File No. 1467

1943 May 2

Radio Address to Coal Miners
I am speaking tonight to the American people and in particular to those of our citizens who are coal miners.

Tonight this country faces a serious crisis. We are engaged in a war on the successful outcome of which will depend the whole future of our country.

This war has reached a new critical phase. After the years that we have spent in preparation, we have moved into active and continuing battle with our enemies. We are pouring into the world-wide conflict everything that we have -- our young men and the vast resources of our nation.

I have just returned from a two weeks tour of inspection on which I saw our men being trained and our war materials made. My trip took me through twenty States. I saw thousands of workers on the production line, making airplanes, guns and ammunition.
Everywhere I found great eagerness to get on with the war. Men and women are working long hours at difficult jobs and living under difficult conditions without complaint.

Along thousands of miles of track I saw countless acres of newly ploughed fields. The farmers of this country are planting the crops that are needed to feed our armed forces, our civilian population and our Allies. Those crops will be harvested.

On my trip, I saw hundreds of thousands of soldiers. Young men who were green recruits last Autumn have matured into self-assured and hardened fighting men. They are in splendid physical condition. They are mastering the superior weapons that are pouring out of our factories.

The American people have accomplished a miracle.

However, all of our massed effort is none too great to meet the demands of this war. We shall need everything that we have and everything that our Allies have --
to defeat the Nazis and the Fascists in the coming battles on the Continent of Europe, and the Japanese on the Continent of Asia and in the Islands of the Pacific.

This tremendous forward movement of the United States and the United Nations cannot be stopped by our enemies.

Equally, it must not be hampered by any one individual or by the leaders of any one group here back home.

I want to make it clear that every American coal miner who has stopped mining coal -- no matter how sincere his motives, no matter how legitimate he may believe his grievances to be -- every idle miner directly and individually is obstructing our war effort. We have not yet won this war.

We will win this war only as we produce and deliver our total American effort on the high seas and on the battle fronts. That requires unrelenting, uninterrupted effort here on the home front.
A stopping of the coal supply, even for a short time, would involve a gamble with the lives of American soldiers and sailors and the future security of our whole people. It would involve an unwarranted, unnecessary and terribly dangerous gamble with our chances for victory.

Therefore, I say to all miners -- and to all Americans everywhere, at home and abroad -- the production of coal will not be stopped.

Tonight, I am speaking to the essential patriotism of the miners, and to the patriotism of their wives and children. And I am going to state the true facts of this case as simply and as plainly as I know how.

After the attack at Pearl Harbor, the three great labor organizations -- the American Federation of Labor, the Congress of Industrial Organizations and the Railroad Brotherhoods -- gave the positive assurance that there would be no strikes as long as the war lasted. The President of the United Mine Workers of America was a party to that assurance.
That pledge was applauded throughout the country. It was a forcible means of telling the world that we Americans -- 135,000,000 of us -- are united in our determination to fight this total war with our total will and our total power.

At the request of employers and of organized labor -- including the United Mine Workers -- the War Labor Board was set up for settling any disputes which could not be adjusted through collective bargaining. The War Labor Board is a tribunal on which workers, employers and the general public are equally represented.

In the present coal crisis, conciliation and mediation were tried unsuccessfully.

In accordance with the law, the case was then certified to the War Labor Board, the agency created for this express purpose with the approval of organized labor. The members of the Board followed the usual practice which has proved successful in other disputes. Acting promptly, they undertook to get all the facts of the case from both the miners and the operators.
The national officers of the United Mine Workers, however, declined to have anything to do with the fact finding of the War Labor Board. The only excuse that they offer is that the War Labor Board is prejudiced.

The War Labor Board has been and is ready to give the case a fair, impartial hearing. I have given my assurance that if any adjustment of wages is made by the Board it will be made retroactive to April first. But the national officers of the United Mine Workers refused to participate in the hearing when asked to do so last Monday.

On Wednesday of this past week, while the Board was proceeding with the case, stoppages began to occur in some mines. On Thursday morning I telegraphed to the officers of the United Mine Workers asking that the miners continue mining coal on Saturday morning. However, a general strike throughout the industry became effective Friday night.
The responsibility for the crisis that we now face rests squarely on these national officers of the United Mine Workers, and not on the Government of the United States. But the consequences of this arbitrary action threaten all of us—everywhere.

At ten o'clock, yesterday morning, the Government took over the mines. I called upon the miners to return to work for their Government. The Government needs their services just as surely as it needs the services of our soldiers, sailors, and marines—and the services of the millions who are turning out the munitions of war.

You miners have sons in the Army and Navy and Marine Corps. You have sons who at this very minute—this split second—may be fighting in New Guinea or in the Aleutian Islands or Guadalcanal or Tunisia or protecting troop ships and supplies against submarines on the high seas. We have already received telegrams from some of our fighting men overseas, and I only wish they could tell you what they think of the stoppage of work in the coal mines.
Some of your own sons have come back from the fighting fronts, wounded. A number of them are now here in hospital in Washington. Several have been decorated by their Government.

I could tell you of one from Pennsylvania. He was a coal miner before his induction. His father is a coal miner. He was seriously wounded by Nazi machine gun bullets while he was on a bombing mission over Europe in a Flying Fortress.

Another boy, from Kentucky, the son of a coal miner, was wounded when our troops first landed in North Africa six months ago.

There is still another, from Illinois. He was a coal miner -- his father and two brothers are coal miners. He was seriously wounded in Tunisia while attempting to rescue two comrades whose jeep had been blown up by a Nazi mine.

These men do not consider themselves heroes. They would probably be embarrassed if I mentioned their names over the air. They were wounded in the line of duty. They know how essential it is to the tens of thousands and ultimately millions of other young Americans to get the
best of arms and equipment into the hands of our fighting forces --
and get them there quickly.

The fathers and mothers of our fighting men, their
brothers and sisters and friends -- and that includes all of
us -- are also in the line of duty -- the production line.
Any failure in production may well result in costly defeat on
the field of battle.

There can be no one among us -- no one faction --
powerful enough to interrupt the forward march of our people
to victory.

You miners have ample reason to know that there are
certain basic rights for which this country stands, and that
those rights are worth fighting for and dying for. That is
why you have sent your sons and brothers from every mining
town in the nation to join in the great struggle overseas.
That is why you have contributed so generously, so willingly, to the purchase of war bonds and to the many funds for the relief of war victims in foreign lands. That is why, since this war started in 1939, you have increased the annual production of coal by almost two hundred million tons a year.

The toughness of your sons in our armed forces is not surprising. They come of fine, rugged stock. Men who work in mines are not unaccustomed to hardship. It has been the objective of this Government to reduce that hardship, to obtain for miners and for all who do the nation's work a better standard of living.

I know only too well that the cost of living is troubling the miners' families and the families of millions of other workers throughout the country as well.

A year ago it became evident to all of us that something had to be done about living costs. Your Government determined not to let the cost of living continue to go up as it did in the first World War.
Your Government has been determined to maintain stability of both prices and wages -- so that a dollar would buy, so far as possible, the same amount of the necessities of life. And by necessities I mean just that -- not the luxuries and fancy goods that we have learned to do without in war time.

