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**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**

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**File No. 1380**

**1941 September 1**

**Labor Day Address - F.D.R. Office**

RADIO ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT  
LABOR DAY  
SEPTEMBER 1, 1941

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On this day -- this American holiday -- we celebrate  
the rights of free laboring men and women.

The preservation of these rights is now vitally  
important not only to us who enjoy them -- but to the whole  
future of Christian civilization.

American labor now bears a tremendous responsibility  
in the winning of this most brutal, most terrible of all wars.

In our factories and shops and arsenals we are building  
weapons on a scale great in its magnitude. To all the battle  
fronts of the world these weapons are being dispatched, by  
day and by night, over the seas and through the air. And  
this nation is now devising and developing new weapons of  
unprecedented power toward the maintenance of democracy.

Why are we doing this? Why are we determined to devote our entire industrial effort to the prosecution of a war which has not yet actually touched our own shores?

We are not a warlike people. We have never sought glory as a nation of warriors. We are not interested in aggression. We are not interested -- as the dictators are -- in looting. We do not covet one square inch of the territory of any other nation.

Our vast effort, and the unity of purpose which inspires that effort, are due solely to our recognition of the fact that our fundamental rights -- including the rights of labor -- are threatened by Hitler's violent attempt to rule the world.

These rights were established by our forefathers on the field of battle. They have been defended -- at great cost but with great success -- on the field of battle, here on our own soil, and in foreign lands, and on all the seas all over the world.

There has never been a moment in our history when Americans were not ready to stand up as free men and fight for their rights.

In times of national emergency, one fact is brought home to us, clearly and decisively -- the fact that all of our rights are interdependent.

The right of freedom of worship would mean nothing without freedom of speech. And the rights of free labor as we know them today could not survive without the rights of free enterprise.

That is the indestructible bond that is between us -- all of us Americans: Interdependence of interests, privileges, opportunities, responsibilities -- interdependence of rights.

That is what unites us -- men and women of all sections, of all races, of all faiths, of all occupations, of all political beliefs. That is why we have been able to defy and frustrate the enemies who believed they could divide us and conquer us from within.

These enemies all know that we possess a strong Navy -- gaining in strength. They know that that Navy -- as long as the Navies of the British Empire and the Netherlands and Norway and Russia exist -- can together guarantee the freedom of the seas. These enemies know that if these other Navies are destroyed, the American Navy cannot now, or in the future, maintain the freedom of the seas against all the rest of the world.

These enemies know that our Army is increasing daily in its all-round strength.

These enemies know that today the chief American fighters in the battles now raging are those engaged in American industry, employers and employees alike.

These enemies know that the course of American production in the past year has shown enormous gains and that the product of these industries is moving to the battle fronts against Hitlerism in increasing volume each day.

But these enemies also know that our American effort is not yet enough -- and that unless we step up the total of our production and more greatly safeguard it on its journeys to the battlefields, these enemies will take heart in pushing their attack in old fields and new.

I give solemn warning to those who think that Hitler has been blocked and halted, that they are making a very dangerous assumption. When in any war your enemy seems to be making slower progress than he did the year before, that is the very moment to strike with redoubled force -- to throw more energy into the job of defeating him -- to end for all time the menace of world conquest and thereby end all talk or thought of any peace founded on a compromise with evil itself.

And we know that a free labor system is the very foundation of a functioning democracy. We know that one of the first acts of the Axis dictatorships has been to wipe out all the principles and standards which labor has been able to establish for its own preservation and advancement.

Trade union is a forbidden philosophy under these  
rule or ruin dictators. For trade unionism demands full  
freedom of expression and peaceful assembly. Trade  
unionism has helped to give to every one who toils the  
position of dignity which is his due.

The present position of labor in the United States  
as an interdependent unit in the life of the nation has  
not come about by chance. It has been an evolutionary  
process of a healthy democracy at work.

Hitler has not worked that way. He will not -- he  
cannot work that way. Just as he denies all rights to  
individuals, he must deny all rights to groups -- of labor,  
of business, of learning, of the church. He has abolished  
trade unions as ruthlessly as he has persecuted religion.

No group of Americans has realized more clearly what  
Nazi domination of the world means than has organized labor --  
what it means to their standard of living, their freedom --

their lives. No group has a greater stake in the defeat of Nazism, in the preservation of the fundamental freedoms, in the continuance of democracy throughout the world.

We have already achieved much; it is imperative that we achieve infinitely more.

The singlemindedness and sacrifice with which we jointly dedicate ourselves to the production of the weapons of freedom will determine in no small part the length of the ordeal through which humanity must pass.

We cannot hesitate, we cannot equivocate in the great task before us. The defense of America's freedom must take precedence over every private aim and over every private interest.

We are engaged on a grim and perilous task. Forces of insane violence have been let loose by Hitler upon this earth. We must do our full part in conquering them. For these forces may be unleashed on this nation as we go about our business of protecting the proper interests of our country.

The task of defeating Hitler may be long and arduous. There are a few appeasers and Nazi sympathizers who say it cannot be done. They even ask me to negotiate with Hitler -- to pray for crumbs from his victorious table. They do, in fact, ask me to become the modern Benedict Arnold and betray all I hold dear -- my devotion to our freedom -- to our churches -- to our country. This course I have rejected -- I reject it again.

