# 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. 1005

1936 October 30

Brooklyn, NY - Academy of Music -
Campaign Address

SPEECH OF THE PRESIDENT
ACADEMY OF MUSIC
BROOKLYN, NET YORK
OCTOBER 30, 1936

During the last month I have seen a great deal of our country and a great many of our people. Both the America and the Americans I have seen look very different from three and a half years ago.

Many important things have happened to them in those three and a half years. I could talk to you for hours about this better, happier America. That I am going to talk to you about for a few minutes, however, is some of the things that have brought that better, happier America to pass. I want to tell you in terms of actual achievement what we in Washington have done -- what we have done to restore prosperity $=-$ what we have done to end abuses.

The first thing was to give ald to those overtaken by
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And on November third, Amerioa $w 111$ say that that was a job well donel

The second thing we did was to help our stalled economic engine to get under way again. We know enough about the mechanism of our economic order to know that we could not do that, one wheel at a time. We had had enough of one-wheel eoonomics. Te proposed to get all four wheels started at onse. We knew that it was no good to try to start only the wheel of finanoe. At the same time we had to start the wheels of agriculture, of workers of all olasses, of business and industry.

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We set up a National Labor Relations Board to improve working oonditions and otorithe industrial menations. We brought the business men of the Nation together to enoourage them to inorease Wages, to shorten working hours, to aboilsh oh1ld labor. Fith tusk ha firg grin7.1. labor's ald and backing we set-ap-amencolatitior for workers seourity 4
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## INSERT - BROOKLYN SPEECH

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On the passage of this law, in addition to overwhelming support on the part of Democrats in both the House and Senate, the country should note that seventy-seven Republican Representatives voted for It and only eighteen against it, and that in the Senate fifteen Republican Senators voted for it and only five against it.

This fact is perhaps illustrative of the paradox that in the closing days of the campaign Republican leadership driven to degwhich peration and urged on by the same sinister forces generation after generation have opposed all social legislation now repudiate their own Representatives and Senators in the halls of the Congress.



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To go back to what the Federal Government has done in the past $1 / 2$ three yax years,


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The third thing we did was to look to the future $\rightarrow$ to root out abuses -- to establish overy possible defense against a return of the ovils which brought the orash. We established the Seourities Exchange Commission; banking reforms; a sound monetary policy; deposit insurance for fifty million bank acoounts; -- all aimed to safeguard the thrift of our oitizens. By our tax policy and by regulating finanoial markets, we loosened the grip whioh monopolies had fastened upon independent Amerioan business. We have begun also to free Amerioan business and Amerioan labor from the unfair oompetition of a small unsorupulous minority. We established by statute a curb upon the ovorweening power and unholy practioes of some utility holding oompanies. By the Rural Electrification Aot, by the Tennessee Valley Authority and similer projects we set up yardstioks to bring oleotricity at oheaper rates to the average Amerioan farm and the average Amerioan home. Through loans to private enterprise we promoted slum-clearence and low-cost modern housing. We set up a National Youth Administration to help

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Some people call these things meddling and interference. You and I know them to be new stones in a foundation -- a foundation on which we cen, and are determined to, build a structure of economic security for all our people -- a safer, happier, more American America.

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between them. There will be none. When we are in trouble we are all of us in trouble together. When we are prosperous we must all and secure be prosperous together.

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## ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENI

> BROOKLYN ACADEMY OF MUSIC, BROOKLYN, NEW YORK October $30,1936,10.30$ P.M.
(The President was introduced by Mrs. Good, Chairman.)

No campaign, to me, would be complete without coming back to the old Academy of Music. (Applause) And I was very happy that my train reached New York in time for me to get here in time to listen to that splendid report from our great Governor of our great State.

During the last month or two I have seen a great deal of our country and a great many of our people. Both the America and the Americans I have seen look very different from what they did three and a half years ago. (Applause)

Many important things have happened (to them in those three and a half years) in the meantime. I could talk to you for hours about this better, happier America. (Applause) What I am going to talk to you about for a few minutes, however, is some of the things that have brought about that better, happier America. (to pass) I want to tell you in terms of actual achievement what we in Washington have done .- what we have done to restore prosperity -- what we have done to restore prosperity and what we have done to end abuses.