So far, we have not been able to keep the prices of some necessities as low as we should have liked to. That is true not only in coal towns but in many other places.

Wherever we find that prices of essentials have risen too high, they will be brought down. Wherever we find that price ceilings are being violated, the violators will be punished.

Rents have been fixed in most parts of the country. In many cities they have been cut to below where they were before we entered the war. Clothing prices have generally remained stable.
These two items make up more than a third of the total budget of the worker's family.

As for food, which today accounts for about a third of the family expenditure on the average, I want to repeat again: your Government will continue to take all necessary measures to eliminate unjustified and avoidable price increases. We are now taking measures to "roll back" the prices of meats.

The war is going to go on. Coal will be mined no matter what any individual thinks about it. The operation of our factories, our power plants, our railroads will not be stopped. Our munitions must move to our troops.

Under these circumstances, it is inconceivable that any patriotic miner can choose any course other than going back to work and mining coal.
The nation cannot afford violence of any kind at the coal mines or in coal towns. I have placed authority for the resumption of coal mining in the hands of a civilian, the Secretary of the Interior. If it becomes necessary to protect any miner who seeks patriotically to go back and work, then that miner must have and his family must have -- and will have -- complete and adequate protection. If it becomes necessary to have troops at the mine mouths or in coal towns for the protection of working miners and their families, those troops will be doing police duty for the sake of the nation as a whole, and particularly for the sake of the fighting men in the Army, the Navy and the Marines -- your sons and mine -- who are fighting our common enemies all over the world.

I understand the devotion of the coal miners to their union. I know of the sacrifices they have made to build it up.
I believe now, as I have all my life, in the right of workers to join unions and to protect their unions. I want to make it absolutely clear that this Government is not going to do anything now to weaken those rights in the coal fields.

Every improvement in the conditions of the coal miners of this country has had my hearty support. I do not mean to desert them now. But I also do not mean to desert my obligations and responsibilities as President and Commander-in-Chief of the U.S.

The first necessity is the resumption of coal mining. The terms of the old contract will be followed by the Secretary of the Interior. If an adjustment in wages results from a decision of the War Labor Board or from any new agreement between the operators and miners, which is approved by the War Labor Board, that adjustment will be made retroactive to April first.
In the message that I delivered to the Congress four months ago, I expressed my conviction that the spirit of this nation is good.

Since then, I have seen our troops in the Caribbean area, in bases on the coasts of our Ally, Brazil, and in North Africa. Recently I have again seen great numbers of our fellow countrymen -- soldiers and civilians -- from the Atlantic Seaboard to the Mexican border and to the Rocky Mountains.

Tonight, in the face of a crisis of serious proportions in the coal industry, I say again that the spirit of this nation is good. I know that the American people will not tolerate any threat offered to their Government by anyone. I believe the coal miners will not continue the strike against the Government. I believe that the coal miners themselves as Americans will not fail to heed the clear call to duty. Like all other good Americans, they will march shoulder to shoulder with our armed forces to victory.
Tomorrow the Stars and Stripes will fly over the coal mines. I hope every miner will be at work under that Flag.

[Signature]

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Orig. reading copy
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Everywhere I found great eagerness to get on with the war. Men and women are working long hours at difficult jobs and living under difficult conditions without complaint.

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This tremendous forward movement of the United States and the United Nations cannot be stopped by our enemies.

And equally, it must not be hampered by any one individual or by the leaders of any one group here back home.

I want to make it clear that every American coal miner who has stopped mining coal -- no matter how sincere his motives, no matter how legitimate he may believe his grievances to be -- every idle miner directly and individually is obstructing our war effort. We have not yet won this war. We will win this war only as we produce and deliver our total American effort on the high seas and on the battle fronts. And that requires unrelenting, uninterrupted effort here on the
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There can be no one among us -- no one faction -- powerful enough to interrupt the forward march of our people to victory.

You miners have ample reason to know that there are certain basic rights for which this country stands, and that those rights are worth fighting for and worth dying for. That is why you have sent your sons and brothers from every mining
town in the nation to join in the great struggle overseas. That is why you have contributed so generously, so willingly, to the purchase of war bonds and to the many funds for the relief of war victims in foreign lands. That is why, since this war was started in 1939, you have increased the annual production of coal by almost two hundred million tons a year.

The toughness of your sons in our armed forces is not surprising. They come of fine, rugged stock. Men who work in the mines are not unaccustomed to hardship. It has been the objective of this Government to reduce that hardship, to obtain for miners and for all who do the nation's work a better standard of living.

I know only too well that the cost of living is troubling the miners' families, and troubling the families of millions of other workers throughout the country as well.

A year ago it became evident to all of us that something had to be done about living costs. Your Government determined not to let the cost of living continue to go up as it did in the first World War.

Your Government has been determined to maintain stability of both prices and wages -- so that a dollar would buy, so far as possible, the same amount of the necessities of life. And by necessities I mean just that -- not the luxuries, not the (and) fancy goods that we have learned to do without in war time.

So far, we have not been able to keep the prices
of some necessities as low as we should have liked to keep them. That is true not only in coal towns but in many other places.

Wherever we find that prices of essentials have risen too high, they will be brought down. Wherever we find that price ceilings are being violated, the violators will be punished.

Rents have been fixed in most parts of the country. In many cities they have been cut to below where they were before we entered the war. Clothing prices have generally remained stable.

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As for food, which today accounts for about another (a) third of the family expenditure on the average, I want to repeat again: your Government will continue to take all necessary measures to eliminate unjustified and avoidable price increases. And we are today (now) taking measures to "roll back" the prices of meats.

The war is going to go on. Coal will be mined no matter what any individual thinks about it. The operation of our factories, our power plants, our railroads will not be stopped. Our munitions must move to our troops.

And so, under these circumstances, it is inconceivable that any patriotic miner can choose any course other than going back to work and mining coal.

The nation cannot afford violence of any kind at
the coal mines or in coal towns. I have placed authority for
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troops will be doing police duty for the sake of the nation as
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the Army, the Navy and the Marines -- your sons and mine -- who
are fighting our common enemies all over the world.

I understand the devotion of the coal miners to
their union. I know of the sacrifices they have made to build
it up. I believe now, as I have all my life, in the right of
workers to join unions and to protect their unions. I want to
make it absolutely clear that this Government is not going to
do anything now to weaken those rights in the coal fields.

Every improvement in the conditions of the coal
miners of this country has had my hearty support, and I do not
mean to desert them now. But I also do not mean to desert my
obligations and responsibilities as President of the United
States and Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy.

The first necessity is the resumption of coal mining.
The terms of the old contract will be followed by the Secretary
of the Interior. If an adjustment in wages results from a de-
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As for food, which today accounts for about a third of the family expenditure on the average, I want to repeat again: your Government will continue to take all necessary measures to eliminate unjustified and avoidable price increases. We are now taking measures to "roll back" the prices of meats.

The war is going to go on. Coal will be mined no matter what any individual thinks about it. The operation of our factories, our power plants, our railroads will not be stopped. Our munitions must move to our troops.

Under these circumstances, it is inconceivable that any patriotic miner can choose any course other than going back to work and mining coal.

