

October 29, 1936

[Wicks Barn, PA]

FOR Speech File

1003

SPEECH OF THE PRESIDENT

WILKES-BARRE, PA.

OCTOBER 29, 1936.

When I found that I was to speak in Harrisburg today, and realized that it is John Mitchell Day, I determined to come by way of Wilkes-Barre. I wanted to pay my tribute to him.

In 1913 I was Assistant Secretary of the Navy. I was asked to examine charges of collusion in coal bids for the Navy. I needed help from someone whose integrity and knowledge I could trust. I recalled then how impressed Theodore Roosevelt had been with John Mitchell's handling of the great coal strike of 1902. I asked John Mitchell to help me. In three days he taught me a great deal about coal and mining. What he taught me saved the United States Navy many hundreds of thousands of dollars a year in its coal bill.

You in this anthracite region and miners in every other coal field in the United States, have a fuller picture of this man who was one of the most significant figures in American labor

history. For years he went about the unspectacular but necessary job of clearing the ground for the progress of a great labor movement. He taught a dispersed industry how to organize. He taught both management and labor that the only basis for stability is to be found in contracts that can and will be lived up to by both management and labor.

By victory in the first great battle of the mine workers he broke the tradition of defeat which had always hung over the aspirations of those he led. He convinced the public that the gains of labor were the gains of all -- that the labor movement was something to be welcomed rather than feared. He made public opinion a judge to which labor could more confidentially appeal. His work was necessary before other men could do theirs.

We now build upon the work of John Mitchell. He pioneered in his day for collective bargaining. Today we have put upon the Federal statute books the legal mechanism to make collective bargaining a reality.

He pioneered in his day for the education of the public.

Today we aim to make the public conscious that the welfare of labor
is the welfare of all.

Carrying forward his work and that of others like him,
we have begun to build a system of old-age pensions and unemployment
insurance to substitute for uncertainty a new security in the life
of the wage-earner and his family.

How far we have come is shown by the patriotic resentment
with which labor and the public alike are meeting the latest attempts
of a handful of employers to mislead and coerce labor with regard
to the Social Security Act. Here is repetition of the arrogance
and the ruthlessness which the operators utilized to try to break
the solid ranks of labor when the miners fought at Armageddon in
1902.

No employer has a right to put his political preferences
in the pay envelope. That is coercion even if he tells the whole
truth.

But this propaganda misrepresents by telling only half the truth. Labor and a fair-minded public must place such tactics in a class with the coercion of the strong-arm squad and the whispering of the planted labor spy.

This pay-envelope propaganda has one clear objective -- to sabotage the Social Security Act. To sabotage that Act is to sabotage labor. For that Act, as you know, was worked out with labor and enacted with the active support of labor -- all kinds of labor.

Why do these employers seek to repeal the Social Security Act? Because under the Act they have to pay far more than half of the insurance given to the workers.

Get these facts straight.

The Act provides for two kinds of insurance for the worker.

For that insurance both the employer and the worker pay premiums -- just as you pay premiums on any other insurance policy. Those premiums are collected in the form of the taxes

you hear so much about.

The first kind of insurance covers old age. Here the employer contributes one dollar of premium for every dollar of premium contributed by the worker; but both dollars are held by the Government solely for the benefit of the worker in his old age.

In effect, we have set up a savings account for the old age of the worker. Because the employer is called upon to contribute on a fifty-fifty basis, that savings account gives exactly two dollars of security for every dollar put up by the worker.

The second kind of insurance is unemployment insurance -- to help the worker and his family over the difficult days when he loses his job. For the unemployment security of the worker, the employer under the Federal law puts up the entire premium -- two dollars. The benefits of this insurance go one hundred per cent to the worker -- none to the employer. But the premiums for this unemployment insurance so far as the Federal Government is concerned are paid one hundred per cent by the employer.

Now let's add it all up. Beginning January first, for every one dollar which the worker is asked to put into an old age account for himself, employers are required under the Federal Act to contribute three dollars to protect the worker from both unemployment and old age. That is, the worker contributes only one dollar to his old age security; he contributes nothing to his security against losing his job. But at the same time the employer has to put up two dollars for unemployment and one dollar for old age.

Three for one! There's the rub. That is what these propaganda-spreading employers object to. The record extending back several years shows that their purpose has always been to compel the worker alone to put up all the premiums both for their unemployment insurance and their old age insurance. They are now trying to frighten the worker about the worker's one dollar premium, so that they won't have to pay their three dollar premium.