Franklin D. Roosevelt Libsary
This is a transoript made by the White House atenographer f'rom has shorthand notes taken at the time the apeech was made. Underlining indiontes words extemporancously adceut to the proviously prepared reading copy toxt. Words in parentheses are words that were omitted When the epeech was dslivered, though
they appear in tho previonely prepared
reading copy text,


The first thing before us on that famous fourth of March, 1933, was to give a1d to those overtaken by disaster. We did that, and we are not ashamed of giving help to those who needed (help) it. (Applause) We furnished food relief, drought relief, flood relief, work relief. We established the Federal Emergency Relief Administration; the Public Forks Administration; the Civilian Conservation Corps; the Works Progress Administration. Some people ridicule them as alphabetical agencies. But you and I know that they are the agencies that have substituted food for starvation; work for 1dleness; hope instead of dull despair. (Applause)

And on November third, America will say that that was a job well done! (Applause)

The second thing we did was to help our stalled economic engine to get under way again. We knew enough about the (mechanism) mechanics of our economic order to know that we could not do that, one wheel at a time. We had (had) enough of onewheel economics. (Applause) We proposed to get all four wheels started at once. We knew that it was no good to try to start only the wheel of finance. At the same time we had to start the wheels of agriculture, of workers of all classes, of business and industry.

And by democratizing the work of agencies like
the Reconstruction Finance Corporation and redirecting it into more practical and helprul channels we furnished fuel for the machine.

We primed the pump by spending government money in direct relief, in work relief, in public works. We established the Agricultural Adjustment Administration; the National Recovery Administration; (prolonged applause) the Farm Credit Administration; the So1l Conservation Program; the Home Owners Loan Corporation; (applause) the Federal Housing Administration; (applause) the Tennessee Valley Authority; the Resettlement Administration and the Rural Electrification Administration. We set up a sound monetary policy; a sound banking structure; we established reciprocal trade agreements and foreign exchange accords.

Yes, we (set up) created a National Labor Relations Board to improve working conditions and seek industrial peace. We brought the business men of the Nation together to encourage them to increase wages, to shorten working hours, to abolish child labor. (Applause) With labor's aid and backing we took the first great step for workers security by the Social Security Act and I am glad that the Governor has talked to you about it. I am going to talk to you some more about it. It is an act which is now being misrepresented to the workers in a pay-envelope propaganda by a few employers whom you will easily recognize as old-time
exploiters of labor who have always fought against contributing anything themselves to a sound security for the laboring man and his wife and children. (Applause) That Act, my friends, is a new Magna Charta for those who woric. (Applause) In its preparation and (in) its enactment, it was supported not only by organized labor but by those other liberal groups -- unorganized workers, employers, churches, private charities, educators, all those fine men and women throughout the Nation who for many years have believed that modern government can make provision against the hardship of unemployment and the terrors of old age.

And note this: On the passage of this law, in addition to overwhelming support on the part of Democrats In both (the) House and Senate, the country should (note) remember that seventy-seven Republican Representatives voted for it and only eighteen against it, and that in the Senate fifteen Republican Senators voted for it and only five against 1t. (Applause)
(This) That fact is perhaps illustrative of the paradox that in the closing days of the campaign a distraught Republican leadership driven to desperation and urged on by the same sinister forces which generation after generation have opposed all social legislation, that Republican leadership now repudiates (their) its own Representatives and Senators in the halls of the Congress and leave them looking

## positively silly. (Applause, laughter) (Audience: That includes AI Smith.)

The people of the State of New York recognize in this issue in a national campaign only another form of the struggle to which we have become accustomed in this State for many years past. Every man and woman (here) knows that we have been blessed with these great social reforms because we have had a liberal government in Albany. We know that we would not have had them if the 0ld Guard Republican leadership had been in power. (Boos)