The nation cannot afford violence of any kind at the coal mines or in coal towns. I have placed authority for the resumption of coal mining in the hands of a civilian, the Secretary of the Interior. If it becomes necessary to protect any miner who seeks patriotically to go back to work, then that miner must have and his family must have — and will have — complete and adequate protection. If it becomes
necessary to have troops at the mine mouths or in coal towns for
the protection of working miners and their families, those troops
will be conducting police duty for the sake of the nation as a whole,
and particularly for the sake of the fighting men in the Army,
the Navy and the Marines -- your sons and mine -- who are fighting
our common enemies all over the world.

I understand the devotion of the coal miners to their
union. I know of the sacrifices they have made to build it up. I
believe now, as I have all my life, in the right of workers to join
unions and to protect their unions. I want to make it absolutely
clear that this Government is not going to do anything now to weaken
those rights in the coal fields.

Every improvement in the conditions of the coal miners of
this country has had my hearty support. I do not mean to desert
them now. But I also do not mean to desert my obligations and
responsibilities as President and Commander-in-Chief.

The first necessity is the resumption of coal mining.
The terms of the old contract will be followed by the Secretary of
the Interior. If an adjustment in wages results from a decision of
the War Labor Board or from any new agreement between the operators
and miners, which is approved by the War Labor Board, that adjustment
will be made retroactive to April first.

In the message that I delivered to the Congress four months
ago, I expressed my conviction that the spirit of this nation is
good.

Since then, I have seen our troops in the Caribbean area,
in bases on the coasts of our Ally, Brazil, and in North Africa.
Recently I have again seen great numbers of our fellow countrymen --
soldiers and civilians -- from the Atlantic Seaboard to the Mexican
border and to the Rocky Mountains.

Tonight, in the face of a crisis of serious proportions
in the coal industry, I say again that the spirit of this nation is
good. I know that the American people will not tolerate any threat
offered to their Government by anyone. I believe the coal miners
will not continue the strike against the Government. I believe that
the coal miners themselves as Americans will not fail to heed the
clear call to duty. Like all other good Americans, they will march
shoulder to shoulder with their armed forces to victory.

Tomorrow the Stars and Stripes will fly over the coal
mines. I hope every miner will be at work under that Flag.
I am speaking tonight to the American people but in particular to those of our citizens who are engaged in the occupation of mining coal.

Ten years ago the banks of this country were closed; unemployment was universal. Though we were not faced by enemies from without, our internal civilization was completely out of joint.

At that time, I spoke to the American people over the air, explained the economic crisis simply and truthfully — and the American people took me at my word. There were no more runs on banks and from that time on confidence was restored and re-employment started on the up-grade.

Tonight this country faces in one sense a less serious situation because only half a million people are directly responsible; yet in another sense a far more serious situation because we are engaged in a war on the successful outcome of which the whole future of all our 130,000,000 people is involved.

First of all, I want to make it so clear that every individual who has been mining coal and now ceases to mine coal — each and every individual miner, directly and individually, is slowing up victory. That is a mild statement for the war is
neither won nor can I give you assurance that it will be won if the total American effort in the field and on the seas is seriously slowed up. Therefore, it would be more correct for me to say that by stopping the coal supply even for a short time you will be taking an unwarranted and unnecessary risk with victory -- with the actual winning of the war itself.

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During the succeeding months there was set up with the approval of labor as a whole -- including the United Mine Workers -- certain machinery covering the whole country, covering every trade, by which labor disputes would be settled first by conciliation, second by mediation, and third, in the event of failure to agree by the first two methods, to be referred
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In the present situation, conciliation and mediation have been used -- including meetings between the miners and the companies -- unsuccessfully.

Then the case was referred to the War Labor Board who, in accordance with previous successful practice in previous cases, set up a three-man committee to meet on Monday and again, in accordance with practice, one member of this was to represent the employer and one to represent the employee and the third to represent the United Mine Workers.

Your leaders, however, completely and definitely declined to appoint any member on this committee or to have anything to do with the fact-finding of the War Labor Board.

The excuse of your leaders was that the War Labor Board was prejudiced and pre-judged the case. That was the sole excuse
for their refusal to go along with a national set up which they had already approved of and recognized and which all \textit{other} labor organization had gone along with up to the present moment. This makes me think of what this policy would mean if any group or any locality or any individual in the United States were to decline to go into any court on the ground that they did not like the judge and that they would only go into court if the judge was somebody of their own choosing and to their own liking. After all, in our type of civilization -- for hundreds of years past we have recognized the fact that the courts are necessary in times of disputes between individuals or associations of individuals, that they are set up in an orderly way and that their decisions are enforceable.

All of us recognize, of course, that in time of peace courts do not abridge the right to strike except of course in those cases where the actual existence of the community itself is endangered. For example, if in any \textit{xxx} city in time of peace it becomes impossible because of a strike to bring in the necessary food to keep the population from actual starvation, the government of the city or of the state or of the nation has not only the right but the duty to bring that food in to prevent starvation by any means in its power. A small group rightly
must not cause vast numbers of deaths because of an disagreement on the part of employers and employees for it is just as serious for the corporation -- and employers to stop the food supply as it is for the employees to fail to move the food supply.

The stoppage of a supply of coal in time of peace falls within that rule. It is not fair to the nation for a small groups either of employers or of employees either to shot off the heat from the overwhelmingly greater total civilian population or to throw millions of their fellow workers out of work by cutting off the power from thousand and tens of thousands of factorises.

Think, however, how infinitely more serious it is in time of war. That is exactly where your responsibility lies.

You have sons in the Army and Navy and Marine Corps. You have sons who at this very minute -- this split second -- may be fighting in New Guinea or in the Aleutian Islands or Guadalupe or Tunis or protecting troop ships and supplies against submarines on the high seas.

You may say that those boys of yours and your neighbors are not using coal in any of the places of which I have spoken. That is probably true but remember that they have
to fight next week, next month and probably next year. Remember that the coal you produce tomorrow will go in short order into the making of ships and the turning out of planes and tanks and anti-aircraft guns and rifles and ammunition. Remember that this process starts in the making of power to turn the wheels in factories, in the getting of raw materials other than coal out of the ground. There is a boy named Blank who comes from the town of Blank, in the state of Blank. Some of you know him. Today he is on Guadalcanal Island. Remember that his very existence there depends on making things for his use and in this country not just food but rifles and guns and planes and hand grenades; that the supply line of these ammunitions has to be manned by ships of steel and transported across thousands of miles of water. That boy may not need them tomorrow because at this moment he is pretty well equipped but he and his buddies in this long war may be fighting there or in some other place -- fighting in the actual presence of the enemy six months hence and what is now in the process of production may very well have a definite effect on his safety and his life six months from now.

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Take Blank from the town of Blank in the state of Blank. He is on a transport going to the Canal Zone or Iceland. The safety of his trip depends on the number of escort vessels the Navy can provide for that convoy. If there are enough escort vessels, the danger of his being drowned is far less than if the number of escort vessels is too greatly limited. Yet escort vessels very directly come out of coal mines. Almost everything in them has to be fashioned by manufacturing processes that call for the use of coal.

