
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. 1393

1941 November 6

International Labor Organization Address

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

M E M O R A N D U M

November 5, 1941

TO: MISS TULLY
FROM: MR. LUBIN

Attached herewith is a draft of the materials for tomorrow's speech before the ILO. It has been gone over by Bob Sherwood and Judge Rosenman.

Colonel Donovan's office is planning to have this speech translated in the languages of the delegates present for re-broadcasting by short-wave to the 33 countries represented at the meeting.

Would the President want to have Hillman, Will Davis, and Secretary Hull present at the session? I am sure that their presence will mean a lot to the delegates.

I have not yet submitted this draft for the approval of the State Department. I want to be sure the President approved the general ideas in it before sending it over for their approval.

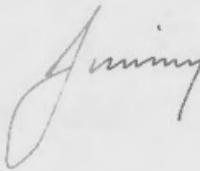
COORDINATOR OF INFORMATION
WASHINGTON, D. C.

November 3, 1941

MEMORANDUM

To: The President
From: Captain James Roosevelt

You may want to glance through these.
More complete material was given by me to Mr. Lubin
on Monday.

A handwritten signature in cursive ink, appearing to read "Jimmy".

Attachment

October 31, 1941

MEMORANDUM

TO: CAPTAIN JAMES ROOSEVELT
(for transmission to the President)

FROM: NELSON P. POYNTER

SUBJECT: MAJOR POINTS RESPECTFULLY PROPOSED
FOR PRESIDENT'S SPEECH BEFORE THE
INTERNATIONAL LABOR OFFICE

(Nov. 6, 1941 - 2:30 pm - 10 minutes)

- I WELCOME THE WORLD PARLIAMENT OF LABOR.
 Tie up United States and International
 Labor Office.
- II CONFIDENCE, COURAGE, HOPE AND PROGRESS.
- III THE NAZIS CANNOT WIN.

 This is a war of production.
 Free labor will defeat Nazism because
 free men are more creative than slaves.
- IV DEMOCRACY IS UNAFRAID OF LABOR.
 DEMOCRACY HAS FAITH IN THE LITTLE MAN.
- V LABOR'S FIGHT CONTINUES UNDERGROUND IN
 EUROPE.
- VI EMPHASIZE BUILDING OF PEACE.
 BRAVE NEW WORLD.

POSSIBLE ADDITIONAL TOPICS

- I. CATHOLIC CHURCH or "Position on Labor".

2. WOMEN

Defeat of Nazism means even more to women than to men. Nazism would deprive them of the very right to work:

Secretary of Labor Francis Perkins
Graciella Mandujano - Technical advisor to Chilean delegation

Miss (check name) - Technical advisor to Australian delegation

Contrast this to Nazi degradation of women now reduced to Kuche and Kinder, from which even the Kirche has been eliminated.

I

Welcome the world parliament of labor.

Tie up United States and International
Labor Office (See Addenda 1, page 1)

Nazi lust has rendered a service - is
unifying labor throughout the world.

What is labor? Labor is all of us.
Labor is you and you and you - not just
a union, not just a political party.

Labor knows its number one job - to
defeat Nazism. (See Labor Under Hitler -
Baxter memo, page 2 - also see page 7,
also Spender quote, page 9, Baxter memo)
Also see Addenda II, page 2, topic 3 -
Dr. Ley's quotes)

II

LET THE SPEECH RING WITH CONFIDENCE,
COURAGE, HOPE AND PROGRESS.

- a. Struggle not new to Labor. (See Baxter memo attached. Section I).
- b. While Labor set back temporarily in some areas, great and permanent gains in last decade -- especially Western Hemisphere -- especially the United States. (See Section B, Baxter memo attached, page 5.)

III
-1-

LABOR WILL WIN BECAUSE THIS IS A WAR
OF PRODUCTION AND FREE MEN ARE MORE
CREATIVE THAN SLAVES.

See paragraphs below developing this
thesis.

(See Section D., Page 7, Baxter memo.
Additional documentation needed on
German production -- if such figures
obtainable from Department of Labor.

If this is properly documented, it will
serve to help explode myth of "German
efficiency").

III
-2-

SINCE THIS IS A WAR OF PRODUCTION THE
NAZIS CANNOT WIN.

Free men are more creative than slaves. The evidence that free men are more creative than slaves is abundant. Just as free men have created more food, more clothing, more automobiles, more labor saving devices, more abundance than slaves; so now they undertake to create more armaments. That is why the Nazis cannot win. Only a few generations ago, freedom meant freedom from work. Slaves did most of the work and the world was not abundant. Free men did the fighting, free men handled the politics and commerce. But these so-called free men lived by slaves and force -- and the world was not abundant. The idea grew that perhaps free men might make better workers.

III

-3-

Most of the slaves and serfs finally were freed, but the machinery of mass production which could have enriched the world went out of kelter. Too many men found themselves tied to a machine instead of a galley oar, a patch of baronial soil or a cotton field.

This century's wave of dictatorship attempted to reconcile this irony by substituting an even worse slavery. The so-called "new order" has tried to convince the world that maximum production is incompatible with human liberty. American democracy has undertaken to adapt itself to mass power age, has undertaken to supply abundance -- without curtailing human liberty. Dictators not only enslave men's livelihood, they seek to enslave their very souls and minds. They seek to kill even the desire for freedom for all time or at least a thousand years. By burning books they seek to indenture all mankind to the masters of force.

III

-4-

And now the supreme test finally comes to prove -- free men are more creative than slaves. This is a war of production, of the assembly line, of the machine. On Our Side these implements are manned by free men. On the Totalitarian side these implements are manned by slaves. By proving that free men can create more and better munitions and armaments, we can promise the world in the future, that Freedom's system can yield a greater abundance of food, clothing and the other things that enrich men's lives.

The high standard of living in the United States is not an accident. It is due to the fact that labor is free. Since free men are more creative than slaves, there is more reward for free men. Men have not only been politically free in the United States, but have been free from the tyranny of militarism. Militarism is the enemy

III
-5-

of labor. It eats into the standard of living of all of us. Labor must crush its arch enemy -- militarism.

We subscribe to the philosophy of abundance. We believe that the scientists, the researchers, the workers who have labored in the past have given the world a heritage of production. It must be used to enrich men's lives. Only by such enrichment can men be really free. Only them can the four freedoms have real meaning.

Unlike the Nazis, Democracy does not fear labor. We have come of economic and social age in our thinking. We have confidence in the individual -- the little man --and mankind is only many, many little individuals.

This is not just an imperialistic war. It is a war between the philosophy that an individual is important, that individual liberty is important, and the age-old philosophy of tyranny. That means it is your war - the individual's war.

We think most individuals are decent and humane. The individual wants to contribute his share to the world's work. He does not want a free ride on the industrial economic system. But he wants to share in what he helps produce. Because we have confidence in the individual, we have confidence in the individual en masse - which means we have confidence in labor.

It never has been humiliating to work in America. Industrial, commercial and political leadership here is a shirt-sleeve leadership. As a result, this leadership does not fear labor. Hence it cannot be duped by the Nazis into fearing labor, like the employer class in Europe was duped.

Yes, we have had some labor troubles in the United States during the past year. It may interest you to know that fewer man days have been lost by strikes this past year than during recent years (research - document this). We, too, could have solved our labor difficulties very simple - the Government could have taken over labor, just as Axis governments have taken over all business, all communications, all re-creation -- the very lives of their inhabitants.