Governor Lehman has not merely exemplifled (applause)
in his splendid (interrupted by applause) -- our Governor has not merely exemplified in his splendid objectives this spirit of far-sighted progress, but he has practiced what he has preached, (applause) and thereby has continued to strengthen the civic conscience of the people of this State. There are none among you who belleve that on Tuesday next there is one chance in a thousand that New York (State) will turn its government back to the 0ld Guard. (Applause)

To (go back) return to what the Federal Government has done in the past three and (one) a half years, some people call these things which heve re-started our economic machine, they call them waste. Yet you and I know that they (are) have been the means by which our stalled machiae (was started again) has been started on the road once more.

And on November third America will say that that was a job well donel (Applause)

The third thing we did was to look to the future -- to root out abuses -- to establish every possible defense against a return of the evils which brought the crash. We established the Securities Exchange Commission; (applause) banking reforms; a sound monetary policy; deposit insurance for fifty million bank accounts; (applause) -- all of them aimed to safeguard the thrift of our citizens. By our tax policy and by regulating financial markets, we loosened the grip which monopolies had fastened upon independent American business. We have begun also to free American business and American labor from the unfair competition of a small unscrupulous minority. We established by gtatute a curb upon the overweening power and unholy practices of (some) certain utility holding companies. (Applause)

By the Rural Electrification Act, by the Tennessee Valley Authority and similar projects we set up yardsticks to bring electricity at cheaper rates to the average Anerican farm and the average American home, be it in the country or in the city. Through loans to private enterprise and in cooperation with cities we promoted slum-clearance and established low-cost modern housing. We set up a National Youth Administration to help keep our youth in school and to hold open for them the door of opportunity. By a
successful war on crime we have made America's homes and places of business safer against the gangster, the kidnapper and the racketeer.

Yes, some people call these things meddling and interference. But you and I know them to be new stones in a foundation -- a foundation on which we can build and are determined to build a structure of economic security for all our people -- a safer, happier, cheerier, more certain, more American America. (Applause)

On November third, the American people will say that that is a job well begunt (Applause)

These are the things that we have done. They are a record of three and a half years crowded with achievements significant of better life for all the people. Every group in our national life has benefitted, because what we have done for each group has produced benefits for every other group. In our policies there are no distinctions between them. There will be none. If we are in trouble, my friends, we are all of us in trouble together. If we are to be prosperous, if we are to be secure, we must all be prosperous and secure together. (Applause)

No, we are getting away from distinctions between
East and West and North and South, between country and city. We are becoming a more united America. And that reminds me that I promised, on the train, to read a telegram that came to me on the trains It says this: "In the morning the
sunflower turns to the East. In the afternoon the sunflower turns to the West. And it goes to seed before November. " (Applause)

Unfortunately, those who now raise the cry of class distinctions are the very leaders whose policies in the past have fostered such distinctions. When they were in power, they were content in the belief that the chief function of Government was to help only those at the top in the pious hope that the few at the top would in their benevolence or generosity pass that help on.

That theory of Government has been banlshed from Washington. It did not work. (Applause) It was not and cannot be the answer to our problem. We have united a.ll classes in the nation in a program for the nation. And, In doing that, we (have bridged) are bridging the gulf of antagonism which twelve years of neglect had opened (up) between them.

An equally important task remains to be done: To go forward, to consolidate and to strengthen these gains -to close the gap by destroying the glaring inequalities of opportunity and of security which, in the recent past, have set group against group and region against region.

By our policies for the future we will carry forvard this program of unity. We will not be content until all our people fairly share in the ever-increasing capacity of America to provide a high standard of living for all its
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On November third, the American people will say that our polioy for the future is their polioy for the future.
suaflower turns to the Best. In the afternoon the sunflower turns to the West. And it goas to seed before November." (Applause)

Unfortunately, those who now raise the cry of class distinctions are the very leaders whose policies In the past have fostered such distinctions. When they were in power, they were content in the belief that the chief function of Governeent wes to help only those at the top in the plous hope thet the few at the top would in their benevolence or generosity pass that help on.