Take Blank from the town of Blank in the state of Blank. He, too, is the son of a coal miner. Some of you in that town remember him. He is in North Africa. He is well equipped but the equipment of him and his buddies we have to keep supplying his company, his battalion, his regiment and his division with completely adequate and fully modern weapons and supplies of all kinds if we are to throw the Nazi out of that present area of the war.

I could go on and cite the cases of thousands of boys in the Army and Navy who come from coal towns. They are the
the responsibility of the whole nation which includes the coal miners who are so vital to the great effort which the country as a whole realizes full well is necessary to the difference between winning the war and losing it.

Nobody realizes better than I that the cost of food is causing many anxieties not just in the families of miners but in the families of millions of other workers throughout the country. Your Government was faced with two alternatives a year ago. The first was to let the cost of living go up and adjust the wage scale in accordance with the rise in that cost of living. To a great extent we did that in the first World War with the result that the people got very little richer during that period of inflation and when the war was over we were confronted by a debt far higher than if unrestricted inflation had not occurred and was followed by the kind of depression which resulted in lack of work for millions of our people. I think you will remember those days also.

Therefore, your Government chose the other course -- to make an effort to hold down everything -- wages and costs -- so that a dollar would as nearly as possible buy the same amount of goods as it did before -- that is to say the same amount as nearly as possible of the necessities of life. In time of
war I am not talking about articles which are not essential to
the maintenance of life -- luxuries and fancy goods that we have
learned to do without.

It is true that in trying to keep costs down there have
necessities been many [REDACTED] and many essential articles which have
got altogether too high. That is true, not only in coal towns
but in almost all other towns. It is true, however, to an
extent which is far less than many people would lead you to
believe.

I can assure you that every step is being taken as
fast as it can be in a vast country like ours to keep the cost
of living from getting higher and to correct many abuses in
many places which have sprung up in the past six months.

People are at work today on a fact-finding investigation
and in the development of ways and means by which there will
be a better distribution and fairer prices for the essentials
of life. I would ask you to remember that in the average family
in the United States the cost of food represents one-third of
what the average family spends, approximately another one-third
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rents have increased very little since we entered the war.

The other one-third is made up of clothing -- which has increased
also very little and the cost of other things, including luxuries which in some cases have gone up. Frankly, I am not much concerned with the cost of luxuries in time of war.

But I ask you again to consider the principal problems in this coal situation.

The first relates to the refusal of the United Mine Workers officers to treat with the local and nation-wide board or court known as the War Labor Board. They approved the setting up of this Board but today they say "We do not like the judge". The other and most important issue of all is the threat that is being made by the officers of the United Mine Workers to the prosecution of the war.

Let me say to you, very simply, that every factory and every plant engaged in war production of any kind that shuts down or slows up because of lack of coal is a serious detriment to carrying on the war. The answer to the question on the part of you as individuals means either that you will be a party to the slowing up of the conduct of the war or that you have decided because you have been told so by some of your leaders that you are willing to slow up the war. In the latter case, it will mean that you are willing to hurt your sons or your neighbors sons all over the country -- hurt them onto possible death --
by slowing up the equipment and supplies and the reinforcements that we can send to them in their private fight against a common enemy.

It means that if you choose the latter course, you will consciously and knowingly give aid and comfort to the enemies of the United States. It means that if you choose the latter course that you make the outcome of the war doubtful.

I do not believe that you will choose the latter course that many of you at once and most of you very shortly will go to work, mine coal, keep the war industries going, and show the world that your heart is in the right place. Not one of you believes that as President and Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy you would have the right to say to Hitler and to the Japs, "Five hundred thousand miners have compelled one hundred and thirty millions of our fellow Americans to surrender or ask for peace".

Obviously, my alternative is to tell you quite frankly that even if you did not very soon resume mining coal, the war is going to go on. Coal must be mined no matter what any individual thinks about it. The nation as a whole demands it.

I say this not as a threat in any way but as a simple
fact; you have to keep the war supplies going. Therefore, I am asking you very simply, as Americans, to return to the mines and to resume the mining of coal for the railroads and the industries; that will mean no delay in the conduct of the war. It is obvious, too, that the nation cannot afford violence of any kind at the coal mines or in coal towns. I am placing the resumption of coal mining in the hands of a civilian, your good friend and mine, the Secretary of the Interior. He is a civilian. I am not and he is not ordering out the Army but if there is violence against any miner who seeks patriotically to go back and work, then that miner must have and his family must have and will, complete and adequate protection. If, because of violence, it becomes necessary to have troops at the mouths of pits or in coal towns for the protection of working miners and their families, those troops will be doing police duty for the sake of the nation as a whole but also for the sake of every boy in the army — your sons and mine — who is fighting or who are about to fight the common enemies all over the world.
I am speaking tonight to the American people but in particular to those of our citizens who are engaged in the occupation of mining coal.

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Grace:

The President has the original and Harry Hopkins has two copies—one for himself and one for Bob Sherwood.

TOI
I am speaking tonight to the American people but in particular to those of our citizens who are engaged in the occupation of mining coal.

Ten years ago the banks of this country were closed; unemployment was universal. Though we were not faced by enemies from without, our internal civilization was completely out of joint.

At that time, I spoke to the American people over the air, explained the economic crisis simply and truthfully -- and the American people took me at my word. There were no more runs on banks and from that time on confidence was restored and re-employment started on the up-grade.

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for their refusal to go along with a national set up which they had already approved of and recognized and which all labor organization had gone along with up to the present moment. This makes me think of what this policy would mean if any group or any locality or any individual in the United States were to decline to go into any court on the ground that they did not like the judge and that they would only go into court if the judge was somebody of their own choosing and to their own liking. After all, in our type of civilization -- for hundreds of years past we have recognized the fact that the courts are necessary in times of disputes between individuals or associations of individuals, that they are set up in an orderly way and that their decisions are enforceable.

All of us recognize, of course, that in time of peace courts do not abridge the right to strike except of course in those cases where the actual existence of the community itself is endangered. For example, if in any city in time of peace it becomes impossible because of a strike to bring in the necessary food to keep the population from actual starvation, the government of the city or of the state or of the nation has not only the right but the duty to bring that food in to prevent starvation by any means in its power. A small group rightly
must not cause vast numbers of deaths because of an disagreement on the part of employers and employees for it is just as serious for the corporation -- and employers to stop the food supply as it is for the employees to fail to save the food supply.

The stoppage of a supply of coal in time of peace falls within that rule. It is not fair to the nation for a small groups either of employers or of employees either to shot off the heat from the overwhelmingly greater total civilian population or to throw millions of their fellow workers out of work by cutting off the power from thousand and tens of thousands of factories.

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You have sons who at this very minute -- this split second -- may be fighting in New Guinea or in the Aleutian Islands or Guadalcanal or Tunisia or protecting troop ships and supplies against submarines on the high seas.

You may say that those boys of yours and your neighbors are not using coal in any of the places of which I have spoken. That is probably true but remember that they have
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Take Blank from the town of Blank in the state of Blank. He, too, is the son of a coal miner. Some of you in that town remember him. He is in North Africa. He is well equipped but added to supplying his company, his battalion, his regiment and his division with completely adequate and fully modern weapons and supplies of all kinds if we are to throw the Nazi out of that present area of the war.