The democratic way of solving labor difficulties is the more creative way. We have instances of strikes where, once the men went back to the mines, the assembly lines or the machines, they have caught up and exceeded the production level laid down previous to the strike. This does not condone strikes against defense. But there is machinery to settle difficulties without strikes, and it is working better every day.

Labor strikes against itself when labor strikes against defense.

(See Addenda II, page 4, re U.S. Strikes: also Addenda III, page I, paragraph 4)

MINORITIES

A minority of U.S. labor leadership does not run America, but a minority of Nazi and military leadership is trying to run Europe. The majority of all people, all classes, all labor run America -- and a majority of all people, all classes, all labor in Europe will eventually run Europe.

See pages 5,6 & 7 of Addenda One.

Also, see quotations re: Brave New
World from speeches made at Inter-
national Labor Office Conference,
Addenda Four.

Nhaft

Miss Perkins, Mr. Goodrich, Mr. Phelan, Delegates and Advisors
to the Conference:

Taking part in a conference of the ILO is not a new experience for me. It was exactly at this time of the year, in 1919, that the ILO had its first conference in Washington. Apparently someone had fallen down on the job of making the necessary physical arrangements for the conference. Finally someone picked on the Assistant Secretary of the Navy to help. I had to find office space in the Navy Building, as well as supplies and typewriters to get the machinery organized.

In those days the ILO was still a dream. To many it was a wild dream. Who had ever heard of governments getting together to raise the standards of labor on an international plane? Wilder still was the idea that the people themselves who were directly affected -- the workers and the employers of the various countries -- should have a hand with government in determining these labor standards.

Now twenty-two years have passed. The ILO has been tried and
tested. Through those ~~years~~ ^{years} of the '20's, it kept doggedly at its
task of shortening the hours of labor, protecting women and children in
agriculture and industry, making life more bearable for the merchant
seamen, and keeping the factories and mines of the world safe and fit
places for human beings to work in.

Then through the long years of depression, it sought to bring
about a measure of security to all workers by the establishment of un-
employment and old age insurance systems; and again to set the wheels
of industry in action through the establishment of international public
works, rational policies of migration of workers, and the opening of the
channels of world trade.

Now for more than two years you have weathered the vicissitudes
of a world at war. Though Hitler's juggernaut has crowded your permanent
staff out of its home at Geneva, here in the new world, thanks in large
part to the efforts of our friend, John Winant, you have been carrying on.
And when this world struggle is over, you will be prepared to play your

11.4.41

own part in formulating those social policies upon which the permanence
of peace will so much depend.

thru
Today you, representatives of thirty-three nations, meet for the
final session of your conference, here in the White House. *Under the eye of*
every President of the United States since the days of George Washington.

It is appropriate that I recall to you, who are in a full sense a
parliament for man's justice, some words written in this house by a
President who gave his life in the cause of justice. Nearly eighty years
ago, Abraham Lincoln said: "The strongest bond of human sympathy, outside
of the family relation, should be one uniting all working people, of all
nations, and tongues, and kindreds."

The essence of our struggle is that men shall be free. There can
be no real freedom for the common man without enlightened social policies.
In last analysis, they are the stakes for which democracies are today
fighting.

Your concern is the concern of all democratic peoples. To many
of your member states, adherence to the ILO has meant great sacrifice. /

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There is no greater evidence of the vitality of the ILO than the loyal

[redacted] presence here today of the representatives of the nations

which suffering under the lash of the dictator. I welcome those representatives,

of extend the hand of courage to
especially. I particularly welcome the delegates of those labor organi-

zations whose leaders are today languishing in concentration camps for

having dared to stand up for *The* ideals without which no civilization

can live. Through you, delegates from these despoiled lands, the United

States sends your people this message: "You have not been forgotten;

you will not be forgotten."

We in the United States have so far been called upon for extremely

limited sacrifices, but even in this country we are beginning to feel the

pinch of war. The names may be unfamiliar to you, but the workers of

Manitowac, Wisconsin, who used to make aluminum utensils, have had to

sacrifice their jobs that we may send planes to Britain and Russia and

China. Rubber workers in a hundred scattered plants have had to sacrifice

their opportunities for immediate employment that there may be ships to

carry planes and tanks to Liverpool and Archangel and Rangoon. Tens of

thousands of automobile workers will have to be shifted to other jobs in order that the copper which might have been used in automobiles may carry its deadly message from the mills of the Connecticut valley to Hitler. But with all this, we have not yet made any substantial sacrifices in the United States.

We have not, like the heroic people of Britain, had to withstand a deluge of death from the skies. Nor can we even grasp the full extent of the sacrifices that the people of China are making in their struggle for freedom from aggression. We have in amazement witnessed the Russians oppose the Nazi war machine for four long months -- at the price of uncounted dead and a scorched earth.

Most heroic of all, however, has been the struggle of the common men and women of Europe, from Norway to Greece, against a force which, ^{but} _{will} however powerful, ~~must~~ be forever inadequate to crush the fight for freedom.

As far as we in the United States are concerned, that struggle shall not be in vain. The ~~brave~~ stand of Britain, of China, and of Russia ~~must~~ receive the ^{whole} ~~whole~~ support of the free peoples of the

11.4.41

Americas.

~~world~~. The people of this country ~~wish~~ insist upon their right to join
defense,
in the common ~~sacrifice~~ ~~which~~ ~~is~~ ~~required~~.

To be sure, there are still some misguided among us -- thank God they are but a few -- both industrialists and leaders of labor, who place personal advantage above the welfare of their nation. There are still a few who place their little victories over one another above triumph over Hitler. There are still some who place the profits they may make from civilian orders above their obligation to the national defense. There are still some who deliberately delay defense output by using their "economic power" to force acceptance of their demands, rather than use the established machinery for the mediation of industrial disputes.

Yes, they are but few. They do not represent the great mass of American workers and employers. The American people have made an unlimited commitment that there shall be a free world. I know that,
A against that commitment, no individual or group shall prevail.

The American workman does not have to be convinced that the Defense
of the democracies is his battle. Some of you, from the conquered countries

of Europe and from China, have told this conference with the eloquence of anguish how all that you have struggled for -- the social progress that you and your fellow-men have achieved -- is being obliterated by the barbarians.

I need not tell you that one of the first acts of the Fascist and Nazi dictators -- at home and in conquered countries -- was to abolish free trade unions and to take away from the common people the right of association. Labor alone did not suffer. Free associations of employers were also abolished. Collective bargaining has no place in their system; neither has collaboration of labor, industry and government.

Nor need I tell you that the Nazi Labor Front is not a labor union but an instrument to keep labor in a state of permanent subjection. Labor under the Nazi system has become the slave of the military state.

To replace Nazi workers shipped to the front, and to meet the gigantic needs of her total war effort, Nazi Germany has imported about two million foreign civilian laborers. They have changed the occupied countries into great slave areas for the Nazi rulers. Berlin is the principal slave-market of the world.

11.4.41

The American worker has no illusions about the fate that awaits him and his free labor organizations if Hitler should win. He knows that his own liberty and the very safety of the people of the United States cannot be assured in a world which is ~~half~~ ^{3/4} slave and ~~half~~ ^{1/4} free. He knows that we must furnish arms to Britain, Russia and China and that we must do it now -- today.

