of a beginning to improve the things in America which have made for waste in human beings. On the farms and in the cities -- throughout the Nation -- we are starting to remove those glaring inequalities, those deep-rooted maladjustments which did so much to bring about disaster.

The American people joined with us in 1933 to start this job. A vast majority of the American people in 1936 are with us to see it through. We have made the start in these days, confident that you -- the youth of the country -- will carry on to finish the job.

That is why we have a national youth program. That is why through our CCC camps and the National Youth Administration we are trying to keep young people at useful work or in useful education. In high schools and in colleges the Federal Government has lent a helping hand in keeping youth at the job of learning. Out in the woods, out in the open, the Federal Government has kept the self respect and the health of hundreds of thousands of young people.
The Federal Government for many years has spent a good many millions of dollars -- well-spent dollars too -- to conserve our forests, our crops and our livestock. We believe in that kind of conservation. You all know how much we have done in that kind of conservation. But now we have begun to spend money on much more important conservation -- to save the energy, the ability and the spirit of youth. No money was ever better spent.

Nothing has made me happier on this trip than seeing at first-hand that the youthful hitch-hiker has disappeared from our highways and from the box cars and freight trains. The youth of the land can once more look forward with confidence and courage just as we of the older generation did in our day.

No greater satisfaction can come to me than the realization that the youth of America understand what we have tried to do -- and approve.

They know that the price we have paid to save our country has been worthwhile.

America has lost a good many things during the depression. Some of them needed to go, I am glad that they have gone. We have
lost that false sense of values that puts financial success above every other kind of achievement. We have lost a little of our cocksureness, a little of the bumptiousness which the Pharisee had when he thanked God that he was not as other people. We have lost something of that feeling that ours is an "every-man-for-himself" kind of society, in which the law of the jungle is law enough.

But many things we have saved. We have saved our morale. We have preserved our belief in American institutions. In this world of ours where some nations have taken perilous detours, we have faced our problems and have met them with a democracy. Within that democracy we are determined to solve them.

We have saved above all our faith in the future -- a faith under which America has only begun to march.

In that march America will have to be led by the youth of today.

It has been our job to clear the ground of what in too many places was a social and economic wilderness. That pioneering has only begun. It will be for you to continue it.
You will discover that in pushing forward this great program of social betterment and social security, you will be met by the same opposition, the same relentless resistance which faced the frontiersmen of the early West. You will find that your fight against selfishness and injustice, against oppression, and, above all, against war, will take you into a man-sized struggle.

I am telling you this not to discourage you but to stimulate you. Our fight — yours and mine — is to keep our democracy safe by keeping it moving forward. In such a fight it is an unhappy place to be on the side lines. To the young people of America I say: Join with us, ours is the real struggle to continue and preserve democracy in America.
ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT
KANSAS CITY, MISSOURI
October 13, 1936, 5.30 P.M.

Governor Park, Mr. Mayor, my friends of Missouri:

It is good to see once again smiling faces, and to hear happy cheers from young Americans. (Applause)

I have had a wonderful day getting to learn more about America.

I have just come through eastern Colorado and western Kansas -- parts of our national dust bowl and yet they are smiling through. I have seen lots of things which ought to be mended. On the physical side of things, I saw (where) deep holes in the ground and swirling clouds of dust that show the erosion which years of man's neglect has wrought in (the) our soil. And in (your own) our States (you) we have all seen other examples of waste in the physical resources of our country -- waste of water, waste of trees, waste of birds and other wild life.

But through the years of this depression that we have left behind us now, (applause) we have (had) seen destruction even more tragic than that -- waste in men and women, in human skill, character and life. Of all of the appalling waste of the days of false prosperity and recent disaster, human erosion has been the most (ominous) calamitous. (Applause)
If we look to the case of a threatening nation, may I

note that the President recently expressed a

view that, in the Secretary of War's report of war

are (war)

and the Director's report of advance, I saw the

were the occasion of events or events on which the

have until seen adequate explanation of events in the past,

reason of our country -- were (war), were of peace,

peace of tribe and other withTitle

but pronounced the parts of their government help to save

that building in war (apologies to save) or save for

may now, more, after reaping and life -- save to new and many;

union with it, elsewhere and life. All of all the buildings

merely dream or read the phrase and Tacitus, Terean


(Quotation)
There was, unfortunately, for a long time in the high places of government in Washington a school of thought that human waste was the concern only of private charity and local communities. But we have learned a lot since those days. (Applause) We no longer believe that human beings hit by flood, drought, unemployment or any other national disaster (should) ought to be left to themselves with the sole help of such charity as may be locally available to them, (it may not be) because we know from sad experience that there may not be enough to go round. (Applause)

And so your Government since 1933, on the 4th of March, has begun to take stock of (the) human resources (of the Nation) and it is determined to preserve (them) human resources. (Applause)

As we take stock, we recognize that the most priceless of our human assets are the young men and women of America (applause) -- (the raw) they are the fine material out of which the United States (must) is going to shape its future.