Instead, I know that I speak the conscience and determination of the American people when I say that we shall do everything in our power to crush Hitler and his Nazi forces.

American workers and American farmers, American businessmen and American churchmen -- all of us together -- have the great responsibility and the great privilege of laboring to build a democratic world on enduring foundations.

May it be said on some future Labor Day by some  
future President of the United States that we did our  
work faithfully and well.

Franklin Roosevelt

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Orig. reading copy.

President Franklin D. Roosevelt

RADIO ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT  
LABOR DAY  
SEPTEMBER 1, 1941

On this day -- this American holiday -- we (celebrate) are  
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The preservation of these rights is (now) vitally important  
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American labor now bears a tremendous responsibility in the win-  
ning of this most brutal, most terrible of all wars.

In our factories and shops and arsenals we are building weapons  
on a scale great in its magnitude. To all the battle fronts of (the)  
this world these weapons are being dispatched, by day and by night, over  
the seas and through the air. And this nation is now devising and develop-  
ing new weapons of unprecedented power toward the maintenance of democracy.

Why are we doing this? Why are we determined to devote our  
entire industrial effort to the prosecution of a war which has not yet  
actually touched our (own) shores?

We are not a warlike people. (We have) We've never sought glory  
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These rights were established by our forefathers on the field

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 added extemporaneously 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.

united to support each other -- need to have one or two for each

one set of circumstances such as a stand you would receive

from him to another man, when you want to gain  
another gathering up of algebras has again the reference to all

(but) to start off we have the references all of those which are no  
more than what we had, because when we have the same kind  
of course the gathering up of another will not -- the old enough has been off  
you come to consideration of prime reason because the answer was yet  
not given at Berlin which we are told which we are told

for you had gone over to halfcrossing off of little individual cases

periods (now) you before all others  
giving answer when we all (first off) aligned ourselves to the old  
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and gives you off off -- unified at -- was interested off us -- Roosevelt

gives radio who is questioned off to local groups  
concerning the United States to whom off has, little case in

that the last part off to distinguish the off vision off our, little case  
should off Roosevelt off -- total to original and sufficient -- original lesson

other off also off United States radio

off off as established two of Redliners were right about

of battle. They have been defended -- at great cost but with great success -- on the field of battle, here on our own soil, and in foreign lands, and on all the seas all over the world.

(There has) There's never been a moment in our history when Americans were not ready to stand up as free men and fight for their rights.

In times of national emergency, one fact is brought home to us, clearly and decisively -- the fact that all of our rights are interdependent.

The right of freedom of worship would mean nothing without freedom of speech. And the rights of free labor as we know them today could not survive without the rights of free enterprise.

That is the indestructible bond that is between us -- between all of us Americans: Interdependence of interests, privileges, opportunities, responsibilities -- interdependence of rights.

That is what unites us -- men and women of all sections, of all races, of all faiths, of all occupations, of all political beliefs. That is why we have been able to defy and frustrate the enemies who believed that they could divide us and conquer us from within.

These enemies all know that we possess a strong Navy -- a Navy gaining in strength. They know that that Navy -- as long as the Navies of the British Empire and the Netherlands and Norway and Russia exist -- can together guarantee the freedom of the seas. These enemies know also that if these other Navies are destroyed, the American Navy cannot now, or in the future, maintain the freedom of the seas against all the rest of the world.

These enemies know that our Army is increasing daily in its all-round strength.

These enemies know that today the chief American fighters in the

battles now raging are those engaged in American industry, employers and employees alike.

These enemies know that the course of American production in the past year has shown enormous gains and that the product of these industries is moving to the battle fronts -- the battle fronts against Hitlerism in increasing volume each day.

But these enemies also know that our American effort is not yet enough -- and that unless we step up the total of our production and more greatly safeguard it on its journeys to the battlefields, these enemies will take heart in pushing their attack in (old) fields--old and new.

I give solemn warning to those who think that Hitler has been blocked and halted, that they are making a very dangerous assumption. When in any war your enemy seems to be making slower progress than he did the year before, that is the very moment to strike with redoubled force -- to throw more energy into the job of defeating him -- to end for all time the menace of world conquest and thereby end all talk or thought of any peace founded on a compromise with evil itself.

And we know that a free labor system is the very foundation of a functioning democracy. We know that one of the first acts of the Axis dictatorship(s) has been to wipe out all the principles and standards which labor (has) had been able to establish for its own preservation and advancement.

Trade unionism is a forbidden philosophy under these rule or ruin dictators. For trade unionism demands full freedom of expression and peaceful assembly. Trade unionism has helped to give to every one who toils the position of dignity which is his due.

The present position of labor in the United States as an inter-

dependent unit in the life of the nation has not come about by chance. It has been an evolutionary process of a healthy democracy at work.

Hitler has not worked that way. He will not -- he cannot work that way. Just as he denies all rights to individuals, he must deny all rights to groups -- groups of labor, (of) or business -- groups of learning, of the church. He has abolished trade unions as ruthlessly as he has persecuted religion.

No group of Americans has realized more clearly what Nazi domination of the world means than has organized labor -- what it means to their standard of living, their freedom -- their lives. No group has a greater stake in the defeat of Nazi-ism, in the preservation of the fundamental freedoms, in the continuance of democracy throughout the world.

