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. 1302

1940 September 11

Address to International Brotherhood of Teamsters, etc.

Just draft

SPEECH OF THE PRESIDENT

INTERNATIONAL BROTHERHOOD OF TEAMSTERS-CHAUFFEURS-STABLEMEN & HELPERS

SEPTEMBER 11, 1940

MR. TOBIN, MEMBERS OF THE CONVENTION:

Tonight you and I are taking part in the great conundrum of 1940 -- when is a speech by the President of the United States political and when is it not political.

I do not know the answer. There is one school of thought which holds the view that any speech, any message, any letter of a President is of necessity political from the very day that he is inaugurated. There are others who say that any speech, or message or letter of a President who is renominated is of necessity political from the very day of renomination. Still others claim the marvelous gift of being able to draw a hard and fast line between what is political and what is not. I am not as omniscent as that.

The other day I helped to dedicate a great Dam and pointed out the very great advantages which would accrue to one of our great watersheds through the construction not of dams alone but of all kinds of public works, and because it was Labor Day I stressed the importance of the splendid work that labor had done in all of these projects and the importance in our American scheme of things of the fine cooperation, the fair wage scales and the

collective bargaining which had been going on between organized labor and the management which had undertaken the projects. Personally, I thought in preparing my speech that I had leaned over backward to avoid politics in any sense of the word except the sense of politics in relation to what in recent years it has been doing not for the Democratic Party but for men and women of all parties as a part of the policy of the American Government as translated into laws by the Congress of the United States.

Later on the same day I took part in the opening of a great National Park which has been in preparation for the enjoyment of this country for many years -- started, in ~~efx~~ fact, by my predecessor in the Presidency. I spoke principally of the great need for preparedness against any possible attack on the United States or the Americas from any nation from across the seas. I spoke, of course, as President of the United States in furtherance of the broad policy of protecting this country -- a policy which I did not think was a matter of partisan issue. What your President said on that occasion was again labeled a campaign speech -- a matter of party politics, by a few people who evidently are unable to see the nation because of the partisanship which is being so greatly injected by some into

national matters in this year of grace 1940.

So you will see that I am in a quandry tonight. Frankly, I am not greatly concerned by it because I am speaking at the invitation of my old friend, Dan Tobin, to a group representing one of many groups of International Brotherhoods, all of which added together make up a great part of organized labor in our nation.

It is not party politics but it is rather American history when I reassert that in the past seven years organized labor as a whole has become stronger in membership, in influence and in capacity to serve the interests of the labor man and woman and of society in general than at any other time in our history.

I am not talking partisan politics but am talking American history when I record that this fact is in no small part due to the laws which have been enacted to assure to labor the right to organize and to assure to labor the benefits of its collective bargaining effort.

I am not talking partisan politics but I am reciting American history when I say that the establishment of the validity of these laws and the effective enforcement of them have been secured in these years after a bitter struggle with those same groups who now turn around and proclaim that they are labor's true friends.

In contrast to those who plead for labor's support during a four months period and are labor's established opponents during each succeeding year and eight months, I am wholly willing to offset the consistency of a record which dates back to my first election to the Senate of the State of New York, thirty years ago this Autumn -- covering my service there, and my service for nearly eight years as Assistant Secretary of the Navy, and my service during four years as Governor of the largest labor employing State in the Union -- and a more recent service as President of the United States.

It is not in an organization like an International Brotherhood or Union alone that society finds its occasional scoundrel. The same rule applies not to trades alone but to professions as well. I happen to be a lawyer -- and everybody knows, including lawyers, that there is a small percentage of scoundrels in that profession.

The same thing holds true of other professions -- doctors, architects, civil engineers -- and even the great profession of professional business men. With all of them, too, the overwhelming majority are God fearing, decent, honest Americans, though in their ranks we discover from time to time the exceptional and rather rare crook.

This very human fact of life applies as well to Government servants -- a great army -- the overwhelming majority picked competitively because of proven ability. Even in their ranks we find a few who are faithless to their trust -- a few who must be put in jail for their dishonesty.

But I assert not alone that the proportion who go wrong is an amazingly small proportion, but that in these later years the Government of the United States has been conducted with greater efficiency and especially with greater honesty -- ~~thax~~ without any great scandal -- a statement which unfortunately cannot be made about some other previous periods in our national life.

We are now engaged in a great and common effort for national defense. The overwhelming response from all groups makes me feel sanguine about our ultimate security. I fervently pray that we shall be freed from the necessity of resorting to arms to defend our way of life. Yet if anything has been made plain by recent events, it is this: If we want to keep war from our shores, we must become so strong that no tyrant will dare attack us. In the world we are living in, aggression respects only power. Too many democracies failed to realize this fact until it was too late.

I am happy that, in this great crisis, labor has demonstrated its complete awareness of its responsibilities. In our defense effort, I have called upon all groups in our land to cooperate. I have called upon representatives of labor; I have put them in responsible positions to cooperate in the defense program with the government. From the very start, representatives of labor have shared in the responsibility for formulating and administering the defense program. Any one who is aware of what is being done -- and what has been done -- cannot and will not fail to realize the tremendous contribution constantly being made by labor to defense and the welfare of the nation. In this work, your distinguished President, as an Administrative Assistant, guide, and friend has taken a significant part. He is one of many labor's representatives

who are functioning actively in the defense program. It is hardly necessary for me to say that no group has responded more generously and more ably in the defense effort.

I am particularly glad to be able to say that the A.F.L., the C.I.O., and the railroad brotherhoods are loyally cooperating, in this effort, with the National Defense Commission. I venture to hope that this cooperation in the task of national defense will encourage closer and more friendly relations between these great labor organizations. This hope, I know, I share with your organization and your distinguished president.

In this great common cause, occasional discordant notes have been sounded. Some say that the beneficial social and labor legislation, which has been enacted during the past seven years, will interfere substantially with the accomplishment of the program of national defense. They, therefore, seek unlimited hours of labor and the cancellation of those protective measures for which we struggled so long.

With this position, I am in emphatic disagreement. Disregard of these beneficial measures would weaken immeasurably our entire defense effort. On the other hand, observance of these laws will not only help preserve labor's efficiency, but will also facilitate our task in putting back to work many millions still unemployed.

This is essential to our entire defense effort. The morale of our people is a most precious defense asset -- at least as vital as guns and planes.

Security for all with total employment is our objective. We must look forward to the day when there may be the productive utilization of all our resources. That is the ultimate aim of the program which we have pursued to the present time and we shall not relax in our efforts until that aim is realized. As the National Defense Commission said in its recently issued statement on labor policy, "the scope of our present program entails bringing into production many of our unused resources of agriculture, manufacturing and man-power". There is no economy or defense in idle men and idle factories.

In our efforts for national defense, fine team-work has been developed. This will materially contribute to the solution of the many problems of national defense. This will, more than anything else, bring into being the national unity vital to our development as an even greater free, democratic country.

The continuance of this teamwork, after the present emergency is over, will have consequences of incalculable good to the nation as a whole. It will enable us to learn to utilize to the utmost our abundant resources -- human and natural. It

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Democracy has within itself the seed of most efficient organization, if we will but cultivate, nourish and tend it carefully. Ours is the enduring way. It will continue and thrive long after the brutal forces of barbarism will have vanished.

Ours is a great heritage; we propose with all our effort and might to keep it intact. The workers in the factories, the farmers on the land, and business men in plants and offices are awake to the perils which threaten America. No selfish interest, no personal ambition, no political campaign can sway the united will of our people to make America strong and keep it free.

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DRAFT #2

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SEPTEMBER 11, 1940

MR. TOBIN, MEMBERS OF THE CONVENTION:

During the past ~~few~~ weeks, ~~I have been visiting~~ in several sections of the East, ~~on~~ I have been inspecting the progress of our national defense. I have ridden through Navy Yards ~~and have watched~~ to watch the building of destroyers, submarines and aircraft carriers, ~~being built~~; I have visited aviation units ~~where I have seen our most~~ to see our modern fighting planes; I have ~~visited~~ been in our great gun factories where I have seen the most modern guns of all types, ~~being~~ swiftly being molded into shape ~~for use~~; I have visited training camps where young Americans are receiving training and instruction in the tactics of ~~modern~~ the warfare of today. ~~And~~ Through it all there was the impressing conviction that America was gradually rising to meet the ever-growing need for an adequate physical armed defense of the country from any threat abroad.

Tonight, ~~In~~ a very real sense, I feel that ~~tonight~~ as I stand here I am visiting another type of national defense, equally ~~in~~ important ~~as armed d~~ ~~importance~~ in its own way as armed defense, in ~~to~~ meeting the needs of the times.

For nothing can provide more enduring strength to a nation and more staying power in an emergency, than a strong, active and determined labor force carrying on the processes of industry and trade.

¶ It is one of the characteristics of a free and democratic modern nation that it have free and independent labor unions. In other lands, labor unions have disappeared in country after country as the strong hand of the dictator has taken command. Free labor unions have remained only in free lands. When union workers can assemble in freedom and independence in Conventions like this, it is proof that American democracy has remained untouched and it is typical of our determination to keep it free.

Your is now one of the great international labor unions of America. You are still young enough to remember other days, however, days when labor unions were considered almost unAmerican by some individuals in our land. You can still remember when it was almost routine to grant injunctions against labor unions without notice; when it was rare indeed for an employer even to consider collective bargaining with his workers; when it was the common practice to discharge any worker who would joing a union. You can

still remember ~~the days~~ when employers sought to meet strikes in the first instance by ~~having~~ their government -- federal, state or local -- call out armed troops with instruction to shoot down opposition. You can still remember ~~the days~~ when ~~some~~ many large employers even resorted to the unAmerican practice -- still unfortunately followed in some sections of the country -- of hiring labor spies and setting up private arsenals to ferret out members of a union.

The cause of labor has come a long way since those days. It has traveled over a road beset with difficulties, ~~not only the difficulties which had met all progress, but additional difficulties peculiar to labor unions~~, both from within its membership and from without. Your own organization is an outstanding example of the progress which has been made. By 1933 your membership had dropped to 70,000. Within the last seven years you have grown to a membership of nearly ~~a half million~~ 500,000.

In those same seven years, not only your union, but organized labor as a whole has become stronger in membership, in influence, and in ~~the~~ its capacity to serve the interests of the laboring man and woman and of society in general, than at any other time in our history. Much of this progress has been due to the one thing which this Administration, from the very beginning, has insisted upon -- the assurance

to labor of the untrammeled right to organize and to bargain collectively with their employers. That principle has now become firmly imbedded in the law of the land; ~~and~~ it must remain as the foundation of industrial relations for all times.

And with that foundation, the last seven years have seen a series of laws enacted to ~~secure~~ give to labor a fair share of the good life to which free men and women in a free nation are entitled as a matter of right. Fair ~~and~~ minimum wages have been established for workers in industry; decent maximum hours and days of labor have been set to bring about an American standard of living and leisure; child labor has been outlawed in practically all factories; a system of employment exchanges has been created; machinery has been set up and strengthened for the mediation of labor disputes. ~~and~~ Over them all has been created a system of social ~~security~~ security which has laid the foundation upon which will be built ~~some~~ a degree of protection for workers from the hazards and worries of old age and ~~of~~ unemployment.

This progress of the last seven years has been difficult. It has been ~~a progress which has been not~~ hard by obstruction and by bitter propaganda from certain groups in the community who had been accustomed for too many years to the exploitation of the great mass of people who worked for them. It was the same

type of opposition which I had successfully met during my entire public career, dating back to my first election to the Senate of the State of New York, thirty years ago this autumn, and continuing through my service for nearly eight years as Assistant Secretary of the Navy, my service during four years as Governor of the largest labor employing State in the Union. That opposition came only too often from those who for four months every four years loudly proclaimed that they were Labor's true friends, but opposed it for the remaining three years and eight months — from those who love the laboring man in November but forget him in January.

The great progress of the past seven years in the position of labor as an organized force in the community does not mean for a moment that its problems have all been solved. We are still quite distant from the objective which we seek - the security and the standard of living which the resources and man-power of America make possible for every man, woman and child. Our advance has been accomplished with patience and deliberation. That is the democratic way; that is the road which leads to lasting results. Here in America we have kept our feet on the ground; our progress has been steady and sure; we have not been mislead by ~~illusionary~~ illusory promises.

Events abroad have shown too late the result of the other kind of methods; promises of swift, revolutionary relief; seductive pictures of panaceas; short cuts to prosperity and plenty, pictured as simple and easy -- all of these have led to the same cruel disappointment. For these promises people yielded up their liberties and all that made life dear. In exchange they have received only desolation, ~~and destruction.~~

Our progress must continue to be a steady and deliberate one. We must look forward to certain definite things in the near future. For example, the benefits ~~under the~~ of Social Security ~~Act~~ should be broadened, and extended; unemployment insurance should cover a larger number of workers. ~~The waiting period for the receiving of benefits should be decreased by law and the number of weeks for which benefits are permitted should be increased. The great increase in employment during the past year has so reduced the number of workers receiving insurance payments and has so increased the reserves resulting from the insurance tax, that the tax itself might well be decreased.~~

Our old age pension system must be improved and extended. ~~to include~~ a larger proportion ~~of the old people of America, and those~~

The amount of the pension ~~must~~ should be increased, and, above all, these pensions must be given ~~to those aged citizens who so richly deserve them,~~ in a manner which will respect the dignity of the life ~~and~~ of service ~~which they~~ and labor which our aged citizens have given to the nation.

These are typical of what we look forward to as steps in a steady advance toward a greater security and happiness for those who contribute by their toil to the progress and well-being of this ~~nation.~~ country. ~~This~~ Progress along all lines must be made under the leadership, and at the instigation, of Government itself. The people must decide whether to continue that type of Government which has fostered the progress to date or whether to turn it over to those who by their action, if not always by their word, have shown their fundamental opposition to the main objectives toward which we have worked in the past and to which we are definitely committed for the future.

There are some who would not only stop now the progress we are making in social and labor legislation, but would even repeal what has been enacted during the past seven years — all on the plea that an adequate national defense requires it. They would seek unlimited hours of labor. They would seek lower wages. They would seek the cancellation of those safeguards for which we have all struggled so long.

I still believe as I did when I said on May 26th last: "We must make sure in all that we do that there be no breakdown or cancellation of any of the great social gains which we have made in these past years. We have carried on an offensive on a broad front against social and economic inequalities and abuses which had made our society weak. That offensive should not now be broken down by the pincers movement of those who would use the present needs of physical military defense to destroy it. There is nothing in our present emergency to justify a retreat from any of our social objectives -- conservation of resources, assistance to agriculture, housing and help to the underprivileged".

Our mighty national defense effort against all present and potential threats cannot be ~~evaluated~~ measured solely in terms of armament production or ~~mathematical increase in~~ the number of soldiers and sailors. Behind them all must stand a united people whose spiritual and moral strength has not been diminished through hunger or wantor fear or insecurity.

I am convinced that a breakdown of existing labor and social legislation would weaken rather than increase our efforts for defense. Continuance of them means the preservation of the efficiency of labor. ~~and~~ It means the return to work of many millions

still unemployed. The morale of a people is at least as vital as guns and planes. There are in the United States sufficient laboring man-power ~~in the~~ ~~United States~~ and adequate ~~xxxxx~~ resources of capital to ~~be used in~~ constructing our defenses without seeking to break down the standards of wages and hours which have been created. The employment of additional workers and the provisions for overtime payments for over-time work will insure adequate working hours at decent wages to do all that is now necessary in physical defense.

I have said that the progress which labor has made to date has been made in spite of the peculiar difficulties within labor unions and from without their ranks. The internal obstacles to the growth of labor unions have come in those rare instances where the occasional scoundrel has appeared in positions of leadership. Labor unions are not the only organizations which have to suffer innocently for the crimes and misdeed of one or two of their selfish and guilty members. The rule applies to all organizations, to trades and to professions alike. Insert A [None of them is immune from the danger which comes from the fact that within their ranks one or two betray their trust and expose the overwhelming majority of Godfearing, decent, honest citizens to the unthinking criticism from those who would make them all suffer from]

Insert A. p. 9.

I cannot add to the terms of condemnation which your President, my old friend Dan Tobin, included in his report to your convention the day before yesterday in which he said: p. 32

~~the misdeeds of a few.~~

Racketeers have appeared in labor unions as in other walks of life. But I hate any form of racketeering and I know that the overwhelming majority of labor unions and their members hate them as deeply as I do.

Labor knows that there is no room in the labor movement for the racketeer or the strong-arm man. It knows that irresponsible or racketeering use of the power of labor, or entrusting that power to men of ill repute and evil intent, can bring only discredit and damage to labor itself. Government is determined to help labor unions clean their house of those few persons who have betrayed them. ~~This~~ That is another sound way of making labor unions strong in America.

The strength of responsible organizations of labor is essential to the strength of the Nation in its great and common effort now being made for national defense. ~~In that~~ To this effort has come an overwhelming response from all groups of citizens — a unanimous — which is so essential to ultimate security. In this great crisis has come proof that organized labor is aware of its own responsibilities. I have called upon business, on groups and all factions in our land to help in our

defense effort.

I have called upon representatives of labor and have placed them in responsible positions to cooperate in the program with their Government. From the very start, representatives of labor have shared in formulating and administering the program. Your distinguished President, as an Executive Administrative Assistant and as an expert counselor, has taken a significant part.

(A)

I know that America will never be disappointed in its expectation that labor will always do its share of the job we now face, patriotically and unselfishly.

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As democratic processes in government and in industry have yielded to the Lorelies of dictators abroad, it is no time for labor in America to be complacent about these processes at home, for ~~labor itself has seen that~~ wherever the traditions of democracy have been destroyed, labor has always been the first victim of the new order.

With this position, I am in emphatic disagreement. Disregard of these beneficial measures would weaken immeasurably our entire defense effort. On the other hand, observance of these laws will not only help preserve labor's efficiency, but will also facilitate our task in putting back to work many millions still unemployed. This is essential to our entire defense effort. The morale of our people is a most precious defense asset - at least as vital as guns and planes.

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which ~~This~~ will, more than anything else, bring about ~~into being~~ the national unity vital to our development as an even greater free, democratic country.

The continuance of this teamwork, after the present emergency is over, will have consequences of lasting ~~incalculable~~ good to the nation as a whole. It will enable us to learn to utilize to the utmost our abundant resources - human and natural. It should enable us to enjoy an internal security transcending anything heretofore known.

Our job is not yet done. Only a start - however substantial it be - has been made. But sound and firm foundations have been laid. The remaining tasks should be easier of accomplishment because of the tremendous efforts which have already been expended in that direction.

Democracy has within itself the seed of most efficient organization, if we will but cultivate, nourish and tend it carefully. Democracy ~~Ours~~ is the enduring way. It will continue and thrive long after the brutal forces of barbarism will have vanished.

Ours is a great heritage; we are determined ~~propose~~ with all our effort and might to keep it intact. The workers in

the factories, the farmers on the land, and business men in plants and offices are awake to the perils which threaten America. No selfish interest, no personal ambition, no political campaign can away the united will of our people to make America strong and keep it free.

We are now engaged in a great and common effort for national defense. The overwhelming response from all groups makes me feel sanguine about our ultimate security. I fervently pray that we shall be freed from the necessity of resorting to arms to defend our way of life. Yet if anything has been made plain by recent events, it is this: If we want to keep war from our shores, we must become so strong that no tyrant will dare attack us. In the world we are living in, aggression respects only power. Too many democracies failed to realize this fact until it was too late.

I am happy that, in this great crisis, labor has demonstrated its complete awareness of its responsibilities. In our defense effort, I have called upon all groups in our land to cooperate. I have called upon representatives of labor; I have put them in responsible positions to cooperate in the defense program with the government. From the very start, representatives of labor have shared in the responsibility for formulating and administering the defense program. Any one who is aware of what is being done - and what has been done - cannot and will not fail to realize the tremendous contribution constantly being made by labor to defense and the welfare of the nation. In this work, your distinguished President, as an adminis-

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In our search for national unity as the basis of national defense, it is necessary and it is fair that everyone in America contribute his share. Of course this is true for those who train in the fighting forces. This also is true for the reserves of capital and man-power at home. We shall continue to call upon labor for services; and we shall also continue to call upon the industrial resources of the nation.

Labor has responded and I know will continue to respond. Upon them will rest a great deal of the responsibility of keeping the wheels of industry turning.

Capital and industry have responded and I know will continue to respond. They too have a direct responsibility in keeping alive a vigorous system of private enterprise under private management, adequate to turn out the implements of war and the implements of peace necessary to a sound defense.

The nation, through its elected representatives, has adopted the principle of selective universal training of its young men. By the same token no reasonable person can object to giving the government the power to acquire the services of any

plant or factory for adequate compensation when the owner has refused to make available its services to the defense needs of the nation. This is nothing new in American life. The principle of eminent domain is as old as democratic government itself. It merely permits government to acquire for a fair and reasonable price any property which is necessary for its proper functioning. We are committed to the policy of ~~[illegible]~~ having the overwhelming majority of our munitions and other defense requirements manufactured by private enterprise under private management. We shall continue that policy. It is only in the rare, isolated case that the owner of a plant will refuse to deal with his government in a fair way. ~~[illegible]~~ But ~~[illegible]~~ if and when such case does arise, the government cannot stand by helpless in its efforts to arm. No business is above its government; ~~and all business~~ and government should be empowered to deal adequately with any business which tries to rise above its government.

DRAFT #3

SPEECH BY THE PRESIDENT

INTERNATIONAL BROTHERHOOD OF TEAMSTERS-CHAUFFEURS-STABLEMEN AND HELPERS

SEPTEMBER 11, 1940

MR. TOBIN, MEMBERS OF THE CONVENTION:

During the past weeks, in several sections of the East, I have been inspecting the progress of our national defense. I have ridden through Navy Yards and private yards to watch the building of destroyers, submarines and aircraft carriers; I have visited aviation units to see our modern fighting planes; I have been in our great gun factories where I have seen the most modern guns of all types, swiftly being molded into shape; I have visited training camps where young Americans are receiving training and instruction in the tactics of the warfare of today. Through it all there was the impressive conviction that America is ~~was gradually~~ rising to meet the ever-growing need for an adequate physical armed defense of the country from any threat from abroad.