Our place -- the place of the whole western hemisphere -- in the Nazi scheme for world domination has been marked on the Nazi time-table. The choice we have to make is this:

Shall we make our full sacrifices now, produce to the limit, and deliver our products today and every day to the battlefronts of the entire world? Or shall we remain satisfied with our present rate of armament output, postponing the day of real sacrifice -- as did the French -- until it is too late?

The first is the choice of realism -- realism in terms of three shifts a day; the fullest use of every vital machine every minute of every day and every night; realism in terms of staying on the job and getting things made, and entrusting industrial grievances to the established machinery of collective bargaining -- the machinery set up by a free people.

The second choice is the approach of the blind and the deluded who think that perhaps we could do business with Hitler. For them there is still plenty of time, ~~for afternoons of golf~~. The weekend factory black-out gives them little concern. Supper at six is more important than an extra hour of overtime. To be sure, many of these misled individuals honestly believe that if we should later find that we can't do business with Hitler, we will roll up our sleeves and show what stuff Americans had. This Tomboyism would bear the slogan "Too late."

~~are made of. But rolling up one's sleeves to meet the demands of modern~~
~~warfare is not a matter of days or weeks. It took Hitler six years,~~
~~with his militia,~~
~~roll up the sleeves of the American people. If I gauge the temper of the~~
~~American people correctly, even~~
~~it's taking a risk.~~

In the process of working and fighting for victory, however, we must never permit ourselves to forget the goal which is beyond victory. The defeat of Hitlerism is necessary so that there may be freedom; but this war, like the last war, will produce nothing but destruction unless we prepare for the future now. We ~~must~~ plan now for the better world we aim to build.

If that world is to be one in which peace is to prevail, there must be a more abundant life for the masses of the people of all countries. In the words of the Atlantic Charter, we "desire to bring about the fullest collaboration between all nations in the economic field with the object of securing, for all, improved labor standards, economic advancement and social security".

~~That in simple language, means that our first duty is to work for~~
~~the elimination of that man-made curse involuntary unemployment.~~

There are so many millions of people in this world who have never been adequately fed, clothed and housed. By undertaking to provide a decent standard of living for these millions, the free peoples of the world can furnish employment to every man and woman who seeks a job.

We are already engaged in surveying the immediate post-war requirements of a world whose economies have been disrupted by war. What will
matter when the peace comes is not promoting the economic advantages of
any nation but satisfying the economic necessities of people — food, houses
and jobs. Those are the objectives for which we are now planning.

We are planning not to provide temporary remedies for the ills of a stricken world; we are planning to achieve permanent cures — to help establish a sounder life.

To attain these goals will be no easy task. Yes, their fulfillment will require "the fullest cooperation between all nations in the economic field". We have learned too well that social problems and economic problems are not separate water-tight compartments in the international any more than in the national sphere. In international, as in national affairs, economic policy can no longer be an end in itself. It is merely a

means for achieving social objectives.

There must be no place in the post-war world for special privilege for either individuals or nations. Again in the words of the Atlantic Charter: "All states, great or small, victor or vanquished" must have "access, on equal terms, to the trade and to the raw materials of the world which are needed for their economic prosperity".

In the planning of such international action the ILO with its representation of labor and management, its technical knowledge and experience, will be an invaluable instrument for peace. Your organization will have an essential part to play in building up a stable international system of social justice for all peoples everywhere. As part of you, the people of the United States are determined to respond fully to the opportunity and challenge of this historic responsibility, *so we //
will //
try...dashed at this historic meeting in this
historic home of an ancient democracy.*

RADIO ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT
INTERNATIONAL LABOR ORGANIZATION - EAST ROOM
November 5, 1941

Miss Perkins, Mr. Goodrich, Mr. Phelan, Delegates
and Advisors to the Conference:

International Labor Organization
Taking part in a conference of the ~~American~~ is not a new
experience for me. It was exactly at this time of the year,
International Labor Organization
in 1919, that the ~~American~~ had its first conference in Washington.
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necessary physical arrangements for the conference. Finally
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In those days the ~~American~~ was still a dream. To many it
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together to raise the standards of labor on an international
plane? Wilder still was the idea that the people themselves
who were directly affected -- the workers and the employers of
the various countries -- should have a hand with government in
determining these labor standards.

International Labor Organization

Now twenty-two years have passed. The ~~American~~ has been

tried and tested. Through those extravagant years of the '20's, it kept doggedly at its task of shortening the hours of labor, protecting women and children in agriculture and industry, making life more bearable for the merchant seamen, and keeping the factories and mines of the world safe and fit places for human beings to work in.

Then through the long years of depression, it sought to bring about a measure of security to all workers by the establishment of unemployment and old age insurance systems; and again to set the wheels of industry in action through the establishment of international public works, rational policies of migration of workers, and the opening of the channels of world trade.

Now for more than two years you have weathered the vicissitudes of a world at war. Though Hitler's juggernaut has crowded your permanent staff out of its home at Geneva,

here in the new world, thanks in large part to the efforts of our friend, John Winant, you have been carrying on. And when this world struggle is over, you will be prepared to play your own part in formulating those social policies upon which the permanence of peace will so much depend.

Today you, the representatives of thirty-three nations, meet here in the White House for the final session of your conference. It is appropriate that I recall to you, who are in a full sense a parliament for man's justice, some words written in this house by a President who gave his life in the cause of justice. Nearly eighty years ago, Abraham Lincoln said: "The strongest bond of human sympathy, outside of the family relation, should be one uniting all working people, of all nations, and tongues, and kindreds."

The essence of our struggle is that men shall be free. There can be no real freedom for the common man without enlightened social policies. In last analysis, they are the

stakes for which democracies are today fighting.

Your concern is the concern of all democratic peoples. To many of your member states, adherence to the International Labor Organization ~~has~~ has meant great sacrifice. There is no greater evidence

International Labor Organization of the vitality of the ~~American~~ than the loyal presence here today of the representatives of the nations which suffer under the lash of the dictator. I welcome those representatives, especially.

I extend the hand of courage to the delegates of those labor organizations whose leaders are today languishing in concentration camps for having dared to stand up for the ideals without which no civilization can live. Through you, delegates from these despoiled lands, the United States sends your people this message: "You have not been forgotten; you will not be forgotten."

We in the United States have so far been called upon for extremely limited sacrifices, but even in this country we

are beginning to feel the pinch of war. The names may be unfamiliar to you, but the workers of Manitowac, Wisconsin, who used to make aluminum utensils, have had to sacrifice their jobs that we may send planes to Britain and Russia and China. Rubber workers in a hundred scattered plants have had to sacrifice their opportunities for immediate employment that there may be ships to carry planes and tanks to Liverpool and Archangel and Rangoon. Tens of thousands of automobile workers will have to be shifted to other jobs in order that the copper which might have been used in automobiles may carry its deadly message from the mills of the Connecticut valley to Hitler. But with all this, we have not yet made any substantial sacrifices in the United States.

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have in amazement witnessed the Russians oppose the Nazi war machine for four long months -- at the price of uncounted dead and a scorched earth.

Most heroic of all, however, has been the struggle of the common men and women of Europe, from Norway to Greece, against a brutal force which, however powerful, will be forever inadequate to crush the fight for freedom.