That theory of Government has been banished from Washington. It did not woric. (Applause) It was not and cannot be the answer to our problem. We have united all classes in the nation in a program for the nation. Agd, in doing that, we (have bridged) are bridging the gulf of antagonism which twelve yeara of neglect had opened (up) between thew.

An equally important task remains to be done: To go forward, to consolidate and to strengthon these gains -to close the gap by destroying the glaring inequalitios of opportunity end of security which, in the recent past, have set group against group and region against region.

By our policiea for the future we will carry forward this prograll of unity. We will not be content until all our people fairly share in the ever-inereasing capacity of America to provide a high standard of living for all its
gif $0^{(\lambda)}$, This address of the Prestiont, to be dolivered at the Brooklyn Acaderay of Music, Brooklyn, Few York, on Dotober thirtieth, IUST BE REIAD In COMFIDEICE URTL RELEASED.

Release upon delivery, expectad sbout $10: 30$ F. M., Lastern Standard Time.

PEEASE SAFEEUMRD ACATNST PHEMATURE RELEASE,
 to the President $-\cdots-\cdots$,
During the last nonth I have seen a grest deal of our country and a great aany of our people. Both the Amerlca and the knuricans I have seen look very different from, three and a half ysars ago.

Aany inportant thinga have happened to -then-in-the日e-three-and-a half years. I could talk to you for hours about this better, happler Aaerica.t That I an going to talk to you about for a fer mirutes, hovever, is some of the things thrt have brought $h$ that better, hasiler limerica, do-pasas. I vint to tell you in tarms of actual achiovesent that ve in Fasiinicton have done -- that ve have done to restore proaperity -. what re have done to end abusese is $\mathrm{V}^{\circ}$

The first thing ras to give aid to those overtaken by disaster. Te did that, and ve are not nshaned of giving help to those tho needed telp. ifie furnished food rellef, drought reliof,

- flood relief, work relief. Te eatablished the Federal Emergency fielief Administration; the Public Forise Adninistration; the Civilian Conservation Corps; the Torks Progress Adriniatration. Some people ridicule them as alphabetical agenoiea,' But you and I knor that they are the agoncies that have subatituted food for starvation; pork for idleness; hope instead of dull despair. $C$

And on Noveaber third, Aserica will say that rhat was a job wall donel (c)

The second thing re did ras to help our atalled economic ongino to get under vay again. Te knen enough about the mechanime co of our econoaic order to knor that ve could not do that, one vheel at a timo. Te had het enough of one-wheol economics. We proposed to get all four cheels started at once. Fe knat that it ras no good to try to start only the nheel of finance. At the soas tine are had to start the wheels of agriculture, of rorkers of all classes, of bueiness and industry.

By denocratiring the rork of the feconstruction Finance Corporation and redirecting it into sore practical and helpful channels re furniahod fuel for the aechine.

We prinod the pump by spending governnent money in direct relief, in work reliof, in publie rorkz.


The third thing, we did was to look to the ruture -- to root out abuaes -- to establish every possible derense ogainst te return of the orily which broushth the erash. We established the securities Brehange Commissiontbonking reforms; o, sound monetary policy; degosit insurance for fifty million bunk accounts (br* all aimod to safor guerd the thrirt of our eitizens.

By our tox yolicy and by raguleting finencial merkata, wo loosened the grip whi oh ronopolies had fastened upon independent American business. Jie have begun also to free tworican businoss end Amorican labor from the unfair competition of a arall unsorupulous minority. Jle ostablished by statute a ourb upon the overveaning power and unholy practices of soing utility holding colpanies. (i)

By the Rural Zloctrification Act, by the Tennesaee Valley Authority and similer projecta wo set up yardsticks to bring alactricity at cheapor rates to the average Anerican fam and the average American home.) Through loans to private onterprisenve oromoted slum-olaarance and if 2 low oost modern housing. Wo set up a liational Youth Administration to holp keep our youth in school and to hold open for them the door of opportunity. CBy a successrul wir on crine we have ande fanerica's honns fand places of business snfer againat the gangstor, the kidnapper and the rackateer,