Tonight in a very real sense, I feel that as I stand here I am visiting another type of national defense, equally important in its own way ~~as armed defense~~, in meeting the needs of the times. ~~For nothing can provide more~~ Enduring strength to a nation and ~~mere~~ staying power in an emergency,

definitely call for an ~~than~~ active and determined labor force carrying on the processes of industry and trade.

It is one of the characteristics of a free and democratic modern nation that it have free and independent labor unions. In other lands, labor unions have disappeared In country after country as the ~~strong~~ iron hand of the dictator has taken command. Free labor unions have ~~remained~~ survived only in free lands. When union workers can assemble in freedom and independence in Conventions like this, it is proof that American democracy has remained ~~untouched~~ unimpaired and it is ~~typical~~ symbolic of our determination to keep it free.

Yours is now one of the great international labor unions of America. You ~~are still young enough to~~ can remember some other days, ~~however~~, -- days when labor unions were considered almost unAmerican by some individuals in our land. You can ~~still~~ remember when it was almost routine to grant injunctions against labor unions without notice; when it was rare indeed for an employer even to consider collective bargaining with his workers; when it was the common practice to discharge any worker who ~~would~~ joined a union. You can

~~still~~ remember when employers sought to meet threatened strikes ~~in the first instance by having~~ by demanding that their government -- federal, or state -- ~~or local~~ -- call out armed troops, ~~with instruction to shoot down opposition~~. You can ~~still~~ remember when many large employers ~~even~~ resorted to the unAmerican practice -- still unfortunately followed in some sections of the country -- of hiring labor spies and setting up private arsenals to ferret out members of a union.

The cause of labor has come a long way since those days. It has traveled over a road beset with difficulties, both from within its membership and from without. Your own organization is an outstanding example of the progress which has been made. By 1933 your membership had dropped to 70,000. Within the last seven years you have grown to a membership of ~~nearly~~ 500,000.

In those same seven years, ~~not only your union, but~~ organized labor as a whole has become stronger in membership, in influence, and in its capacity to serve the interests of the laboring man and woman and of society in general, than at any other time in our history. Much of this progress has been due to the one thing which this Administration, from the very beginning, has insisted upon -- the assurance to labor

of the untrammeled right to organize and to bargain collectively with their employers. That principle has now become firmly imbedded in the law of the land; it must remain as the foundation of industrial relations for all times. ¶ A

And with that foundation, the last seven years have seen a series of laws enacted to give to labor a fair share of the good life to which free men and women in a free nation are entitled as a matter of right. Fair minimum wages ~~have been~~ are being established for workers in industry; decent maximum hours and days of labor have been set, to bring about an American standard of living and ~~leisure~~ recreation; child labor has been outlawed in practically all factories; a system of employment exchanges has been created; machinery has been set up and strengthened and successfully used for the mediation of labor disputes. Over them all has been created a ~~system~~ shelter of social security, ~~which has laid the~~ foundation upon which ~~will be~~ is being built ~~a degree of~~ protection for workers from the hazards ~~and worries~~ of old age and unemployment.

This progress of the last seven years has been difficult. It has been beset by obstruction and by bitter propaganda from certain minority groups in the community who had been accustomed for too many years to the exploitation of the great mass of

INSERT A - PAGE 4 - DRAFT #3 - ~~continued same~~ New paragraph.

In fairness let it be said that the principle has the support today not only of organized labor as a whole, but also of hundreds of thousands ~~and thousands~~ of decent, practical, forward-looking employers. ~~Another way of putting it is that before legislation was enacted~~, a decade ago a minority of employers were ~~already~~ willing to accept the principle of collective bargaining; today the majority of employers gladly ~~do so~~ adopt it.

people who worked for them. It was the same type of opposition which I had ~~successfully met~~ become accustomed during my entire public career, dating back to my first election to the Senate of the State of New York, thirty years ago this Autumn, and continuing through my service for nearly eight years as Assistant Secretary of the Navy, my service during four years as Governor of the largest labor employing State in the Union. That opposition ~~came~~ comes only too often from those who for four months every four years loudly proclaim~~ed~~ that they ~~were~~ are Labor's true friends but ~~opposed it~~ block its welfare for the remaining three years and eight months -- from those who love the laboring man in November but forget him in January.

The great progress of the past seven years in the position of labor as an organized force in the community does not mean for a moment that its problems have all been solved. We are still quite distant from the objective which we seek -- the security and the standard of living for every man, woman and child, which the resources and man-power of America make possible. Our advance has been accomplished with patience and deliberation. That is the democratic way; that is the road which leads to lasting results. Here in America we have kept our feet on the ground; our progress has been steady

and sure; we have not been misled by illusory promises. Events abroad have shown too late the result of the other kind of methods -- promises of swift, revolutionary relief; seductive pictures of panaceas; short cuts to prosperity and plenty, pictured as simple and easy -- all of these have led to the same cruel disappointment. For these promises people yielded up their liberties and all that made life dear. In exchange they have received only ~~[illegible]~~ the rationing of their food, the rationing of their religion, the rationing of the clothes upon their backs and the rationing of the bread for their mouths.

Our progress must continue to be a steady and deliberate one. We cannot stand still, we cannot slip back. We must look forward to certain definite things in the near future. For example, the benefits of social security should be broadened and extended; unemployment insurance should cover a larger number of workers. Our old age pension system must be improved and extended; the amount of the pension should be increased; and, above all, these pensions must be given in a manner which will respect the dignity of the life of service and labor which our aged citizens have given to the nation. 13

These are typical of what we look forward to as steps in a steady advance toward a greater security and happiness for those who contribute by their toil to the progress and well-being of this country. Progress along ~~all~~ these lines must

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It is my hope that ~~in my lifetime~~ soon the United States will have a national system ~~by~~ under which no needy man or woman within our borders will lack a minimum old age pension which will provide adequate food, clothing and lodging to the end of the road -- without having to go to the poorhouse to get it. Furthermore, I look ~~for~~ forward to a system which, in addition to this ~~fore~~ minimum, will enable those who have faithfully toiled, ~~no matter~~ in any ~~what their~~ occupation, to build up additional security for their old age which will allow them to live in comfort and happiness.

be made ~~under the leadership, and at the instigation, of~~ with the cooperation of business, labor and government ~~itself.~~ The people must decide whether to continue that type of government which has fostered the progress to date, or whether to turn it over to those who by their action, if not always by their word, have shown their fundamental opposition to the main objectives toward which we have worked in the past and to which we are definitely committed for the future.

There are some who would not only stop now the progress we are making in social and labor legislation, but would even repeal what has been enacted during the past seven years — all on the plea that an adequate national defense requires it. They would seek unlimited hours of labor. They would seek lower wages. They would seek the cancellation of those safeguards for which we have all struggled so long. However, I still believe, as I did when I said on May 26th last: "We must make sure in all that we do that there be no breakdown or cancellation of any of the great social gains which we have made in these past years. We have carried on an offensive on a broad front against social and economic inequalities and

abuses which had made our society weak. That offensive should not now be broken down by the pincers movement of those who would use the present needs of physical military defense to destroy it. There is nothing in our present emergency to justify a retreat from any of our social objectives — conservation of resources, assistance to agriculture, housing and help to the underprivileged".

Our mighty national defense effort against all present and potential threats cannot be measured ~~solely~~ alone in terms of armament production or mathematical increase in the number of soldiers and sailors, or guns or tanks or planes. Behind them all must stand a united people whose spiritual and moral strength has not been ~~diminished~~ sapped through hunger or want or fear or insecurity.

I am convinced that a breakdown of existing labor and social legislation would weaken rather than increase our efforts for defense. Continuance of them means the preservation of the efficiency of labor. It means the return to work of ~~many~~ several millions still unemployed. The morale of a people is ~~at least~~ an essential supplement to their ~~material~~ guns and planes. There are in the United States sufficient laboring man-power and adequate resources of capital to construct our defenses without ~~seeking to break~~ tearing down the standards of wages and hours which have been created. The

employment of additional workers and the provisions for over-time payments for over-time work will insure adequate working hours at decent wages to do all that is now necessary in physical defense. We will not overlook the lessons learned in Europe in the past years.

~~I have said that the progress which labor has made to date has been made in spite of the peculiar difficulties within labor unions and from without their ranks. The~~ At times, internal obstacles to the growth of labor unions have come in those rare instances where the occasional scoundrel has appeared in positions of leadership. Labor unions are not the only organizations which have to suffer innocently for the crimes and misdeed of one or two of their selfish and guilty members. The rule applies to all organizations, to trades and to professions alike.

I cannot add to the terms of condemnation which your President, my old friend Dan Tobin, included in his report to your Convention ~~the day before yesterday~~ in which he said:

" . . . It is indeed pitiful and heart-breaking and seriously depressing to find that amongst our enormous membership, composed of clean men, fathers of families, Americans of the purest type -- to find amongst this membership some creatures so bereft of decency and

honor as to bring disgrace upon the International Union. . . . . There will be amendments drafted to our Constitution and submitted to this convention dealing with such miserable, dishonest, unprincipled scoundrels who have used our organization for criminal purposes, who have gotten in under cover and brought the blush of shame to our honest membership."

Labor knows that there is no room in the labor movement for the racketeer or the strong-arm man. It knows that ~~irresponsible or racketeering use of the power of labor, or~~ entrusting ~~that~~ the power of labor to men of ill-repute and evil intent, can bring only discredit and damage to labor itself. Government is determined to help labor unions clean their house of those few persons who have betrayed them. That is another sound way of making labor unions strong in America.

The strength of responsible organizations of labor is essential to the strength of the Nation in its great and common effort now being made for national defense. To this effort has come an overwhelming response from all groups of citizens in our land -- a response ~~which is~~ so essential to ultimate security. ¶ In this great crisis has come proof that organized labor is aware of its own responsibilities. ~~I have called~~

~~Upon business, as group, and all factions in our land to help in our defense effort.~~

I have called ~~U~~on representatives of labor and have placed them in responsible positions to ~~cooperate~~ take part in the defense work of ~~program with~~ their government. From the very start, representatives of labor have shared in formulating and administering the program. Your very distinguished President, as an ~~Executive~~ Administrative Assistant to the President of the United States and as an expert counselor, has taken a significant part.

I am particularly glad to be able to say that the A.F.L., the C.I.O., and the Railroad Brotherhoods are all loyally cooperating, in this effort, with the National Defense Commission. This cooperation in the task of national defense will, I hope, encourage closer and more friendly relations between these great labor organizations.

I know that America will never be disappointed in its justifiable expectation that labor will always continue to do its share of the job we now face, patriotically and unselfishly.

As democratic processes in government and in industry have yielded to the Lorelies of dictators abroad, it is no time for labor in America to be complacent about thes processes at home, for wherever the traditions of democracy have been destroyed, labor has always been the first victim of the new order.

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In our search for national unity as the basis of national defense, it is necessary and it is fair that every ~~man~~ human being in the United States ~~America~~ contribute his share. ~~Of course~~ This ~~is true for~~ applies not only to those who train in the fighting forces and in the forces of industry behind the lines. ~~It is also true for the reserves of capital and manpower at home.~~ It is equally necessary and fair that we continue to call upon ~~labor for service, and we shall~~ will also continue to call upon the industrial ~~resources~~ plants of the nation for the service which they can give.

Labor has responded and I know will continue to respond. Upon them will rest a great deal of the responsibility of keeping the wheels of industry turning.

Capital and industry as well as labor ~~have responded~~ and I know will continue to respond. They ~~too~~ all have a direct responsibility in keeping alive a vigorous system of private enterprise under private management, adequate to turn out the implements of war and the implements of peace necessary to a sound defense.

The nation, through its elected representatives, ~~has~~ is now adopting the principle of selective universal training of its young men. By the same token no reasonable person can object to giving the government the power to acquire the services of any plant or factory for adequate compensation ~~when~~ if

men & train for conflict only service behind the lines

very dollar of capital & labor

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the owner refuses to make available its services to the defense needs of the nation. This is nothing new in American life. The principle of eminent domain or eminent use is as old as democratic government itself. It merely permits government to acquire or to use for a fair and reasonable price any property which is necessary for its proper functioning. We are committed to the policy of having the overwhelming majority of our munitions and other defense requirements manufactured by private enterprise under private management. We continue that policy. It is only in the rare, isolated case that the owner of a plant will refuse to deal with his government in a fair way. But if and when such case does arise, the government cannot stand by, helpless in its efforts to arm and defend itself. No business is above its government; and government should be empowered to deal adequately with any business which tries to rise above its government.

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Security for all with total employment is our objective. We look forward to the day when there may be productive use of all our resources. That is the ultimate aim of the program which we have pursued to the present time. We shall not relax in our efforts until that aim is realized. The National Defense Commission said in its recently issued statement on labor policy, "The scope of our present program entails bringing into production many of our unused resources of agriculture, manufacturing and man-power". There is no economy or defense in idle men and idle factories.

In our efforts for national defense, fine teamwork has been developed -- and you Teamsters know what that work Teamwork means, ~~teamwork which will contribute to the solution of the many problems of defense, which will, more than anything else, bring about the national unity vital to our development as an even greater free, democratic country.~~

The continuance of this teamwork, after the present emergency is over, will have consequences of lasting good to the nation as a whole. ~~It will enable us to learn to utilize to the utmost our abundant resources -- human and natural.~~ It ~~should~~ will enable us to enjoy an internal security transcending anything heretofore known.

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Ours is a great heritage; we are determined with all our effort and might to keep it intact. The workers in the factories, the farmers on the land, and business men in plants and offices are awake to the perils which threaten America. No selfish interest, no personal ambition, no political campaign can sway the ~~united~~ majority will of our people to make America strong and to keep it free.

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DRAFT #3

SPEECH BY THE PRESIDENT

INTERNATIONAL BROTHERHOOD OF TEAMSTERS-CHAUFFEURS-STABLEMEN AND HELPERS

SEPTEMBER 11, 1940

MR. TOBIN, MEMBERS OF THE CONVENTION:

During the past weeks, in several sections of the East, I have been inspecting the progress of our national defense. I have ridden through Navy Yards to watch the building of destroyers, submarines and aircraft carriers; I have visited aviation units to see our modern fighting planes; I have been in our great gun factories where I have seen the most modern guns of all types, swiftly being molded into shape; I have visited training camps where young Americans are receiving training and instruction in the tactics of the warfare of today. Through it all there was the impressing conviction that America was gradually rising to meet the ever-growing need for an adequate physical armed defense of the country from any threat abroad.

Tonight in a very real sense, I feel that as I stand here I am visiting another type of national defense, equally important in its own way as armed defense, in meeting the needs of the times. For nothing can provide more enduring strength to a nation and more staying power in an emergency,

than active and determined labor force carrying on the processes of industry and trade.

It is one of the characteristics of a free and democratic modern nation that it have free and independent labor unions. In other lands, labor unions have disappeared in country after country as the strong hand of the dictator has taken command. Free labor unions have remained only in free lands. When union workers can assemble in freedom and independence in Conventions like this, it is proof that American democracy has remained untouched and it is typical of our determination to keep it free.

Yours is now one of the great international labor unions of America. You are still young enough to remember other days, however, -- days when labor unions were considered almost unAmerican by some individuals in our land. You can still remember when it was almost routine to grant injunctions against labor unions without notice; when it was rare indeed for an employer even to consider collective bargaining with his workers; when it was the common practice to discharge any worker who would join a union. You can

still remember when employers sought to meet strikes in the first instance by having their government -- federal, state or local -- call out armed troops with instruction to shoot down opposition. You can still remember when many large employers even resorted to the unAmerican practice -- still unfortunately followed in some sections of the country -- of hiring labor spies and setting up private arsenals to ferret out members of a union.

The cause of labor has come a long way since those days. It has traveled over a road beset with difficulties, both from within its membership and from without. Your own organization is an outstanding example of the progress which has been made. By 1933 your membership had dropped to 70,000. Within the last seven years you have grown to a membership of nearly 500,000.

In those same seven years, not only your union, but organized labor as a whole has become stronger in membership, in influence, and in its capacity to serve the interests of the laboring man and woman and of society in general, than at any other time in our history. Much of this progress has been due to the one thing which this Administration, from the very beginning, has insisted upon -- the assurance to labor

of the untrammeled right to organize and to bargain collectively with their employers. That principle has now become firmly imbedded in the law of the land; it must remain as the foundation of industrial relations for all times.

And with that foundation, the last seven years have seen a series of laws enacted to give to labor a fair share of the good life to which free men and women in a free nation are entitled as a matter of right. Fair minimum wages have been established for workers in industry; decent maximum hours and days of labor have been set to bring about an American standard of living and leisure; child labor has been outlawed in practically all factories; a system of employment exchanges has been created; machinery has been set up and strengthened for the mediation of labor disputes. Over them all has been created a system of social security which has laid the foundation upon which will be built a degree of protection for workers from the hazards and worries of old age and unemployment.

This progress of the last seven years has been difficult. It has been beset by obstruction and by bitter propaganda from certain groups in the community who had been accustomed for too many years to the exploitation of the great mass of

people who worked for them. It was the same type of opposition which I had successfully met during my entire public career, dating back to my first election to the Senate of the State of New York, thirty years ago this Autumn, and continuing through my service for nearly eight years as Assistant Secretary of the Navy, my service during four years as Governor of the largest labor employing State in the Union. That opposition came only too often from those who for four months every four years loudly proclaimed that they were Labor's true friends but opposed it for the remaining three years and eight months -- from those who love the laboring man in November but forget him in January.

The great progress of the past seven years in the position of labor as an organized force in the community does not mean for a moment that its problems have all been solved. We are still quite distant from the objective which we seek -- the security and the standard of living for every man, woman and child. which the resources and man-power of America make possible. Our advance has been accomplished with patience and deliberation. That is the democratic way; that is the road which leads to lasting results. Here in America we have kept our feet on the ground; our progress has been steady

and sure; we have not been mislead by illusory promises. Events abroad have shown too late the result of the other kind of methods -- promises of swift, revolutionary relief; seductive pictures of panaceas; short cuts to prosperity and plenty, pictured as simple and easy -- all of these have led to the same cruel disappointment. For these promises people yielded up their liberties and all that made life dear. In exchange they have received only desolation.

Our progress must continue to be a steady and deliberate one. We must look forward to certain definite things in the near future. For example, the benefits of social security should be broadened and extended; unemployment insurance should cover a larger number of workers. Our old age pension system must be improved and extended. The amount of the pension should be increased, and, above all, these pensions must be given in a manner which will respect the dignity of the life of service and labor which our aged citizens have given to the nation.

These are typical of what we look forward to as steps in a steady advance toward a greater security and happiness for those who contribute by their toil to the progress and well-being of this country. Progress along all lines must

be made under the leadership, and at the instigation, of government itself. The people must decide whether to continue that type of government which has fostered the progress to date or whether to turn it over to those who by their action, if not always by their word, have shown their fundamental opposition to the main objectives toward which we have worked in the past and to which we are definitely committed for the future.

There are some who would not only stop now the progress we are making in social and labor legislation, but would even repeal what has been enacted during the past seven years -- all on the plea that an adequate national defense requires it. They would seek unlimited hours of labor. They would seek lower wages. They would seek the cancellation of those safeguards for which we have all struggled so long. I still believe as I did when I said on May 26th last: "We must make sure in all that we do that there be no breakdown or cancellation of any of the great social gains which we have made in these past years. We have carried on an offensive on a broad front against social and economic inequalities and

abuses which had made our society weak. That offensive should not now be broken down by the pincers movement of those who would use the present needs of physical military defense to destroy it. There is nothing in our present emergency to justify a retreat from any of our social objectives — conservation of resources, assistance to agriculture, housing and help to the underprivileged".

Our mighty national defense effort against all present and potential threats cannot be measured solely in terms of ammament production or mathematical increase in the number of soldiers and sailors. Behind them all must stand a united people whose spiritual and moral strength has not been diminished through hunger or want or fear or insecurity.

I am convinced that a breakdown of existing labor and social legislation would weaken rather than increase our efforts for defense. Continuance of them means the preservation of the efficiency of labor. It means the return to work of many millions still unemployed. The morale of a people is at least as vital as guns and planes. There are in the United States sufficient laboring man-power and adequate resources of capital to construct our defenses without seeking to break down the standards of wages and hours which have been created. The

employment of additional workers and the provisions for over-time payments for over-time work will insure adequate working hours at decent wages to do all that is now necessary in physical defense.

I have said that the progress which labor has made to date has been made in spite of the peculiar difficulties within labor unions and from without their ranks. The internal obstacles to the growth of labor unions have come in those rare instances where the occasional scoundrel has appeared in positions of leadership. Labor unions are not the only organizations which have to suffer innocently for the crimes and misdeed of one or two of their selfish and guilty members. The rule applies to all organizations, to trades and to professions alike.

I cannot add to the terms of condemnation which your President, my old friend Dan Tobin, included in his report to your Convention the day before yesterday in which he said:

> " . . . It is indeed pitiful and heart-breaking and seriously depressing to find that amongst our enormous membership, composed of clean men, fathers of families, Americans of the purest type -- to find amongst this membership some creatures so bereft of decency and

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The strength of responsible organizations of labor is essential to the strength of the Nation in its great and common effort now being made for national defense. To this effort has come an overwhelming response from all groups of citizens -- a response which is so essential to ultimate security. In this great crisis has come proof that organized labor is aware of its own responsibilities. I have called

upon business, on groups and all factions in our land to help in our defense effort.

I have called upon representatives of labor and have placed them in responsible positions to cooperate in the program with their government. From the very start, representatives of labor have shared in formulating and administering the program. Your distinguished President, as an Executive Administrative Assistant and as an expert counselor, has taken a significant part.

I am particularly glad to be able to say that the A.F.L., the C.I.O., and the railroad brotherhoods are loyally cooperating, in this effort, with the National Defense Commission. This cooperation in the task of national defense will, I hope, encourage closer and more friendly relations between these great labor organizations.

I know that America will never be disappointed in its expectation that labor will always do its share of the job we now face, patriotically and unselfishly.

As democratic processes in government and in industry have yielded to the Lorelies of dictators abroad, it is no time for labor in America to be complacent about these processes at home, for wherever the traditions of democracy have been destroyed, labor has always been the first victim of the new order.

Security for all with total employment is our objective. We look forward to the day when there may be productive use of all our resources. That is the ultimate aim of the program which we have pursued to the present time. We shall not relax in our efforts until that aim is realized. The National Defense Commission said in its recently issued statement on labor policy, "The scope of our present program entails bringing into production many of our unused resources of agriculture, manufacturing and man-power". There is no economy or defense in idle men and idle factories.