I could go on and cite the cases of thousands of boys in the Army and Navy who come from coal towns. They are the
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Therefore, your Government chose the other course --
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learned to do without.

It is true that in trying to keep costs down there have
been many reductions and many essential articles which have
got altogether too high. That is true, not only in coal towns
but in almost all other towns. It is true, however, to an
extent which is far less than many people would lead you to
believe.

I can assure you that every step is being taken as
fast as it can be in a vast country like ours to keep the cost
of living from getting higher and to correct many abuses in
many places which have sprung up in the past six months.

People are at work today on a fact-finding investigation
and in the development of ways and means by which there will
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in the United States the cost of food represents one-third of
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The other one-third is made up of clothing -- which has increased
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But I ask you again to consider the principal problems in this coal situation.

The first relates to the refusal of the United Mine Workers officers to treat with the local and nation-wide board or court known as the War Labor Board. They approved the setting up of this Board but today they say "We do not like the judge". The other and most important issue of all is the threat that is being made by the officers of the United Mine Workers to the prosecution of the war.

Let me say to you, very simply, that every factory and every plant engaged in war production of any kind that shuts down or slows up because of lack of coal is a serious detriment to carrying on the war. The answer to the question on the part of you as individuals means either that you will be a party to the slowing up of the conduct of the war or that you have decided because you have been told so by some of your leaders that you are willing to slow up the war. In the latter case, it will mean that you are willing to hurt your sons or your neighbors sons all over the country -- hurt them onto possible death --
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It means that if you choose the latter course, you will consciously and unknowingly give aid and comfort to the enemies of the United States. It means that if you choose the latter course that you make the outcome of the war doubtful.

I do not believe that you will choose the latter course that many of you at once and most of you very shortly will go to work, mine coal, keep the war industries going, and show the world that your heart as well as your heart is in the right place. Not one of you believes that as President and Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy you would have the right to say to Hitler and to the Japs, "Five hundred thousand miners have compelled one hundred and thirty millions of our fellow Americans to surrender or ask for peace".

Obviously, my alternative is to tell you quite frankly that even if you did not very soon resume mining coal, the war is going to go on. Coal must be mined no matter what any individual thinks about it. The nation as a whole demands it.

I say this not as a threat in any way but as a simple
fact; you have to keep the war supplies going. Therefore, I am asking you very simply, as Americans, to return to the mines and to resume the mining of coal for the railroads and the industries; that will mean no delay in the conduct of the war. It is obvious, too, that the nation cannot afford violence of any kind at the coal mines or in coal towns. I am placing the resumption of coal mining in the hands of a civilian, your good friend and mine, the Secretary of the Interior. He is a civilian. I am not and he is not ordering out the Army but if there is violence against any miner who seeks patriotically to go back and work, then that miner must have and his family must have and will, complete and adequate protection. If, because of violence, it becomes necessary to have troops at the mouths of pits or in coal towns for the protection of working miners and their families, those troops will be doing police duty for the sake of the nation as a whole but also for the sake of every boy in the Army -- your sons and mine -- who is fighting or who are about to fight the common enemies all over the world.
I am speaking tonight to the American people but in particular to those of our citizens who are engaged in the occupation of mining coal.

Ten years ago the banks of this country were closed; unemployment was universal. Though we were not faced by enemies from without, our internal civilization was completely out of joint. We were desperately threatened.

At that time, I spoke to the American people over the air, explained the economic crisis simply and truthfully— and the American people took me at my word. There were no more runs on banks and from that time on confidence was restored and re-employment started on the up-grade.

Tonight this country faces in one sense a less serious situation because only half a million people are directly responsible; yet in another sense a far more serious situation because we are engaged in a war on the successful outcome of which the whole future of all our 130,000,000 people is involved.

First of all, I want to make it so clear that every individual who has been mining coal and now ceases to mine coal—each and every individual miner, directly and individually, is slowing up victory. That is a mild statement for the war is
neither won nor can I give you assurance that it will be won if the total American effort in the field and on the seas is seriously solved up. Therefore, it would be more correct for me to say that by stopping the coal supply even for a short time you will be taking an unwarranted and unnecessary risk with victory -- with the actual winning of the war itself.

Many, probably most miners have been given a wrong slant -- wrong information on the actual facts of the present case.

When the treacherous attack came at Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941, four great labor organizations -- the American Federation of Labor, the CIO, the Railroad Brotherhoods, and the United Mine Workers, itself, gave me assurance that there would be no strike as long as the war lasted.

That assurance was given the whole nation and labor was applauded throughout the country for this action.

During the succeeding months there was set up with the approval of labor as a whole -- including the United Mine Workers -- certain machinery covering the whole country, covering every trade, by which labor disputes would be settled first by conciliation, second by mediation, and third, in the event of failure to agree by the first two methods, to be referred
to the War Labor Board -- a kind of tribunal on which was
represented a membership and a series of panels with equal
representation of employees, employers and the general public.
I may add that the members representing the general public
were most carefully selected from men who had no axes to grind
and did not represent employees or employers but did represent
a fair cross section of the public.

In the present situation, conciliation and mediation have
been used -- including meetings between the miners and the
companies -- unsuccessfully.

Then the case was referred to the War Labor Board who,
in accordance with practice in previous
cases, set up a three-man committee to meet on Monday and again,
in accordance with practice, one member of this was to represent
the employer and one to represent the employee and the third to
represent the United Mine Workers.

Your leaders, however, completely and definitely declined
to appoint any member on this committee or to have anything to
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The excuse of your leaders was that the War Labor Board
was prejudiced and pre-judged the case. That was the sole excuse
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All of us recognize, of course, that in time of peace courts do not abridge the right to strike except of course in those cases where the actual existence of the community itself is endangered. For example, if in any city in time of peace it becomes impossible because of a strike to bring in the necessary food to keep the population from actual starvation, the government of the city or of the state or of the nation has not only the right but the duty to bring that food in to prevent starvation by any means in its power. A small group rightly
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Take Blank from the town of Blank in the state of Blank. He, too, is the son of a coal miner. Some of you in that town remember him. He is in North Africa. He is well equipped but added to the equipment of him and his buddies we have to keep supplying his company, his battalion, his regiment and his division with completely adequate and fully modern weapons and supplies of all kinds if we are to throw the Nazi out of that present area of the war.

I could go on and cite the cases of thousands of boys in the Army and Navy who come from coal towns. They are the
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Therefore, your Government chose the other course --
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The first relates to the refusal of the United Mine Workers officers to treat with the local and nation-wide board or court known as the War Labor Board. They approved the setting up of this Board but today they say "We do not like the judge". The other and most important issue of all is the threat that is being made by the officers of the United Mine Workers to the prosecution of the war.