- Some reople cell these things sedding arl interference: I You and I know them to be now stonas in a foundation -- $n$ foundation on whioh we cangrand are cetarmined top build a structng of aconomic security


Hon November thind, the reprican people vill say that that is a job well beguat 6

These are the things're have done. Thay are a record of tbrea and a half years crovided with achiovements signiricent of bettar iffe for all the people. Every group in our national Lifa has benefitted, because what we have domo for each group has produced benafits for every other group. In our policias there are ng distinctions betwoen them. Where will be none. If we are in trouble he are all of us in troublo togother. If we are to be prosperous, if we aro to be secure, we must all be prosperous and socure tosether. ( T, 7 Unfortunately, those who nou raise the ory of class distinctions I $Q$ ore the very leaders whoso policies in tho past have fostered such distinctions. Then they were in powor, they were content in the belief thei $A$ the chief runction of Covornment was to help only those at the top in the pious hope that the for at the top would in their benevolonce or gonerosity pass that help on.

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INFORMAL EXTEMPORANEOUS REICARKS OF THE PRESIDENT ADDRESSED TO GATHERING OF WORKERS OF DEMOORATIC NATIONAL COMMITTEE BILTMORE HOTEL, NEW YORK October 31, 1936

I think I am entitled also to say, "my fellow workers":

Jim has suggested that I am going to carry this District.

You know, I envy you because in previous years I have been at Headquarters during campaigns. I know how hard the work is, but it is fun and I have missed these past months being up here in New York City helping you good people to make the wheels go round.

But you, too, have missed something. I wish you could have been out on the road with me; it would have Elven you a perfectly tremendous thrill, just as it did me, going into a great many different parts of the country, seeing the faces of men, wonen and chlldren and especially seeing their interest in thinge American.

I think that the most important impression that I have carried with me through these past weeks has been the impression that more greatly than in any other campaign

Fivahlifin D. Hoonovol 6 Livxary
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in all of our American history, people are taking an intelIigent interest -- reading, going and ilstening to people's talkb, reading all the ilterature of both parties, and then making up their ow minds. It is the greatest thing that has happened for our democratic form of government in these later years.

I am glad that people have been reading the literature of both sides. I am glad that they have been going to meetings where people on both sides speak. It is an extension of the forum idea of getting both sides of the question presented and of course I may be, frankly, a little prejualced, but at the same time I belleve that the more people go to forums, the more people listen to both sides and read the 11terature of both s1des, even the newspapers, the bigger our majority is going to be.

You at Headquarters, of course, prepare the mater1al for this Campaign and see to it that every city and every county and every little hamlet is given the information, and I am very proud of the fact that our information has been kept at a pretty high level.

One reason for thatis the fact that we have at the head of this campaign a man who has always been square.

I have known Jim Farley for a great many years and I have never known him yet to do or think a mean thing. For a long time now -- a good many years -- he has been taking $1 t$ on the chin - - taking it on the chin with a smile and not batting an eyelid, because, I think, In the back of his head he has had the 1dea that in spite of all kinds of unfair attacks, the American people, just 11ke you and me, will read h1m for what he 18 , absolutely on the level.

And incidentally, of course, I get reports not only from J1m but from lots of people -.. reports down in Washington about what has been going on here in New York and, after an experience with many headquarters dating back to 1912, I have come to the very derinite conclusion that the national headquartors this year has been what we call in the (vernacular?) a happy shift (?). -- No oross wires, everything clicking, and the result is going to bear thet out next Tuesday.

And so I am very grateful, I am very grateful to b all of you from Jim down to the office boy. And maybe the off1ce boy will be National Chairman or President about thirty years from now.

I want to thank you for all that you have done -all the many hours that you have spent overtime and regular time, not only working in the offices but I know that most of you have been doing a lot of work back in your own homes.