We have already achieved much; it is imperative that we achieve infinitely more.

The singlemindedness and sacrifice with which we jointly dedicate ourselves to the production of the weapons of freedom will determine in no small part the length of the ordeal through which humanity must pass.

We cannot hesitate, we cannot equivocate in the great task before us. The defense of America's freedom must take precedence over every private aim and over every private interest.

Yes, we are engaged on a grim and perilous task. Forces of insane violence have been let loose by Hitler upon this earth. We must do our full part in conquering them. For these forces may be unleashed on this nation as we go about our business of protecting the proper interests of our country.

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Instead, I know that I speak the conscience and determination of the American people when I say that we shall do everything in our power to crush Hitler and his Nazi forces.

American workers, (and) American farmers, American businessmen, (and) American church(men) people -- all of us together -- have the great responsibility and the great privilege of laboring to build a democratic world on enduring foundations.

May it be said on some future Labor Day by some future President of the United States that we did our work faithfully and well.

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AS SPOKEN FOR THE NEWSREELS

American labor now bears a tremendous responsibility in the winning of this most brutal, most terrible of all wars. In our factories and shops and arsenals we are building weapons on a scale great in its magnitude. To all the battle fronts of the world these weapons are being dispatched, by day and by night, over the seas and through the air. And this nation is now devising and developing new weapons of unprecedented power toward the maintenance of democracy.

\* \* \* \* \*

In times of national emergency, one fact is brought home to us, clearly and decisively -- the fact that all of our rights are interdependent. The right of freedom of worship, for example, would mean nothing without freedom of speech. And the rights of free labor as we know them today could not survive without the rights of free enterprise. That is the indestructible bond that is between us -- all of us Americans: Inter-dependence of interests, and privileges, and opportunities, and responsibilities -- interdependence of rights. That is what unites us -- unites men and women of all sections, of all races, of all faiths, of all occupations, (of) and all political beliefs. That is why we have been able to defy and frustrate the enemies who believed that they could divide us and conquer us from within.

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I give solemn warning to those people who think that Hitler has been blocked and halted, that they are making a very dangerous assumption. When in any war your enemy seems to be making slower progress than he did the year before, that is the very moment to strike with redoubled

force -- to throw more energy into the job of defeating him -- to end for all time the menace of world conquest and thereby end all talk or thought of any peace founded on a compromise with evil itself.

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FIRST DRAFT

RADIO ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT

September 1, 1941

My Friends:

On this Labor Day, we again celebrate together  
a national holiday set aside to honor the free laboring  
people of a free republic.

Ours is among the few lands where freedom can  
still be enjoyed, where men can still walk with dignity,  
where churches, press and trade unions are not held in  
the iron vise of dictatorship.

During these last three terrible years, you and  
I have seen the great labor movements of the European  
democracies blown out like candles in a hurricane. With-  
out warning, striking more like hired assassins than a  
civilized army, the Nazi forces have bombed and burned  
their fearful path across a continent, leaving behind the  
wreckage of men's homes and the wreckage of man's liberty.

One nation after another has hoped that it along  
might escape this terrible fate; one after another they  
have perished.

You and I together have worked to build a better  
life in our free America. All that we have accomplished  
is today threatened. We must, therefore, turn momentarily

Hillman  
Draft

aside from the great, constructive tasks that lie before us in order to defend what we have against the most deadly assault America has ever faced.

This is a crisis of the common man. His right to survival, security and freedom over the long generations to come hang in the uncertain balance of battle. The triumph of Hitlerism would mean a world in which trickery, deceit and ruthlessness replaced the Golden Rule. The triumph of Hitlerism would mean a world in which the majority of men -- the men of the Americas included -- would be doomed from birth to serve as vassals of a self-appointed master nation. The triumph of Hitlerism would mean that man's freedom to think, to speak and to choose his life's work would be replaced by enforced obedience to a world tyrant responsible neither to God nor to the people. The triumph of Hitlerism would mean, finally, that the vast, expanding powers of science and technology would be devoted, not to the free development of human life, but to its organized destruction.

There can be no middle ground of compromise between Hitlerism and Americanism.

FIRST DRAFT

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On this Labor Day, millions of working people in the bombed and pillaged countries of Europe are turning toward America with a new hope of deliverance. Their cause is also our cause. We shall continue to keep faith with them lest we break faith with ourselves. On their heroism and on our determination to supply them with those modern arms, without which heroism is of no avail, the future of the world will largely depend.

An incessant and steadily augmenting supply of planes, tanks and other implements of war is already rolling from America's arsenals to the farflung battle-fields of democracy.

We have already achieved much; it is imperative that we achieve infinitely more.

The singlemindedness and sacrifice with which we jointly dedicate ourselves to the production of the weapons of freedom will determine the length of the ordeal through which humanity must pass.

We cannot hesitate, we cannot equivocate in the great task before us. The defense of America's freedom

must take precedence over every private aim and over every private interest.

The American industrialist and the American worker, are both indirect combatants in the great battles now raging to determine whether the world shall be dedicated to freedom or slavery.

Neither of these combatants is bound by military law. The industrialist is free to earn profits; the worker is free to bargain collectively for a decent wage. The fabric which protects the rights and status of each remains unimpaired despite the gravity of the national emergency.