In our efforts for national defense, fine teamwork has been developed — teamwork which will contribute to the solution of the many problems of defense, which will, more than anything else, bring about the national unity vital to our development as an even greater free, democratic country.

The continuance of this teamwork, after the present emergency is over, will have consequences of lasting good to the nation as a whole. It will enable us to learn to utilize to the utmost our abundant resources — humandand natural. It should enable us to enjoy an internal security transcending anything heretofore known.

Democracy has within itself the seed of most efficient organization, if we will but cultivate, nourish and tend it carefully. Democracy is the enduring way. It will continue and thrive long after the brutal forces of barbarism will have vanished.

Ours is a great heritage; we are determined with all our effort and might to keep it intact. The workers in the factories, the farmers on the land, and business men in plants and offices are awake to the perils which threaten America. No selfish interest, no personal ambition, no political campaign can sway the united will of our people to make America strong and keep it free.

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DRAFT #4

SPEECH BY THE PRESIDENT

INTERNATIONAL BROTHERHOOD OF TEAMSTERS-CHAUFFEURS-STABLEMEN AND HELPERS

SEPTEMBER 11, 1940

MR. TOBIN, MEMBERS OF THE CONVENTION:

During the past weeks, in several sections of the East, I have been inspecting the progress of our national defense. I have gone through navy yards and private yards to watch the building of destroyers, submarines and aircraft carriers; I have visited aviation units to see our modern fighting planes; I have been in our great gun factories where I have seen the most modern guns of all types, swiftly being molded into shape; I have visited ~~training~~ camps where young Americans are receiving training and instruction in the tactics of the warfare of today. Through it all there was the impressive conviction that America is rising to meet the ever-growing need for an adequate physical armed defense of the country. ~~from any threat from abroad.~~

Tonight in a very real sense, I feel ~~that~~ as I stand here that I am visiting another type of national defense, equally important in its own way in meeting the needs of the times. Enduring strength to a nation and staying

power in an emergency definitely call for an ~~active~~ efficient and determined labor force carrying on the processes of industry and trade. Insert A.

It is one of the characteristics of a free and democratic modern nation that it have free and independent labor unions. In country after country in other lands, labor unions have disappeared as the iron hand of the dictator has taken command. Only in free lands have free labor unions survived. ~~Free labor unions have survived only in free lands~~. When union workers can assemble ~~in~~ with freedom and independence in conventions like this, it is proof that American democracy has remained unimpaired -- and it is symbolic of our determination to keep it free.

Yours is now one of the great international labor unions of America. You can remember, however, other days -- days when labor unions were considered almost unAmerican by some individuals in our land. You can remember when ~~it was almost routine to grant injunctions without notice against labor unions; when~~ it was rare indeed for an employer even to consider collective bargaining with his workers; when it was the common practice to discharge any worker who joined a union. You can remember when employers sought to meet threatened strikes by demanding

that their government -- federal or state -- call out armed troops. You can remember when many large employers resorted to the unAmerican practice -- still unfortunately followed in some sections of the country -- of hiring labor spies and setting up private arsenals to ferret out members of a union.

The cause of labor ~~has come a long way since these days. It~~ has traveled forward since those days, over a road beset with difficulties, both from within its membership and from without. Your own organization is an outstanding example of the progress which has been made. By 1933 your membership had dropped to 70,000. Within the last seven years you have grown to a membership of 500,000.

In those same seven years organized labor as a whole has become stronger in membership, in influence, and in its capacity to serve the interests of the laboring man and woman and of society in general, than at any other time in our history. Much of this progress has been due to the one thing which this Administration, from the very beginning, has insisted upon -- the assurance to labor

of the untrammeled right to organize and to bargain collectively with their employers. That principle has now become firmly inbedded in the law of the land; it must remain as the foundation of industrial relations for all times.

The principle has the support today not only of organized labor as a whole, but also of hundreds of thousands of decent, practical, forward-looking employers. A decade ago a minority of employers were willing to accept the principle of collective bargaining; today the majority of employers gladly adopt it.

And with that foundation, the last seven years have seen a series of laws enacted to give to labor a fair share of the good life to which free men and women in a free nation are entitled as a matter of right. Fair minimum wages are being established for workers in industry; decent maximum hours and days of labor have been set, to bring about an American standard of living and recreation; child labor has been outlawed in practically all factories; a system of employment exchanges has been created; machinery has been set up and strengthened and successfully used for the mediation of labor disputes. Over them all has been created a shelter of social security, -- a foundation upon which is being built protection [redacted] from the hazards of old age and unemployment.

INSERT I - PAGE #5

You will ~~[illegible]~~ remember that kind of opposition in the campaign of four years ago when certain employers, politicians and newspapers -- all of whom are now active in this campaign -- in an effort to mislead and intimidate labor, went to the extent of putting untrue electioneering notices in pay envelopes in order to ~~sabotage~~ smash the new social security act and force its repeal by electing its enemies.

INSERT II -- PAGE #5

In spite of that opposition the vast majority of our small business men have now become convinced that the gains of labor are the gains of the entire interdependent community, and that the welfare of labor is indispensable to the welfare of all. They know now that their best customer is a satisfied, adequately paid worker with a feeling of security against unemployment and poverty in his old age.

This progress of the last seven years has been difficult. It has been beset by obstruction and by bitter propaganda from certain minority groups in the community who had been accustomed for too many years to the exploitation of the great mass of people who worked for them. It was the same type of opposition to which I had become accustomed during my entire public career, dating back to my first election to the Senate of the State of New York. thirty years ago this Autumn, and continuing through my service for nearly eight years as Assistant Secretary of the Navy, my service during four years as Governor of the largest labor employing State in the Union. (Insert I) That kind of opposition comes only too often from those who ~~for four months every four years~~ regularly for 3 years and 8 months block labor's welfare, and then for 4 months loudly proclaim that they are Labor's true friends ~~but block its welfare for the remaining three years and eight months~~ -- from those who love the laboring man in November but forget him in January. (Insert II)

~~The great progress of the past seven years in the position of labor as an organized force in the community does not mean for a moment that its problems have all been solved.~~ We are still, however, quite distant from the objective which we seek -- the security and the high standard of living for every man, woman and child which the resources and man-power of America make possible.

Our advance has been accomplished with patience and deliberation. That is the democratic way; that is the road which leads to lasting results. Here in America we have kept our feet on the ground; our progress has been steady and sure; we have not been misled by illusory promises. Events abroad have shown too late the result of the other kind of methods -- promises of swift, revolutionary relief; seductive pictures of panaceas; short cuts to prosperity and plenty, pictured as simple and easy -- all of these have led to the same cruel disappointment. For these promises people yielded up their liberties and all that made life dear. In exchange they have received only the rationing of their news, the rationing of their religion, the rationing of the clothes upon their backs, and the rationing of the bread ~~for their mouths~~ upon their tables.

Our progress must continue to be a steady and deliberate one -- we cannot stand still, we cannot slip back. We must look forward to certain definite things in the near future. For example, the benefits of social security should be broadened and extended; unemployment insurance should cover a larger number of workers. Our old age pension system must be improved

and extended; the amount of the pension should be increased, and, above all, these pensions must be given in a manner which will respect the dignity of the life of service and labor which our aged citizens have given to the nation.

It is my hope that soon the United States will have a national system under which no needy man or woman within our borders will lack a minimum old age pension which will provide adequate food, clothing and lodging to the end of the road -- without having to go to the poorhouse to get it. ~~Furthermore,~~ And I look forward to a system which, in addition to this bare minimum, will enable those who have faithfully toiled in any occupation to build up additional security for their old age which will allow them to live in comfort and happiness.

The people must decide whether to continue ~~that~~ the type of government which has fostered the progress to date, or whether to turn it over to those who by their action, if not always by their word, have shown their fundamental opposition to the main objectives toward which we have worked in the past and to which we are definitely committed for the future.

There are some who would not only stop now the progress we are making in social and labor legislation, but would even repeal what has been enacted during the past seven years -- all on the plea that an adequate national defense requires it. They would seek unlimited hours of labor. They would seek lower wages. They would seek the cancellation of those safeguards for which we have all struggled so long.

I still believe, however, as I did when I said on May 26th last: "We must make sure in all that we do that there be no breakdown or cancellation of any of the great social gains which we have made in these past years. ~~We have carried on an offensive on a broad front against social and economic inequalities and abuses which had made our society weak. That offensive should not now be broken down by the pincers movement of those who would use the present needs of physical military defense to destroy it.~~ There is nothing in our present emergency to justify a retreat from any of our social objectives -- conservation of resources, assistance to agriculture, housing, and help to the underprivileged".

Our mighty national defense effort against all present and potential threats cannot be measured alone in terms of

mathematical increase in the number of soldiers and sailors, or guns or tanks or planes. Behind them all must stand a united people whose spiritual and moral strength has not been sapped through hunger or want or fear or insecurity.

I am convinced that a breakdown of existing labor and social legislation would weaken rather than increase our efforts for defense. Continuance of them means the preservation of the efficiency of labor. It means the return to work of several millions still unemployed.

The morale of a people is an essential supplement to their guns and planes. There are in the United States sufficient laboring man-power and adequate resources of capital to construct our defenses without tearing down the standards of wages and hours which have been created. The employment of additional workers and the provisions for over-time payments for over-time work will insure adequate working hours at decent wages to do all that is now necessary in physical defense. We will not overlook the lesson learned in Europe in past years.

At times, internal obstacles to the growth of labor unions have come in those rare instances where the occasional scoundrels have appeared in positions of leadership. Labor unions are not

the only organizations which have to suffer innocently for the crimes and misdeeds of one or two of their selfish and guilty members. The rule applies to all organizations, to all trades and professions alike.

I cannot add to the terms of condemnation which your President, my old friend Dan Tobin, included in his report to your Convention in which he said:

> " . . . It is indeed pitiful and heart-breaking and seriously depressing to find that amongst our enormous membership, composed of clean men, fathers of families, Americans of the purest type -- to find amongst this membership some creatures so bereft of decency and honor as to bring disgrace upon the International Union.
>
> [. . . . There will be amendments drafted to our Constitution and submitted to this convention dealing with such miserable, dishonest, unprincipled scoundrels who have used our organization for criminal purposes, who have gotten in under cover and brought the blush of shame to our honest membership".]

Labor knows that there is no room in the labor movement for the racketeer or the strong-arm man. ~~It knows that entrusting the power of labor to men of ill-repute and evil intent, can bring only discredit and damage to labor itself.~~ Government is determined to help labor unions clean their house of those few persons who have betrayed them. ~~That is another sound way of making labor unions strong in America.~~

The strength of responsible organizations of labor is essential to the strength of the nation in its great and common effort now being made for national defense. To this effort has come an overwhelming response from all groups of citizens in our land -- a response so essential to ultimate security.

In this great crisis has come proof that organized labor, as well as all other groups of our citizens, is aware of its own responsibilities. I have called on representatives of labor to serve, and have placed them in responsible positions to take part in the defense work of their government. From the very start, representatives of labor, including your own distinguished President, have shared in formulating and administering the program. Your own distinguished President, as an Administrative Assistant to the President of the United States and as an expert counselor, has taken a significant part.

I am particularly glad to be able to say that the A.F.L., the C.I.O., and the Railroad Brotherhoods are all loyally cooperating, in this effort, with the National Defense Commission and with the Army and Navy. This cooperation in the task of national defense will, I hope, encourage closer and more friendly relations between these great labor organizations.

I know that America will never be disappointed in its ~~justifiable~~ expectation that labor will always continue to do its share of the job we now face, patriotically and unselfishly.

In our search for national unity as the basis of national defense, it is necessary and it is fair that every human being in the United States contribute his share.

This applies both ~~not only~~ to those who train in the fighting forces and ~~in~~ to the forces of workers behind the lines. It is equally necessary and fair that every dollar of capital in America also contribute its share. Just so long as we continue to call upon men to train for combat, and for service behind the lines, will we also continue to call upon the industrial plants of the nation for the service which they can give.

Capital and industry as well as labor and agriculture are responding; and I know will continue to respond. ~~They all have a direct responsibility in keeping alive a vigorous system of private enterprise under private management, adequate to turn out the implements of war and the implements of peace necessary to a sound defense.~~

The nation, through its elected representatives, is now adopting the principle of selective universal training of its young men. On the same principle, ~~By the same token~~ no reasonable person can object to giving the government the power to acquire the services of any plant or factory for adequate compensation, if the owner refuses to make its services available to the defense needs of the nation. This is nothing new in American life. The principle of eminent domain or eminent use is as old as democratic government itself. It merely permits government to acquire or to use, for a fair and reasonable price, any property which is necessary for its proper functioning.

~~We are committed to the policy of having the~~ The overwhelming majority of our munitions and other defense requirements are manufactured by private enterprise under private management.

PROPOSED INSERT III

Let us have an end to the ~~type~~ sort of appeasement which seeks to keep us helpless, ~~by which seeks to prevent us from helping in every way short of war those who stand between us and attack.~~

by playing on fear and by internal sabotage of all the progress we are making. "Appeasement" is a polite word for misdirected patriotism.

PROPOSED INSERT 3

In all of these plans for national defense, only those who seek to play upon the fears of the American people, discover an attempt to lead us into war. The American people will reject that kind of propaganda of fear, as they have it has rejected similar types which are "occasionally" spread at election time. They know that against the raging forces loose in the world the best defense is the strongest preparedness -- fighting men and equipment in front, and fighting industry and agriculture behind the lines.

Weakness in these days is a cordial invitation to attack. That is no longer theory; it is a proven fact — proved in the past year ~~only a few months old.~~

I hate war now more than ever. I have one supreme determination -- to do all I can to keep war away from these shores for all time. I stand, with my party, upon the platform adopted in Chicago:

> "We will not participate in foreign wars, and we will not send our army, naval or air forces to fight in foreign lands outside of the Americas, except in case of attack".

We continue that ~~policy~~ practice. It is only in the rare, isolated case that the owner of a plant will refuse to deal with his government in a fair way.

But if and when such case does arise, the government cannot stand by, helpless in its efforts to arm and defend itself. No business is above its government; and government should be empowered to deal adequately with any business which tries to rise above its government.

(Proposed Insert 3)

Let home, security for all with total employment is our objective. We look forward to the day when there may be productive use of all our resources. That is the ultimate aim of the program which we have pursued to the present time. We shall not relax in our efforts until that aim is realized. ~~The National Defense Commission said in its recently issued statement on labor policy, "The scope of our present program entails bringing into production many of our unused resources of agriculture, manufacturing and man-power".~~ There is no economy or defense in idle men and idle factories.

In our efforts for national defense, fine teamwork has been developed -- and you teamsters know what that word "teamwork" means.

The continuance of this teamwork, after the present emergency is over, will have consequences of lasting good to the nation as a whole. It will enable us to enjoy an internal security transcending anything heretofore known.

Democracy is the enduring way. It will continue and thrive long after the brutal forces of dictatorship have vanished.

Ours is a great heritage; we are determined with all our effort and might to keep it intact. The workers in the factories, the farmers on the land, and business men in plants and offices are awake to the perils which threaten America. No selfish interest, no personal ambition, no political campaign can sway the majority will of our people to make America strong -- and to keep it free.

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DRAFT #4

SPEECH BY THE PRESIDENT

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SEPTEMBER 11, 1940

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During the past weeks, in several sections of the East, I have been inspecting the progress of our national defense. I have ~~ridden~~ gone through navy yards and private yards to watch the building of destroyers, submarines and aircraft carriers; I have visited aviation units to see our modern fighting planes; I have been in our great gun factories where I have seen the most modern guns of all types, swiftly being molded into shape; I have visited training camps where young Americans are receiving training and instruction in the tactics of the warfare of today. Through it all there was the impressive conviction that America is rising to meet the ever-growing need for an adequate physical armed defense of the country from any threat from abroad.

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power in an emergency definitely call for an active and determined labor force carrying on the processes of industry and trade.

It is one of the characteristics of a free and democratic modern nation that it have free and independent labor unions. In country after country in other lands, labor unions have disappeared as the iron hand of the dictator has taken command. Free labor unions have survived only in free lands. When union workers can assembly in freedom and independence in conventions like this, it is proof that American democracy has remained unimpaired -- and it is symbolic of our determination to keep it free.

Yours is now one of the great international labor unions of America. You can remember, however, other days -- days when labor unions were considered almost unAmerican by some individuals in our land. You can remember when it was almost routine to grant injunctions without notice against labor unions; when it was rare indeed for an employer even to consider collective bargaining with his workers; when it was the common practice to discharge any worker who joined a union. You can remember when employers sought to meet threatened strikes by demanding

that their government -- federal or state -- call out armed troops. You can remember when many large employers resorted to the unAmerican practice -- still unfortunately followed in some sections of the country -- of hiring labor spies and setting up private arsenals to ferret out members of a union.

The cause of labor has come a long way since those days. It has traveled over a road beset with difficulties, both from within its membership and from without. Your own organization is an outstanding example of the progress which has been made. By 1933 your membership had dropped to 70,000. Within the last seven years you have grown to a membership of 500,000.

In those same seven years organized labor as a whole has become stronger in membership, in influence, and in its capacity to serve the interests of the laboring man and woman and of society in general, than at any other time in our history. Much of this progress has been due to the one thing which this Administration, from the very beginning, has insisted upon -- the assurance to labor

of the untrammeled right to organize and to bargain collectively with their employers. That principle has now become firmly inbedded in the law of the land; it must remain as the foundation of industrial relations for all times.

The principle has the support today not only of organized labor as a whole, but also of hundreds of thousands of decent, practical, forward-looking employers. A decade ago a minority of employers were willing to accept the principle of collective bargaining; today the majority of employers gladly adopt it.

And with that foundation, the last seven years have seen a series of laws enacted to give to labor a fair share of the good life to which free men and women in a free nation are entitled as a matter of right. Fair minimum wages are being established for workers in industry; decent maximum hours and days of labor have been set, to bring about an American standard of living and recreation; child labor has been outlawed in practically all factories; a system of employment exchanges has been created; machinery has been set up and strengthened and successfully used for the mediation of labor disputes. Over them all has been created a shelter of social security, -- a foundation upon which is being built protection for workers from the hazards of old age and unemployment.

This progress of the last seven years has been difficult. It has been beset by obstruction and by bitter propaganda from certain minority groups in the community who had been accustomed for too many years to the exploitation of the great mass of people who worked for them. It was the same type of opposition to which I had become accustomed during my entire public career, dating back to my first election to the Senate of the State of New York thirty years ago this Autumn, and continuing through my service for nearly eight years as Assistant Secretary of the Navy, my service during four years as Governor of the largest labor employing State in the Union. (Insert I) That kind of opposition comes only too often from those who for four months ~~every four years~~ loudly proclaim that they are Labor's true friends ~~but block its welfare for the remaining three years and eight months~~ -- from those who love the laboring man in November but forget him in January. (Insert II)

The great progress of the past seven years in the position of labor as an organized force in the community does not mean for a moment that its problems have all been solved. We are still quite distant from the objective which we seek -- the security and the standard of living for every man, woman and child which the resources and man-power of America make possible.

Our advance has been accomplished with patience and deliberation. That is the democratic way; that is the road which leads to lasting results. Here in America we have kept our feet on the ground; our progress has been steady and sure; we have not been misled by illusory promises. Events abroad have shown too late the result of the other kind of methods -- promises of swift, revolutionary relief; seductive pictures of panaceas; short cuts to prosperity and plenty, pictured as simple and easy -- all of these have led to the same cruel disappointment. For these promises people yielded up their liberties and all that made life dear. In exchange they have received only the rationing of their news, the rationing of their religion, the rationing of the clothes upon their backs and the rationing of the bread upon their tables. ~~for their mouths.~~

Our progress must continue to be a steady and deliberate one -- we cannot stand still, we cannot slip back. We must look forward to certain definite things in the near future. For example, the benefits of social security should be broadened and extended; unemployment insurance should cover a larger number of workers. Our old age pension system must be improved

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(Proposed Insert 4)

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PROPOSED INSERT III

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PROPOSED INSERT 3

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PROPOSED INSERT 3

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Weakness in these days is a cordial invitation to attack. That is no longer theory; it is a proven fact only a few months old.

I hate war now more than ever. I have one supreme determination -- to do all I can to keep war away from these shores for all time. I stand, with my party, upon the platform adopted in Chicago:

> "We will not participate in foreign wars, and we will not send our Army, naval or air forces to fight in foreign lands outside of the Americas, except in case of attack".

PROPOSED INSERT III

Let us have an end to the type of appeasement which seeks to keep us helpless -- which seeks to prevent us from helping in every way short of war those who stand between us and attack.

INSERT I - PAGE #5

You will even remember the campaign of four years ago when certain employers, politicians and newspapers -- all of whom are now active in this campaign -- in an effort to mislead and intimidate labor, went to the extent of putting entire electioneering notices in pay envelopes in order to ~~sabotage~~ smash the new social security act and force its repeal.

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INSERT II -- PAGE #5

In spite of that opposition the vast majority of our small business men have now become convinced that the gains of labor are the gains of the entire interdependent community and that the welfare of labor is indispensable to the welfare of all. They know now that their best customer is a satisfied, adequately paid worker with a feeling of security against unemployment and poverty in his old age.

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DRAFT #4

SPEECH BY THE PRESIDENT

INTERNATIONAL BROTHERHOOD OF TEAMSTERS-CHAUFFEURS-STABLEMEN AND HELPERS

SEPTEMBER 11, 1940

MR. TOBIN, MEMBERS OF THE CONVENTION:

During the past weeks, in several sections of the East, I have been inspecting the progress of our national defense. I have ridden through navy yards and private yards to watch the building of destroyers, submarines and aircraft carriers; I have visited aviation units to see our modern fighting planes; I have been in our great gun factories where I have seen the most modern guns of all types, swiftly being molded into shape; I have visited training camps where young Americans are receiving training and instruction in the tactics of the warfare of today. Through it all there was the impressive conviction that America is rising to meet the ever-growing need for an adequate physical armed defense of the country from any threat from abroad.

Tonidht in a very real sense, I feel that as I stand here I am visiting another type of national defense, equally important in its own way in meeting the needs of the times. Enduring strength to a nation and staying

power in an emergency definitely call for an active and determined labor force carrying on the processes of industry and trade.