These propagandists are driven in their desperation

to the contemptible, unpatriotic suggestion that some future Congress will steal these insurance funds for other purposes. If they really believe what they say in the pay envelopes, they have no confidence in our form of government or its permanence. It might be well for them to move to some other nation in which they have greater faith.

I know that American workers made wise as well as strong by the achievements of John Mitchell and his successors will not be fooled by this campaign any more than they were frightened by the strong-arm squads of the past.

John Mitchell taught labor that to win and to preserve the fruits of its victories, it must have a cool head as well as a warm heart. I know labor will refuse to be robbed of its gains -- that the progress begun by its friends will be safeguarded and carried forward, until the fuller security that is its right is won.

Franklin D. Roosevelt

(Original reading copy)

Friendship & Progress

ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT
WILKES-BARRE, PENNSYLVANIA
October 29, 1936, 9.30 A.M.

(There were about 70,000 people in the audience.)

My friends of Pennsylvania: (Applause)

When I found that I was to speak in Harrisburg today, and realized that (it) today is John Mitchell Day, I determined to come by way of Wilkes-Barre, (Applause) because I wanted to pay (my) tribute to (him) one whom I was happy and proud to call my friend. (Applause)

Many long years ago, in 1913, I was Assistant Secretary of the Navy. I was asked at that time to examine charges of collusion in coal bids for the Navy. I needed help from someone whose integrity and knowledge I could trust. I recalled then how impressed Theodore Roosevelt had been with John Mitchell's handling of the great coal (strike of 1902) problem of ten and twelve years before. And so I asked John Mitchell to help me. In three days he taught me (a great deal) about coal and about coal mining. What he taught me saved the United States Navy many hundreds of thousands of dollars a year in its coal bill. (Applause)

Franklin D. Roosevelt Library

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

(assuming) : invariably to about the
graduation of those of us I find some I need
the Memorandum which at today (is) left before the value
(assuming) arrived-ability to you to one of Senators I
I wrote and mid of student you of before I passed
(assuming) hope you like of long has yourself and
trust now I will at you every and you
done at only that is being now I will add to what
I will not say that is not useful to anyone and
I believe the typical word comes not and between
which comes not and before I have been
add to quill and a Memorandum not this need had never
any one had to say it (Says to himself) One thing
am glad of Memorandum not before I go but nothing
else One thing One thing is not it is not the
best one
(assuming) It is one one one

You in this anthracite region and miners in every other coal field in the United States, have a fuller picture of this man who was one of the most significant figures in American labor history. For many years he went about the unspectacular but very necessary job of clearing the ground for the progress of a great labor movement. He taught a dispersed industry how to organize. He taught both management and labor that the only basis for stability is to be found in contracts that can and will be lived up to by both management and labor.

By victory in the first great battle of the mine workers he broke the tradition of defeat which had always hung over the aspirations of those he led. He convinced the public that the gains of labor were the gains of all -- that the labor movement was something to be welcomed rather than feared. He made public opinion a judge to which labor could more confidently appeal. His work was necessary before other men could do theirs.

And so we now build upon the work of John Mitchell.
He pioneered in his day for collective bargaining. Today we have put upon the Federal statute books the legal mechanism to make collective bargaining a reality. (Applause)

He pioneered in his day for the education of the public. Today we aim to make the public conscious that the welfare of labor is the welfare of all.

Carrying forward his work and that of others like him, we have begun to build a system of old-age pensions and unemployment insurance to substitute for uncertainty a new security in the life of the wage-earner and his family.

(Applause)

How far we have come is shown by the patriotic resentment with which labor and the public alike are this week meeting the latest attempts of a handful of employers, politicians and newspapers to mislead and coerce labor with regard to the Social Security Act. (Applause) Here there is repetition of the arrogance and (the) ruthlessness which the operators utilized to (try to) break the solid ranks of labor when the miners fought at Armageddon (in 1902) more than thirty years ago.

No employer has a right to put his political preferences into the pay envelope. That is coercion. (Applause)
Yes, that is coercion, even if he tells the whole truth.

(Applause)

But this propaganda misrepresents by telling only half the truth. Labor and a fair-minded public must place

such tactics in a class with the coercion of the strong-arm squad and the whispering of the planted labor spy.

This pay-envelope propaganda has one clear objective -- to sabotage the Social Security Act. To sabotage that Act is to sabotage labor. Because (For) that Act, as you know, was worked out with labor and enacted with the active support of labor -- all kinds of labor.