Let me say to you, very simply, that every factory and every plant engaged in war production of any kind that shuts down or slows up because of lack of coal is a serious detriment to carrying on the war. The answer to the question on the part of you as individuals means either that you will be a party to the slowing up of the conduct of the war or that you have decided because you have been told so by some of your leaders that you are willing to slow up the war. In the latter case, it will mean that you are willing to hurt your sons or your neighbors sons all over the country -- hurt them onto possible death --
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It means that if you choose the latter course, you will consciously and unknowingly give aid and comfort to the enemies of the United States. It means that if you choose the latter course that you make the outcome of the war doubtful.

I do not believe that you will choose the latter course that many of you at once and most of you very shortly will go to work, mine coal, keep the war industries going, and show the world that your heart as well as your heart is in the right place. Not one of you believes that as President and Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy you would have the right to say to Hitler and to the Japs, "Five hundred thousand miners have compelled one hundred and thirty millions of our fellow Americans to surrender or ask for peace".

Obviously, my alternative is to tell you quite frankly that even if you did not very soon resume mining coal, the war is going to go on. Coal must be mined no matter what any individual thinks about it. [The nation as a whole demands it.]

I say this not as a threat in any way but as a simple
fast, [you have to keep the war supplies going. Therefore, I am asking you [very simply] as Americans, to return to the mines and to resume the mining of coal for the [railroads and the industries;]

That will mean no delay in the conduct of the war. It is obvious, too, that the nation cannot afford violence of any kind at the coal mines or in coal towns. I am placing the resumption of coal mining in the hands of a civilian, your good friend and mine, the Secretary of the Interior. He is a civilian. I am not and he is not ordering out the Army but if there is violence against any miner who seeks patriotically to go back and work, then that miner must have and his family must have and will, complete and adequate protection. If, because of violence, it becomes necessary to have troops at the mouths of pits or in coal towns for the protection of working miners and their families, those troops will be doing police duty for the sake of the nation as a whole but also for the sake of every boy in the army -- your son and mine -- who is fighting or who are about to fight the common enemies all over the world.

__________________________
I am speaking tonight to the American people but in particular to those of our citizens who are engaged in the occupation of mining coal.

Ten years ago the banks of this country were closed; unemployment was universal. Though we were not faced by enemies from without, our internal civilization was completely out of joint.

At that time, I spoke to the American people over the air, explained the economic crisis simply and truthfully—and the American people took me at my word. There were no more runs on banks and from that time on confidence was restored and re-employment started on the up-grade.

Tonight this country faces in one sense a less serious situation because only half a million people are directly responsible; yet in another sense a far more serious situation because we are engaged in a war on the successful outcome of which the whole future of all our 150,000,000 people, A

First of all, I want to make it so clear that every individual who has been mining coal and now ceases to mine coal—each and every individual miner, directly and individually, is slowing up victory. That is a mild statement for the war is
This war has reached its most critical phase. Before the year, we have spent in preparation, we are now moving into a cruel battle with our enemies. We are pouring into the battle everything that we have got—all of our resources of our nation. We shall need everything that we have got—in order to defeat the Axis and the Fascists on the continent of Europe, and the Japanese on the continent of East Asia, and on the islands of the Pacific.

This tremendous forward movement of the United States and the United Nations cannot be stopped by our enemies and it must not be stopped by anyone individual or any one group among ourselves.

I want to make it clear that any person, who has been mining coal and now ceases to mine coal—any person willfully idle miner, directly or individually, is obstructing our common war effort, he is lessening our chance for victory, he has not yet won this war, and we never shall win this war, if our total American effort on the home front, on the high seas, and in the battle fronts, is seriously slowed up.

A stopping of the coal supply, even for a short time, involves an unwarranted, unnecessary and terribly dangerous gamble with victory. Those responsible for such stoppage are assuming a very grave responsibility for the lives of American
soldiers and sailors and for the future security of our whole people.

Therefore, I say to all miners—and to all Americans everywhere, at home and abroad—the production of coal will not be stopped.

I have not, in my heart or in my mind, any doubt of the essential patriotism of the Americans who do the tough work of mining our coal. I know that they have been in this present crisis they have been misled and misinformed—the facts of the case have been misrepresented to them. When they are in possession of the real truth, they will go back to work. But, in the meantime—I repeat, the production of coal will not be stopped.

We cannot and will not permit the crippling of one of our greatest industries, to give aid and comfort to our enemies and to weaken the strength of the cause for which our sons are offering their lives.

Tonight, I am speaking to that essential patriotism, and I am going to state the facts of this case as simply and as plainly as I know how.
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Many, probably most miners have been given a wrong slant -- wrong information on the actual facts of the present case.

After the treacherous attack at Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941, great labor organizations -- the American Federation of Labor, the CIO, the Railroad Brotherhoods, the United Mine Workers, itself, gave no assurance that there would be no strikes so long as the war lasted. Mine Workers of America was a party to that assurance. That assurance was given the whole nation and was applauded throughout the country.

At the request of employees and employers following the proceedings before the War Labor Board, approval of labor as a whole -- including the United Mine Workers -- machinery was set up for settling such disputes as certain machinery among the whole country. Every worker which could not be adjusted through collective trading, by which labor disputes would be settled first by bargaining, conciliation, second by mediation, and third, in the event of failure to agree, under the first two methods, to be referred to
The War Labor Board is a tribunal on which workers, employers, and the general public are equally represented. A membership and a series of panels with equal representation of employees, employers, and the general public.

I may add that the members representing the general public were most carefully selected from men who had no axes to grind, as such, as such, and did not represent employees or employers but did represent the common interests of the people as a whole.

In the present situation, conciliation and mediation have been used, including meetings between the miners and the

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agency created at the request of organized labor for this express purpose, in accordance with precedent, the successful practice in previous

The War Labor Board followed the usual practice which

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for their refusal to go along with a national set up which they
In the middle of this past week, stoppages began to occur in some mines. A general strike throughout the industry became effective last Friday night.

At 10 o'clock, yesterday morning, your Government took over the mines and I called upon the miners to return to work for their Government, which needs their service just as much as it needs the services of our soldiers, sailors and Marines.
must not cause vast numbers of deaths because of an disagreement on the part of employers and employees for it is just as serious for the corporation -- and employers to stop the food supply as it is for the employees to fail to move the food supply.

The stoppage of a supply of coal in time of peace falls within that rule. It is not fair to the nation for a small groups either of employers or of employees either to shut off the heat from the overwhelmingly greater total civilian population or to throw millions of their fellow workers out of work by cutting off the power from thousands and tens of thousands of factories. Think, however, how infinitely more serious it is in time of war. That is exactly where your responsibility lies.

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community. His safety and his very life may well depend on what happens to the coal supply of this nation in the immediate days to come.

Take Blank from the town of Blank in the state of Blank. He is on a transport going to the Canal Zone or Iceland. The safety of his trip depends on the number of escort vessels the Navy can provide for that convoy. If there are enough escort vessels, the danger of his being drowned is far less than if the number of escort vessels is too greatly limited. Yet escort vessels very directly come out of coal mines. Almost everything in them has to be fashioned by manufacturing processes that call for the use of coal.

Take Blank from the town of Blank in the state of Blank. He, too, is the son of a coal miner. Some of you in that town remember him. He is in North Africa. He is well equipped but added to supplying the equipment of him and his buddies we have to keep supplying his company, his battalion, his regiment and his division with completely adequate and fully modern weapons and supplies of all kinds if we are to throw the Nazi out of that present area of the war.