It is one of the characteristics of a free and democratic modern nation that it have free and independent labor unions. In country after country in other lands, labor unions have disappeared as the iron hand of the dictator has taken command. Free labor unions have survived only in free lands. When union workers can assembly in freedom and independence in conventions like this, it is proof that American democracy has remained unimpaired -- and it is symbolic of our determination to keep it free.

Yours is now one of the great international labor unions of America. You can remember, however, other days -- days when labor unions were considered almost unAmerican by some individuals in our land. You can remember when it was almost routine to grant injunctions without notice against labor unions; when it was rare indeed for an employer even to consider collective bargaining with his workers; when it was the common practice to discharge any worker who joined a union. You can remember when employers sought to meet threatened strikes by demanding

that their government -- federal or state -- call out armed troops. You can remember when many large employers resorted to the unAmerican practice -- still unfortunately followed in some sections of the country -- of hiring labor spies and setting up private arsenals to ferret out members of a union.

The cause of labor has come a long way since those days. It has traveled over a road beset with difficulties, both from within its membership and from without. Your own organization is an outstanding example of the progress which has been made. By 1933 your membership had dropped to 70,000. Within the last seven years you have frown to a membership of 500,000.

In those same seven years organized labor as a whole has become stronger in membership, in influence, and in its capacity to serve the interests of the laboring man and woman and of society in general, than at any other time in our history. Much of this progress has been due to the one thing which this Administration, from the very beginning, has insisted upon -- the assurance to labor

of the untrammeled right to organize and to bargain collectively with their employers. That principle has now become firmly inbedded in the law of the land; it must remain as the foundation of industrial relations for all times.

The principle has the support today not only of organized labor as a whole, but also of hundreds of thousands of decent, practical, forward-looking employers. A decade ago a minority of employers were willing to accept the principle of collective bargaining; today the majority of employers gladly adopt it.

And with that foundation, the last seven years have seen a series of laws enacted to give to labor a fair share of the good life to which free men and women in a free nation are entitled as a matter of right. Fair minimum wages are being established for workers in industry; decent maximum hours and days of labor have been set, to bring about an American standard of living and recreation; child labor has been outlawed in practically all factories; a system of employment exchanges has been created; machinery has been set up and strengthened and successfully used for the mediation of labor disputes. Over them all has been created a shelter of social security, -- a foundation upon which is being built protection for workers from the hazards of old age and unemployment.

This progress of the last seven years has been difficult. It has been beset by obstruction and by bitter propaganda from certain minority groups in the community who had been accustomed for too many years to the exploitation of the great mass of people who worked for them. It was the same type of opposition to which I had become accustomed during my entire public career, dating back to my first election to the Senate of the State of New York, thirty years ago this Autumn, and continuing through my service for nearly eight years as Assistant Secretary of the Navy, my service during four years as Governor of the largest labor employing State in the Union. That kind of opposition comes only too often from those who for four months every four years loudly proclaim that they are Labor's true friends but block its welfare for the remaining three years and eight months -- from those who love the laboring man in November but forget him in January.

The great progress of the past seven years in the position of labor as an organized force in the community does not mean for a moment that its problems have all been solved. We are still quite distant from the objective which we seek -- the security and the standard of living for every man, woman and child which the resources and man-power of America make possible.

Our advance has been accomplished with patience and deliberation. That is the democratic way; that is the road which leads to lasting results. Here in America we have kept our feet on the ground; our progress has been steady and sure; we have not been misled by illusory promises. Events abroad have shown too late the result of the other kind of methods -- promises of swift, revolutionary relief; seductive pictures of panaceas; short cuts to prosperity and plenty, pictured as simple and easy -- all of these have led to the same cruel disappointment. For these promises people yielded up their liberties and all that made life dear. In exchange they have received only the rationing of their news, the rationing of their religion, the rationing of the clothes upon their backs and the rationing of the bread for their mouths.

Our progress must continue to be a steady and deliberate one -- we cannot stand still, we cannot slip back. We must look forward to certain definite things in the near future. For example, the benefits of social security should be broadened and extended; unemployment insurance should cover a larger number of workers. Our old age pension system must be improved

and extended; the amount of the pension should be increased, and, above all, these pensions must be given in a manner which will respect the dignity of the life of service and labor which our aged citizens have given to the nation.

It is my hope that soon the United States will have a national system under which no needy man or woman within our borders will lack a minimum old age pension which will provide adequate food, clothing and lodging to the end of the road -- without having to go to the poorhouse to get it. Furthermore, I look forward to a system which, in addition to this bare minimum, will enable those who have faithfully toiled in any occupation to build up additional security for their old age which will allow them to live in comfort and happiness.

The people must decide whether to continue that type of government which has fostered the progress to date, or whether to turn it over to those who by their action, if not always by their word, have shown their fundamental opposition to the main objectives toward which we have worked in the past and to which we are definitely committed for the future.

There are some who would not only stop now the progress we are making in social and labor legislation, but would even repeal what has been enacted during the past seven years -- all on the plea that an adequate national defense requires it. They would seek unlimited hours of labor. They would seek lower wages. They would seek the cancellation of those safeguards for which we have all struggled so long.

I still believe, however, as I did when I said on May 26th last: "We must make sure in all that we do that there be no breakdown or cancellation of any of the great social gains which we have made in these past years. We have carried on an offensive on a broad front against social and economic inequalities and abuses which had made our society weak. That offensive should not now be broken down by the pincers movement of those who would use the present needs of physical military defense to destroy it. There is nothing in our present emergency to justify a retreat from any of our social objectives -- conservation of resources, assistance to agriculture, housing and help to the underprivileged".

Our mighty national defense effort against all present and potential threats cannot be measured alone in terms of

mathematical increase in the number of soldiers and sailors, or guns or tanks or planes. Behind them all must stand a united people whose spiritual and moral strength has not been sapped through hunger or want or fear or insecurity.

I am convinced that a breakdown of existing labor and social legislation would weaken rather than increase our efforts for defense. Continuance of them means the preservation of the efficiency of labor. It means the return to work of several millions still unemployed.

The morale of a people is an essential supplement to their guns and planes. There are in the United States sufficient laboring man-power and adequate resources of capital to construct our defenses without tearing down the standards of wages and hours which have been created. The employment of additional workers and the provisions for over-time payments for over-time work will insure adequate working hours at decent wages to do all that is now necessary in physical defense. We will not overlook the lesson learned in Europe in past years.

At times, internal obstacles to the growth of labor unions have come in those rare instances where the occasional scoundrels have appeared in positions of leadership. Labor unions are not

the only organizations which have to suffer innocently for the crimes and misdeeds of one or two of their selfish and guilty members. The rule applies to all organizations, to trades and to professions alike.

I cannot add to the terms of condemnation which your President, my old friend Dan Tobin, included in his report to your Convention in which he said:

> " . . . It is indeed pitiful and heart-breaking and seriously depressing to find that amongst our enormous membership, composed of clean men, fathers of families, Americans of the purest type -- to find amongst this membership some creatures so bereft of decency and honor as to bring disgrace upon the International Union. . . . . There will be amendments drafted to our Constitution and submitted to this convention dealing with such miserable, dishonest, unprincipled scoundrels who have used our organization for criminal purposes, who have gotten in under cover and brought the blush of shame to our honest membership".

Labor knows that there is no room in the labor movement for the racketeer or the strong-arm man. It knows that entrusting the power of labor to men of ill-repute and evil intent, can bring only discredit and damage to labor itself. Government is determined to help labor unions clean their house of those few persons who have betrayed them. That is another sound way of making labor unions strong in America.

The strength of responsible organizations of labor is essential to the strength of the nation in its great and common effort now being made for national defense. To this effort has come an overwhelming response from all groups of citizens in our land -- a response so essential to ultimate security.

In this great crisis has come proof that organized labor is aware of its own responsibilities. I have called on representatives of labor and have placed them in responsible positions to take part in the defense work of their government. From the very start, representatives of labor have sharedin formulating and administering the program. Your own distinguished President, as an Administrative Assistant to the President of the United States and as an expert counselor, has taken a significant part.

I am particularly glad to be able to say that the A.F.L., the C.I.O., and the Railroad Brotherhoods are all loyally cooperating, in this effort, with the National Defense Commission. This cooperation in the task of national defense will, I hope, encourage closer and more friendly relations between these great labor organizations.

I know that America will never be disappointed in its justifiable expectation that labor will always continue to do its share of the job we now face, patriotically and unselfishly.

In our search for national unity as the basis of national defense, it is necessary and it is fair that every human being in the United States contribute his share.

This applies not only to those who train in the fighting forces and in the forces of workers behind the lines. It is equally necessary and fair that every dollar of capital in America contribute its share. Just so long as we continue to call upon men to train for combat and for service behind the lines, will we also continue to call upon the industrial plants of the nation for the service which they can give.

Capital and industry as well as labor are responding: and I know will continue to respond. They all have a direct responsibility in keeping alive a vigorous system of private enterprise under private management, adequate to turn out the implements of war and the implements of peace necessary to a sound defense.

The nation, through its elected representatives, is now adopting the principle of selective universal training of its young men. By the same token no reasonable person can object to giving the government the power to acquire the services of any plant or factory for adequate compensation if the owner refuses to make its services available to the defense needs of the nation. This is nothing new in American life. The principle of eminent domain or eminent use is as old as democratic government itself. It merely permits government to acquire or to use for a fair and reasonable price any property which is necessary for its proper functioning.

We are committed to the policy of having the overwhelming majority of our munitions and other defense requirements manufactured by private enterprise under private management.

We continue that policy. It is only in the rare, isolated case that the owner of a plant will refuse to deal with his government in a fair way.

But if and when such case does arise, the government cannot stand by, helpless in its efforts to arm and defend itself. No business is above its government; and government should be empowered to deal adequately with any business which tries to rise above the defense needs of its government.

(Proposed Insert 4)

Security for all with total employment is our objective. We look forward to the day when there may be productive use of all our resources. That is the ultimate aim of the program which we have pursued to the present time. We shall not relax in our efforts until that aim is realized. The National Defense Commission said in its recently issued statement on labor policy, "The scope of our present program entails bringing into production many of our unused resources of agriculture, manufacturing and man-power". There is no economy or defense in idle men or idle factories.

In our efforts for national defense, fine teamwork has been developed -- and you teamsters know what that word "teamwork" means.

The continuance of this teamwork, after the present emergency is over, will have consequences of lasting good to the nation as a whole. It will enable us to enjoy an internal security transcending anything heretofore known.

Democracy is the enduring way. It will continue and thrive long after the brutal forces of dictatorship have vanished.

Ours is a great heritage; we are determined with all our effort and might to keep it intact. The workers in the factories, the farmers on the land, and business men in plants and offices are awake to the perils which threaten America. No selfish interest, no personal ambition, no political campaign can sway the majority will of our people to make American strong -- and to keep it free.

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SPEECH BY THE PRESIDENT

INTERNATIONAL BROTHERHOOD OF TEAMSTERS-CHAUFFEURS-STABLEMEN AND HELPERS

SEPTEMBER 11, 1940

MR. TOBIN, MEMBERS OF THE CONVENTION:

During the past weeks, in several sections of the East, I have been inspecting the progress of our national defense. I have gone through navy yards and private yards to watch the building of destroyers, submarines and aircraft carriers; I have visited aviation units to see our modern fighting planes; I have been in our great gun factories where I have seen the most modern guns of all types, swiftly being molded into shape; I have visited camps where young Americans are receiving training and instruction in the tactics of the warfare of today. Through it all there was the impressive conviction that America is rising to meet the ever-growing need for an adequate physical armed defense of the country.

Tonight in a very real sense, I feel as I stand here that I am visiting another type of national defense, equally important in its own way in meeting the needs of the times. Enduring strength to a nation and staying power in an emergency definitely call for an efficient and determined labor force carrying on the processes of industry and trade. And when I speak of a "labor force" I very definitely include those who toil in their fields as well as those who toil in industry. Teamsters will be the first to assert that farmers labor too.

It is one of the characteristics of a free and democratic modern nation that it have free and independent labor unions. In country after country in other lands, labor unions have disappeared as the iron hand of the dictator has taken command. Only in free lands have free labor unions survived. When union workers can assemble with freedom and independence in conventions like this, it is proof that American democracy has remained unimpaired -- and it is a symbol of our determination to keep it free.

Yours is now one of the great international labor unions of America. You can remember, however, other days -- days when labor unions were considered almost unAmerican by some individuals in our land. You can remember when it was rare indeed for an employer even to consider collective bargaining with his workers; when it was the common practice to discharge any worker who joined a union. You can remember when employers sought to meet threatened strikes by demanding that their government -- federal or state -- call out armed troops. You can remember when many large employers resorted to the unAmerican practice -- still unfortunately followed in some sections of the country -- of hiring labor spies and setting up private arsenals to ferret out members of a union.

The cause of labor has traveled forward since those days, over a road beset with difficulties, both from within its membership and from without. Your own organization is an outstanding example of the progress which has been made.

By 1933 your membership had dropped to 70,000. Within the last seven years you have grown to a membership of 500,000.

In those same seven years organized labor as a whole has become stronger in membership, in influence, and in its capacity to serve the interests of the laboring man and woman and of society in general, than at any other time in our history. Much of this progress has been due to the one thing which this Administration, from the very beginning, has insisted upon -- the assurance to labor of the untrammeled right to organize and to bargain collectively with their employers. That principle has now become firmly imbedded in the law of the land; it must remain as the foundation of industrial relations for all times.

The principle has the support today not only of organized labor as a whole, but also of hundreds of thousands of decent, practical, forward-looking employers. A decade ago a minority of employers were willing to accept the principle of collective bargaining; today the majority of employers gladly adopt it.

And with that foundation, the last seven years have seen a series of laws enacted to give to labor a fair share of the good life to which free men and women in a free nation are entitled as a matter of right. Fair minimum wages are being established for workers in industry; decent maximum hours and days of labor have been set, to bring about an American standard of living and recreation; child labor has been outlawed in practically all factories; a system of employment exchanges has been created; machinery has been set up and strengthened and successfully used for the mediation of labor disputes. Over them all has been created a shelter of social security -- a foundation upon which is being built protection from the hazards of old age and unemployment.

This progress of the last seven years has been difficult. It has been beset by obstruction and by bitter propaganda from certain minority groups in the community who had been accustomed for too many years to the exploitation of the great mass of people who worked for them.

It was the same type of opposition to which I had become accustomed during my entire public career, dating back to my first election to the Senate of the State of New York thirty years ago this Autumn, ~~and~~ continuing through my service for nearly eight years as Assistant Secretary of the Navy, and my service during four years as Governor of the largest labor employing State in the Union.

You will remember that kind of opposition in the campaign of four years ago when certain employers, politicians and newspapers -- all of whom are now active in this campaign -- in an effort to mislead and intimidate labor, went to the extent of putting untrue electioneering notices in pay envelopes in order to smash the new social security act and force its repeal by electing its enemies.

That kind of opposition comes only too often from those who regularly for three years and eight months block Labor's welfare, and then for four months loudly proclaim that they are Labor's true friends -- from those who love the laboring man in November but forget him in January.

In spite of that opposition the vast majority of our small business men have now become convinced that the gains of labor are the gains of the entire interdependent community, and that the welfare of labor is indispensable to the welfare of all. They know now that their best customer is a satisfied, adequately paid worker with a feeling of security against unemployment and poverty in his old age.

We are still, however, quite distant from the objective which we seek -- the security and the high standard of living for every man, woman and child which the resources and manpower of America make possible.

Our advance has been accomplished with patience and deliberation. That is the democratic way; that is the road which leads to lasting results. Here in America we have kept our feet on the ground; our progress has been steady and sure; we have not been misled by illusory promises.

Events abroad have shown too late the result of the other kind of methods -- promises of swift, revolutionary relief; seductive pictures of panaceas; short cuts to prosperity and plenty, pictured as simple and easy -- all of these have led to the same cruel disappointment. For these promises people yielded up their liberties and all that made life dear. In exchange they have received only the rationing of their news, the rationing of their religion, the rationing of the clothes upon their backs, and the rationing of the bread upon their tables.

Our progress must continue to be a steady and deliberate one -- we cannot stand still, we cannot slip back. We must look forward to certain definite things in the near future. For example, the benefits of social security should be broadened and extended; unemployment insurance should cover a larger number of workers. Our old age pension system must be improved and extended;

the amount of the pension should be increased, and, above all, these pensions must be given in a manner which will respect the dignity of the life of service and labor which our aged citizens have given to the nation.

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The people must decide whether to continue the type of government which has fostered the progress to date, or whether to turn it over to those who by their action, if not always by their word, have shown their fundamental opposition to the main objectives toward which we have worked in the past and to which we are definitely committed for the future.

There are some who would not only stop now the progress we are making in social and labor legislation, but would even repeal what has been enacted during the past seven years -- all on the plea that an adequate national defense requires it. They would seek unlimited hours of labor. They would seek lower wages. They would seek the cancellation of those safeguards for which we have all struggled so long.

I still believe, however, as I did when I said on May 26th last: "We must make sure in all that we do that there be no breakdown or cancellation of any of the great social gains which we have made in these past years. . . . . There is nothing in our present emergency to justify a retreat from any of our social objectives -- conservation of resources, assistance to agriculture, housing, and help to the underprivileged".

Our mighty national defense effort against all present and potential threats cannot be measured alone in terms of mathematical increase in the number of soldiers and sailors, or of guns or tanks or planes. Behind them all must stand a united people whose spiritual and moral strength has not been

sapped through hunger or want or fear or insecurity. The morale of a people is an essential supplement to their guns and planes.

I am convinced that a breakdown of existing labor and social legislation would weaken rather than increase our efforts for defense. Continuance of them means the preservation of the efficiency of labor. It means the return to work of several millions still unemployed.

The employment of additional workers and the provisions for over-time payments for over-time work will insure adequate working hours at decent wages to do all that is now necessary in physical defense. We will not overlook the lesson learned in Europe in past years.

At times, internal obstacles to the growth of labor unions have come in those rare instances where the occasional scoundrel has appeared in position of leadership. Labor unions are not the only organizations which have to suffer innocently for the crimes and misdeeds of one or two of their selfish and guilty members. The rule applies to all organizations, to all trades and professions alike.

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> " . . . . It is indeed pitiful and heart-breaking and seriously depressing to find that amongst our enormous membership, composed of clean men, fathers of families, Americans of the purest type -- to find amongst this membership some creatures so bereft of decency and honor as to bring disgrace upon the International Union".

Labor knows that there is no room in the labor movement for the racketeer or the strong-arm man. Government is determined to help labor unions clean their own house of those few persons who have betrayed them.

In this great crisis has come proof that organized labor, as well as all other groups of our citizens, is aware of its own responsibilities. I have called on representatives of labor to serve; ~~and~~ have placed them in responsible positions to take part in the defense work of their government. From the very start, representatives of labor, including your own distinguished President, have shared in formulating and

administering the program.

I am particularly glad to be able to say that the A.F.L., the C.I.O., and the Railroad Brotherhoods are all loyally cooperating in this effort with the National Defense Commission and with the Army and Navy. This cooperation in the task of national defense will, I hope, encourage closer and more friendly relations between these great labor organizations.

I know that America will never be disappointed in its expectation that labor will always continue to do its share of the job we now face, patriotically and unselfishly.

In our search for national unity as the basis of national defense, it is necessary and it is fair that every human being in the United States contribute his share. This applies both to those who train in the fighting forces and to the forces of workers behind the lines.

It is equally necessary and fair that every dollar of capital in America also contribute its share. Just so long as we continue to call upon men to train for combat, and for service behind the lines, will we also continue to call upon the industrial plants of the nation for the service which they can give.

Capital and industry as well as labor and agriculture are responding, and I know will continue to respond.

The nation, through its elected representatives, is now adopting the principle of selective universal training of its young men. On the same principle, no reasonable person can object to giving the government the power to acquire the services of any plant or factory for adequate compensation, if the owner refuses to make its services available to the defense needs of the nation. This is nothing new in American life. The principle of eminent domain or eminent use is as old as democratic government itself. It merely permits government to acquire or to use, for a fair and reasonable price, any property which is necessary for its proper functioning.

The overwhelming majority of our munitions and other defense requirements are now manufactured by private enterprise under private management. We continue that process. It is only in the rare, isolated case that the owner of a plant will refuse to deal with his government in a fair way.

But if and when such case does arise, the government cannot stand by, helpless in its efforts to arm and defend itself. No business is above its government; and government should be empowered to deal adequately with any business which tries to rise above its government.

In all of these plans for national defense, only those who seek to play upon the fears of the American people, discover an attempt to lead us into war. The American people will reject that kind of propaganda of fear, as they have rejected similar types which are "occasionally" spread at election time. They know that against the raging forces loose in the world the best defense is the strongest preparedness --

fighting men and equipment in front, and fighting industry and agriculture behind the lines.

Weakness in these days is a cordial invitation to attack. That is no longer theory; it is a proven fact -- proved in the past year.

I hate war now more than ever. I have one supreme determination -- to do all I can to keep war away from these shores for all time. I stand, with my party, upon the platform adopted in Chicago:

> "We will not participate in foreign wars, and we will not send our army, naval or air forces to fight in foreign lands outside of the Americas, except in case of attack".

Let us have an end to the sort of appeasement which seeks to keep us helpless by playing on fear and by "indirect sabotage" of all the progress we are making. "Appeasement" is a polite word for misdirected partisanship.

In our efforts for national defense, fine teamwork has been developed -- and you teamsters know what that word "teamwork" means.

The continuance of this teamwork, after the present emergency is over, will have consequences of lasting good to the nation as a whole. It will enable us to enjoy an internal security transcending anything heretofore known.

Ours is a great heritage; we are determined with all our effort and might to keep it intact. The workers in the factories, the farmers on the land, and business men in plants and offices are awake to the perils which threaten America. No selfish interest, no personal ambition, yes, no political campaign can sway the majority will of our people to make America strong -- and to keep it free.

Franklin D. Roosevelt

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Orig. reading copy — but there was much "ad lib-ing"

STATEMENTS FILE
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D-51

HOLD FOR RELEASE HOLD FOR RELEASE HOLD FOR RELEASE

September 11, 1940

CAUTION: The following address of the President, to be delivered at Constitution Hall to the International Brotherhood of Teamsters-Chauffeurs-Stablemen and Helpers MUST BE HELD IN CONFIDENCE until released.