(Applause)

Now, let us analyze a little. Why do these employers seek to repeal the Social Security Act? Because under the Act they have to pay far more than half of the insurance that is given to the workers. (Applause)

Let us get these facts straight.

The Act provides for two kinds of insurance for the worker.

For that insurance both the employer and the worker pay premiums -- just as you pay premiums on any other insurance policy. Those premiums are collected in the form of the taxes that you hear so much about.

Now, the first kind of insurance covers old age. Here the employer contributes one dollar of premium for every dollar of premium contributed by the worker; (but) and both dollars are held by the Government solely for the benefit of the worker in his old age. (Applause)

In effect, we have set up a savings account for the old age of the worker. Because the employer is called upon to contribute on a fifty-fifty basis, that savings account gives exactly two dollars of security for every dollar put up by the worker. (Applause)

Now, the second kind of insurance is unemployment insurance -- to help the worker and his family over the difficult days when he loses his job. For the unemployment security of the worker, the employer under (the) this Federal law puts up the entire premium -- two dollars. (Applause) And the benefits of this unemployment insurance go one hundred per cent to the worker -- and none to the employer. But the premiums for this unemployment insurance so far as the Federal Government is concerned are paid one hundred per cent by the employer.

Now, let's add it all up. Beginning on January first next, for every one dollar which the worker is asked to put into an old age account for himself, employers are required under the Federal Act to contribute three dollars to protect the worker from both unemployment and in his old age. (Applause) That is, the worker contributes only one dollar to his old age security; he contributes nothing to his security against losing his job. But at the same time

the employer has to put up two dollars for unemployment and one dollar for old age.

Three for one! (Applause) Three for one and there's the rub. (Applause) That is what these propaganda-spreading employers object to. The record extending back several years shows that their purpose has always been to compel the worker alone to put up all the premiums both for their unemployment insurance and their old age insurance. They are now trying to frighten the worker about the worker's one-dollar premium, so that they won't have to pay their three-dollar premium. (Applause)

And so, these propagandists with allies whom I do not have to describe to you -- for you know them -- they are driven in their desperation to the contemptible, unpatriotic suggestion that some future Congress will steal these insurance funds for other purposes. And if they really believe what they say in the pay envelopes, they have no confidence in our form of government or its permanence. And it might be well for them to move to some other nation in which they have greater faith. (Applause)

I know that American workers made wise as well as strong by the achievements of John Mitchell and his successors will not be fooled by this campaign any more than they

were frightened by the strong-arm squads of the past.

John Mitchell taught labor that to win and to preserve the fruits of its victories, it must have a cool head as well as a warm heart. I know labor will refuse to be robbed of its gains -- that the progress begun by its friends will be safeguarded and carried forward, until the fuller security that is its right is won. (Prolonged applause)

Draft

Oct 29 - 36

Wilkes-Barre

When I found that I was to speak in Harrisburg today, and realizing that it is John Mitchell Day, I determined to come by way of Wilkes-Barre. I wanted to pay a ~~single~~ ^{my} tribute to him.

In 1913 I was Assistant Secretary of the Navy. I was asked to examine charges of collusion in coal bids for the Navy. I needed help from someone whose integrity and knowledge I could trust.

I recalled then how impressed Theodore Roosevelt had been with John Mitchell's handling of the great coal strike of 1902. I asked John Mitchell to help me. In three days he taught me a great deal about ~~the~~ ^{and mining,} coal ~~business.~~ What he taught me saved the United States Navy many hundreds of thousands of dollars a year in its coal bill.

You in this anthracite region and miners in every other coal field in the United States, have a fuller picture of this man who was one of the most significant ~~men~~ ^{figures} in American labor history. For years he went about the unspectacular but necessary job of clearing the ground for the progress of a great labor movement.

Nisbitt

He taught a ~~different~~ industry howto organize. He taught both management and labor that the only basis for ~~progress~~ & stability in industrial relations is found in ~~mutual~~ ^{total} ~~confidence between~~
~~up to by both~~
management and labor.

By victory in the first great battle of the mine workers he broke the tradition of defeat which had always hung over the aspirations of those ~~men~~ he led. He convinced the public that the gains of labor were the gains of all -- that the labor movement was something to be welcomed rather than feared. He made public opinion a judge to which labor could more confidently appeal. His work was necessary before other men could do theirs.