As far as we in the United States are concerned, that struggle shall not be in vain. The epic stand of Britain, of China, and of Russia receive the full support of the free peoples of the Americas. The people of this country insist upon their right to join in the common defense.

To be sure, there are still some misguided among us -- thank God they are but a few -- both industrialists and leaders of labor, who place personal advantage above the welfare of their nation. There are still a few who place their little victories over one another above triumph over

Hitler. There are still some who place the profits they may make from civilian orders above their obligation to the national defense. There are still some who deliberately delay defense output by using their "economic power" to force acceptance of their demands, rather than use the established machinery for the mediation of industrial disputes.

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The American worker has no illusions about the fate that awaits him and his free labor organizations if Hitler

should win. He knows that his own liberty and the very safety of the people of the United States cannot be assured in a world which is three-fourths slave and one-fourth free. He knows that we must furnish arms to Britain, Russia and China and that we must do it now -- today.

Our place -- the place of the whole western hemisphere -- in the Nazi scheme for world domination has been marked on the Nazi time-table. The choice we have to make is this: Shall we make our full sacrifices now, produce to the limit, and deliver our products today and every day to the battlefronts of the entire world? Or shall we remain satisfied with our present rate of armament output, postponing the day of real sacrifice -- as did the French -- until it is too late?

The first is the choice of realism -- realism in terms of three shifts a day; the fullest use of every vital machine every minute of every day and every night; realism in terms of staying on the job and getting things made, and entrusting industrial grievances to the established machinery of collective bargaining -- the machinery set up by a free people.

The second choice is the approach of the blind and the deluded who think that perhaps we could do business with Hitler. For them there is still "plenty of time." To be sure, many of these misled individuals honestly believe that if we should later find that we can't do business with Hitler, we will roll up our sleeves later - later - later. And their tombstones would bear the legend "too late."

In the process of working and fighting for victory, however, we must never permit ourselves to forget the goal which is beyond victory. The defeat of Hitlerism is necessary so that there may be freedom; but this war, like the last war, will produce nothing but destruction unless we prepare for the future now. We plan now for the better world we aim to build.

If that world is to be one in which peace is to prevail, there must be a more abundant life for the masses of the people of all countries. In the words of the Atlantic Charter, we "desire to bring about the fullest collaboration between all nations in the economic field with the object of securing, for

ali, improved labor standards, economic advancement
and social security."

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We are planning not to provide temporary remedies for the ills of a stricken world; we are planning to achieve permanent cures -- to help establish a sounder life.

To attain these goals will be no easy task. Yes, their fulfillment will require "the fullest cooperation between all nations in the economic field." We have learned too well

that social problems and economic problems are not separate water-tight compartments in the international any more than in the national sphere. In international, as in national affairs, economic policy can no longer be an end in itself. It is merely a means for achieving social objectives.

There must be no place in the post-war world for special privilege for either individuals or nations. Again in the words of the Atlantic Charter: "All states, great or small, victor or vanquished" must have "access, on equal terms, to the trade and to the raw materials of the world which are needed for their economic prosperity".

International Labor Organization
In the planning of such international action the ~~marked~~

with its representation of labor and management, its technical knowledge and experience, will be an invaluable instrument for peace. Your organization will have an essential part to play in building up a stable international system of social justice for all peoples everywhere. As part of you, the

people of the United States are determined to respond fully to the opportunity and challenge of this historic responsibility, so well exemplified at this historic meeting in this historic home of an ancient democracy.

Franklin D. Roosevelt

Orig. reading copy

CONFERENCE OF THE
INTERNATIONAL LABOR ORGANIZATION,
HELD IN THE EAST ROOM OF THE WHITE HOUSE
November 6, 1941, 3:00 P.M.,
And Broadcast over a Nationwide Hookup

MADAM SECRETARY PERKINS (Chairman): The International Labor Organization has been meeting in New York for ten days. 35 nations have had representatives here, 33 of them with a full representation of government, employer and worker delegates. 12 nations have sent their Ministers of Labor. 3 nations have sent other Ministers of their Cabinet, and the representation from the employer and worker groups has been equally responsible and representative.

I am delighted now to have the opportunity to present to you, and you to them -- the delegates of the International Labor Organization -- the President of the United States: (loud applause)

THE PRESIDENT:

Miss Perkins, (Mr.) Dr. Goodrich, (Mr. Phelan) Delegates and Advisors (to) of the Conference:

Taking part in a conference of the ILO is not a new experience for me. It was exactly at this time of the year, in 1919, that the ILO had its first conference in Washington. And at that time apparently someone had fallen down on the job of making the necessary physical arrangements for the conference. (Finally) And at last someone picked on the then Assistant Secretary of the Navy to help. I had to find office space in the Navy Building, as well as supplies and typewriters, etc., to get (the machinery organized) that conference started.

I well remember that in those days the ILO was still a dream. To many it was a wild dream. Who had ever heard of governments getting

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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.

together to raise the standards of labor on an international plane? Wilder still was the idea that the people themselves who were directly affected -- the workers and (the) employers of the various countries -- should have a hand with government in determining these labor standards.

(Now) And so twenty-two years have passed. The ILO has been tried and tested. It has passed childhood; it is now grown-up. Through those extravagant years of the '20's, it kept doggedly at (its) the task of shortening the hours of labor, protecting women and children in agriculture and industry, making life more bearable for the merchant seamen, and keeping the factories and mines of the world more safe and fit places for human beings to work in.

And then through the long years of depression, from 1929 on, it sought to bring about a measure of security to all workers by the establishment of things like unemployment insurance and old age insurance systems; and again to set the wheels of industry in action through the establishment of international public works, rational policies of migration of workers, and the opening of the channels of world trade.

Now for more than two years you have weathered the vicissitudes of a world at war. Though Hitler's juggernaut has crowded your permanent staff out of its own home at Geneva, here in (the) this new world, thanks in large part I like to think, (to) ^{of} the efforts of our friend, John Winant, (applause) you have been carrying on. And when this world struggle is over, you will be prepared to play your own part in formulating those social policies upon which the permanence of peace will so much depend.

Today you, the representatives of more than thirty-three nations, meet here in the White House for the final session of your conference.

It is appropriate that I recall to you, who are in a full sense a parliament for man's justice, some words that were written in this house by a President who gave his very life (in) for the cause of justice. Nearly eighty years ago, Abraham Lincoln said: "The strongest bond of human sympathy, outside of the family relation, should be one uniting all working people, of all nations, and tongues, and kindreds."

The essence of our struggle today is that (men) man shall be free. There can be no real freedom for the common man without enlightened social policies. In the last analysis, they are the stakes for which democracies are today fighting.

So your concern is the concern of all democratic peoples. To many of your member states, adherence to the ILO has meant great sacrifice. There's (is) no greater evidence of the vitality of the ILO than the loyal presence here today of the representatives of the nations which suffer under the lash of the dictator. I welcome those representatives, especially.