Nature's deepest instinct is the concern in every parent's heart for the welfare of the children. It is a law of nature which equals even the instinct for the preservation of life itself. Indeed it is part of that law, for without the preservation of youth, the race itself would perish. And so, the highest duty of any government is to order public affairs so that opportunities for youth shall be made ever broader and ever firmer. (Applause)
We Americans have never lost our sense of this obligation. To a greater degree than any other peoples we have sought to give each rising generation a little better chance in life than the one that preceded it. The little red schoolhouse for the education of the young, and the church for the training of (his) their spiritual qualities, have always been the first structures to rise in every new settlement, as our ancestors pushed new frontiers through the wilderness. I believe that the school is the last expenditure upon which America should be willing to economize. (Prolonged applause)

Those of us who helped built up the fantastic jazz era of the nineteen-twenties, which crashed down over our heads, must feel a peculiarly deep sense of responsibility to our boys and girls who were sunk with us in the ruins.

I need not remind the young people of this country of the black future which lay ahead of them in those days. That was the era of the wanderers -- boys and girls who had grown tired of living on the vanishing savings of their parents, and who had set out on the highways in all directions to look for work which they could not find.

Those in school and those out of school could not look forward to a place in the community. The door of opportunity had been slammed in their faces.

Hanging around on street corners, roaming about the country in bands vainly looking for work -- there, my friends,
was the real danger which America faced.

When the history of the dark days out of which we are now coming is written, it will be said that the great marvel of this period was that those young people have come through, with a full faith in democracy and with a high resolve to preserve it at all costs. (Applause)

In those days cities couldn't help and counties couldn't help and States couldn't help because they had come about to the end of their resources. Even big business couldn't help. (Applause) The youth of America had (apparently) come pretty close to the end of the road.

That was the condition that confronted your Federal Government on March 4, 1933. And your (Federal) Government acted. (Applause)

Before it laid its hands to any other problem -- and there were many of them -- it set up the CCC camp to put an immediate end to that hopeless condition. (Applause) It cost money to do that, just as it cost our pioneer fathers and mothers money to build the schools in which we have all been trained.

We have done much in the way of a beginning to improve the things in America which have made for waste in human beings. On the farms and in the cities -- throughout the Nation -- we are starting to remove those glaring inequalities, those deep-rooted maladjustments which did so much to bring about disaster. (Applause)
The American people, the people as a whole, joined with us in 1933 to start (this) that job. A vast majority of the American people in 1936 are with us to see it through. (Prolonged applause) Yes, we have made (the) a start in these days, confident that you -- the youth of the country -- will carry it on, carry on to finish the job.

That is why we have a national youth program. That is why through our CCC camps and the National Youth Administration we are trying to keep young people at useful work or in useful education. In high schools and in colleges the Federal Government has lent a helping hand in keeping youth at the job of learning and, believe me, it is worthwhile. (Applause) Out in the woods, out in the open, the Federal Government has kept the self-respect and the health of hundreds of thousands of young people. And that is worthwhile too.

The (Federal) Government for many years has spent a good many millions of dollars -- well-spent dollars too -- to conserve our forests, (applause), the money spent to conserve our forests and our crops and our livestock. We believe in that kind of conservation. You all know how much we have done in that kind of conservation. But now we have begun to spend money on much more important conservation -- to save the energy, the ability and the spirit of youth. No money was ever better spent. (Applause)

Nothing has made me happier on this trip than seeing at first-hand that the youthful hitch-hiker has disappeared
from our highways and from the box cars and freight trains. (Applause) The youth of the land can once more look forward with confidence and courage just as we of the older generation did in our day.

No greater satisfaction can come to me than the realization that the youth of America understand what we have tried to do -- and approve. (Applause)

They know, yes and their parents know, that the price we have paid to save our country has been worthwhile. (Applause)

America has lost a good many things during the depression. Some of them needed to go, I am glad that they have gone. (Applause) We have lost, for example, that false sense of values that puts mere financial success above every other kind of achievement. (Applause) We have lost a little of our cocksureness, (laughter, applause) a little of the bumptiousness (laughter, applause) the kind of bumptiousness which the Pharisee had when he thanked God that he was not as other people. (Applause) We have lost something of that feeling that ours is an "every-man-for-himself" kind of society, in which the law of the jungle is law enough. (Applause)

But many things we have saved, things worth saving. We have saved our morale. We have preserved our belief in American institutions. In this world of ours where
some nations have taken perilous detours, we have faced
our problems and have met them with a democracy. (Applause)
And within that democracy we are determined to (solve them)
keep on solving them.