But sacrifices must be made.

No civilization was ever preserved without sacrifice. And no civilization was ever worth preserving if those who enjoyed its benefits refused to give up some of the good things in life in order that it might endure.

You and I know that the road ahead is difficult, and that, in the coming months, economic burdens will increase, rather than diminish. But we also know that we are sacrificing only a little in order to preserve a heritage that is priceless.

FIRST DRAFT

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Ours is not a civilization which glories in war and destruction. The mammoth scientific resources which man has created through centuries of painful search must ultimately be destined, not for the indiscriminate annihilation of life, but for the enrichment of life.

This is the task of tomorrow.

We must plan so that no American worker need fear that the end of the emergency will bring idle mills, unemployment and insecurity.

We all must see to it that the factories which are today producing the implements of defense will tomorrow produce the implements of an abundant life. The transition from war production to peace production must be smooth and coordinate. The techniques of that transition are being planned even now.

One thing is certain.

The democracies will not win the war in order to lose the peace.

America has a continuing responsibility toward the rest of the world.

When the last bomber has been driven from

FIRST DRAFT

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European and Asian skies, the devastated nations of the Old World will turn to the Americas for succour. We shall give generously of our great stores of foodstuffs and of the products of our unparalleled industrial power in order that democratic life across the Atlantic and Pacific may again revive and flourish. By binding the wounds of war, we will contribute materially to the maintenance of full production and full employment within the United States.

We shall actively take part in the economic rehabilitation of a war-torn world. This is a matter, not only of justice, but of obvious self-interest. America cannot flourish as an oasis of freedom in an encroaching desert of war and dictatorship. It can and shall flourish as an integral and vital part of a free and prosperous world community.

The duty of reconstruction will not fall upon governments alone. We conceive that the terms and conditions of a durable and just peace must be based on popular approval and public consent. Organized labor, jointly with other representatives of the national interest, will be called

F FIRST DRAFT

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upon to participate in the work of rebuilding a democratic world on firm and unassailible foundations.

History has given our generation a mighty task. It is a task both of fortifying our hemisphere for freedom and of equipping those heroic armies across the seas that will in the not distant future roll back the tidal wave of tyranny.

We Americans have been hardened in the crucible of three great wars, spanning one and a half centuries, and each waged for the preservation of freedom. We have not failed our ideals in the past. We shall not fail them now.

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THIRD DRAFT

On this day -- this American holiday -- we celebrate the rights of free laboring men and women in our free democracy.

The preservation of these rights is now vitally important not only to us who enjoy them -- but to the whole world -- the whole future of Christian civilization.

American labor, American industry, American engineering genius, now bear a tremendous responsibility in the winning of this most brutal, most terrible of all wars.

In our factories and shops and arsenals we are building weapons of destruction, on a scale overwhelming in its magnitude. To all the battle fronts of the world these weapons are being dispatched, by day and by night, over the seas and through the air. And <sup>has</sup> this adventurous, inventive nation, which devised and developed so much through its inventive and productive genius ~~many of the modern weapons of war as the machine gun, the submarine, the ironclad battleship, the airplane -- this nation is now devising and developing new weapons of unprecedented power towards the elimination of democracy.~~. Why are we doing this? Why are we determined to devote our entire national energy and industrial effort to the prosecution of a war which has not yet actually touched our own shores?

We are not a warlike people. We have never sought glory as a nation of warriors. We are not interested in aggression. We are not interested -- as the dictators are -- in looting. We do not covet one square inch of the territory of any ~~one~~<sup>other</sup> ~~of our~~ neighbors -- and all men and all nations are ~~one~~ neighbors in this shrinking world of today and tomorrow. We are dedicated to the objective of restoration -- of fair sharing in all the abundant resources with which this earth has been blessed by divine Providence.

Our vast effort, and the unity of purpose which inspires that effort, are due solely to our recognition of the fact that our fundamental rights -- including the rights of labor -- are threatened by ~~Holmes~~ <sup>attempt to rule the world.</sup> violent [red-handed, cold-blooded gangsters.]

These rights were established by our forefathers on the field of battle. They have been defended -- at great cost but with great success -- on the field of battle, here on our own soil, and in foreign lands, and on all the seas... *all over the world,*

There has never been a moment in our history when Americans were not ready to stand up as free men and fight for their rights.

In times of national emergency, one fact is brought home to us, clearly and decisively -- the fact that all of our rights are

interdependent.

The right of freedom of worship would mean nothing without freedom of speech. And the rights of free labor as we know them today could not survive without the rights of free enterprise.

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That is what unites us -- men and women of all sections, of all races, of all faiths, of all occupations, of all political beliefs. That is why we have been able to defy and frustrate the enemies who believed they could divide us and conquer us from within.

Today these enemies know that we possess a Navy, strong enough to guarantee the freedom of the seas and constantly gaining in strength.

They know that our Army is increasing day by day in size, in striking power and in spiritual determination.