I could go on and cite the cases of thousands of boys in the Army and Navy who come from coal towns. They are the
the responsibility of the whole nation, which includes the
calmined who are so vital to the great effort which the country
as a whole realizes full well is necessary to the difference
between winning the war and losing it.
Nobody realizes better than I that the cost of food is
causing many anxieties not just in the families of miners but
in the families of millions of other workers throughout the
country. Your Government was faced with two alternatives a
year ago. The first was to let the cost of living go up and
adjust the wage scale in accordance with the rise in the cost
of living. To a great extent we did that in the first World War
with the result that the people got very little richer during
that period of inflation and when the war was over we were
confronted by a debt far higher than if unrestricted inflation
had not occurred and was followed by the kind of depression which
resulted in lack of work for millions of our people. I
remember those days also. Therefore, your Government chose the other course

to make an effort to hold down everything — wages and costs —
so that a dollar would as nearly as possible buy the same amount
of goods as it did before — that is to say the same amount as
nearly as possible of the necessities of life. In time of
I know only too well that the cost of living is troubling not only the miners’ families but the families of millions of other workers throughout the country. A year ago it became evident to all of us that something had to be done about living costs. Your Government was faced with two alternatives. The first was to let the cost of living continue to go up and adjust wage scales as these cost of living rises took place. That is what we did in the first World War. The result, some of you will remember, was that we found ourselves in a squirrel cage, never getting any richer because every wage increase soon more than offset by increases in prices. I think that many of you will also remember that the crash that followed was the inflation of prices and the rise in the cost of living. You miners will particularly remember the wage cuts that you had to take and the unemployment that threw millions out of work. The other alternative, the one that your Government chose, was to make an effort to hold everything down — both prices and wages — so that a dollar would, so far as possible, buy the same amount of the necessities of life and necessities not luxuries and fancy.
goods that we have learned to do without in war time.

I know that we have not been able to keep the prices of some necessities as low as we should have liked to. That is true not only in coal towns but in many other places.

I want to assure you that every possible step is being taken, as far as it can be taken in a country as vast as ours, to keep the cost of living from going any higher and to correct the abuses that have sprung up in some communities.

Your Government has a large staff at work today getting facts wherever we find them for me on the cost of living in towns, the price of some essentials have risen altogether too high, these prices will be brought down.

Rents, which make up almost one-fourth of the cost of living, have not only been fixed in most parts of the country, but they are today considerably lower than when they have actually been lowered since we entered the war. Clothing, which remained fairly stable. As for food, represents almost one-fifth of our cost of living, has risen very little.

It is the rise in food costs which represents about one-third of what the average family spends that has accounted for the largest part of
the increases in living costs. I want to repeat that, so far as it is.

will do everything possible

reasonably possible, your Government is using every effort to eliminate

price

unjustified and avoidable increases, in food prices.
also very little and the cost of other things, including luxuries which in some cases have gone up. Frankly, I am not much concerned with the cost of luxuries in time of war.

But I ask you again to consider the principal problems in this coal situation.

The first relates to the messes of the United Mine Workers to treat with the local and nationwide board or court known as the War Labor Board. They approved the setting up of this board but today they say "we do not like the judge". The other and most important issue of all is the threat that is being made by the officers of the United Mine Workers to the prosecution of the war.

Let me say to you, very simply, that every factory and every plant engaged in war production of any kind that shuts down or slows up because of lack of coal is a serious obstacle to carrying on the war. You must decide for yourself, as individuals, whether you as individuals mean either that you will be a party to the slowing up of the conduct of the war or that you have decided because you have been told by some of your leaders that you are willing to slow up the war. In the latter case, it will mean that you are willing to hurt your sons or your neighbors sons all over the country -- hurt them onto possible death --
by slowing up the equipment and supplies and the reinforcements they need that we can send to them in their private fight against a common enemy.

You must decide whether it means that if you choose the latter course, you will consciously and unknowingly give aid and comfort to the enemies of the United States. It means that if you choose the latter course that you make the outcome of the war doubtful.

I do not believe that you will choose this latter course, any other than you are at once and that many of you vary shortly will go to work, mint coal, keep the war industries going, and show the world that your heart is in the right place. Not one of you believes that as President and Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy you would have the right to say to Hitler and to the Japs, "Five hundred thousand miners have compelled one hundred and thirty millions of our fellow Americans to surrender or ask for peace".

Obviously, my alternative is to tell you quite frankly that even if you did not very soon resume mining coal, the war is going to go on. Coal must be mined no matter what any individual thinks about it. The nation as a whole demands it.

I say this not as a threat in any way but as a simple
fact; you have to keep the war supplies going. Therefore, I am asking you—simply, as Americans, to return to the mines and

to resume the mining of coal for our railroads and our industries.
That will mean no delay in the conduct of the war. It is obvious,
too, that the nation cannot afford violence of any kind at the
coal mines or in coal towns. I am placing the resumption of
coal mining in the hands of a civilian, your good friend and mine,
the Secretary of the Interior. He is a civilian. I am not and
he is not ordering the Army (but if there is violence against
any miner who seeks patriotically to go back and work, then that
miner must have and his family must have—and will—complete
and adequate protection. If, because of violence, it becomes
necessary to have troops at the mouths of pits or in coal towns
for the protection of working miners and their families, those
troops will be doing police duty for the sake of the nation
and particularly as a whole but also for the sake of every boy in the Army—your
sone and mine—who is fighting or who is about to fight the
common enemies all over the world.

* * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *
SECOND DRAFT

RADIO ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT
MAY 2, 1943

I am speaking tonight to the American people but in particular to those of our citizens who are coal miners.

Tonight this country faces a most serious situation. We are engaged in a war on the successful outcome of which will depend the whole future of our country -- our democratic institutions and the very lives of our people.

This war has reached its most critical phase. After the years that we have spent in preparation, we are now moving into actual battle with our enemies. We are pouring into the battle everything that we have got -- all of the vast resources of our nation. We shall need everything that we have got and everything that our Allies have got -- in order to defeat the Nazis and the Fascists on the Continent of Europe, and the Japanese on the Continent of East Asia and on the Islands of the Pacific.
This tremendous forward movement of the United States and the United Nations cannot be stopped by our enemies, it must not be hampered by any one individual or any one group among ourselves.

I want to make it clear that every American who has been mining coal and now ceases to mine coal -- every wilfully idle miner, directly and individually, is obstructing our common war effort; he is lessening our chance for victory. We have not yet won this war, and we never shall win this war, if our total American effort on the home front, on the high seas, and on the battle fronts, is seriously slowed up.

A stopping of the coal supply, even for a short time, involves an unwarranted, unnecessary and terribly dangerous gamble with victory. Those responsible for such stoppage are assuming a very grave responsibility for the lives of American soldiers and sailors and for the future security of our whole people.
Therefore, I say to all miners -- and to all Americans everywhere, at home and abroad -- the production of coal will not be stopped.