But above all, my friends, we have saved (above all)
our faith in the future -- a faith under which America has
only begun to march.

In that march America will have to be led in the days
to come by the youth of today. (Applause)

For us of an older generation it has been our job to clear
the ground of what in too many places was a social and econ­
omic wilderness. That pioneering has only begun. It will
be for you to continue it.

You will discover that in pushing forward this great
program of social betterment and social security, you will
be met by the same opposition, the same relentless resistance
(which) that has faced (the frontiersmen of the early West.)
similar movements in the past. You will find that your fight
against selfishness and injustice, your fight against oppres­
sion, and, above all, against war, will take you into a
man-sized struggle. (Applause)

I am telling you this not to discourage you but to
stimulate you. Our fight -- (yours and mine) your fight and
my fight -- is to keep our democracy safe by keeping it
moving forward. (Applause) And in such a glorious fight
it is an unhappy place to be on the side lines. To the young
people of America I say **this**: Join with us, ours is the real struggle to continue and preserve democracy in America. (Prolonged applause)
It is good to see once again smiling faces, and to hear happy cheers from young America.

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But through the years of this depression we have had destruction even more tragic than that -- waste in men and women, in human skill, character and life. Of all of the appalling waste of the days of false prosperity and recent disaster, human erosion has been the most ominous.

There was, unfortunately, for a long time in the high places of government in Washington a school of thought that human waste was the common only of private charity and local communities. We have learned a lot since those days. We no longer believe that human beings hit by flood, drought, unemployment or any other national disaster should be left to themselves with the sole help of such charity as may be locally available to them. It may not be enough to go round.

Government since 1933 has begun to take stock of the human resources of the Nation and it is determined to preserve them.

As we take stock, we recognize that the most priceless of our human assets are the young men and women of America -- the raw material out of which the United States must shape its future.

Nature's deepest instinct is the concern in every parent's heart for the welfare of the children. It is a law of nature which equals even the instinct for the preservation of life. Indeed it is part of that law, for without the preservation of youth, the race itself would perish. And so, the highest duty of any government is to order public affairs so that opportunities for youth shall be made ever broader and firmer.

We Americans have never lost our sense of this obligation. To a greater degree than any other peoples we have sought to give each rising generation a little better chance in life than the one that preceded it. The little red school house for the education of the young, and the church for the training of his spiritual qualities, have always been the first structures to rise in every new settlement, as our ancestors pushed new frontiers through the wilderness. The school is the last expenditure upon which America should be willing to economize.
Those of us who helped build up the fantastic jazz era of the nineteen twenties, which crashed down over our heads, must feel a peculiarly deep sense of responsibility to our boys and girls who were sunk with us in the ruins.

I need not remind the young people of this country of the black future which lay ahead of them in those days. That was the era of the wanderers -- boys and girls who had grown tired of living on the vanishing savings of their parents, and who had set out on the highways in all directions to look for work which they could not find.

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Before it laid its hands to any other problem -- and there were many of them -- it set up the CCC camp to put an immediate end to that hopeless condition. It cost money to do that, just as it cost our pioneer fathers and mothers money to build the schools in which we have all been trained.

We have done much in the way of a beginning to improve the things in America which have made for waste in human beings. On the farms and in the cities -- throughout the Nation -- we are starting to remove those glaring inequalities, those deep-rooted maladjustments which did so much to bring about disaster.

The American people joined with us in 1933 to start this job. A vast majority of the American people in 1926 are with us to see it through. We have made the start in these days, confident that you -- the youth of the country -- will carry on to finish the job.

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We have saved above all our faith in the future—a faith under which America has only begun to march.

In that march America will have to be led by the youth of today.

It has been our job to clear the ground of what in too many places was a social and economic wilderness. That pioneering has only begun. It will be for you to continue it.

You will discover that in pushing forward this great program of social betterment and social security, you will be met by the same opposition, the same relentless resistance which faced the frontiersmen of the early West. You will find that your fight against selfishness and injustice, against oppression, and, above all, against war, will take you into a man-sized struggle.

I am telling you this not to discourage you but to stimulate you. Our fight—yours and mine—is to keep our democracy safe by keeping it moving forward. In such a fight it is an unhappy place to be on the side line. To the young people of America I say: Join with us, ours is the real struggle to continue and preserve democracy in America.
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to look for work which they could not find.