~~all those engaged in our industry - employers and employees~~  
~~They know that our industrialists and our workers are~~  
~~fighters~~  
~~actual combatants in the battles now raging to determine whether~~  
~~the world shall be dedicated to slavery or to freedom.~~

And we know that a free labor system is the very foundation

of a functioning democracy. ~~Without~~ <sup>it</sup> there could not be a real democ-

~~ican Army or our American Navy as American industry.~~

We know that one of the first acts of ~~the~~ <sup>the</sup> dictator-  
ship has been to wipe out all the principles and standards which labor  
has been able to establish for its own preservation and advancement.

~~Trade unionism, by which labor lives and flourishes,~~ is a  
~~forbidden philosophy under a dictatorship.~~ For trade unionism demands  
full freedom of expression and assembly. Trade unionism has ~~been able~~ <sup>helped</sup> <sub>the</sub>  
to give to every one who toils/position of dignity which is his due.

~~For trade unionism has given collective strength to workers in bargain-~~  
~~ing with their employers. Here and in Great Britain and in every other~~  
~~free democracy, trade unionism has produced a relationship between~~  
~~capital and labor based on justice and fair dealing and negotiation,~~  
~~rather than the individual needs and necessities of a single individual~~  
~~looking for a job.~~

The present position of labor in the United States as an  
interdependent unit in the life of the nation has not come about by  
chance. ~~nor has it come about as the result of dictation from the~~  
~~head of government.~~ It has been an ~~explosive~~, evolutionary process of  
a healthy democracy at work -- ~~along with its growth perhaps, but clear~~

[The situation.]

in its recognition of [realities]. Government has done its part in  
furthering this growth, by safeguarding the right of every individual  
to organize with his fellows and to act collectively in the common  
interest.

*Hitler*

[Dictatorships] have not worked that way. They will not --  
they can not work that way. Just as they deny all rights to individuals,  
they must deny all rights to groups -- of labor, of business,  
of learning, of religion. They have abolished trade unions as ruthlessly as  
they persecuted religious groups, and fraternal organiza-  
tions.

The power of the dictator -- and indeed his life -- depend  
on the denial of all rights so that every individual shall be wholly  
subject to the omnipotent will of the leader *(his handful of  
hand-picked followers.)*

No group of Americans has realized more clearly what Nazi  
domination of the world means, than has organized labor -- what it  
means to their standard of living, their freedom -- their lives.  
No group has a greater stake in the defeat of Nazism, in the preser-  
vation of the fundamental freedoms, in the continuance of democracy  
throughout the world.

*E* We must face the fact that considerable public indignation

*Frank D.*

~~has been aroused by strikes in defense industries.~~

~~Many Americans have drawn comparisons between the perpetrators of these strikes and the quality of the loyalty and devotion and unselfishness displayed by the men of our armed forces.~~

~~Actually, the extent and the seriousness of these strikes has been [wildly] exaggerated. A picket line in front of one factory is front-page news -- whereas hundreds of thousands of workers sticking to their jobs in thousands of factories are not news.~~

~~[On two conspicuous occasions, your Government has been compelled [reluctantly] to intervene forcibly in the settlement of labor disputes. In all other cases the legitimate machinery of negotiation has sufficed -- and the industry of America has rolled~~

~~on.]~~

~~It will continue to roll.~~

~~[Labor has shown its willingness to give its full share of the sacrifice which all of us, as an aroused and united people, are giving to the cause to which we are forever consecrated -- the cause of freedom.]~~

~~X We are dependant upon one another. In each union there~~

is unflagging and unconquerable strength.

We are engaged on a grim and perilous task. Forces of  
*by Hitler*  
insane violence have been let loose upon this earth. ~~and we must do~~  
our full part in conquering them. —

~~We have a tough job before us. But it is a job well worth~~  
~~doing.~~ When a righteous victory has been attained  
And ~~far~~ beyond this ugly war there will be the peace in which  
all nations and all peoples must join.

American workers and American farmers, American businessmen  
*Chambers*  
and American ~~philanthropists~~ — all of us together -- ~~which~~ have the great  
responsibility and the great privilege of laboring to build a demo-  
cratic world on ~~strong~~ enduring foundations.

May it be said on some future Labor Day by some future  
President of the United States that we did our work faithfully and  
well.

The President

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## OFFICE OF PRODUCTION MANAGEMENT

**OFFICE MEMORANDUM**

To: William D. Hassett Date: August 26, 1941  
From: Paul Porter - *Sidney Hillman's Office*  
Subject: Suggestions for the President's Radio Address on Labor Day

The suggestions for the President's Labor Day speech are  
enclosed herewith.

~~front i  
page 3~~

August 26, 1941

SUGGESTIONS FOR A RADIO ADDRESS, SEPTEMBER 1, 1941  
BY PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT  
ON LABOR DAY "SALUTE TO LABOR" PROGRAM  
NBC, 1 to 2, EASTERN DAYLIGHT TIME

My friends:

On this Labor Day, we again celebrate together a national holiday set aside to honor the free laboring people of a free republic.

Ours is among the few lands where freedom can still be enjoyed, where men can still walk with dignity, where churches, press and trade unions are not held in the iron vise of dictatorship.

During these last three terrible years, you and I have seen the great labor movements of the European democracies blown out like candles in a hurricane. Without warning, striking more like hired assassins than a civilized army, the Nazi forces have bombed and burned their fearful path across a continent, leaving behind the wreckage of men's homes and the wreckage of man's liberty.