I extend the hand of courage to the delegates of those labor organizations whose leaders are today languishing in concentration camps for having dared to stand up for the ideals without which no civilization can live. Through you, the delegates from these despoiled lands, the United States sends your people this message: "You have not been forgotten; you will not be forgotten." (loud applause)

We in the United States have so far been called upon for extremely limited sacrifices, but even in this country we are beginning to feel the beginnings of the pinch (pinch) of war. Some of these (The) names may be unfamiliar to you, but the workers of Manitowoc, Wisconsin, for example, who used to make aluminum utensils, have had to sacrifice their jobs

in order that we may send planes to Britain and Russia and China. Rubber workers in a hundred scattered plants have had to sacrifice their opportunities for immediate employment in order that there may be ships to carry planes and tanks to Liverpool and Archangel and Rangoon. Tens of thousands of automobile workers (will have to be) are being shifted to other jobs in order that the copper which might have been used in automobiles may carry its deadly message from the mills of (the) Connecticut (valley) to Hitler. (But) And with all this, still we have not yet made (any) very large substantial sacrifices in the United States.

We have not, like the heroic people of Britain, had to withstand a deluge of death from the skies. Nor can we even grasp the full extent of the sacrifices that the people of China are making in their struggle for freedom from aggression. We have in amazement witnessed the Russians oppose the Nazi war -- oppose that war machine for four long months and more -- opposing it at the price of uncounted dead and a scorched earth.

Most heroic of all, however, has been the struggle of the common men and women of Europe, from Norway to Greece, against a brutal force from which, however powerful, there will be forever (inadequate) inadequacy on the part of that force to crush the fight for freedom.
(applause)

As far as we in the United States are concerned, that struggle shall not be in vain. The epic stand of Britain, of China, and of Russia receive the full support of the free people of the Americas. The people of this (country) nation, and of all the rest of the American republics insist upon their right to join in the common defense.

To be sure, there are still some misguided -- unenlightened -- that is putting it politely -- some people of that kind among us -- thank God they are but (a) few -- both industrialists and leaders of labor, who place personal advantage above the welfare of their nation. There are still a few who place their little victories over one another above triumph (over) against Hitlerism. There are still some who place the profits that they may make from civilian orders above their obligation to the national defense. And there are still some who deliberately delay defense, delay defense output by using their "economic power" to force the acceptance of their *demands, rather than use the established machinery for the mediation of industrial disputes.

Yes, they are but few. They do not represent the great mass of American workers and employers. The American people have made an unlimited commitment that there shall be a free world. And against that commitment, no individual (or) and no group shall prevail. (applause)

The American workman (does not) doesn't have to be convinced that the defense of the democracies is his defense. Some of you, from the conquered countries of Europe, (and) some of you from China, have told of this conference with the eloquence of anguish,(how)/all that you have struggled for -- the social progress that you and your fellow men have achieved -- and how it is being obliterated by the barbarians.

I need not tell you that one of the first acts of the Fascist and Nazi dictators -- at home and in conquered countries -- was to abolish free trade unions and to take away from the common people the right of association. Labor alone did not suffer. Free associations of employers were also abolished. Collective bargaining has no place in their system; neither has collaboration of labor, and industry and

government.

Nor need I tell you that the Nazi Labor Front is not a labor union but an instrument to keep labor in a state of permanent subjection.

Labor under the Nazi system has become the slave of the military state.
(applause)

To replace Nazi workers (shipped to) at the front, (and to meet the gigantic needs of her total war effort) they have gone -- at home, I mean -- to the front to ship labor back home, or to bring it from other countries. Nazi Germany for example has imported about two million foreign civilian laborers. They have changed the occupied countries into great slave areas for the Nazi rulers. And at this moment Berlin is the principal slave-market of all the world.

The American (worker) workmen has no illusions about the fate that awaits him, (and) awaits his free labor organizations if Hitler should win. He knows that his own (liberty) labor and the very safety of the people of the United States cannot be assured in a world (which) that is three-fourths slave and one-fourth free. He knows that we must furnish arms to Britain, to Russia and to China and that we must do it now -- today. (applause)

And we know by now that our place -- the place of the whole western hemisphere for example -- (in) the place in the Nazi scheme for world domination has been marked on the Nazi time-table. The choice we have to make is this: Shall we make our full sacrifices now, produce to the limit, (and) deliver our products today and every day to the (battlefronts) battlefields of the entire world? Or shall we remain satisfied with our present rate of armament output, postponing the day of real sacrifice -- as did the French -- until it is too late?

The first is the choice of realism -- realism in terms of three shifts a day; the fullest use of every vital machine every minute of every day and every night; realism in terms of staying on the job and getting things made, and entrusting industrial grievances to the established machinery of collective bargaining -- the machinery set up by a free people.

The second choice is the approach of the blind and the deluded who think that perhaps we could do business with Hitler. For them there is still "plenty of time". To be sure, many of these misled individuals honestly believe that if we should later find that we can't do business with Hitler, we will roll up our sleeves later - later - later. And their tombstones, the tombstones of those people would under such circumstances bear the legend "Too late".

In the process of our working and fighting for victory, (however) we must never permit ourselves to forget the goal (which) that is beyond victory. The defeat of Hitlerism is necessary so that there may be freedom; but this war, like the last war, will produce nothing but destruction unless we prepare for the future now. We plan now for the better world that we aim to build.

If that world is to be (one) a place in which peace is to prevail, there must be (a) more abundant life for the masses of the people of all countries. In the words of the document that you know of under the name of the Atlantic Charter, we "desire to bring about the fullest collaboration between all nations in the economic field with the object of securing, for all, improved labor standards, economic advancement and social security".

There are so many millions of people in this world who have never

been adequately fed and clothed and housed. By undertaking to provide a decent standard of living for these millions, the free peoples of the world can furnish employment to every man and every woman who seeks a job. {applause}

And so we are already engaged in surveying the immediate post-war requirements of a world whose economies have been disrupted by war.

We are planning not to provide temporary remedies for the ills of a stricken world; we are planning to achieve permanent cures -- to help establish a sounder world life.

To attain these goals you and I know will be no easy task. Yes, their fulfillment will require "the fullest cooperation between all nations (in the economic field)". We have learned too well that social problems and economic problems are not separate water-tight compartments in the international field any more than in the national sphere. In international, as in national affairs, economic policy can no longer be an end (in) unto itself. It is merely a means for achieving social objectives.

There must be no place in the post-war world for special privilege for either individuals or nations. And again in the words of the Atlantic Charter: "All states, great (or) and small, victor or vanquished" must have "access, on equal terms, to the trade and to the raw materials of the world which are needed for their economic prosperity".

In the planning of such international action the ILO with its representation of labor and management, its technical knowledge and experience, will be an invaluable instrument for peace. Your organization will have an essential part to play in building up a stable international system of social justice for all peoples everywhere. As

part of you, part of your great world organization the people of the United States are determined to respond fully to the opportunity and the challenge of this historic responsibility, so well exemplified at this historic meeting in this historic home of an ancient democracy.
(loud and prolonged applause)

MADAM SECRETARY PERCINS: Mr. President, in order that you may see with your own eyes the tripartite character of this conference, three vice presidents wish to thank you for your statement today.

I first introduce Mr. Jan. Stanczyk, Minister of Labor of Poland, but today speaking on behalf of all government delegates as vice president:

(Mr. Jan Stanczyk addresses the President, in Polish.)

MADAM SECRETARY PERCINS: Mr. (Sir) John Forbes Watson, Mr. President, who represents the British employers, but who speaks today as the vice president for all employers in this group. Mr. John Forbes Watson:

MR. JOHN FORBES WATSON: Mr. President, it becomes my privilege, on behalf of the employers group of this conference, to unite with government and workers groups in expressing to you our deep gratitude for your presence with us here today.