Those in school and those out of school could look forward to a

place in the community. The door of opportunity had been slammed

in their faces. Hanging around street corners, roaming

about the country in bands looking for work — there

was the real danger which America faced. When the history of

the dark days out of which we are now coming is written it will

be said that the great marvel of this period was that those

young people have come through with full faith in Democracy

and with a high resolve to preserve it at all costs.
O'MAHONEY

Nature's deepest instinct is the concern it plants in every parent's heart for the welfare of the child. It is a law of nature which precedes even the instinct for the preservation of life. Indeed it is part of that law, for without the preservation of youth, the race itself would perish.

And so, the greatest duty of any government, as it is of any parent, is that it shall so order public affairs, that the opportunities for the development of youth shall be made ever broader and broader.

We Americans take great pride in the fact that we have never lost our sense of this obligation. To a great degree than any other peoples that ever inhabited this globe, we have sought to give each rising generation a little better chance in life than the one that preceded it. The little red school house for the education of the young, and the church for the training of his spiritual qualities, have been the first community structures to rise in every settlement. As our ancestors pushed forward through the wilderness and today in thousands of villages, the school is the last expenditure upon which America should be willing to economize.

States the public school is the most modern, the most...
Cities couldn't help, counties couldn't help, states couldn't help. Even big business couldn't help. The youth of America had apparently come to the end of the road. That was the condition that confronted your Federal Government on March 4, 1933. Your Federal Government acted. Before it laid its hands to any other problem -- and there were many of them -- it set up the CCC camp to put an immediate end to the hopeless condition that existed. It cost money to do that, just as it cost our pioneer fathers and mothers money to build the schools in which we have all been trained.
We have done much in the way of a beginning to improve the things in America which have made for waste in human beings. On the farms and in the cities we are starting to remove those glaring inequalities, those deep-rooted maladjustments which did so much to bring about disaster. The American people joined with us in 1933 to start this job. A vast majority of the American people in 1936 are with us to see it through. We have made the start in these days, confident that you — the youth of the country, will carry on to finish the job.

That is why we have a National Youth Program.

That is why through our C. C. C. camps and the National Youth Administration we are trying to keep young people at useful work or in useful education. In high schools and in colleges the Federal Government has lent a helping hand in keeping youth at the job of learning. Out in the woods, out in the open, the Federal Government has kept the self respect of hundreds of thousands of young men and women.

The Federal Government for many years has spent a good many millions of dollars — well-spent dollars too — to conserve our forests, our crops and our livestock. We believe in that kind of conservation. The farmers of the Nation know how
much we have done in that kind of conservation. But now we have begun to spend money on much more important conservation — to save the energy, the ability and the spirit of youth. No money was ever better spent.

America has lost a good many things during the depression. Some of them needed to go. I am glad that they have gone. We have lost that false sense of values that puts financial success above every other kind of achievement. We have lost a little of our cocksureness, a little of the bumptiousness which the Pharisee had when he thanked God that he was not as other people. We have lost something of that feeling that ours is an "every-man-for-himself" kind of society in which the law of the jungle is law enough.

But many things we have saved. We have saved our morale. We have come through the storm with the spirit of the American people and of American life intact. We have preserved our belief in American institutions. In this world of ours where some nations have taken perilous and uncertain shortcuts, we have faced our problems and set them with a democracy.

Within that democracy we are determined to solve them. We have saved above all, our faith in the future — a faith under which America has only begun to march.
Nothing has made me happier on this trip than seeing at first hand realization that the youthful hitch-hiker has disappeared from and from the box cars and freight trains, our highways. The youth of the land can once more look forward with confidence and courage just as we of the older generation did in our day.

No greater satisfaction can come to me than the realization that the youth of America understand what we have tried to do — and approve.

They know that the price we have paid to save rehabilitation of our country has been worthwhile.
In that march America will have to be led by the youth of today. The last three and a half years have been years of social pioneering. It has not been our job to clear new ground in the geographical wilderness. It has been our job to clear the ground of what in too many places was a social and economic wilderness.

That pioneering has only begun. You will continue it.

You will discover that in pushing forward this great program of social betterment and social security, you will be met by the same opposition, the same relentless resistance which faced the frontiersmen of the early West. You will find that your fight against selfishness and injustice, against oppression, and, above all, against war, will take you into a man-sized struggle.

I am telling you this not to discourage you but to stimulate you. Our fight — yours and mine — is to keep our democracy safe by keeping it moving forward.

We must look to youth as the main force in that struggle —

It is the youth which has struggled through years of sorrow and still faces the future with squared shoulders, hope and a smile.
The poet might well be speaking to you young men and women who now have this opportunity for service when he said two hundred years ago — "Tis now the summer of your youth; time has not cropped the roses from your cheek, though sorrow long has washed them."

What we have set out to do is worth the risk of doing.

In such a fight it is an unhappy place to be on the side lines.

To the young people of America I say: Join with us, ours is the real struggle to continue and preserve democracy in America.