It has been an inspiration for me to know that I have had the support of all you good people, not only the last few months but also the last few years, and I think we are going to continue with that support in the next four years.

So once more let me thank you from the bottom of my heart. I wish I could meet each and every one of you in person. I want you to consider that I have shaken the hand of each and every one of you and I hope that we vill neet again some day soon.

I want to take this occasion, when you are all here, to send our thanks, yours and mine, to the many hundreds of men and women in all the states of the Union, in all the countiea of the Union, in all the villages and cit1es of the Union, who in their way have been carrying on the same kind of task that we have been engaged in. I am Eoing to ask Jim to send your regards, my regards, your thanks and my thanks to those in every part of the Nation
who have been working towards this goal that we all beLieve we are going to reach next Tuesday.

Goodbye and good luck.

INFORMAL EXTEIGPORANEOUS REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT
AT THE CONCOURSE PLAZA HOTEL
BRONX, N. Y.
October 31. 1936, 2.30 P. K.

Ladies and gentlemen:
No campaign would be complete without this
Iuncheon. (Applause)
I am not only always glad to come here on the Saturday before election, which I have done many times, but when I come here I consider myself as one of the godfathers of the Bronx.

There is a story connected with that which ought to be a part of the history of this County. Nearly a quarter of a century ago, when I was in the Leg1slature, the Bronx County B111 came up and there was a good deal of division in the ranks of the Party at that time as to whether there should be a separate county in the Bronx or not. I , being a neighbor on the north, was very strongly in favor of the B11l and, when 1t came up on the floor of the Senate, 1t came up in such way that it caught those of us who were in favor of it somewhat by surprise, and a number of our adherents were away. They started to force a vote on us and we, trying a parliamentary device, started to walk out of

Franklin D. Hoonevelt Libarary
This is a transeript made by the White $\quad$ in Houne stenographor from his shor thand notes taken at the timo the speech was made. Underlining indicates words extemporaneously added to the previotisly prepared reading copy tozt. Worda in parentheses are word that were onitted when the speech wan cicilvered, though they appear in tho prevlourly prepared: reading copy ts t.






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## the Senate Chamber.

There was presiding over the Senate Chamber that day an old gentleman from upstate New York. They tried to lock the doors of the Senate Chamber and to keep us from going out and thus preventing a quorum. The old gentleman banged on the desk, and somebody said, hoping for a parliamentary rule, "By what right are you keeping us in this Chamber?" Whereupon the old gentleman banged again and said, "We are keeping you here by the right of major force." (Laughter, applause)

Well, we were defeated that day but, shortly thereafter, the Bill came up again and that time right prevailed over might and Bronx became a county. (Applause)

I Wheh that all of you could have been with me during these past two months travelling around the country and seeing the enormous interest in every community I have visited in many, many atates - an interest in this election that I believe is more fundamental, more deep-seated, than in any previous election in which I have taken part.

It shows me that men and women are thinking more deeply than ever before. They are going to vote on Tuesday not merely out of gratitude for what has occurved in this country in the last four years, they are going to vote
because they belleve that our progress for social security and better living conditions for the American people must continue.

And so, like your Governor, like our Governor, I am approaching next Tuesday in a spirit of real confidence because I believe very ilmiy that this outpouring of voters, this tremendous interest in public questions, can mean only one thing, and you and $I$ can guess what that 18.

I have but one more formal speech between now and Tuesday and it is not completely written yet. That is why I shall have to forego the pleasure of ataying on this afternoon and listening to the speeches of the candidates from this County and the candidates on the state ticket. I wh that I might be with you and, al though it is probably my last political campaign as a candidate, I hope to be with you on other Saturday Iuncheons before election. (Prolonged applause)

I think I am entitled also to may, "my fellow workera": J im has suggested that I am going to carry this District.

You know, I envy you because in previous years I have been at Headquarters during campaigns. I know how hard the work is, but it is fun and I have miseed these past monthg being up here in New York City helping you good people to make the wheels go round.

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