For twenty-two years the employers group has cooperated with this organization, which is the international emblem of Democracy. We have not always agreed with the workers group, nor with the government group, but we have always realized and recognized that it is more that unites these three groups than drives them apart.

Today, when the very foundations of liberty are challenged, the three groups stand shoulder to shoulder to defend the rights of free men to associate and speak freely with each other.

Mr. President, in the past, your words and your voice have crossed the air and have sustained us in dark days. We have now met in this great free country -- pilgrims to the Statue of Liberty. And now we go our several ways, inspired by your message, sir, and feeling your guiding hand upon our shoulder, and confident that decency, honor and self-respect shall not perish from this earth. (applause)

MADAM SECRETARY PERKINS: Mr. Jose Domenech, workers delegate from Argentina, but today speaking to you on behalf of the workers of this conference:

(Mr. Jose Domenech addresses the President, in Spanish.)

MADAM SECRETARY PERKINS: This Session -- this Conference of the International Labor Organization is ended.

The President has indicated he will be glad to receive you, if you will come forward in this motion.

(The 250 delegates were then presented to the President by Madam Secretary Perkins.)

THE PRESIDENT: (to Madam Secretary Perkins) It was a grand party.

INTERNATIONAL LABOR ORGANIZATION CONFERENCE OF THE
Held in the East Room of the White House
3:00 P.M., NOVEMBER 6, 1941
AND BROADCAST ~~over~~ OVER A NATIONWIDE HOOKUP

(Chairman):

MADAM SECRETARY PERKINS: The International Labor Organization has been meeting in New York for ten days. 35 nations have had representatives here, 33 of them with a full representation of government, employer and worker delegates. 12 nations have sent their Ministers of Labor. 3 nations have sent ~~their~~ other Ministers of their Cabinet, and the representation from the employer and worker groups has been equally responsible and representative.

I am delighted now to have the opportunity to present to you, and you to them, the delegates of the International Labor Organization, the President of the United States:

(loud applause)

(insert the President's speech)

MADAM SECRETARY PERKINS: Mr. President, in order that you may see with your own eyes the tripartite character of this conference, three vice presidents wish to thank you for your statement today.

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(Mr. Jan Stanczyk addresses the President, in Polish.)

(Sir)

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STATEMENTS FILE

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250
(The delegates were then ~~all~~ presented to the President by Madam Secretary Perkins.)

(*Mr. Madam Secretary Perkins,*)
THE PRESIDENT: It was a grand party.
^

M. Pomagalski
STATEMENTS FILE

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November 6, 1941

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CARE MUST BE EXERCISED TO PREVENT PREMATURE PUBLICATION.

WILLIAM D. BASSETT

Dr.
for Miss Perkins, Mr. Goodrich, Mr. Phelan, Delegates and Advisors
for the Conference:

and at that time

and at last
Taking part in a conference of the ILO is not a new experience for me. It was exactly at this time of the year, in 1919, that the ILO had held its first conference in Washington. Apparently someone had fallen down on the job of making the necessary physical arrangements for the conference. Finally someone picked on the then Assistant Secretary of the Navy to help. I had to find office space in the Navy Building, as well as supplies and typewriters, to get the machinery organized. *that conference started.*

I well remember
that In those days the ILO was still a dream. To many it was a wild dream. Who had ever heard of governments getting together to raise the standards of labor on an international plane? Wilder still was the idea that the people themselves who were directly affected -- the workers and the employers of the various countries -- should have a hand with government in determining these labor standards.

And so

Now twenty-two years have passed. The ILO has been tried and tested. Through those extravagant years of the '20's, it kept doggedly at the task of shortening the hours of labor, protecting women and children in agriculture and industry, making life more bearable for the merchant seamen, and keeping the factories and mines of the world *safely* more and fit places for human beings to work in. *from 1929 on,*

It has passed childhood,
it is now growing up. And then through the long years of depression, it sought to bring about a measure of security to all workers by the establishment of unemployment and old age insurance systems; and again to set the wheels of industry in action through the establishment of international public works, rational policies of migration of workers, and the opening of the channels of world trade.

Now for more than two years you have weathered the vicissitudes of a world at war. Though Hitler's juggernaut has crowded your permanent staff out of its home at Geneva, here in the New World, thanks in large part to the efforts of our friend, John Winant, you have been carrying on. And when this world struggle is over, you will be prepared to play your own part in formulating those social policies upon which the permanence of peace will so much depend.

I like to think,

Today you, the representatives of thirty-three nations, meet here in the White House for the final session of your conference. It is appropriate that I recall to you, who are in a full sense a parliament for man's justice, some words written in this house by a President who gave his life for the cause of justice. Nearly eighty years ago, Abraham Lincoln said: "The strongest bond of human sympathy, outside of the family relation, should be one uniting all working people, of all nations, and tongues, and kindred."

Today men

The essence of our struggle is that men shall be free. There can be no real freedom for the common man without enlightened social policies. In last analysis, they are the stakes for which democracies are today fighting.

So your concern is the concern of all democratic peoples. To many of your member states, adherence to the ILO has meant great sacrifice. There is no greater evidence of the vitality of the ILO than the loyal presence here today of the representatives of the nations which suffer under the lash of the dictator. I welcome those representatives, especially.

I extend the hand of courage to the delegates of those labor organizations whose leaders are today languishing in concentration camps for having dared to stand up for the ideals without which no civilization can live. Through you, delegates from these despoiled lands, the United States sends your people this message: "You have not been forgotten; you will not be forgotten." (*loud applause*)

We in the United States have so far been called upon for extremely limited sacrifices, but even in this country we are beginning to feel the pinch of war. *Some of these for example in order to oppose that war* The names may be unfamiliar to you, but the workers of Manitowoc, Wisconsin, who used to make aluminum utensils, have had to sacrifice their jobs that we may send planes to Britain and Russia and China. Rubber workers in a hundred scattered plants have had to sacrifice their opportunities for immediate employment, that there may be ships to carry planes and tanks to Liverpool and Madras and Rangoon. Tens of thousands of automobile workers will have to be shifted to other jobs in order that the copper which might have been used in automobiles may carry its deadly message from the mills of the Connecticut Valley to Hitler. But with all this, we have not yet made any substantial sacrifices in the United States. *Very large*

We have not, like the heroic people of Britain, had to withstand a deluge of death from the skies. Nor can we even grasp the full extent of the sacrifices that the people of China are making in their struggle for freedom from aggression. We have in amazement witnessed the Russians oppose the Nazi war machine for four long months, *at the price of uncounted dead and a scorched earth.* *and more* opposing it

Most heroic of all, however, has been the struggle of the common men and women of Europe, from Norway to Greece, against a brutal force which, however powerful, *will be forever inadequate* to crush the fight for freedom. (*applause*) *Now the part of that force*

As far as we in the United States are concerned, that struggle shall not be in vain. The epic stand of Britain, of China, and of Russia receive the full support of the free peoples of the Americas. The people of this *country* insist upon their right to join in the common defense. *A nation and of all the rest of the American republics*

To be sure, there are still some misguided among us -- thank God they are but a few -- both industrialists and leaders of labor, who place personal advantage above the welfare of their nation. There are still a few who place their little victories over one another above triumph over Hitler. There are still some who place the profits they may make from civilian orders above their obligation to the national defense. There are still some who deliberately delay defense output by using their "economic power" to force acceptance of their demands, rather than use the established machinery for the mediation of industrial disputes.