One nation after another has hoped that it alone might escape this terrible fate; one after another they have perished.

You and I together have worked to build a better life in our free America. All that we have accomplished is today threatened. We must, therefore, turn momentarily aside from the great, constructive tasks that lie before us in order to defend what we have against the most deadly assault America has ever faced.

This is a crisis of the common man. His right to survival,

security and freedom over the long generations to come hang in the uncertain balance of battle. The triumph of Hitlerism would mean a world in which trickery, deceit and ruthlessness replaced the Golden Rule. The triumph of Hitlerism would mean a world in which the majority of men -- the men of the Americas included -- would be doomed from birth to serve as vassals of a self-appointed master nation. The triumph of Hitlerism would mean that man's freedom to think, to speak and to choose his life's work would be replaced by enforced obedience to a world tyrant responsible neither to God nor to the people. The triumph of Hitlerism would mean, finally, that the vast, expanding powers of science and technology would be devoted, not to the free development of human life, but to its organized destruction.

There can be no middle ground of compromise between Hitlerism and Americanism.

On this Labor Day, millions of working people in the bombed and pillaged countries of Europe are turning toward America with a new hope of deliverance. Their cause is also our cause. We shall continue to keep faith with them lest we break faith with ourselves. On their heroism and on our determination to supply them with those modern arms, without which heroism is of no avail, the future of the world will largely depend.

An incessant and steadily augmenting supply of planes, tanks and other implements of war is already rolling from America's

arsenals to the farflung battlefields of democracy.

We have already achieved much; it is imperative that we achieve infinitely more.

The singlemindedness and sacrifice with which we jointly dedicate ourselves to the production of the weapons of freedom will determine the length of the ordeal through which humanity must pass.

We cannot hesitate, we cannot equivocate in the great task before us. The defense of America's freedom must take precedence over every private aim and over every private interest.

The American industrialist and the American worker, are both indirect combatants in the great battles now raging to determine whether the world shall be dedicated to freedom or slavery.

Neither of these combatants is bound by military law. The industrialist is free to earn profits; the worker is free to bargain collectively for a decent wage. The fabric which protects the rights and status of each remains unimpaired despite the gravity of the national emergency.

But sacrifices must be made.

No civilization was ever preserved without sacrifice. And no civilization was ever worth preserving if those who enjoyed its benefits refused to give up some of the good things in life in order that it might endure.

You and I know that the road ahead is difficult, and that, in the coming months, economic burdens will increase, rather than

diminish. But we also know that we are sacrificing only a little in order to preserve a heritage that is priceless.

Ours is not a civilization which glories in war and destruction. The mammoth scientific resources which man has created through centuries of painful search must ultimately be destined, not for the indiscriminate annihilation of life, but for the enrichment of life.

This is the task of tomorrow.

We must plan so that no American worker need fear that the end of the emergency will bring idle mills, unemployment and insecurity.

We all must see to it that the factories which are today producing the implements of defense will tomorrow produce the implements of an abundant life. The transition from war production to peace production must be smooth and coordinated. The techniques of that transition are being planned even now.

One thing is certain.

The democracies will not win the war in order to lose the peace.

America has a continuing responsibility toward the rest of the world.

When the last bomber has been driven from European and Asian skies, the devastated nations of the Old World will turn to

the Americas for succour. We shall give generously of our great stores of foodstuffs and of the products of our unparalleled industrial power in order that democratic life across the Atlantic and Pacific may again revive and flourish. By binding the wounds of war, we will contribute materially to the maintenance of full production and full employment within the United States.

We shall actively take part in the economic rehabilitation of a war-torn world. This is a matter, not only of justice, but of obvious self-interest. America cannot flourish as an oasis of freedom in an encroaching desert of war and dictatorship. It can and shall flourish as an integral and vital part of a free and prosperous world community.

The duty of reconstruction will not fall upon governments alone. We conceive that the terms and conditions of a durable and just peace must be based on popular approval and public consent. Organized labor, jointly with other representatives of the national interest, will be called upon to participate in the work of rebuilding a democratic world on firm and unassailable foundations.

History has given our generation a mighty task. It is a task both of fortifying our hemisphere for freedom and of equipping those heroic armies across the seas that will in the not distant future roll back the tidal wave of tyranny.

We Americans have been hardened in the crucible of three great wars, spanning one and a half centuries, and each waged for the preservation of freedom. We have not failed our ideals in the past. We shall not fail them now.

Instant (2)

For these forces may be  
unleashed on this nation as we  
go about our business of  
protecting the proper interests  
of our country

Front <sup>(3)</sup>

The task of defeating Hitler may be long and arduous. There are a few appeasers and Nazi sympathizers who say it cannot be done. They even ask me to negotiate with Hitler - to pray for crumbs from his victorious table. They do in fact, ask me to become the modern Benedict Arnold and betray all I hold dear - my devotion to our freedom - to our churches - to our country. This course I have rejected - I reject it again.

Instead I know that I speak the conscious and determined

of the American people when I  
say that we shall do everything  
in our power to crush the  
~~force~~ Hitler and his  
Nazi forces.

SPEECH OF THE PRESIDENT  
LABOR DAY  
SEPTEMBER 1, 1941

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On this day -- this American holiday -- we celebrate  
the rights of free laboring men and women [in our free democracy.]