NOTE: Release is for editions of all newspapers appearing on the streets NOT EARLIER THAN 9:30 P.M., E.S.T., Wednesday, September 11, 1940. The same applies to radio announcers and news commentators.

CARE MUST BE EXERCISED TO PREVENT PREMATURE PUBLICATION.

STEPHEN EARLY
Secretary to the President

MR. TOBIN, MEMBERS OF THE CONVENTION:

During the past weeks, in several sections of the ~~East,~~ I have been inspecting the progress of our national defense. I have gone through navy yards and private yards to watch the building of destroyers, submarines and aircraft carriers; I have visited aviation units to see our modern fighting planes; I have been in our great gun factories where I have seen the most ~~modern~~ ~~guns~~ of all types, swiftly being molded into shape; I have visited camps where young Americans are receiving training and instruction in the tactics of ~~the~~ warfare ~~of today.~~ Through ~~it~~ all there was the impressive conviction that America is rising to meet the ever-growing need for an adequate physical armed defense of the ~~country.~~

Tonight in a very real sense, I feel as I stand here that I am visiting another type of national defense, equally important in its own way in meeting the needs of the times. Enduring strength to a nation and staying power in an emergency definitely call for an efficient and determined labor force carrying on the processes of industry and trade. And when I speak of ~~a~~ "labor force" I very definitely include those who toil in their fields as well as those who toil in industry. Teamsters will be the first to assert that farmers labor too.

It is one of the characteristics of a free and democratic modern nation that it have free and independent labor unions. In country after country in other lands, labor unions have disappeared as the iron hand of the dictator has taken command. Only in free lands have free labor unions survived. When union workers ~~can~~ assemble with freedom and independence in conventions like this, it is proof that American democracy has remained unimpaired -- ~~and~~ it is ~~symbolic~~ of our determination to keep it free.

Yours is now one of the great international labor unions of America. You can remember, however, other days -- days when labor unions were considered almost unamerican by some individuals in our land. You can remember when it was rare indeed for an employer even to consider collective bargaining with his workers; when it was the common practice to discharge any worker who joined a union. You can remember when employers sought to meet threatened strikes by demanding that their government -- federal or state -- call out armed troops. You can remember when many large employers resorted to the unamerican practice -- still unfortunately followed in some sections of the ~~country~~ -- of hiring labor spies and setting up private arsenals to ferret out members of ~~a~~ union.

STATEMENTS FILE

ShorthandBy Kannee

The cause of labor has traveled forward since those days, ~~over~~ a road beset with difficulties, both from within its membership and from without. Your ~~own~~ organization is an outstanding example of the progress ~~which~~ has been made. By 1933, your membership had dropped to 70,000. Within the last seven years you have grown to a membership of 500,000.

In those same seven years organized labor as a whole has become stronger in membership, in influence, and in its capacity to serve the interests of the laboring man and woman and of society in general, than at any other time in our history. Much of this progress has been due to the one thing ~~which~~ this Administration, from the very beginning, has insisted upon -- the assurance to labor of the untrammeled right to organize, ~~and~~ to bargain collectively with their employers. That principle has now become firmly imbedded in the law of the land; it must remain as the foundation of industrial relations for all time.

~~The~~ principle has the support today not only of organized labor as a whole, but also of hundreds of thousands of decent, practical, forward-looking employers. A decade ago a minority of employers were willing to accept the principle of collective bargaining; today the majority of employers gladly ~~adopt it~~.

And with that foundation, the last seven years have seen a series of laws enacted to give to labor a fair share of the good life to which free men and women in a free nation are entitled as a matter of right. Fair minimum wages are being established for workers in industry; decent maximum hours and days of labor have been set, to bring about an American standard of living and recreation; child labor has been outlawed in practically all factories; a system of employment exchanges has been created; machinery has been set up and strengthened and successfully used for the mediation of labor disputes. Over them all has been created a shelter of social security -- a foundation upon which ~~is being built~~ protection from the hazards of old age and unemployment.

This progress of the last seven years has been difficult. It has been beset by obstruction and by bitter propaganda from certain minority groups in the community who had been accustomed for too many years to the exploitation of the great mass of people who worked for them. It was the same type of opposition to which I had become accustomed during ~~my entire public career, dating back to my first election~~ to the Senate of the State of New York ~~thirty~~ years ago this Autumn, continuing through my service for nearly eight years as Assistant Secretary of the Navy, and my service during four years as Governor of the largest labor employing State in the Union.

You will remember that kind of opposition in the campaign of four years ago when certain employers, politicians and newspapers -- all of whom are now active in this campaign -- in an effort to mislead and intimidate labor, went to the extent of putting untrue electioneering notices in pay envelopes in order to smash the new social security act and force its repeal by electing its enemies.

That kind of opposition comes only too often from those who regularly for three years and eight months block Labor's welfare, and then for four months loudly proclaim that they are Labor's true friends -- from those who love the laboring man in November but forget him in January.

In spite of that opposition the vast majority of our small business men have now become convinced that the gains of labor are the gains of the entire interdependent community, and that the welfare of labor is indispensable to the welfare of all. They know now that their best customer is a satisfied, adequately paid worker with a feeling of security against unemployment and poverty in his old age.

We are still, however, quite distant from the objective ~~which~~ we seek — the security and the high standard of living for every man, woman and child ~~which~~ the resources and man-power of America make possible.

Our advance has been accomplished with patience and deliberation. That is the democratic way; that is the road ~~which~~ leads to lasting results. Here in America we have kept our feet on the ground; our progress has been steady and sure; we have not been misled by illusory promises.

Events abroad have shown too late the result of the other kind of methods -- promises of swift, revolutionary relief; seductive pictures of panaceas; short cuts to prosperity and plenty, pictured as simple and easy — all of these have led to the same cruel disappointment. For these promises people yielded up their liberties and all that made life dear. In exchange they have received only the rationing of their news, the rationing of their religion, the rationing of the clothes upon their backs, and the rationing of the bread upon their tables.

Our progress must continue to be a steady and deliberate one -- we cannot stand still, we cannot slip back. We must look forward to certain definite things in the ~~near~~ future. For example, the benefits of social security ~~should be~~ broadened and extended; unemployment insurance ~~should~~ cover a larger number of workers. Our old age pension system ~~must be~~ improved and extended; the amount of the pension ~~should be~~ increased, and, above all, these pensions must be given in a manner ~~which~~ will respect the dignity of the life of service and labor which our aged citizens have given to the nation.

It is my hope that soon the United States will have a national system under which no needy man or woman within our borders will lack a minimum old age pension ~~which~~ will provide adequate food, clothing and lodging to the end of ~~the road -- without~~ having to go to the poorhouse to get it. And I look forward to a system which, in addition to this bare minimum, will enable those who have faithfully toiled in any occupation to build up additional security for their old age ~~which~~ will allow them to live in comfort and happiness.

The people must decide whether to continue the type of government which has fostered the progress to date, or whether to turn it over to those who by their action, if not always by their word, have shown their fundamental opposition to the main objectives toward which we have worked in the past and to which we are definitely committed for the future.

There are some who would not only stop now the progress we are making in social and labor legislation, but would even repeal what has been enacted during the past seven years -- ~~all~~ on the plea that an adequate national defense requires ~~it.~~ They would seek unlimited hours of labor. They would seek lower wages. They would seek the cancellation of those safeguards for which we have all struggled so long.

I still believe, ~~however~~, as I did when I said on May 26th last: "We must make sure in all that we do that there be no breakdown or cancellation ~~of~~ any of the great social gains ~~which~~ we have made in these past years. . . . . There is nothing in our present emergency to justify a retreat from any of our social objectives -- conservation of resources, assistance ~~to~~ agriculture, housing, and help to the underprivileged".

Our mighty national defense effort against all present and potential threats cannot be measured alone in terms of mathematical increase in the number of soldiers and sailors, ~~or of~~ guns ~~or~~ tanks ~~or~~ planes. Behind them all must stand a united people whose spiritual and moral strength has not been sapped through hunger or want or fear or insecurity. The morale of a people is an essential supplement to their guns and planes.

I am convinced that a breakdown of existing labor and social legislation would weaken rather than increase our efforts for defense. Continuance of them means the preservation of the efficiency of labor. It means the return to work of several millions still unemployed.

The employment of additional workers and the provisions for over-time payments for over-time work will insure adequate working hours at decent wages to do all that is now necessary in physical defense. We will not overlook the lesson learned in Europe in past years.

At times, internal obstacles to the growth of labor unions have come in those rare instances where the occasional scoundrel has appeared in position of leadership. Labor ~~unions~~ are not the only organizations ~~which~~ have to suffer innocently for the crimes and misdeeds of ~~one or two of~~ ~~their~~ selfish and guilty members. The rule applies to all organizations, ~~as~~ all trades ~~and~~ professions alike.

I cannot add to the terms of condemnation which your President, my old friend Dan Tobin, included in his report to your Convention in which he said:

> " . . . . It is indeed pitiful and heart-breaking and seriously depressing to find that amongst our enormous membership, composed of clean men, fathers of families, Americans of the purest type -- to find amongst this membership some creatures so bereft of decency and honor as to bring disgrace upon the International Union".

Labor knows that there is no room in the labor movement for the racketeer or the strong-arm man. Government is determined to help labor unions clean their house of those few persons who have betrayed them.

In this great crisis has come ~~proof~~ that organized labor, as well as ~~all~~ other groups of our citizens, is aware of its own responsibilities. I have called on representatives of labor to serve, ~~and~~ have placed them in responsible positions to take part in the defense work of the government. From the very start, representatives of labor, including your own distinguished President, have shared in formulating and administering the program.

I am particularly glad to be able to say that the A.F.L., the C.I.O., and the Railroad Brotherhoods are all loyally cooperating in this effort with the National Defense Commission and ~~with~~ the Army and Navy. ~~This~~ cooperation in the task of national defense will, I hope, encourage closer and more friendly relations between ~~these~~ great labor organizations.

I know that America will never be disappointed in its expectation that labor will always continue to do its share, of the job we now face, patriotically and unselfishly.

In our search for national unity as the basis of national defense, it is necessary and it is fair that every human being in the United States contribute his share. This applies both to those who train in the fighting forces and to the forces of workers behind the lines.

It is equally necessary and fair that every dollar of capital in America also contribute its share. Just so long as we continue to call upon men to train for combat, and for service behind the lines, will we also continue to call upon the industrial plants of the nation for the service ~~which~~ they can give.

Capital and industry as well as labor and agriculture are responding, and I ~~know will~~ continue to respond.

The nation, through its elected representatives, is now adopting the principle of selective universal training of its young men. On the same principle, no reasonable person can object to giving the government the power to acquire the services of any plant or factory for adequate compensation, if the owner refuses to make its services available to the defense needs of the nation. This is nothing new in American life. The principle of eminent domain or eminent use is as old as democratic government itself. It merely permits government to acquire or to use, for a fair and reasonable price, any property which is necessary for ~~its~~ proper functioning.

The overwhelming majority of our munitions and other defense requirements are now manufactured by private enterprise under private management. We continue that process. It is only in the rare, isolated case that the owner of a plant will refuse to deal with ~~him~~ government in a fair way.

But if and when such case does arise, the government cannot stand by, helpless in its efforts to arm and defend itself. No business is above ~~the~~ government, and government ~~should~~ be empowered to deal adequately with any business ~~which~~ tries to rise above ~~the~~ government.

In all of these plans for national defense, only those who seek to play upon the fears of the American people, discover an attempt to lead us into war. The American people will reject that kind of propaganda of fear, as they have rejected similar types which are "occasionally" spread ~~at~~ election time. They know that against the raging forces loose in the world, the best defense is the strongest preparedness -- fighting men and equipment in front, and fighting industry and agriculture behind the lines.

Weakness in these days is a cordial invitation to attack. That is no longer theory; it is a proven fact -- proved ~~in~~ the past year.

I hate war, now more than ever. I have one supreme determination -- to do all I can to keep war away from these shores for all time. I stand, with my party, ~~upon~~ the platform adopted in Chicago:

> "We will not participate in foreign wars, and we will not send our army, naval or air forces to fight in foreign lands outside ~~of~~ the Americas, except in case of attack".

Let us have an end to the sort of appeasement ~~which~~ seeks to keep us helpless by playing on fear and by indirect sabotage of all the progress we are making. "Appeasement" is a polite word for misdirected partisanship.

In our efforts for national defense, fine teamwork has been developed -- and your teamsters know what that word "teamwork" means.

The continuance of this teamwork, after the present emergency is over, will have consequences of lasting good to the nation as a whole. It will enable us to enjoy an internal security transcending anything heretofore ~~known~~.

Ours is a great heritage; we are determined with all our effort and might to keep it intact. The workers in the factories, the farmers on the land, ~~and~~ business men in plants and offices are awake to the perils ~~which~~ threaten America. No selfish interest, no personal ambition, no political campaign can sway the majority will of our people to make America strong -- and to keep it free.

(90 v 5)

ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT, DELIVERED AT CONSTITUTION HALL TO THE INTERNATIONAL BROTHERHOOD OF TEAMSTERS-CHAUFFEURS-STABLEMEN AND HELPERS, WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 11, 1940, 9:30 P. M., E. S. T.

Mr. Tobin, members of the convention, I am in a sort of quandary tonight.

I don't know whether this is a political speech or not. I don't know because these days if in a certain period of the year you refer in any way to things that happened in the days of George Washington or Abraham Lincoln, or any other period in the past, including the past seven years, it's a great question as to whether you are talking American history or politics.

And so I throw myself upon your indulgence and the indulgence of the radio companies who would in the one case be paid and in the other case not be paid. And I throw myself on the indulgence of the American public. I don't know.

During these past weeks in several sections of the country within an overnight journey of Washington, where I have to stick pretty close, I have been inspecting the progress of our national defense. I have gone through navy yards and private yards to watch the building of destroyers and submarines and aircraft carriers; I have visited aviation units to see our modern fighting planes; I have been in our great gun factories where I have seen the most modern weapons of all types swiftly being molded into shape; I have visited camps where young Americans are receiving training and instructions in the tactics of warfare and the broader tactics of life today. Through all of it there was the impressive conviction that America is rising to meet the ever-growing need for an adequate, physical armed defense of the United States.

Tonight, in a very real sense, I feel as I stand here that I am visiting another type of national defense equally important in its own way in meeting the needs of the times. Enduring strength to a nation and staying power in an emergency definitely call for an efficient and determined labor force carrying on the processes of industry and trade. And when I speak of "labor force" I very definitely include in that those who toil in their fields as well as those who toil in business and industry. I think that teamsters will be the first to assert that farmers labor too.

It is one of the characteristics of a free and democratic modern nation that it have free and independent labor unions. In country after country in other lands, labor unions have disappeared as the iron hand of the dictator has taken command. Only in free lands have free labor unions survived. And when union workers assemble with freedom and independence in a convention like this, it is proof that American democracy has remained unimpaired; it is a symbol of our determination to keep it free.

Yours is now one of the greatest international labor unions of America. You can remember, however, other days, days when labor unions were considered almost un-American by some individuals in our land. You can remember when it was rare indeed for an employer even to consider collective bargaining with his workers; when it was the common practice to discharge any worker who joined a union. You can remember when employers sought to meet threatened strikes by demanding that their government, Federal or State, call out armed troops. You can remember when many large employers resorted to the un-American practice, still unfortunately followed in some sections of the land, of hiring labor spies and setting up private arsenals to ferret out and destroy members of the union.

The cause of labor has traveled forward since those days over a long road, a road beset with difficulties, both from within its membership and from without. Your organization is an outstanding example of the progress that has been made. By 1933, it seems almost like ancient history to me, your membership had dropped in that year to 70,000. Within the last seven years you have grown to a membership of 500,000.

Franklin D. Roosevelt Library

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

In those same seven years organized labor as a whole has become stronger in membership, stronger in influence and stronger in its capacity to serve the interests of the laboring man and woman and of society in general, than at any other time in our whole history. Much of this progress has been due, I like to think, to the one thing that this Administration from the very beginning has insisted upon, the assurance to labor of the untrammeled right, right, not privilege, but right to organize. Yes, the right to bargain collectively with their employers. That principle has now become firmly imbedded in the law of the land; it must remain as the foundation of industrial relations for all time.

That great principle has the support today not only of organized labor as a whole but also of hundreds of thousands of decent, practical, forward-looking employers. A decade ago a minority of employers were willing to accept the principle of collective bargaining; but today I believe the majority of employers gladly accept it.

And with that foundation, the last seven years have seen a series of laws enacted to give to labor a fair share, or perhaps I should say a fairer share, for we haven't gone the length of the road yet, a fairer share of the good life to which free men and women in a free nation are entitled as a matter of right. Fair minimum wages are being established for workers in industry; decent maximum hours and days of labor have been set, to bring about the objective of an American standard of living and recreation; child labor has been outlawed in practically all factories; a system of employment exchanges has been created; machinery has been set up and strengthened and successfully used in almost every case for the mediation of labor disputes. Over them all has been created a shelter of social security, a foundation upon which we are trying to build protection from the hazards of old age and unemployment.

But you and I know that this progress of the last seven years has been mighty difficult. It has been beset by obstructions and by bitter propaganda from certain minority groups in the community who had been accustomed for too many years to the exploitation of the great mass of people who worked for them. It was the same type of opposition to which I had become accustomed a great many years ago, during the very beginnings of what has been a certain amount of varied experience dating back to my first election to the Senate of the State of New York thirty years ago this Autumn, continuing through my service for nearly eight years as Assistant Secretary of the Navy, and my service during four years as Governor of the largest labor-employing State in the union.

You will remember that kind of opposition in the campaign of four years ago -- when certain employers, certain politicians and certain newspapers, all of whom are now active in this campaign, in an effort to mislead and intimidate labor, went to the extent of putting untrue electioneering notices in pay envelopes in order to smash the new Social Security Act and to force its repeal by electing its enemies.

That kind of opposition comes only too often from those who regularly for three years and eight months block labor's welfare, and then for four months loudly proclaim that they are labor's true friends, from those -- may I put it this way -- from those who love the laboring man in November but forget him in January.

In spite of that opposition the vast majority of our small business men have now become convinced that the gains of labor are the gains of the entire interdependent community, and that the welfare of labor is indispensable to the welfare of all. They know now that their best customer is a satisfied, adequately paid worker with a feeling of security against unemployment and against poverty in his old age.

We are still, however, quite distant from the objective we seek -- the security and the high standard of living for every man, woman and child that the resources and man power of America make possible.

Our advance has been accomplished with patience and deliberation. That, I think, is the democratic way; that is the road which leads to lasting results. Here in America we have kept our feet on the ground; our progess has been steady and sure and we have not been misled by illusory promises.

Events abroad -- that's a different story -- have shown too late the result of the other kind of methods, promises of swift, revolutionary relief; seductive pictures of panaceas; short cuts to prosperity and plenty, pictured as simple and easy, all of these have led, and I'm talking recent history, they have led to the same cruel disappointment.

For these promises people yielded up their liberties and all that made life dear. In exchange they have received only the rationing of their news, the rationing of their religion, the rationing of the clothes upon their backs and the rationing of the bread upon their tables.

Our progress must continue to be a steady and deliberate one; we cannot stand still, we cannot slip back. We must look forward to certain definite things in the near future. For example, the benefits of social security should be broadened and extended; unemployment insurance should cover a larger number of workers. Our old-age pension system must be improved and extended; the amount of the pension should be increased, and, above all, these pensions must be given in a manner that will respect the dignity of the life of service and labor which our aged citizens have given to the nation they love.

Yes, it's my hope that soon the United States will have a national system under which no needy man or woman within our borders will lack a minimum old-age pension that will provide adequate food, adequate clothing and adequate lodging to the end of the road and without having to go to the poorhouse to get it. And I look forward to a system coupled with that, a system which, in addition to this bare minimum, will enable those who have faithfully toiled in any occupation to build up additional security for their old age which will allow them to live in comfort and in happiness.

The people must decide whether to continue the type of government which has fostered the progress to date, or whether to turn it over to those who by their action, if not always by their word, have shown their fundamental opposition to the main objectives toward which we have worked in the past and to which we are definitely committed for the future.

There are some who would not only stop now the progress we are making in social and labor legislation, but would even repeal what has been enacted during the past seven years -- on the plea that an adequate national defense requires the repeal. They would seek unlimited hours of labor. They would seek lower wages. They would seek the cancellation of those safeguards for which we have all struggled so long.

I still believe, as I did when I said way back on the twenty-sixth of May last:

> "We must make sure in all that we do that there be no breakdown or cancellation of any of the great social gains that we have made in these past years. * * * There is nothing in our present emergency to justify a retreat from any of our social objectives -- conservation of resources, assistance to agriculture, better housing, and help to the underprivileged."

Yes, our mighty national defense effort that we are engaged in today, all of us, against all present and potential threats, that effort cannot be measured alone in terms of mathematical increase in the number of soldiers and sailors and guns and tanks and planes. Behind them all must stand a united people whose spiritual and moral strength has not been sapped through hunger or want or fear or insecurity. The morale of a people is an essential supplement to their guns and planes.

I am convinced that a breakdown of existing labor and social legislation would weaken rather than increase our efforts for defense. Continuance of them means the preservation of the efficiency of labor. It means the return to work of several millions who are still unemployed.

The employment of additional workers and the provisions for overtime payments for overtime work will insure adequate working hours at decent wages to do all that is now necessary in physical defense. We will not overlook the lesson learned in Europe in past years.

At times we all know that internal obstacles to the growth of labor unions have come in those rare instances where the occasional scoundrel -- it's a good word, old fashioned -- the occasional scoundrel has appeared in a position of leadership. Labor unions are not the only organizations that have to suffer innocently for the crimes and misdeeds of a handful of selfish and guilty members. The rule applies to all organizations, all trades, all professions alike, including the profession of the law, to which I belong.

I cannot add to the terms of condemnation which your president, my old friend Dan Tobin, included in his report to your convention in which he said:

> "* * * * It is indeed pitiful and heartbreaking and seriously depressing to find that amongst our enormous membership, composed of clean men, fathers of families, Americans of the purest type, to find amongst this membership some creatures so bereft of decency and honor as to bring disgrace upon the international union."

Labor knows -- I don't have to tell labor -- labor knows that there is no room in the labor movement for the racketeer or the strong-arm man. Government, your government, is determined to help labor unions clean their own house of those few persons who have tried to betray them.