Yes, they are but few. They do not represent the great mass of American workers and employers. The American people have made an unlimited commitment that there shall be a free world. *against that commitment, no individual or group shall prevail.* (*applause*)

The American workman does not have to be convinced that the defense of the democracies is his defense. Some of you, from the conquered countries of Europe, and from China, have told this *over and over again* with the eloquence of anguish now all that you have struggled for -- the social

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progress that you and your fellow-men have achieved -- is being obliterated by the barbarians.

I need not tell you that one of the first acts of the Fascist and Nazi dictators -- at home and in conquered countries -- was to abolish free trade unions and to take away from the common people the right of association. Labor alone did not suffer. Free associations of employers were also abolished. Collective bargaining has no place in their system; neither has collaboration of labor, industry and government.

Nor need I tell you that the Nazi Labor Front is not a labor union but an instrument to keep labor in a state of permanent subjection. Labor under the Nazi system has become the slave of the military state. (applause)

To replace Nazi workers shipped to the front, ^{and to meet the} gigantic needs of her total war effort, Nazi Germany has imported about two million foreign civilian laborers. They have changed the occupied countries into great slave areas for the Nazi rulers. Berlin is the principal slave-market of the world.

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And we know by now that Our place -- the place of the whole western hemisphere -- ^{is the} Nazi scheme for world domination has been marked on the Nazi time-table. The choice we have to make is this: Shall we make our full sacrifices now, produce to the limit, ^{and} deliver our products today and every day to the battlefields of the entire world? Or shall we remain satisfied with our present rate of armament output, postponing the day of real sacrifice -- as did the French -- until it is too late?

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To attain these goals will be no easy task. Yes, their fulfillment will require "the fullest cooperation between all nations in the economic field". We have learned too well that social problems and economic problems are not separate water-tight compartments in the international, any more than in the national sphere. In international, as in national affairs, economic policy can no longer be an end in itself. It is merely a means for achieving social objectives. *ante*

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part of your great world organization

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WILLIAM D. BASSETT

Miss Perkins, Mr. Goodrich, Mr. Phalen, Delegates and Advisors to the Conference:

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Your concern is the concern of all democratic peoples. To many of your member states, adherence to the ILO has meant great sacrifice. There is no greater evidence of the vitality of the ILO than the loyal presence here today of the representatives of the nations which suffer under the lash of the dictator. I welcome these representatives, especially.

I extend the hand of courage to the delegates of those labor organizations whose leaders are today languishing in concentration camps for having dared to stand up for the ideals without which no civilization can live. Through you, delegates from these despoiled lands, the United States sends your people this message: "You have not been forgotten; you will not be forgotten." *(No End)*

We in the United States have so far been called upon for extremely limited sacrifices, but even in this country we are beginning to feel the pinch of war. The names may be unfamiliar to you, but the workers of Manitowoc, Wisconsin, who used to make aluminum utensils, have had to sacrifice their jobs that we may send planes to Britain and Russia and China. Rubber workers in a hundred scattered plants have had to sacrifice their opportunities for immediate employment, that there may be ships to carry planes and tanks to Liverpool and Archangel and Rangoon. Tens of thousands of automobile workers will have to be shifted to other jobs in order that the copper which might have been used in automobiles may carry its deadly message from the mills of the Connecticut Valley to Hitler. But with all this, we have not yet made any substantial sacrifices in the United States.

We have not, like the heroic people of Britain, had to withstand a deluge of death from the skies. Nor can we even grasp the full extent of the sacrifices that the people of China are making in their struggle for freedom from aggression. We have in amazement witnessed the Russians oppose the Nazi war machine for four long months -- at the price of uncounted dead and a scorched earth. *(Ce.)*

Most heroic of all, however, has been the struggle of the common man and women of Europe, from Norway to Greece, against a brutal force which, however powerful, will be forever inadequate to crush the fight for freedom. *(Ce.)* *7/20/39*

As far as we in the United States are concerned, that struggle shall not be in vain. The epic stand of Britain, of China, and of Russia receive the full support of the free peoples of the Americas. The people of this country insist upon their right to join in the common defense. *(Ce.)* *now! No*

To be sure, there are still some misguided among us -- thank God they are but a few -- both industrialists and leaders of labor, who place personal advantage above the welfare of their nation. There are still a few who place their little victories over one another above triumph over Hitler. There are still some who place the profits they may make from civilian orders above their obligation to the national defense. There are still some who deliberately delay defense output by using their "economic power" to force acceptance of their demands, rather than use the established machinery for the mediation of industrial disputes. *(Ce.)*

Yes, they are but few. They do not represent the great mass of American workers and employers. The American people have made an unlimited commitment that there shall be a free world. Against that commitment, no individual or group shall prevail. *C.A.*

The American workman does not have to be convinced that the defense of the democracies is his defense. Some of you, from the conquered countries of Europe, and from China, have told this conference with the eloquence of anguish how all that you have struggled for -- the social

(thought the President said "difference" and not "conference")

✓

progress that you and your fellow-men have achieved -- is being obliterated by the barbarians.

I need not tell you that one of the first acts of the Fascist and Nazi dictators -- at home and in conquered countries -- was to abolish free trade unions and to take away from the common people the right of association. Labor alone did not suffer. Free associations of employers were also abolished. Collective bargaining has no place in their system; neither has collaboration of labor, industry and government.

Nor need I tell you that the Nazi Labor Front is not a labor union but an instrument to keep labor in a state of permanent subjection. Labor under the Nazi system has become the slave of the military state. *Key*

To replace Nazi workers shipped to the front, and to meet the gigantic needs of her total war effort, Nazi Germany has imported about two million foreign civilian laborers. They have changed the occupied countries into great slave areas for the Nazi rulers. Berlin is the principal slave-market of the world. *me too*
me too
me too
me too
me too
me too

The American worker has no illusions about the fate that awaits him and his free labor organizations if Hitler should win. He knows that his own liberty and the very safety of the people of the United States cannot be assured in a world which is three-fourths slave and one-fourth free. He knows that we must furnish arms to Britain, Russia and China and that we must do it now -- today. *me too*
me too
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Our place -- the place of the whole western hemisphere -- in the Nazi scheme for world domination has been marked on the Nazi time-table. The choice we have to make is this: Shall we make our full sacrifices now, produce to the limit, and deliver our products today and every day to the battlefronts of the entire world? Or shall we remain satisfied with our present rate of armament output, postponing the day of real sacrifice -- as did the French -- until it is too late? *me too*
me too
me too
me too

The first is the choice of realism -- realism in terms of three shifts a day; the fullest use of every vital machine every minute of every day and every night; realism in terms of staying on the job and getting things made, and entrusting industrial grievances to the established machinery of collective bargaining -- the machinery set up by a free people.

The second choice is the approach of the blind and the delayed who think that perhaps we could do business with Hitler. For them there is still "plenty of time". To be sure, many of these misled individuals honestly believe that if we should later find that we can't do business with Hitler, we will roll up our sleeves later - later - later. And their tombstones would bear the legend "Too late". *me too*

In the process of working and fighting for victory, however, we must never permit ourselves to forget the goal, which is beyond victory. The defeat of Hitlerism is necessary so that there may be freedom; but this war, like the last war, will produce nothing but destruction unless we prepare for the future now. We plan now for the better world we aim to build. *me too*

If that world is to be, ~~one~~ in which peace is to prevail, there must be a more abundant life ~~for the masses of the~~ people of all countries. In the words of the Atlantic Charter, we "desire to bring about the fullest collaboration between all nations in the economic field with the object of securing, for all, improved labor standards, economic advancement and social security".