The preservation of these rights is now vitally  
important not only to us who enjoy them -- but to the whole  
world -- the whole future of Christian civilization.

American labor, American industry, American engineer-  
ing genius, now bear a tremendous responsibility in the winning  
of this most brutal, most terrible of all wars.

In our factories and shops and arsenals we are  
building weapons [of] destruction, on a scale overwhelming in  
its magnitude. To all the battle fronts of the world these  
weapons are being dispatched, by day and by night, over the  
seas and through the air. And this nation, which has devised

and developed so much through its inventive and productive genius -- this nation is now devising and developing new weapons of unprecedented power toward the maintenance of democracy.

Why are we doing this? Why are we determined to devote our entire national energy and industrial effort to the prosecution of a war which has not yet actually touched our own shores?

We are not a warlike people. We have never sought glory as a nation of warriors. We are not interested in aggression. We are not interested -- as the dictators are -- in looting. We do not covet one square inch of the territory of any other nation.

Our vast effort, and the unity of purpose which inspires that effort, are due solely to our recognition of the fact that our fundamental rights -- including the rights of labor -- are threatened by Hitler's violent attempt to rule the world.

These rights were established by our forefathers on the field of battle. They have been defended -- at great cost but with great success -- on the field of battle, here on our own soil, and in foreign lands, and on all the seas,--  
[all over the world.]

There has never been a moment in our history when Americans were not ready to stand up as free men and fight for their rights.

In times of national emergency, one fact is brought home to us, clearly and decisively -- the fact that all of our rights are interdependent.

The right of freedom of worship would mean nothing without freedom of speech. And the rights of free labor as we know them today could not survive without the rights of free enterprise.

That is the indestr~~u~~ctible bond that is between us -- all of us -- Americans: Interdependence of interests, privileges, opportunities, responsibilities -- Interdependence of rights.

That is what unites us -- men and women of all sections, of all races, of all faiths, of all occupations, of all political beliefs. That is why we have been able to defy and frustrate the enemies who believed they could divide us and conquer us from within.

These enemies all know that we possess a strong Navy -- gaining in strength. They know that that Navy -- as long as the Navies of the British Empire and the Netherlands and Norway and Russia -- can together guarantee the freedom of the seas. These enemies know that if these other Navies are destroyed, the American Navy cannot now, or in the future, maintain the freedom of the seas against all the rest of the world.

These enemies know that our Army, increasing daily in its all-round strength, will soon be great enough to defend our continental limits but that it will take many years for us to guarantee the Western Hemisphere if all the other Continents and Empires are ranged on the other side.

These enemies know that today the actual American fighters in the battles now raging are those engaged in American industry, employers and employees alike.

These enemies know that the course of American production in the past year has shown enormous gains and that the product of these industries is moving to the battle fronts against Hitlerism in increasing volume each day.

But these enemies also know that our American effort is not yet enough -- and that unless we step up the total of our production and more greatly safeguard it on its journeys to the battlefields, these enemies will take heart in pushing their attack in old fields and new.

I give solemn warning to those who think that Hitler has been blocked or halted, that they are playing a very dangerous game. When in any war your enemy seems to be making slower progress than he did the year before, that is the very moment to strike with redoubled force -- to throw more energy into the job of defeating him -- to <sup>thus</sup> end for all time the menace of world conquest and <sup>A</sup> end all talk or thought of any peace founded on a compromise ~~than~~ evil itself.

And we know that a free labor system is the very foundation of a functioning democracy. We know that one of the first acts of the Axis dictatorships has been to wipe out all the principles and standards which labor has been able to establish for its own preservation and advancement.

Trade union is a forbidden philosophy under these rule or ruin dictators. For trade unionism demands full freedom of expression and peaceful assembly. Trade

unionism has helped to give to every one who toils the position of dignity which is his due.

The present position of labor in the United States as an interdependent unit in the life of the nation has not come about by chance. It has been an evolutionary process of a healthy democracy at work, [ clear in its recognition of the objectives.] Government has done its part in furthering this growth, by safeguarding the right of every individual to organize with his fellows and to act collectively -- and peaceably -- in the common interest. ]

Hitler has not worked that way. He will not -- he cannot work that way. Just as he denies all rights to individuals, he must deny all rights to groups -- of labor, of business, of learning, of the church. He has abolished trade unions as ruthlessly as he has persecuted religion.

The power of the dictator -- and indeed his life -- depend on the denial of all rights so that every individual shall be wholly subject to the omnipotent will of the leader and his handful of hand-picked followers.

No group of Americans has realized more clearly what Nazi domination of the world means, than has organized labor -- what it means to their standard of living, their freedom -- their lives. No group has a greater stake in the defeat of Nazism, in the preservation of the fundamental freedoms, in the continuance of democracy throughout the world.

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We have already achieved much; it is imperative that we achieve infinitely more.

The singlemindedness and sacrifice with which we jointly dedicate ourselves to the production of the weapons  
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We cannot hesitate, we cannot equivocate in the great task before us. The defense of America's freedom must take precedence over every private aim and over every private interest.

[ We are dependent upon one another. In such union there is unflagging and unconquerable strength.]