In this great crisis in the past year, additional proof has come that organized labor, as well as other groups of our citizens, is aware of its own responsibilities. I have called on representatives of labor to serve, and I have placed them in responsible positions to take part in the defense work of their government. From the very start, representatives of labor, including your own distinguished president, have shared in formulating and administering the program.

I am particularly glad to be able to say that the A. F. of L., the C. I. O. and the Railroad Brotherhoods are all loyally cooperating in this effort with me and with the National Defense Commission and with the Army and the Navy. That cooperation in the task of national defense will, I hope, encourage closer and more friendly relations between all of these great labor organizations.

I know that America will never be disappointed in its expectation that labor will always continue to do its share of the job we now face and do it patriotically and effectively and unselfishly.

In our search for national unity as the basis of national defense, it is necessary and it is fair that every human being in the United States contribute his share. This applies both to those who train in the fighting forces and to the great forces of workers behind the lines.

It is equally necessary and fair that every dollar of capital in America also contribute its share. Just so long as we continue to call upon men to train for combat, and to train for service behind the lines, will we also continue to call upon the industrial plants of the nation for the service that they can give.

Capital and industry as well as labor and agriculture are responding and I take it almost for granted that they will continue to respond.

The nation, through its elected representatives -- not just the President all alone, but through the elected representatives in the House of Representatives and the Senate of the United States -- the nation thus represented is now adopting the principle of selective universal training of its young men. On the same principle, no reasonable person can object to giving the government the power to acquire the services of any plant or factory for an adequate compensation, if the owner refuses to make its services available to the defense needs of the nation. And you know this is nothing new in American life. The principle of eminent domain or eminent use, as I prefer to call it, is as old as democratic government itself. It merely permits government to acquire or to use, for a fair and reasonable price, any property, anywhere, which is necessary for the proper functioning of the United States.

The overwhelming majority of our munitions and other defense requirements are now manufactured, as we all know, by private enterprise under private management. And we are continuing that process. It is only in the rare case, the isolated case, that the owner of a plant will refuse to deal with the government in a fair way.

But if and when such a case does arise, the government cannot stand by, helpless in its efforts to arm and defend itself. No business is above government; and government must be empowered to deal adequately with any business that tries to rise above government.

In all of these plans for national defense, only those who seek to play upon the fears of the American people, discover an attempt to lead us into war. The American people will reject that kind of propaganda of fear, as they have rejected similar types which are "occasionally" spread forth near election time. They know that against the raging forces loose in the world today the best defense is the strongest preparedness, fighting men and equipment in front, and fighting industry and agriculture behind the lines.

Weakness in these days is a cordial invitation to attack. That's no longer a theory; it's a proven fact, proved within the past year.

I hate war, now more than ever. I have one supreme determination -- to do all that I can to keep war away from these shores for all time. I stand, with my party, and outside of my party as President of all the people, on the platform, the wording that was adopted in Chicago less than two months ago. It said:

> "We will not participate in foreign wars, and we will not send our Army, naval or air forces to fight in foreign lands outside of the Americas, except in case of attack."

And so I suggest very humbly, let us have an end to the sort of appeasement that seeks to keep us helpless by playing on fear and by indirect sabotage of all the progress that we are making. "Appeasement," incidentally, as I use it, is a polite word for misdirected partisanship.

And so I come near the close: In our efforts for national defense, fine teamwork throughout the nation has been developed, and you who are teamsters in this great organization know what that word "teamwork" means.

The continuance of this teamwork, after the present emergency is all over, will have consequences of lasting good to the nation as a whole. It will enable us to enjoy an internal security that I hope will transcend anything we have known heretofore.

Ours is a great heritage; we are determined with all our effort and all our might to keep it intact. The workers in the factories, the farmers on the land, the business men in plants and offices, are at last awake to the perils that threaten America. No selfish interest, no personal ambition, -- yes, no political campaign, can sway the majority will of our people of America to make America strong -- and to keep America free.

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ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT, DELIVERED AT CONSTITUTION HALL TO THE INTERNATIONAL BROTHERHOOD OF TEAMSTERS-CHAUFFEURS-STABLEMEN AND HELPERS, WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 11, 1940, 9:30 P. M., E. S. T.

Mr. Tobin, members of the convention, I am in a sort of quandary tonight.

I don't know whether this is a political speech or not. I don't know because these days if in a certain period of the year you refer in any way to things that happened in the days of George Washington or Abraham Lincoln, or any other period in the past, including the past seven years, it's a great question as to whether you are talking American history or politics.

And so I throw myself upon your indulgence and the indulgence of the radio companies who would in the one case be paid and in the other case not be paid. And I throw myself on the indulgence of the American public. I don't know.

During these past weeks in several sections of the country within an overnight journey of Washington, where I have to stick pretty close, I have been inspecting the progress of our national defense. I have gone through navy yards and private yards to watch the building of destroyers and submarines and aircraft carriers; I have visited aviation units to see our modern fighting planes; I have been in our great gun factories where I have seen the most modern weapons of all types swiftly being molded into shape; I have visited camps where young Americans are receiving training and instructions in the tactics of warfare and the broader tactics of life today. Through all of it there was the impressive conviction that America is rising to meet the ever-growing need for an adequate, physical armed defense of the United States.

Tonight, in a very real sense, I feel as I stand here that I am visiting another type of national defense equally important in its own way in meeting the needs of the times. Enduring strength to a nation and staying power in an emergency definitely call for an efficient and determined labor force carrying on the processes of industry and trade. And when I speak of "labor force" I very definitely include in that those who toil in their fields as well as those who toil in business and industry. I think that teamsters will be the first to assert that farmers labor too.

It is one of the characteristics of a free and democratic modern nation that it have free and independent labor unions. In country after country in other lands, labor unions have disappeared as the iron hand of the dictator has taken command. Only in free lands have free labor unions survived. And when union workers assemble with freedom and independence in a convention like this, it is proof that American democracy has remained unimpaired; it is a symbol of our determination to keep it free.

Yours is now one of the greatest international labor unions of America. You can remember, however, other days, days when labor unions were considered almost un-American by some individuals in our land. You can remember when it was rare indeed for an employer even to consider collective bargaining with his workers; when it was the common practice to discharge any worker who joined a union. You can remember when employers sought to meet threatened strikes by demanding that their government, Federal or State, call out armed troops. You can remember when many large employers resorted to the un-American practice, still unfortunately followed in some sections of the land, of hiring labor spies and setting up private arsenals to ferret out and destroy members of the union.

The cause of labor has traveled forward since those days over a long road, a road beset with difficulties, both from within its membership and from without. Your organization is an outstanding example of the progress that has been made. By 1933, it seems almost like ancient history to me, your membership had dropped in that year to 70,000. Within the last seven years you have grown to a membership of 500,000.

In those same seven years organized labor as a whole has become stronger in membership, stronger in influence and stronger in its capacity to serve the interests of the laboring man and woman and of society in general, than at any other time in our whole history. Much of this progress has been due, I like to think, to the one thing that this Administration from the very beginning has insisted upon, the assurance to labor of the untrammeled right, right, not privilege, but right to organize. Yes, the right to bargain collectively with their employers. That principle has now become firmly imbedded in the law of the land; it must remain as the foundation of industrial relations for all time.

That great principle has the support today not only of organized labor as a whole but also of hundreds of thousands of decent, practical, forward-looking employers. A decade ago a minority of employers were willing to accept the principle of collective bargaining; but today I believe the majority of employers gladly accept it.

And with that foundation, the last seven years have seen a series of laws enacted to give to labor a fair share, or perhaps I should say a fairer share, for we haven't gone the length of the road yet, a fairer share of the good life to which free men and women in a free nation are entitled as a matter of right. Fair minimum wages are being established for workers in industry; decent maximum hours and days of labor have been set, to bring about the objective of an American standard of living and recreation; child labor has been outlawed in practically all factories; a system of employment exchanges has been created; machinery has been set up and strengthened and successfully used in almost every case for the mediation of labor disputes. Over them all has been created a shelter of social security, a foundation upon which we are trying to build protection from the hazards of old age and unemployment.

But you and I know that this progress of the last seven years has been mighty difficult. It has been beset by obstructions and by bitter propaganda from certain minority groups in the community who had been accustomed for too many years to the exploitation of the great mass of people who worked for them. It was the same type of opposition to which I had become accustomed a great many years ago, during the very beginnings of what has been a certain amount of varied experience dating back to my first election to the Senate of the State of New York thirty years ago this Autumn, continuing through my service for nearly eight years as Assistant Secretary of the Navy, and my service during four years as Governor of the largest labor-employing State in the union.

You will remember that kind of opposition in the campaign of four years ago -- when certain employers, certain politicians and certain newspapers, all of whom are now active in this campaign, in an effort to mislead and intimidate labor, went to the extent of putting untrue electioneering notices in pay envelopes in order to smash the new Social Security Act and to force its repeal by electing its enemies.

That kind of opposition comes only too often from those who regularly for three years and eight months block labor's welfare, and then for four months loudly proclaim that they are labor's true friends, from those -- may I put it this way -- from those who love the laboring man in November but forget him in January.

In spite of that opposition the vast majority of our small business men have now become convinced that the gains of labor are the gains of the entire interdependent community, and that the welfare of labor is indispensable to the welfare of all. They know now that their best customer is a satisfied, adequately paid worker with a feeling of security against unemployment and against poverty in his old age.

We are still, however, quite distant from the objective we seek -- the security and the high standard of living for every man, woman and child that the resources and man power of America make possible.

Our advance has been accomplished with patience and deliberation. That, I think, is the democratic way; that is the road which leads to lasting results. Here in America we have kept our feet on the ground; our progess has been steady and sure and we have not been misled by illusory promises.

Events abroad -- that's a different story -- have shown too late the result of the other kind of methods, promises of swift, revolutionary relief; seductive pictures of panaceas; short cuts to prosperity and plenty, pictured as simple and easy, all of these have led, and I'm talking recent history, they have led to the same cruel disappointment.

For these promises people yielded up their liberties and all that made life dear. In exchange they have received only the rationing of their news, the rationing of their religion, the rationing of the clothes upon their backs and the rationing of the bread upon their tables.

Our progress must continue to be a steady and deliberate one; we cannot stand still, we cannot slip back. We must look forward to certain definite things in the near future. For example, the benefits of social security should be broadened and extended; unemployment insurance should cover a larger number of workers. Our old-age pension system must be improved and extended; the amount of the pension should be increased, and, above all, these pensions must be given in a manner that will respect the dignity of the life of service and labor which our aged citizens have given to the nation they love.

Yes, it's my hope that soon the United States will have a national system under which no needy man or woman within our borders will lack a minimum old-age pension that will provide adequate food, adequate clothing and adequate lodging to the end of the road and without having to go to the poorhouse to get it. And I look forward to a system coupled with that, a system which, in addition to this bare minimum, will enable those who have faithfully toiled in any occupation to build up additional security for their old age which will allow them to live in comfort and in happiness.

The people must decide whether to continue the type of government which has fostered the progress to date, or whether to turn it over to those who by their action, if not always by their word, have shown their fundamental opposition to the main objectives toward which we have worked in the past and to which we are definitely committed for the future.

There are some who would not only stop now the progress we are making in social and labor legislation, but would even repeal what has been enacted during the past seven years -- on the plea that an adequate national defense requires the repeal. They would seek unlimited hours of labor. They would seek lower wages. They would seek the cancellation of those safeguards for which we have all struggled so long.

I still believe, as I did when I said way back on the twenty-sixth of May last:

> "We must make sure in all that we do that there be no breakdown or cancellation of any of the great social gains that we have made in these past years. * * * There is nothing in our present emergency to justify a retreat from any of our social objectives -- conservation of resources, assistance to agriculture, better housing, and help to the underprivileged."

Yes, our mighty national defense effort that we are engaged in today, all of us, against all present and potential threats, that effort cannot be measured alone in terms of mathematical increase in the number of soldiers and sailors and guns and tanks and planes. Behind them all must stand a united people whose spiritual and moral strength has not been sapped through hunger or want or fear or insecurity. The morale of a people is an essential supplement to their guns and planes.

I am convinced that a breakdown of existing labor and social legislation would weaken rather than increase our efforts for defense. Continuance of them means the preservation of the efficiency of labor. It means the return to work of several millions who are still unemployed.

The employment of additional workers and the provisions for overtime payments for overtime work will insure adequate working hours at decent wages to do all that is now necessary in physical defense. We will not overlook the lesson learned in Europe in past years.

At times we all know that internal obstacles to the growth of labor unions have come in those rare instances where the occasional scoundrel -- it's a good word, old fashioned -- the occasional scoundrel has appeared in a position of leadership. Labor unions are not the only organizations that have to suffer innocently for the crimes and misdeeds of a handful of selfish and guilty members. The rule applies to all organizations, all trades, all professions alike, including the profession of the law, to which I belong.

I cannot add to the terms of condemnation which your president, my old friend Dan Tobin, included in his report to your convention in which he said:

> "* * * * It is indeed pitiful and heartbreaking and seriously depressing to find that amongst our enormous membership, composed of clean men, fathers of families, Americans of the purest type, to find amongst this membership some creatures so bereft of decency and honor as to bring disgrace upon the international union."

Labor knows -- I don't have to tell labor -- labor knows that there is no room in the labor movement for the racketeer or the strong-arm man. Government, your government, is determined to help labor unions clean their own house of those few persons who have tried to betray them.

In this great crisis in the past year, additional proof has come that organized labor, as well as other groups of our citizens, is aware of its own responsibilities. I have called on representatives of labor to serve, and I have placed them in responsible positions to take part in the defense work of their government. From the very start, representatives of labor, including your own distinguished president, have shared in formulating and administering the program.

I am particularly glad to be able to say that the A. F. of L., the C. I. O. and the Railroad Brotherhoods are all loyally cooperating in this effort with me and with the National Defense Commission and with the Army and the Navy. That cooperation in the task of national defense will, I hope, encourage closer and more friendly relations between all of these great labor organizations.

I know that America will never be disappointed in its expectation that labor will always continue to do its share of the job we now face and do it patriotically and effectively and unselfishly.

In our search for national unity as the basis of national defense, it is necessary and it is fair that every human being in the United States contribute his share. This applies both to those who train in the fighting forces and to the great forces of workers behind the lines.

It is equally necessary and fair that every dollar of capital in America also contribute its share. Just so long as we continue to call upon men to train for combat, and to train for service behind the lines, will we also continue to call upon the industrial plants of the nation for the service that they can give.

Capital and industry as well as labor and agriculture are responding and I take it almost for granted that they will continue to respond.

The nation, through its elected representatives -- not just the President all alone, but through the elected representatives in the House of Representatives and the Senate of the United States -- the nation thus represented is now adopting the principle of selective universal training of its young men. On the same principle, no reasonable person can object to giving the government the power to acquire the services of any plant or factory for an adequate compensation, if the owner refuses to make its services available to the defense needs of the nation. And you know this is nothing new in American life. The principle of eminent domain or eminent use, as I prefer to call it, is as old as democratic government itself. It merely permits government to acquire or to use, for a fair and reasonable price, any property, anywhere, which is necessary for the proper functioning of the United States.

The overwhelming majority of our munitions and other defense requirements are now manufactured, as we all know, by private enterprise under private management. And we are continuing that process. It is only in the rare case, the isolated case, that the owner of a plant will refuse to deal with the government in a fair way.

But if and when such a case does arise, the government cannot stand by, helpless in its efforts to arm and defend itself. No business is above government; and government must be empowered to deal adequately with any business that tries to rise above government.

In all of these plans for national defense, only those who seek to play upon the fears of the American people, discover an attempt to lead us into war. The American people will reject that kind of propaganda of fear, as they have rejected similar types which are "occasionally" spread forth near election time. They know that against the raging forces loose in the world today the best defense is the strongest preparedness, fighting men and equipment in front, and fighting industry and agriculture behind the lines.

Weakness in these days is a cordial invitation to attack. That's no longer a theory; it's a proven fact, proved within the past year.

I hate war, now more than ever. I have one supreme determination -- to do all that I can to keep war away from these shores for all time. I stand, with my party, and outside of my party as President of all the people, on the platform, the wording that was adopted in Chicago less than two months ago. It said:

> "We will not participate in foreign wars, and we will not send our Army, naval or air forces to fight in foreign lands outside of the Americas, except in case of attack."

And so I suggest very humbly, let us have an end to the sort of appeasement that seeks to keep us helpless by playing on fear and by indirect sabotage of all the progress that we are making. "Appeasement," incidentally, as I use it, is a polite word for misdirected partisanship.

And so I come near the close: In our efforts for national defense, fine teamwork throughout the nation has been developed, and you who are teamsters in this great organization know what that word "teamwork" means.

The continuance of this teamwork, after the present emergency is all over, will have consequences of lasting good to the nation as a whole. It will enable us to enjoy an internal security that I hope will transcend anything we have known heretofore.

Ours is a great heritage; we are determined with all our effort and all our might to keep it intact. The workers in the factories, the farmers on the land, the business men in plants and offices, are at last awake to the perils that threaten America. No selfish interest, no personal ambition, -- yes, no political campaign, can sway the majority will of our people of America to make America strong -- and to keep America free.

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ADDRESS

OF

President Franklin D. Roosevelt

DELIVERED AT

Constitution Hall, Washington, D. C.

TO THE

International Brotherhood of Teamsters — Chauffeurs — Stablemen and Helpers

WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 11, 1940

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ADDRESS OF

President Franklin D. Roosevelt

Delivered at Constitution Hall, Washington, D. C.

to the

International Brotherhood of Teamsters—Chauffeurs—Stablemen and Helpers

Wednesday, September 11, 1940

Mr. Tobin, members of the convention, I am in a sort of quandary tonight.

I don't know whether this is a political speech or not. I don't know because these days if in a certain period of the year you refer in any way to things that happened in the days of George Washington or Abraham Lincoln, or any other period in the past, including the past seven years, it's a great question as to whether you are talking American history or politics.

And so I throw myself upon your indulgence and the indulgence of the radio companies who would in the one case be paid and in the other case not be paid. And I throw myself on the indulgence of the American public. I don't know.

During these past weeks in several sections of the country within an overnight journey of Washington, where I have to stick pretty close, I have been inspecting the progress of our national defense. I have gone through navy yards and private yards to watch the building of destroyers and submarines and aircraft carriers; I have visited aviation units to see our modern fighting planes; I have been in our great gun factories where I have seen the most modern weapons of all types swiftly being molded into shape; I have visited camps where young Americans are receiving training and instructions in the tactics of warfare and the broader tactics of life today. Through all of it there was the impressive conviction that America is rising to meet the ever-growing need for an adequate, physical armed defense of the United States.

Tonight, in a very real sense, I feel as I stand here that I am visiting another type of national defense equally important in its own way in meeting the needs of the times. Enduring strength to a nation and staying power in an emergency definitely call for an efficient and determined labor force carrying on the processes of industry and trade. And when I speak of "labor force" I very definitely include in that those who toil in their fields as well as those who toil in business and industry. I think that teamsters will be the first to assert that farmers labor too.

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command. Only in free lands have free labor unions survived. And when union workers assemble with freedom and independence in a convention like this, it is proof that American democracy has remained unimpaired; it is a symbol of our determination to keep it free.

Yours is now one of the greatest international labor unions of America. You can remember, however, other days, days when labor unions were considered almost un-American by some individuals in our land. You can remember when it was rare indeed for an employer even to consider collective bargaining with his workers; when it was the common practice to discharge any worker who joined a union. You can remember when employers sought to meet threatened strikes by demanding that their government, Federal or State, call out armed troops. You can remember when many large employers resorted to the un-American practice, still unfortunately followed in some sections of the land, of hiring labor spies and setting up private arsenals to ferret out and destroy members of the union.

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And with that foundation, the last seven years have seen a series of laws enacted to give to labor a fair share, or perhaps I should say a fairer share, for we haven't gone the length of the road yet, a fairer share of the good life to which free men and women in a free nation are entitled as a matter of right. Fair minimum wages are being established for workers in industry; decent maximum hours and days of labor have been set, to bring about the objective of an American standard of living and recreation; child labor has been outlawed in practically all factories; a system of employment exchanges has been created; machinery has been set up and strengthened and successfully used in almost every case for the mediation of labor disputes. Over them all has been created a shelter of social security, a foundation upon which we are trying to build protection from the hazards of old age and unemployment.

But you and I know that this progress of the last seven years has been mighty difficult. It has been beset by obstructions and by bitter propaganda from certain minority groups in the community who had been accustomed for too many years to the exploitation of the great mass of people who worked for them. It was the same type of opposition to which I had been accustomed a great many years ago, during the very beginnings of what has been a certain amount of varied experience dating back to my first election to the Senate of the State of New York thirty years ago this Autumn, continuing through my service for nearly eight years as Assistant Secretary of the Navy, and my service during four years as Governor of the largest labor-employing State in the Union.

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Report of General President Daniel J. Tobin

To the Officers and Delegates Attending the Fourteenth Convention of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablemen and Helpers of America.

September 9, 1940

Washington, D. C.

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To the Officers and Delegates Attending the Fourteenth Convention of this International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablemen and Helpers, Washington, D. C., September 9, 1940.

GREETINGS:

It has been my custom in all the years of my service to render a report to the Convention containing references to some of the very important matters that have transpired since our last Convention, and also to make recommendations and give my opinion as to what the future holds for our International Union, and what, in my judgment, this Convention should adopt insofar as the changing of its laws is concerned, in order to perpetuate and continue the International Union. I, therefore, submit this report for your information and consideration.

Since our last Convention, which was held five years ago in the City of Portland, Oreg., remarkable changes have taken place within the labor movement, and especially is this true of our own International Union. During the past five years there have been more remarkable and unthought of changes take place within our membership than in the thirty-five years previous.

This International Union was chartered by the American Federation of Labor about forty-one years ago, under the title of the Team Drivers' International Union. The name of the organization was changed late in 1903 as a result of an amalgamation between the Team Drivers' International Union and the National Teamsters of Chicago. The name of the organization was changed again in 1910 embodying the word "chauffeurs," as a result of the transformation in industry, the motor vehicle coming into existence. It was then called the Teamsters and Chauffeurs International Union. Sometime between the years 1906 and 1909 the word "stablemen" was added to our title. The International Brotherhood at the present time is known throughout the nation and the world under the name of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablemen and Helpers of America. At our last Convention I made a recommendation—which was not adopted by the Convention—that the word "stablemen" be stricken from the title, as it is entirely unnecessary and we have many more important branches of our trade and calling that could be added to the title helpfully and progressively. The garage worker, over whom we have jurisdiction, has taken the place of the stableman, doing all the washing, oiling, greasing, and whatever other work there is in the garages with the exception of strictly mechanical work.