We now build upon the work of John Mitchell. He pioneered in ~~for collective bargaining.~~
~~his day~~ Today we have put upon the federal statute ~~something looks~~
~~more than a theoretical recognition of the place of collective~~
~~bargaining in our industrial system. We have created the legal~~
~~Collective bargaining~~ ^A mechanism to make ~~it~~ a reality. He pioneered in his day for the education of the public. Today we aim to make the public conscious that the welfare of labor is the welfare of all.

Carrying forward his work and that of others like him, we have begun to build a system of old-age pensions and unemployment insurance to substitute security ~~and~~ ^{for uncertainty and} in the life of the wage-earner and his family.

How far we have come is shown by the patriotic resentment with which labor and the public alike are meeting the latest attempts of a handful of employers to mislead and coerce labor with regard to the Social Security Act. Here is repetition of the arrogance and the ruthlessness which the operators ~~were~~ ^{utilized} A to try to break the solid ranks of labor when the miners fought at Armageddon in 1902.

No employer has a right to put his political preferences in the pay envelope. That is coercion even if he tells the whole truth.

But ~~in~~ ^{propaganda} this ~~best~~ ^{they} misrepresents by telling only half the truth.

Labor and a fair-minded public must place such tactics in a class with the coercion of the strong-arm squad and the whispering of ^{planted} ~~the~~ ⁱⁿ labor spy ~~planted within the workers ranks.~~

This pay-envelope propaganda has one clear objective -- to sabotage the Social Security Act. To sabotage that act is to

sabotage labor. For that act, as you know, was worked out with
labor and enacted with the active support of labor -- all kinds
of labor.

great
Why do these employers seek to repeal it? Because under the law
they have to pay for much more than half of the insurance given to
the workers.

Get these facts straight. The Act provides for two forms of
insurance. First, unemployment insurance to help the worker and
his family over the difficult days when he loses his job. The
funds for this unemployment insurance, so far as the Federal Govern-
ment is concerned, comes 100% from the employer, and none from the
worker. The worker contributes nothing to this federal fund;
but the whole fund is held for his benefit.

The second form of insurance covers old age. Here the em-
ployer contributes one dollar for every dollar contributed by the
worker; but both dollars are held by the government in trust
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solely for the benefit of the employee in his old age.

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The second form of insurance is unemployment insurance -- to help the worker and his family over the difficult days when he loses his job. For the unemployment security of the worker, the employer under the Federal law puts up two dollars -- both dollars. The benefits of this insurance go 100% to the worker -- none to the

employer. But the funds for this unemployment insurance so far as the Federal Government is concerned comes 100% from the employer.

Now let's add it all up. Beginning January 1st, for every one dollar which the worker is asked to put in to an old age account for himself, employers are required under the Federal Act to contribute three dollars to protect the worker from both unemployment and old age. The worker contributes only one dollar to his old age security; he contributes nothing to his security against losing his job. But at the same time the employer has to put up two dollars for unemployment and one dollar for old age.

Three for one! There's the rub. That is what these propaganda-spreading employers object to. The record extending back several years shows that their purpose has always been to compel the worker alone to put up all the premiums both for their unemployment insurance and their old-age insurance. They are now trying to frighten the worker about the worker's one dollar so that they won't have to pay their three. ~~It is an old strategy of theirs to deceive the~~
~~victims to fight their battles for them.~~

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These ~~propagandists~~ are driven in their desperation to the unpatriotic suggestion that ~~some~~ Congress will steal these insurance funds for other purposes. If they really believe what they say in the pay envelopes, they have no confidence in our form of government or its permanence. It might be well for them to move to some other nation in which they have greater faith.

I know that ~~we~~ made wise as well as strong by the achievements of John Mitchell and his successors, will ^{not} be fooled by the ~~all~~ of this campaign ^{any} more than they were frightened by the strong-arm squads of the past.

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FOID FOR RELEASE

FOID FOR RELEASE

FOID FOR RELEASE

FOR THE PRESS

STATEMENTS FILE

October 29, 1936

Shorthand By Kann ee

This address of the President, to be delivered at Wilkes-Barre, Pennsylvania, on Thursday, October twenty-ninth, MUST BE HELD IN CONFIDENCE UNTIL RELEASED.
Release upon delivery, expected about 9:00 A.M., Eastern Standard Time.

Please safeguard against premature release.

STEPHEN EARLY

Assistant Secretary to the President

When I found that I was to speak in Harrisburg today, and realized that it is John Mitchell Day, I determined to come by way of Wilkes-Barre. I wanted to pay my tribute to him.

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