We are engaged on a grim and perilous task. Forces of insane violence have been let loose by Hitler upon this earth. We must do our full part in conquering them. For these forces may be unleashed on this nation as we go about our business of protecting the proper interests of our country.

The task of defeating Hitler may be long and arduous. There are a few appeasers and Nazi sympathizers who say it cannot be done. They even ask me to negotiate with Hitler -- to pray for crumbs from his victorious table. They do, in fact, ask me to become the modern Benedict Arnold and betray all I hold dear -- my devotion to our freedom --

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to our churches -- to our country. This course I have rejected -- I reject it again.

Instead, I know that I speak the conscience and determination of the American people when I say that we shall do everything in our power to crush Hitler and his Nazi forces.

And beyond this ugly war -- when a righteous victory has been attained -- there will be the peace in which all nations and all peoples must join.

American workers and American farmers, American businessmen and American churchmen -- all of us together -- have the great responsibility and the great privilege of laboring to build a democratic world on enduring foundations.

May it be said on some future Labor Day by some future President of the United States that we did our work faithfully and well.

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SPEECH OF THE PRESIDENT

LABOR DAY

SEPTEMBER 1, 1941

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American labor, ~~American industry, American engineer-~~  
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In our factories and shops and arsenals we are  
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~~and developed so much through its inventive and productive genius~~ this nation is now devising and developing new weapons of unprecedented power toward the maintenance of democracy.

Why are we doing this? Why are we determined to devote our entire ~~national energy and~~ industrial effort to the prosecution of a war which has not yet actually touched our own shores?

We are not a warlike people. We have never sought glory as a nation of warriors. We are not interested in aggression. We are not interested -- as the dictators are -- in looting. We do not covet one square inch of the territory of any other nation.

Our vast effort, and the unity of purpose which inspires that effort, are due solely to our recognition of the fact that our fundamental rights -- including the rights of labor -- are threatened by Hitler's violent attempt to rule the world.

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These rights were established by our forefathers on the field of battle. They have been defended -- at great cost but with great success -- on the field of battle, here on our own soil, and in foreign lands, and on all the seas ~~all~~ all over the world.

There has never been a moment in our history when Americans were not ready to stand up as free men and fight for their rights.

In times of national emergency, one fact is brought home to us, clearly and decisively -- the fact that all of our rights are interdependent.

The right of freedom of worship would mean nothing without freedom of speech. And the rights of free labor as we know them today could not survive without the rights of free enterprise.

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These enemies all know that we possess a strong Navy -- gaining in strength. They know that that Navy -- as long as the Navies of the British Empire and the Netherlands and Norway and Russia -- can together guarantee the freedom of the seas. These enemies know that if these other Navies are destroyed, the American Navy cannot now, or in the future, maintain the freedom of the seas against all the rest of the world.

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*is*

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*city*

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But these enemies also know that our American effort is not yet enough -- and that unless we step up the total of our production and more greatly safeguard it on its journeys to the battlefields, these enemies will take heart in pushing their attack in old fields and new.

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And we know that a free labor system is the very foundation of a functioning democracy. We know that one of the first acts of the Axis dictatorships has been to wipe out all the principles and standards which labor has been able to establish for its own preservation and advancement.

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PRESIDENTS FILE

RADIO ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT

LABOR DAY

SEPTEMBER 1, 1941

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~~End of the Transcription~~

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~~Wm. S. Thompson~~

AS SPOKEN FOR THE NEWSREELS

STATEMENTS FILE

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\* \* \* *6 - people)*

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RADIO PROGRAM -- SEPTEMBER 1, 1941 -- 1.00 P.M., E.D.S.T.

	1	Min.	Secs.	1.01 PM
Opening announcement from Hollywood				
Melvyn Douglas introducing Duke Ellington and Chorus from Hollywood	1		15	1.02.15
Ellington and Chorus from Hollywood	3		30	1.05.45
Lowell Thomas from New York introducing Sidney Hillman	1			1.05.45
Sidney Hillman speaking from New York	3		15	1.10
Melvyn Douglas from Hollywood introducing Jenkins Symphony Orchestra			30	1.10.30
Jenkins Symphony Orchestra playing from Hollywood	2			1.12.30
Lowell Thomas from New York introducing William Green			30	1.13
William Green speaking from Grand Rapids, Michigan	3			1.16
Lowell Thomas from New York introducing Golden Gate Quartet			30	1.16.30
Golden Gate Quartet	4		30	1.21
Lowell Thomas from New York introducing James Carey, speaking for Philip Murray			45	1.21.45
James Carey speaking from Philadelphia	3			1.24.45
Lowell Thomas from New York introducing Ernest Bevin from London	1			1.25.45
Ernest Bevin speaking from London	3			1.26.45
Lowell Thomas from New York introducing I.L.G.W.U. Chorus, with Barry Wood			30	1.29.15
I.L.G.W.U. Chorus	3		30	1.32.45
Melvyn Douglas from Hollywood introducing radio drama			30	1.33.15

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Radio drama from Hollywood with James Cagney, Edward Arnold, and others	12 Mins.	Secs.	1.45.15
Melvyn Douglas from Hollywood introducing the President of the United States		45	1.45
President of the United States speaking	10		1.56
Marine Band playing The Star Spangled Banner	2	15	1.58.15

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