Within the last five years, as all of you have had reason to know, a serious split has taken place in the American Labor Movement, which for a time

appeared as though it would substantially tend towards weakening the organized labor structure of our country. The split arose over a difference of opinion within the bodies of organized workers affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, as to whether purely industrial organization should obtain, or whether the form of organization based on craft unionism should continue. This division or split is still obtaining, and while it is not quite as intense as some two or three years ago, there are certain parts of our country where the fight is bitter and where the officers of the union called the Congress of Industrial Organization, commonly called the C. I. O., have in many instances set aside all principles of fair dealing and have willfully encroached on the organizations chartered and affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. This condition of bitterness prevails very intensely on the western coast, from San Francisco to Seattle. The representative of the C. I. O. in that district, Mr. Bridges, who is a longshoreman by trade, has stepped away from the waterfront and has continually endeavored, with some success, to organize workers away from the waterfront, and in many instances entirely inland. I emphasize this condition for the purpose of explaining to you why I requested from the American Federation of Labor, in the name of the International Union, jurisdiction over warehouse workers. In several districts organizers under the control and direction of Mr. Bridges successfully organized warehouse workers, although under no stretch of the imagination could those warehouse workers away from the waterfront have any bearing or connec-

tion whatever with longshoremen working on ships and boats along the wharves and waterfront of the Pacific coast. We found ourselves on more than one occasion with our trucks standing in front of warehouses, unable to load or unload the trucks. This totally paralyzed the usefulness of our union and our employers, and brought about idleness and discontent amongst our members. As stated above, the situation appeared to be serious, and I believed that it would become more serious as time went on unless we took control of warehouses that stored away the goods we hauled and held them in storage until such time as our trucks again were required to load and distribute those goods. In addition, our members are called upon to help those workers if they are in trouble. I found that the national chain grocery warehouses in many instances were organized and that our drivers working for those chain grocery houses were completely at the mercy of irresponsible representatives of labor under the direction of radicals and representatives of the C. I. O. After many discussions on the part of the American Federation of Labor, on our request, the Executive Council granted our plea for an extension of our jurisdiction, and the convention of the American Federation of Labor approved the action of the Executive Council. As a result, our jurisdiction now, protecting our drivers and employers, extends over warehouses where goods are stored, with the exception of warehouses directly on the waterfront where goods are stored by shipping or railroad companies waiting for transportation. I repeat, warehouses of that kind

would be directly on the waterfront and have to do directly with shipping or railroads.

Therefore, I suggest and recommend to this convention that where the word "stablemen" now appears in our charter title, the word "stablemen" be stricken out and the word "warehousemen" be inserted. Our title would then read "International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Warehousemen and Helpers of America."

You can understand from this that we cannot embody all of the different branches of our trade that are covered by our jurisdiction, as our name would be exceptionally cumbersome and inconvenient if it was any longer than stated herein. We are, however, embodying in our Constitution under the heading "JURISDICTION," all the classes of workers that come under our jurisdiction. This has been changed substantially to meet our present day jurisdictional privileges and rights, if and when the Constitution is adopted and approved by this convention.

During the past five years there has been more favorable legislation adopted by the Congress of the United States than in all the years that have preceded. But the greatest of all legislative acts, in my judgment, has been the National Labor Act, commonly called the Wagner Act. Under this law no employer can discharge a man for belonging to a union. No employer can dictate to a man as to what union he should belong. No employer, or his representative, can form, or in any way encourage,

or permit to function within his employment, any such thing as a company union. And an employer under this law is compelled to recognize as the bargaining agency any organization which fifty-one percent of the employes indicate as their bargaining agency. Those of you who can remember the days when in some instances in order to hold our employment we had to hide our membership in a union, can understand what this legislation means. Those of you also who experienced or had to do with company unions, where the employers dictated who the officers would be and where they fixed and regulated the wage scale and had same accepted by their hirelings, can understand the benefits resulting from the National Labor Act, which abolishes company unions. This is only one piece of legislation that has been exceptionally beneficial and helpful to the workers of the nation; but especially has it been beneficial and helpful and encouraging to our members, who, because of the nature of our employment, suffered so long under the lash of labor-hating employers. Unfortunately because of the division within the ranks of labor we have not been able to claim all the benefits or the full measure of our success from this legislation, and I am afraid that with the division continuing, with the bitterness in the two factions of labor still obtaining, the National Labor Act runs the danger of being destroyed by amendments or repeal. Senators and Congressmen who were helpful in putting through this legislation are now sitting back wondering what they are going to do when the amendments to this Act come up before their legislative bodies. If they vote for the amendments they displease the C. I. O., and if they vote against the amendments they displease the A. F. of L. The friends of Labor in the Congress of the United States are deeply distressed because of this division within Labor, and so are the men of Labor, nearly all of them, deeply distressed because they see the work to which they have given their lives, destroyed, or about to be destroyed, as a result of bitterness and misunderstandings existing within the family of labor, which misunderstandings should and could have been straightened out within the halls of labor if that intensity of purpose and desire which animates labor men in dealing with employers, prevailed in dealing with this subject of division amongst themselves. The cruel part of it is that the rank and file of the trade unionists throughout the country are suffering, and suffering very much, as a result of this division in labor, which seems at this writing to be somewhat hopeless of settlement, although I trust I am mistaken. The millions of workers throughout the nation will undoubtedly suffer if this keeps up much longer and the National Labor Relations Act may be amended somewhat, but you can rest assured the employers with all their machinery are waiting at the doors of Congress with their amendments which would strangle this Act, that they hate more than any law that was ever enacted by the representatives of the people in the governmental halls of the nation.

In addition to the above, I might state that the Supreme Court of the United States has been almost entirely rejuvenated or reconstructed. A ma-

jority of the men on the Court now are progressive, able, courageous and human, and I want to repeat, they know the law and they have due regard for the rights of the workers. It has been my privilege to be present during discussions of labor cases before the Supreme Court of the United States, and the friendly, human interest expressed by the Judges on that all important tribunal is indeed to me a revelation, when it was also my privilege to know the old system where labor was regarded as a commodity and where the men of labor were regarded in the eyes of the Court as almost bordering on, or the next thing to, criminals. It is good, therefore, to have lived to see the change and to experience and understand what labor has been able to do for itself as a result of organization, even in the judicial and legislative fields. And then it is discouraging to feel that because men representing labor disagree, we are every day endangering the conditions and privileges that we have won. There is no excuse for members of labor unions raiding each other's organizations, taking in disgruntled members of another organization, establishing lower wage scales than those prevailing, and performing other acts which are weakening the entire structure of labor, while thousands and thousands of workers continue to be unorganized. I dwell on this serious situation because it is serious, and I call it to your attention because before your next convention meets, whoever will be present, will see fading from them the very conditions that we have fought for and won after years of struggle, unless the division now obtaining within Labor is eliminated.

It is also possible that our Government may interfere, and while I have always been opposed to unnecessary governmental interference, with the present condition obtaining whereby two groups of organized workers destroy industry and inconvenience government, no government can stand idly by and permit such conditions to continue.

Unemployment

May I refresh your memory by saying that during the past five years we have had a serious unemployment condition prevailing. Some statisticians say there have been ten million people unemployed who were able and willing to work. Others say eight million; and still others, for various reasons, say there are more than ten million. I have stated in my radio addresses and in the columns of our JOURNAL that there is no sound authority or any accurate figures on unemployment, that the means and methods employed by statisticians are not dependable and the best they can do is to give an estimate, and the estimates, as far as I have been able to ascertain, are not reliable. Until the census of the United States, recently taken, has been published, with the number of those unemployed for over thirty days—taken into account, we shall not know accurately the exact number out of work during the year ending March 15, 1940. I am, however, of the opinion that the unemployment condition is not nearly as bad now as it was nine months or one year ago. This is due to the pick-up obtaining in every branch of industry, but especially in armaments and defense. It has been

claimed by the government that there is somewhat of a shortage of trained mechanics in many fields of industry. It is unfortunate, however, that the reduction in unemployment should obtain as a result of building additional armaments, which are absolutely necessary for the protection of our country. Some years ago it was our hope and ambition that the millions we were spending for armaments might be reduced, thereby devoting those millions to other fields and purposes of a constructive nature. The world, however, has completely changed within the last year or two and our country must keep pace with the condition of the times, and we must build and build and continue to increase our defenses in man power and in armaments, so that we may have some measure of protection against those whose madness or jealousy or desire for conquest might endanger the safety of our country.

Continuing, however, with the unemployment question, I might add that even though we had a large number of drivers, chauffeurs and helpers out of work, in proportion to our membership, we had less unemployment than any other trade or calling that I know of. For instance, in the building trades for two or three years those several trades in that work were almost entirely out of employment with the exception of two or three months during the summer. In many instances the building trades workmen reduced their wage contracts substantially in order to encourage building and in order to offset bargain labor prices offered by the C. I. O. The printing trades in-

dustry has also been very much depressed as a result of industrial stagnation and because enormous sums for advertising, which in the past were applied to newspapers and magazines, now are being paid for radio advertising. Metal tradesmen and other such classes were also seriously affected by unemployment. I might also state that in many of those organizations their membership has remained the same for the past several years, and in some instances their membership has been reduced. Might I call to your attention right here that, according to the latest statistics from government bureaus, there are almost one million more people employed in our country now than in the boom year of 1929. We have not, however, been able to find employment for those who have come of age in the last eleven years, although our production has been greater in the last twelve months than it was in 1929. Machinery undoubtedly has speeded up production and has eliminated, wherever possible, the use of human hands. You might go into some industries at the present time and you will find a whole floor of machinery operated by the pressing of an electric button. What the future will bring towards the relief of unemployment caused from our population increasing and coming of age and the increased use of machinery, is difficult at this time to answer. One thing is certain; that no country can continue in peace with itself if there are large numbers of people out of employment; and no industry can stand taxation successfully in order to keep on relief an army of several millions of unemployed. Those who follow us in the immediate future will

have to handle carefully and intelligently this serious situation. I repeat, we in our organization, by the reduction of hours over a period of years from twelve to eight per day, and by careful, conscientious work and care for ourselves and our equipment in our employment, have been able to keep down unemployment and to substantially increase and encourage work for our membership. More than two-thirds of our unemployed of two years ago are now working.

Monthly Journal

I have been the Editor of your monthly JOURNAL since I assumed the office I now hold of General President. I have endeavored to give it my personal attention. It is mailed free to the homes and families of each of our members in good standing every month. Our Secretaries and other officers have been willfully negligent in keeping the lists of their members up to date. I have endeavored through my writings to keep before our members the prominent questions confronting the nation and the world. I have never hired special writers and I have been exceptionally careful in preventing any lawsuit emanating from any of the editorials appearing in our magazine, for which your International Union would be responsible and liable. It is difficult and needs extreme care to write matter which will be of sufficient interest to have our membership insist on receiving the JOURNAL each month, and to deal with subjects of a far-reaching nature in government and trade, and keep within the law. However, this has been accomplished. When I first came into office the circulation of our JOURNAL was 15,000 copies per month. Our paid-up membership was between 28,000 and 30,000. The JOURNAL was mailed in bulk to the offices of the unions. In many instances it laid in the office and was never distributed. All that was changed in my time, and the JOURNAL is now mailed to the homes of the mers, as you understand, and our circulation at the present time is almost 300,000 copies per month. In addition to this, it reaches the libraries and educational and governmental institutions of the nation. It is the only means we have of directly contacting our membership and it is, in my opinion, a great asset to the International Union when it is properly conducted and carefully edited. In addition to this, our master employers and educational institutions are continually refreshing their minds with the workings of our organization as a result of the reading of your monthly magazine.

With the other work increasing in the different departments of our International Union, it is becoming more difficult for me to continue my personal writings and management of the JOURNAL. I know of no other International President in the Labor Movement who is the editor of the official publication of his organization. It would be useless and a waste of money, however, to send out the magazine monthly with nothing in it but clippings that are antiquated before it reaches the homes of our members. It would be a cruel waste of time and a destruction of our educational op-

portunities not to make our monthly publication educational, helpful and instructive. It is to be seriously regretted that the Labor Movement of our country stands far behind other great institutions in the education of its members. Might I refer you to the innumerable religious and political publications, and to the enormous amount of literature sent out by manufacturing, business and banking institutions of our country. The Labor Movement lags behind in this, and its excuse in some instances is that labor does not have the funds to educate the millions of workers.

The cost of our JOURNAL is about five cents per copy. This includes labor in our headquarters, machinery and supplies necessary, the cost of paper, and the printing and mailing. When you take this five cents per copy per month out of the small revenue we have, you can fully understand that we have to economize even until it hurts in many instances. I would, however, recommend that the organization continue this publication, as a means of education and as a further means of keeping personal contact with the individual member and his family; but that the Editor, whoever he is in the future, be given power to extend and expand our monthly JOURNAL, even though it increases the expense, because of the absolute necessity of continuing its usefulness to our members and their families. One thing is certain: because of the increased work on the head of this International Union, whomsoever he might be, unless some of his work is delegated to some other person, such as editing the JOURNAL, it is humanly impossible

for him to give the necessary attention required to the many other serious matters continuously confronting our organization such as law cases, Federal legislation, jurisdiction strikes, adverse attacks by writers, publicity, such as public addresses, and many other innumerable but all important duties devolving on him, necessary to protect, preserve, and continue this large International Union, on its onward road to continued progress and advancement. Delegates should bear in mind that only by continued care and vigilance can we advance or even hold what we have. One serious blunder or mistake or bad judgment on the part of your General President, or failure to act with wisdom, courage or determination may set you back or possibly destroy the progress you have made.

Brewery Workers' Jurisdiction Case

Next in importance to the serious split in the ranks of labor caused by the withdrawal from the American Federation of Labor of several International Unions because of the disagreement within the Federation, there has been no more astounding case than that of the Brewery Workers towards the American Federation of Labor, in which the jurisdiction of our International Union was involved. It has never before been known in the history of labor in this or any other country that an Affiliated National Union, chartered and practically created by the American Federation of Labor, would take the parent body into the courts and endeavor to have the courts set aside the decision of the majority rendered in three distinct and

separate conventions of the American Federation of Labor. Not only did the Affiliated Brewery Workers' Union cause an enormous expense to the American Federation of Labor, but if they are to eventually win out in the courts, the very foundation of the American Federation of Labor would be destroyed. Because if the Brewery Workers defeat the parent body, the right to make decisions on all important matters pertaining to labor by the Federation would be destroyed or set aside by the courts.

Since our last convention we have disputed every inch of ground with the Brewery Workers in the courts and elsewhere in order to maintain our jurisdiction as awarded us by the conventions of the American Federation of Labor which has been so often and so plainly stated as follows: "All truck drivers and helpers come under the jurisdiction of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters."

The present status of the case is as follows: In the District of Columbia, when the case was first taken into the Federal Court by the Brewery Workers, a federal judge hearing the case decided in favor of the American Federation of Labor and stated that the Federation was perfectly within its rights in making jurisdiction decisions. The Brewery Workers, not satisfied with this decision and, instead of appealing from the decision to the Court of Appeals, asked for a rehearing and a new trial, on the grounds that they had new evidence. They were granted a new trial and a rehearing.

The judge hearing the case this time set aside the previous decision and sustained the Brewery Workers, and decided against the American Federation of Labor. We then appealed to the Federal Court of Appeals in the District of Columbia, and presented our case. The hearing went on for several days. The court has taken an enormous amount of evidence, submitted orally and in briefs, under consideration, and is reviewing said evidence at this time. We expect a decision within a short time. We are hopeful that the decision will be favorable.

In the meantime, the General Executive Board of your International Union in its meeting in Miami, Florida, in February of this year instructed the General President to notify the American Federation of Labor that if the Brewery Workers were to be continued in affiliation with the American Federation of Labor, the International Brotherhood of Teamsters could not very well sit in convention or associate with them because of the fact that by their actions they had endeavored to destroy the Federation and your Union by asking the courts of the land to set aside the will of the majority of the convention of the American Federation of Labor.

We have, however, continued to pay our per capita tax amounting to $8,000 per month to the Federation.

We have every reason to believe that the Federation will pay strict attention to our position in regard to our remaining in the same affiliated body

with an organization that has used every means within its power to destroy both the Federation and this International Union.

Registration of Emblem and Label

For many years this International Union, having so many other matters to take care of, has failed to register with the Federal Government our International emblem. There are, however, a few states in which the emblem is registered, but only in a very few. Wherever the emblem is not registered, any other individual or organization could duplicate same and be free from legal action. Also, certain products, especially the brewery products that we were hauling, were placed on the "Unfair List" by the Brewery Workers and our membership and other employers were seriously inconvenienced. We also have jurisdiction over the manufacturing of dairy products, such as cheese, ice cream, butter and such food products. It was necessary for us to protect ourselves, now and in the future, to create a label based distinctly on our emblem. We did this and then, in accordance with the laws of the Federation, we applied for approval of said label to the American Federation of Labor. Our label, almost entirely a duplicate our our emblem, was approved by the American Federation of Labor and then by the Label Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor. We then engaged patent attorneys in Washington and proceeded to have our emblem and our label approved by the Patent Office of the Federal Government and registered in each state in the Union.

The Patent Office of the Federal Government has approved our emblem. Our label, however, has been objected to by the Brewery Workers, although it in no way resembles the Brewery Workers' label. It seems the Brewery Workers just take special delight or pleasure in causing us annoyance and expense, and in doing so they most lavishly spend their money with lawyers. The expense and inconvenience involved as a result of the action of the United Brewery Workers and their lawyers have delayed final action by the Patent Office in Washington. However, we are proceeding surely, carefully, and I believe successfully, in having all the requirements complied with and our emblem registered in every state of the Union and our label approved by the United States Patent Office.

The cost of this procedure will run up to ten or twelve thousand dollars, which is another example of increased expense for which our convention made no provision. We are thoroughly convinced, however, that it is money well expended and that this procedure is absolutely necessary to protect our emblem and our label from infringement and duplication by other Unions or independent organizations as time goes on.

The approval by the Government of an emblem endures for a term of eighteen years.

Our Progress Since Last Convention

In the last convention of the International Brotherhood, held in Portland, Oregon, our total membership was 135,000. Our membership for the

first six months of the year 1940 will average close to 450,000. This is our membership in good standing. Undoubtedly there are at least 50,000 men who are two, three and four months in arrears who are members of our organization; so that it is safe to say that there are today in our country 500,000 members in the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, although all of them are not paid up or in good standing, as stated above. But since our last convention we show here at least a gain of 300,000 members over that period; or, to be extremely conservative, let us say we had 135,000 members reported at our last convention, and I can guarantee to you, very conservatively, that we have now more than 450,000 members; which would make a total increase in our membership of 315,000 since our last convention.

Our financial balance as reported in our last convention was $2,242,418. Our financial balance in this convention, at this time, is not less than $6,000,000; making a total gain of somewhere around $3,750,000. No other organization in the history of the American labor movement, in this or any other country, with what it had at its disposal, can show any such report as this or produce any such phenomenal, astounding betterment in its finances or in its general membership. I want to remind you that many organizations in the labor movement went backward in the last five years, while we, this organization of yours, went onward and onward, increasing our membership threefold, and our defense fund is almost three times what it was in 1935, and we paid every

legitimate claim and met every responsibility during that period.

Let me remind you here of the old statement in the Bible of the master and the servant. In this instance you are the master and we are the servants. It was stated, "Because you have been faithful over a few things, I will make you ruler over many." Because we have protected the few pennies you have given us, I desire now to ask you to give us more. While this amount of six million dollars looks enormous, it is nearly all in the defense or strike and lockout fund of the International Union, and in proportion to the increase in our membership your defense per capita isn't even as much with six million dollars as it was when you had 135,000 members five years ago, with $2,242,000 in your defense treasury. This International Union should have a defense fund of from twenty-five to thirty million dollars, and with such a defense fund you would be able to meet any attempt made to destroy you by a group of employers. Do you know that the fact that we have had four or five million dollars in our defense fund during the past three or four years that has been a great help to us? Employers do not desire to enter into combat with an organization with such finances. I trust, therefore, you will see the advisability and the absolute necessity, for your own sake, of building up a stronger and larger defense fund against strikes and lockouts or any attempt to destroy this International Union by the enemies of labor.

The delegates to this convention, who are sent here to make laws to protect the membership at home, should understand that every dollar put into the defense fund is similar to a government building a modern armament in defense of the nation. We must defend, by financial armament, our membership and our unions.

In addition to the above, let me say to you also in this report, that you must increase the moneys of the International Union in your general fund. The general fund takes care of all salaries of general officers and organizers, all office help and office headquarters, all printing and publishing and mailing of the monthly journal; all the per capita tax to the American Federation of Labor, the National Building Trades Department, the Label Trades Department, and any assessments levied by them; all legal expenses of the International Union, which in recent years have been considerable; and all requests for worthy contributions and help which are not covered by the Constitution and which are made to the International Union from time to time. You have not increased the revenue of this International Union since the Cleveland Convention in 1920. The expenses of our government and of every business organization have been quadrupled in these last twenty years. The same is true of the expenses of this International Union. During the past five years we have been compelled by the laws of the American Federation of Labor to pay double tax. In the last twenty years the expenses of this International Union have doubled, but our revenue on each member has remained exactly the same. Don't let yourself be led into the belief that because we have increased our membership we have increased our income to our advantage. This is not true in fact. While the volume of contributions have increased, with each one thousand new members we admit to the general organization, there is that much more responsibility and that much more protection to guarantee. As a matter of fact, for the first year in membership nearly all local unions are a liability, a serious liability. Therefore, we do not guarantee strike benefits until they are six months in affiliation. But in addition to strike benefits they require other help and assistance, such as organizers, correspondence, personal contacts and several other forms of help, including legal guidance. At the end of the six months period or before, because of the poor conditions under which they are working they immediately desire to raise the standard of their wages and reduce their long hours. This is only natural, and because they are dealing with employers who have been unjust and uneducated in the matter of trade unionism, they are usually compelled to strike. We have had further instances during the past five years where we were not permitted under our Constitution and laws to pay strike benefits, but the General Executive Board believing that, in the interest and for the future safety of the International Union it should render financial help, it did render considerable help financially in order to save the unions from destruction in the brave battles they were making for the preservation of their right to organize. I am sure that if any of you had been sitting in the

International headquarters you would have voted to help in such instances, even though you could not do so under the strict letter of the Constitution.