There are so many millions of people in this world who have never been adequately fed and clothed and housed. By undertaking to provide a decent standard of living for these millions, the free peoples of the world can furnish employment to every man and woman who seeks a job. *me too*

Key

We are already engaged in surveying the immediate post-war requirements of a world whose economies have been disrupted by war.

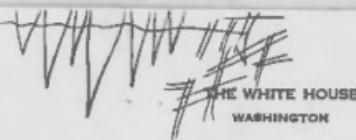
We are planning not to provide temporary remedies for the ills of a stricken world; we are planning to achieve permanent cures -- to help establish a sounder life.

To attain these goals will be no easy task. Yes, their fulfillment will require "the fullest cooperation between all nations in the economic field". We have learned too well that social problems and economic problems are not separate water-tight compartments in the international, any more than in the national sphere. In international, as in national affairs, economic policy can no longer be an end in itself. It is merely a means for achieving social objectives.

There must be no place in the post-war world for special privilege for either individuals or nations. Again in the words of the Atlantic Charter: "All states, great or small, victor or vanquished" must have "access, on equal terms, to the trade and to the raw materials of the world which are needed for their economic prosperity".

In the planning of such international action the ILO with its representation of labor and management, its technical knowledge and experience, will be an invaluable instrument for peace. Your organization will have an essential part to play in building up a stable international system of social justice for all peoples everywhere. As part of you, the people of the United States are determined to respond fully to the opportunity and challenge of this historic responsibility, so well exemplified at this historic meeting in this historic home of an ancient democracy. *So End*

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November 6, 1941

CAUTION: The following address of the President, to be delivered in the East Room of the White House before the Conference of the International Labor Organization and broadcast over a nationwide hook-up, MUST BE HELD IN CONFIDENCE until released.

NOTE: Release to editions of all newspapers appearing on the streets NOT EARLIER THAN 5:00 P.M., E.S.T., November 6, 1941. The same release of the text of the address also applies to radio announcers and news commentators.

CARE MUST BE EXERCISED TO PREVENT PREMATURE PUBLICATION.

WILLIAM D. HASSELT

Miss Perkins, Mr. Goodrich, Mr. Phalen, Delegates and Advisors to the Conference:

Taking part in a conference of the ILO is not a new experience for me. It was exactly at this time of the year, in 1919, that the ILO had its first conference in Washington. Apparently someone had fallen down on the job of making the necessary physical arrangements for the conference. Finally someone picked on the then Assistant Secretary of the Navy to help. I had to find office space in the Navy Building, as well as supplies and typewriters to get the machinery organized.

In those days the ILO was still a dream. To many it was a wild dream. Who had ever heard of governments getting together to raise the standards of labor on an international plane? Wilder still was the idea that the people themselves who were directly affected -- the workers and the employers of the various countries -- should have a hand with government in determining these labor standards.

Now twenty-two years have passed. The ILO has been tried and tested. Through those extravagant years of the '20's, it kept doggedly at its task of shortening the hours of labor, protecting women and children in agriculture and industry, making life more bearable for the merchant seaman, and keeping the factories and mines of the world safe and fit places for human beings to work in.

Then through the long years of depression, it sought to bring about a measure of security to all workers by the establishment of unemployment and old age insurance systems; and again to set the wheels of industry in action through the establishment of international public works, rational policies of migration of workers, and the opening of the channels of world trade.

Now for more than two years you have weathered the vicissitudes of a world at war. Though Hitler's juggernaut has crowded your permanent staff out of its home at Geneva, here in the new world, thanks in large part to the efforts of our friend, John Winant, you have been carrying on. And when this world struggle is over, you will be prepared to play your own part in formulating those social policies upon which the permanence of peace will so much depend.

Today you, the representatives of thirty-three nations, meet here in the White House for the final session of your conference. It is appropriate that I recall to you, who are in a full sense a parliament for man's justice, some words written in this house by a President who gave his life in the cause of justice. Nearly eighty years ago, Abraham Lincoln said: "The strongest bond of human sympathy, outside of the family relation, should be one uniting all working people, of all nations, and tongues, and kindreds."

The essence of our struggle is that men shall be free. There can be no real freedom for the common man without enlightened social policies. In last analysis, they are the stakes for which democracies are today fighting.

Your concern is the concern of all democratic peoples. To many of your member states, adherence to the ILO has meant great sacrifice. There is no greater evidence of the vitality of the ILO than the loyal presence here today of the representatives of the nations which suffer under the lash of the dictator. I welcome those representatives, especially.

I extend the hand of courage to the delegates of those labor organizations whose leaders are today languishing in concentration camps for having dared to stand up for the ideals without which no civilization can live. Through you, delegates from those despoiled lands, the United States sends your people this message: "You have not been forgotten; you will not be forgotten."

We in the United States have so far been called upon for extremely limited sacrifices, but even in this country we are beginning to feel the pinch of war. The names may be unfamiliar to you, but the workers of Manitowoc, Wisconsin, who used to make aluminum utensils, have had to sacrifice their jobs that we may send planes to Britain and Russia and China. Rubber workers in a hundred scattered plants have had to sacrifice their opportunities for immediate employment that there may be ships to carry planes and tanks to Liverpool and Archangel and Rangoon. Tens of thousands of automobile workers will have to be shifted to other jobs in order that the copper which might have been used in automobiles may carry its deadly message from the mills of the Connecticut valley to Hitler. But with all this, we have not yet made any substantial sacrifices in the United States.

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Most heroic of all, however, has been the struggle of the common men and women of Europe, from Norway to Greece, against a brutal force which, however powerful, will be forever inadequate to crush the fight for freedom.

As far as we in the United States are concerned, that struggle shall not be in vain. The epic stand of Britain, of China, and of Russia receive the full support of the free peoples of the Americas. The people of this country insist upon their right to join in the common defense.

To be sure, there are still some misguided among us -- thank God they are but a few -- both industrialists and leaders of labor, who place personal advantage above the welfare of their nation. There are still a few who place their little victories over one another above triumph over Hitler. There are still some who place the profits they may make from civilian orders above their obligation to the national defense. There are still some who deliberately delay defense output by using their "economic power" to force acceptance of their demands, rather than use the established machinery for the mediation of industrial disputes.

Yes, they are but few. They do not represent the great mass of American workers and employers. The American people have made an unlimited commitment that there shall be a free world. Against that commitment, no individual or group shall prevail.

The American workman does not have to be convinced that the defense of the democracies is his defense. Some of you, from the conquered countries of Europe and from China, have told this conference with the eloquence of anguish how all that you have struggled for -- the social

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Our place -- the place of the whole northern hemisphere -- in the Nazi scheme for world domination has been marked on the Nazi timetable. The choice we have to make is this: Shall we risk our full sacrifices now, prosecute to the limit, and deliver our products today and every day to the battlefronts of the entire world? Or shall we remain satisfied with our present rate of armament output, postponing the day of real sacrifice -- as did the French -- until it is too late?

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