Out of every thirty cents that each member pays the International Union in per capita tax, fifteen cents goes into the defense fund, which is necessary and in accordance with your laws. The other fifteen cents is divided as follows: Two cents goes to the American Federation of Labor; about one-half or three-fourths of a cent is divided between the Building Trades and the Label Trades Departments, which brings down the amount to twelve cents. Five cents, at least, is used for the printing, publishing and mailing of the JOURNAL; which leaves us about seven cents. Out of that seven cents we have to pay all the things enumerated above, including the salaries of officers. During the past five years, in addition to the other departments named herein—and referring again to our increased expenses—we have been compelled to hire, on a guaranteed salary, a lawyer to take care of the affairs of the International Union, to advise us, and to enter into court for us in behalf of the International Union. We have been exceptionally lucky in securing the services of a first-class labor lawyer, and the remuneration we pay is reasonable, but as time goes on and as the work of this lawyer and his large staff will increase substantially, we undoubtedly will be called upon to increase the guaranteed yearly retainer. Because of the innumerable labor laws passed by the Congress of the United States within the last five years, and because it is utterly impossible for the International officers to be running around Washington from one department to another endeavoring to serve our membership and the International Union, we have been compelled to enlarge our branch office of the International Union, for legislative purposes, in the City of Washington. This is also run as economically as possible but the expenses and the help in this office must be increased as time goes on, because you, our members, must fully understand that with the increase in the membership of the International Union the work in each one of its departments, its callings, its claims, and its many entanglements, have also multiplied and increased. When we had 50,000 members we had one-tenth of the work that we have with 500,000. Consequently, if the membership of the organization has increased, as explained herein, you, who are common sense men, must understand that the work of the officers and the International Union also has increased, and that the revenue to maintain this increased work in all its phases must be increased.

Mortuary Benefit

I again come before you and advocate that you establish a mortuary benefit before you leave this convention, and then that you set up a committee with full authority to establish rules and conditions governing this mortuary benefit. If I pursued the course of least resistance and sat back and did nothing but draw my salary, I would refrain from making this plea to every convention since I took office. But because I have gone through the fires of dissension and secession, and because with world conditions as they are at the present

time, dissension and secession may and will surely confront you again, I ask you to establish a mortuary benefit in your International Union for the purpose of helping the member and his family, and solidifying this International Union. It is true that some local unions have benefits, but it is also true that the majority of our local unions have no benefits, and it is also true—and this statement is based on facts—that during the industrial stagnation or panic the savings of local unions were lost or destroyed and the mortuary benefit had to be eliminated. If you can only look at this thing from the standpoint of doing something for the individual member I am sure you will carry out this request. If, for instance, you can give the family of the individual member three or four hundred dollars at the time of death on the payment of $1.25 or $1.50 a year in insurance—is there anything greater or better or more wholesome or Godlike that can be done for your members and their families? We can carry insurance of three, four or five hundred dollars for much less than that same insurance could be carried by an insurance company because we are not in the business to make profits and the cost of operation would be only a small percentage of what it costs an insurance company to operate. Suppose your local union has a death benefit of three or four hundred dollars. What a wonderful service you would be doing the individual member if there were three or four hundred dollars more coming to the family of the deceased member. It is not that the International Union is desiring to make any profit in this proceeding. It is a matter in

which the International Union is endeavoring, through your President, to help the locals and the individual members and strengthen this International. Directly and indirectly, by having a death benefit in the International Union, every individual member and the immediate members of his family become deeply interested in the preservation and continuation of the International Union. It will also help to keep members diligent in the payment of their dues. Suppose you could encourage every one of your members today in your unions to take out an insurance of three or four hundred dollars, what a great help in the hour of darkness when death comes to a family, it would be to have accomplished this. This is the way you must look at the establishment of a mortuary benefit. Don't look at it as though you were doing something for the International Union, financially, although I am sure that every one of you here represented must be proud of your International Union and determined that you will do everything to perpetuate and continue its solidarity.

Organizing

Since our last convention I have placed on the permanent payroll of the International Union many organizers; in fact, we have nearly doubled our force. We have to try out our men, test them, prove them, before it is agreed they shall be continuously employed. It is very difficult to get the right kind of man to serve the International Union. A man may be a good man in his home town as a local representative, and may be entirely inadequate and unfit to be an International representa-

tive. I think you will agree with me, because it is the consensus of opinion amongst all labor men and amongst our business people, that we have as good a class of organizers as a whole as can be found in any organization. I must have the means to increase this force in proportion to the increase in our membership, because while we have reported here an increase of over 300,000 members in the last five years, we are yet far from being organized. There are at least 300,000 more wage earning truck drivers throughout the nation that can be and will be organized if you will give me and my assistants the necessary funds to carry on this work. Don't misunderstand this statement, that the General President can afford to promise you or any local any position or consideration in the line of appointment of organizers. You must depend upon the judgment of your General President, whoever he might be, in the future as you have in the past, to select the right kind of men to serve the International Union, and the entire responsibility for the appointment and continued actions of the organizers must be placed solely on the shoulders of the General President. I have never sought power and never desired power, because power brings responsibility. Sometimes I wish I physically and mentally was constituted so that I could pursue the course of "take it easy," as is the slang of the street; but you cannot do this and give to the organization the service it demands and needs. It is not all accidental that your organization has grown as it has. It has not only grown financially and numerically, but it has accumulated and obtained a more substantial asset, the

asset of good will, respect and confidence of public officials, of business interests with whom we come in contact, and it has acquired the admiration of the entire labor movement of our country. Even those who have left the American Federation of Labor, who are not affiliated with us, respect and admire the International Brotherhood of Teamsters. They know that we have played the game squarely and honorably.

Defending International. Adverse Writers; Expelling Wrongdoers

Ten years ago you increased the salaries of your officers. You have been generous, sufficiently generous to command the respect and admiration of all other organizations of labor. I sincerely hope you believe that measuring service dollar for dollar I have endeavored to give you back all that I could in return for your kindness and consideration. Your name and your honor has been defended by me throughout the nation, in the legislative halls of our country and in the executive governmental chambers and judicial halls of the nation. While glaring, antagonistic writers have endeavored to smear the name of our International Union, it has been somewhat difficult at times to make the millions of honest men and women of our country understand that the honor and dignity and faithfulness and respect of the thousands of members that constitute our membership, are beyond reproach. Newspaper writers and columnists are read extensively, and their stories printed when it is difficult, impossible, even though you are innocent, to get an answer published by the papers

carrying cruel and bitter misrepresentation of the organizations of labor. It is indeed pitiful and heart-breaking and seriously depressing to find that amongst our enormous membership, composed of clean men, fathers of families, Americans of the purest type—to find amongst this membership some creatures so bereft of decency and honor as to bring disgrace upon the International Union. One or two so-called cheap racketeers in New York, Chicago, Cleveland, Detroit, or some other large city, are advertised throughout the nation, so that the impression is thrown out that the International Union is composed mainly of this kind of degenerate. There will be amendments drafted to our Constitution and submitted to this convention, dealing with such miserable, dishonest, unprincipled scoundrels who have used our organization for criminal purposes, who have gotten in under cover and brought the blush of shame to our honest membership; and I trust this convention will adopt those amendments. Of course, with an organization of a half million members, there are bound to be two or three or a half dozen scoundrels whose ancestry and environment breeds crime and degeneracy. When the employers hire those men we admit them into the union, and when they become officers and disgrace the International Union there is no one regrets it more than the rank and file of our honest members and no one is humiliated more than your General President. Therefore, provisions should be made to give no quarter to such criminals when they are found to be criminals, and no quarter to any local union that refuses to expel them from

membership when they are found guilty of committing disgraceful acts which bring dishonor to the International Union.

Unionism—Freedom and Democracy in Danger

This is a troubled, serious time in the history of our country and in the history of the world. On May 13, 1940, I delivered an address over the radio from the City of Washington and I said in that address, which was published in our official Journal, that at the ending of this war, no matter who the victor is, the countries engaged in the war will be so impoverished as a result of the destruction obtaining that men and women in all those countries will be forced into a condition almost bordering on slavery. As it appears to me now, that condition will obtain and will have a serious effect on our beloved United States. Call him what you will —a monster or conqueror has trampled on the free and democratic governments of Europe, and wherever he has conquered, he has crushed the people of those countries into a condition even worse than slavery. There is no safety even for the individual or the country that complies with the unmentionable conditions laid down of employment and servitude. On the least suspicion men and women are destroyed without trial or consideration. Over three hundred national labor officials and perhaps four thousand local officials have been secretly destroyed in Germany since the coming to power of the present leadership. It is safe to say that the people of Holland, Belgium, Poland, France, and those other countries that are subjected to the cruelties of the conqueror, will be treated even

worse than those of Germany. When the Dictator Hitler started on his rampage of destruction immediately after coming into power, the first thing accomplished by him and his machine was to destroy the labor organizations, which were then strong, healthy, and enormously beneficial to the workers. And his next act was to remove by imprisonment, punishment or death, labor leaders who had the courage and patriotism to protest against the destruction of their liberties. The funds and properties of all trade unions and their officials were confiscated. Capital in all the countries conquered by Hitler and his partners will also be confiscated, and no capitalist in Germany, Poland, Holland, France or Czechoslovakia can protest against the decisions of a government who tells business men what they must accept—or else. If they protest, they are incarcerated or destroyed. All the wealth of those countries has been taken over by the masters in order to satisfy the plundering and ravaging of this destroyer of human rights. They know no God except their own ambitions. They know nothing of humanity except the mad thirst to destroy. Whence will this lead our own country? Already billions have been appropriated by our government to increase our defenses. Those billions must come out of taxation. Increased taxation will increase operating expenses, thereby increasing the cost of production. The Dictators, supervising the industrial life of the countries of Europe, will have the power to make men and women work for any kind of wages they see fit to establish. It will not be a question of wages and hours for the workers of those conquered and trampled countries. It will be a question of getting enough to eat and being permitted to live in some form of safety, although in semi-slavery. The manufactured products of those countries will be dumped on the shores of every country in the American continent. Our manufacturers will not be able to compete with those slave manufactured goods. What I fear is not an open attack immediately from the enemy, but I fear a destruction of our markets at home and in the adjacent countries. As far as our markets in European and Asiatic countries are concerned, it is safe to say they are now or will be practically destroyed. Free labor cannot compete with slave labor. Our South American markets will be the goal of the dictators of Europe. It is only human that men and countries buy wherever they obtain the best bargains. Where is our high priced labor and our fair manufacturers going to be under those circumstances? If an industry cannot sell its manufactured products at some advantage or some profit, it will either cease to manufacture or endeavor to reduce its operating expenses. American labor has not been trained to accept setbacks. A general attempt made to reduce wages in order to hold part of the markets of our own and other countries will bring about serious disturbances in the labor organizations of our nation. It is possible that within the next two or three years serious stoppages of work will take place in an endeavor to prevent substantial reductions in wages, especially in employments that are underpaid. I call this serious condition to your consideration now so that you might prepare not only to defend yourself

through thorough organization, but to educate your representatives and to train your mind to meet unpleasant conditions which may result at the ending of this conflict in Europe. At this writing there is only one country left that is fighting for the civilization that it has taken two thousand years to establish. If that country goes under—I refer to Great Britain and her colonies—then you can rest assured that mankind and womankind will be set back to a condition too terrible to contemplate at the present time.

Caution by Labor Necessary

Whatever I say in this report is for your advice and guidance, and in the hope that it may have some effect on your minds so that you can conduct your affairs when you leave here, to the end that you will be able to protect the interests of your union.

Our organizations have it in their blood that every time a wage contract expires there must be an increase in wages in the new contract. I now state to you that there is a point of saturation for wages and hours, and that if you go beyond that point, or even if you reach that point in some instances, you can rest assured if you go any further you will destroy the employment and thereby destroy yourselves. Those of us who worked twelve hours a day never thought we could establish the eight-hour day. Those of us who received twelve dollars a week never believed we could establish an almost universal wage of thirty-five to forty dollars per week. Still we find our members are not satisfied, and the pity of it all is that we find

officers who will not courageously advise their members that they are treading on dangerous ground in demanding conditions and wages that the industry cannot carry. We have had more than one experience where railroads have marked down the hauling of freight in order to recapture the work our truck drivers were doing. This was brought about because the truck drivers insisted on a wage that the truckmen could not carry and compete with the railroads. Yes, I understand, there are chiseling, unfair employers.

In this report I have referred to the building trades organizations, and as a member of the Executive Council of the National Trades Department, I repeat to you that in many trades in the building industry they retarded their own employment by raising their wages beyond a reasonable point; and that now, within the last year, they are reconsidering many of those wage contracts, and especially in suburban districts are they substantially reducing their wage scales.

Let us profit by the mistakes that others have made. A real representative of labor, or a real executive board of any local union is a board that stands together, fighting not to hold the men back but to hold their membership safely, with their feet on the ground, and not agree with them or go along with them when they demand the impossible. There should be an amendment to this Constitution, not empowering but compelling the International Union to put out of office local officers of our unions who encourage and foster and incite the

membership towards asking for impossible conditions, thereby risking the destruction of the employment and the union. I have also been a business agent of a local union. I have served in many representative capacities for labor during the past forty years, and I have found that the rank and file will eventually strongly support the representative of labor who has the courage to lay the bare facts before the members, even though he disagrees with the majority. If we are selected as representative officers for any reason at all, it is because we have something in us in the form of leadership and courage. Honesty and simplicity, or craftiness and an attitude of saying nothing are not entirely the qualities that make men leaders or that are beneficial to those they represent. It takes courage to disagree with men, even in their own interests. One of the weaknesses today amongst our local officers is the predominant desire to play the game safely for themselves and pursue the course of least resistance. Show me the men who have represented our unions for years without opposition, and I will prove to you that those men were leaders in the strict sense of the word and not men who just played their own game. If we are chosen to lead, we must lead, and from our experience and intelligence direct our people along the roads to safety to themselves and their families.

Officers—Term of Office—Local Elections

For the information of this convention let me remind the delegates that for many years we held our conventions more frequent than once every five years. After each convention we had considerable

trouble, and, as you know and as I have stated in our monthly magazine, to call a convention is an enormous expense to the local unions and to our International Union. When the proper persons are elected and you have sound management, you need not be disturbed about the period of our convention. There should, however, be in the Constitution authority given to a majority of the Executive Board to call a special convention if any emergency arises within the nation or within the International Union. There should also be embodied in the Constitution a clause giving power to the General President—subject to the approval of the General Executive Board—to remove all officers who are not serving in their positions in accordance with the laws laid down by our International Union, or officers who are doing anything detrimental or injurious to the International Union after a fair trial. If, in the case of the General President, he violates his oath and obligation to the International Union, power should be given to a majority of the General Executive Board to remove him after he is proven unfit or guilty of charges preferred.

My reason for bringing this matter to your attention now after a period of many, many years, is to remind you that some local unions have taken advantage of the fact that the conventions of the International Union are held once every five years, and they want to extend the term of office for local officers to five years. This procedure was never contemplated by those who drafted our Constitution. The International Constitution states clearly

that nominations for local union officers shall be held at the first meeting in December. It does not say every December, but that was what was intended. I have not been enforcing the Constitution along those lines, but I now repeat that it was never intended to apply the International laws and rules governing International conventions, to local unions. If you desire to change the present law governing the term of office of local union officials, then you should change it here in this convention and make it more clear. It is my judgment that if local unions, through their by-laws, will protect themselves by having the power within their executive board to remove any and all officers who are unfaithful to their position or who bring disgrace upon the organization, after said officer is given an honest and fair trial, with the right of appeal in accordance with the general Constitution—I repeat, it is my judgment that local unions should be permitted to elect their officers for a longer period than one year if they so decide by their unions and amend their local laws accordingly. But in no instance should elections obtain for a longer period than three years in any local union. It is not the same case holding an election in a local union as it is in the International Union, for this reason. The members are living in the vicinity and the cost is very little usually; and there are other substantial reasons why there can be no comparison between elections in local unions and in International organizations. At any rate, it is your duty in this convention to clarify the Constitution on this point.

Financial Records of International Union

Newspapers and special writers often refer to the financial affairs of International Unions and International officers, and they pick out some extreme individual case to vilify. They never publish the fact that ninety-nine and one-half per cent of International Unions and local unions have extremely strict laws dealing with their financial affairs. For example, this International Union, under its laws, require all local unions to audit their books once a month and send copy of audit to International office and if International suspects anything wrong, it may order its own qualified auditor into the local and investigate and audit the local's books. The General President of your International is authorized and ordered by our Constitution to see to it that our International trustees (three in number), elected by our conventions, come to the International office once every six months and audit the books of the International and make a signed report to him. In addition to this the General President must hire an expert public registered accountant (not a member of our Union), and he must, once every three months, four times a year, audit the financial affairs of the International Union, visit the banks, safe deposit boxes, etc., and check up and verify our bank deposits and properties and make a sworn statement of his findings to the International President. In addition we furnish a copy of this statement to all our local unions and also the General Secretary-Treasurer is properly bonded, and any person of authority representing any lawful body can come

to our General offices and can look at our books or seek any financial information of our affairs he is authorized to seek.

Every dollar received by the International Union, every penny expended by the International Union or its officers is scrupulously accounted for. Every organizer or officer must make out an itemized statement each month of his expenses and same must be approved after it is reviewed by the General President or his assistant, before the Secretary-Treasurer can forward check for same. This is our law. Do you hear or read of special writers or newspapers commending us? No. They only write about the extreme, very rare cases where things are not done just right. That's news, they say. We desire no appreciation, we are entitled to no praise. This is a business institution as well as a labor union. Might I remind you that during all the financial disaster from 1929 to 1934 and the following years, we had received and handled millions of your moneys and one dollar was never lost in any bank or in any investment. I defy any business institution in America to show any better or even an equal record of sound banking or business ability.

Jurisdiction

It has, indeed, been a great honor and a great privilege for me to be your International President in all the years of the past. There has been dark hours and dangerous situations surrounding my position which it would not be either beneficial or elevating to embody in this report. There has

been, however, hours of triumph and pride and glory and achievement, which have more than recompensed your President for the inconveniences and the setbacks and sometimes the bitterness that we have experienced. We touch every trade and calling on the American continent, and because of this we have had innumerable disputes with other labor organizations. Most of them we have settled as best we could, because we believe that settlements in the labor world are better than continued serious, destructive disagreements. I will not refer to the many jurisdictional questions here because I have referred to them in the monthly magazine, whose pages I have used for enlightening our membership on those matters. But I want to say to you that we are not yet free from jurisdictional misunderstanding. As I have stated above, we touch every trade and calling, and for that reason, with the industrial form of organization permeating the minds of some of the so-called craft unions in recent years, other organizations besides the C. I. O. are stepping out and endeavoring to grab off, for the small monetary consideration involved, truck drivers who properly come under our jurisdiction. We must be on the alert. We must be mindful and watchful, and we must determine in our local unions to fight with every ounce of energy we have, to fight honestly and within the law, to protect our organization and its jurisdiction from encroachments by any other union. As it is admitted by all that no organization of labor has done as much for its members as has this International Union, there should be no difficulty in getting men to agree that truck drivers and helpers

of every description must be ours, because by all the laws and decisions of labor, that jurisdiction belongs to us. It is not our intention to encroach on any other organization, and it is not our intention to allow any other organization to encroach on us. If you do your share, as I believe you will, in your respective districts, then if there is some of the work to be done by the International Union, I know you will agree with me that we will do our share in the future as we have done in the past. For thirty-three years I have been fighting to protect this International Union and its jurisdiction. That was my job and my duty, before the councils of American labor. I have done so, and I will leave it for you to decide whether or not I could have done more. Results speak for themselves. And today you are gathered here in a convention in the citadel of the nation, the capital not only of the United States, but of the world, representing the largest organization in membership and in influence in this country; an organization that has done more for its individual members than any other known organization in the world, an organization that has raised the employment of its members from a condition of slavery and contempt, from a condition which created hatreds and disease —I repeat, you have raised that membership and their employment to a position of notable citizenship, clean living, and respect in the eyes of the nation, so far beyond our wildest anticipations and expectations of thirty years ago that it is impossible to find language to describe accurately the improvements brought about through this militant International Union. Millions of dollars have been

added to the wages of our members during the past five years. Better service has been given the employers. Education has prevailed extensively through our unions and through the many forms of literature adopted and transmitted within our unions. You, our representatives, who have helped in the past, must continue this work in the future. It would be impossible for me, or any other individual whom you may choose, to accomplish the things that I have helped to bring about were it not for the faithful and unselfish assistance given to me by the officers of our local and international organization. I tender them my sincere thanks and deepest gratitude.

Closing

In closing let me say to you that great as have been our accomplishments in the past, bitter and cruel and unfair as the fight has been against you, the dangers confronting you in the future are even greater. I have referred in this report only as slightly as I could to what I believe is in store for us and for all the workers of America, in the future. I desire to impress upon you to regard your positions and your organizations seriously and to be prepared for the conflict, which may be slightly postponed but which is bound to come. Working together, standing shoulder to shoulder, one solid mass of organized real Americans, fighting for the rights of each other, guided by common sense and a spirit of fair dealing, refusing to be led by the rabble or by the disturbing elements within our society, I am sure we will be able to meet our enemies; and because right and justice are our guid-

ing stars, that unseen power that protects just men will lead us on to victory, and those same stars will preserve us against the destruction that has befallen the honest, faithful workers and trade unionists of many other countries. I hope and trust and pray that your deliberations in this momentous all-important convention will be of such a nature that you will legislate to the end that when this convention adjourns you will have strengthened its foundation to such an extent that we will go forward and onward to greater victories and achievements, and when we turn over this organization to those that follow us, we will give them the banner of this International that we found trampled in the dust, raised, floating high, beaming in God's golden sunshine, this banner that was washed in the blood of many of our members; this banner that has brought us freedom, and, using the words of the immortal Canadian, before his death on the battlefield of France we shall command them to:

Take up our quarrel with the foe,
To you from fallen hands we throw,
This flag be yours, so hold it high,
If you prove false to us who die
We shall not sleep though poppies grow
In Flanders' Field.