I have not, in my heart or in my mind, any doubt of the essential patriotism of the Americans who do the tough work of mining our coal. Tonight, I am speaking to their essential patriotism, and I am going to state the true facts of this case as simply and as plainly as I know how.

After the attack at Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941, the three great labor organizations -- the American Federation of Labor, the Congress of Industrial Organizations and the Railroad Brotherhoods gave me assurance that there would be no strikes as long as the war lasted. The President of the United Mine Workers of America was a party to that assurance.

That assurance was given to the whole nation and was applauded throughout the country.
At the request of employers and organized labor -- including the United Mine Workers -- machinery was set up for settling such disputes which could not be adjusted through collective bargaining.

The War Labor Board is a tribunal on which workers, employers and the general public are equally represented.

In the present crisis, conciliation and mediation were tried unsuccessfully.

In accordance with the law, the case was then referred to the War Labor Board, the agency created at the request of organized labor for this express purpose. The War Labor Board followed the usual practice which has proved successful in other disputes. Acting promptly, last Monday, they attempted to get the facts.

The officials of the United Mine Workers, however, declined to have anything to do with the fact finding of the War Labor Board. Their excuse has been that the War Labor Board is prejudiced.

The War Labor Board was ready to give the case a fair, impartial hearing and then to render its decision. I personally had given my assurance that any adjustment of wages made by
the Board would be made retroactive. But -- the officials of
the United Mine Workers refused to participate in the hearing.

On Wednesday of this past week, stoppages began to
occur in some mines. A general strike throughout the industry
became effective last Friday night.

At 10 o'clock, yesterday morning, your Government took
over the mines and I called upon the miners to return to work for
their Government which needs their services just as surely as
it needs the services of our soldiers, sailors and marines.

You miners have sons in the Army and Navy and Marine
Corps. You have sons who at this very minute -- this split second --
may be fighting in New Guinea or in the Aleutian Islands or
Guadalcanal or Tunisia or protecting troop ships and supplies
against submarines on the high seas.

There is a boy named Blank who comes from the town of
Blank, in the state of Blank. Some of you know him. Today he is
on Guadalcanal Island. Remember that his very existence there depends
on making things for his use not just food but
rifles and guns and planes and hand grenades; that the supply line
of these munitions has to be manned by ships of steel and trans-
ported across thousands of miles of water. That boy may not need
them tomorrow because at this moment he is pretty well equipped
but he and his buddies in this long war may be fighting there
or in some other place -- fighting in the actual presence of
the enemy six months hence, and what is now in the process of
production may very well have a definite effect on his safety
and his life six months from now.
Blank is with the 40th in New Guinea. He comes from the town of Blank in the State of Blank -- another coal mining community. His safety and his very life may well depend on what happens to the coal supply of this nation in the immediate days to come.

Take Blank from the town of Blank in the state of Blank. He is on a transport going to the Canal Zone or Iceland. The safety of his trip depends on the number of escort vessels the Navy can provide for that convoy. If there are enough escort vessels, the danger of his being drowned is far less than if the number of escort vessels is too greatly limited. Yet escort vessels very directly come out of coal mines. Almost everything in them has to be fashioned by manufacturing processes that call for the use of coal.

Take Blank from the town of Blank in the state of Blank. He, too, is the son of a coal miner. Some of you in that town remember him. He is in North Africa. He is well equipped but added to his equipment and that of his buddies we have to keep supplying his company, his battalion,
his regiment and his division with completely adequate and
fully modern weapons and supplies of all kinds if we are to
throw the Nazi out of that present area of the war.

I could go on and cite the cases of thousands of boys
in the Army and Navy who come from coal towns. They are the
responsibility of the whole nation.

I know only too well that the cost of living is
troubling the miners' families and the families of millions
of other workers throughout the country as well.

A year ago it became evident to all of us that
something had to be done about living costs. Your Government
was faced with two alternatives. The first was to let the
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as these cost of living rises took place. That is what
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that many of you will also remember the crash that followed.
the uncontrolled inflation and the rise in the cost of living. You miners will particularly remember the wage cuts that you had to take and the unemployment that threw millions of workers out of jobs.

The other alternative, the one that your Government chose, was to make an effort to hold everything down -- both prices and wages -- so that a dollar would, so far as possible, buy the same amount of the necessities of life. And by necessities I mean just that. Not luxuries and fancy goods that we have learned to do without in war time.

I know that we have not been able to keep the prices of some necessities as low as we should have liked to. That is true not only in coal towns but in many other places.

I want to assure you that every possible step is being taken -- as fast as they can be taken in a country as vast as ours -- to keep the cost of living from going any higher and to correct the abuses that have sprung up in some communities. Wherever we find that the price of essentials has risen altogether too high, such prices will be brought down.
Rents have not only been fixed in most parts of the country, but in many cities they are today considerably lower than when we entered the war. Clothing has remained fairly stable. As for food, I want to repeat that your Government will do everything possible to eliminate unjustified and avoidable price increases.

Now, the officials of the United Mine Workers know all this. And yet, with reckless disregard of the facts of the case -- reckless disregard of the common welfare -- they have refused to treat with the War Labor Board, whose creation they approved. In doing so, they bring threat against the will of the American people in the determined prosecution of the war.
But I ask you again to consider the principal problems in this coal situation.

The first is: Officials of the United Mine Workers have refused to treat with the War Labor Board, whose creation they approved. The other, and most important issue of all, is the threat that is being made by the officers of the United Mine Workers to the prosecution of the war.

Let me say to you, very simply: Every factory and every plant engaged in war production of any kind that shuts down or slows up because of lack of coal seriously interferes with carrying on the war. You must decide for yourself, as individual Americans, whether you will be a party to the slowing up of the conduct of the war; or whether you are willing to hurt your sons or your neighbors sons all over the country -- hurt them unto possible death -- by slowing up the equipment and supplies and the reinforcements that they need in their fight against our common enemy.

You must decide whether you will consciously and knowingly give aid and comfort to the enemies of the United States and make the outcome of the war doubtful.
I do not believe that you will choose any other course than going back to work, mining coal, keeping the war industries going, and showing the world that your head as well as your heart is in the right place.

Obviously, I have no alternative other than to tell you quite frankly that even if you did not very soon resume mining coal, the war is going to go on. Coal must be mined no matter what any individual thinks about it. The nation as a whole demands it.

I say this as a simple fact; you have to keep the war supplies going. Therefore, I am simply asking you, as Americans, to return to the mines and to resume the mining of coal for our railroads, our power plants, and our factories.

It is obvious, too, that the nation cannot afford violence of any kind at the coal mines or in coal towns. I am placing the resumption of coal mining in the hands of a civilian, your good friend and mine, the Secretary of the Interior. He is a civilian. I am not and he is not calling upon the Army for aid, but if there is violence against any miner who seeks patriotically to go back and work, then that miner must
have and his family must have — and will have — complete and adequate protection. If, because of violence, it becomes necessary to have troops at the mouths of pits or in coal towns for the protection of working miners and their families, those troops will be doing police duty for the sake of the nation as a whole, and particularly for the sake of every boy in the Army, the Navy and the Marines — your sons and mine — who is fighting or who is about to fight our common enemies all over the world.

* * * * * * * * *
SECOND DRAFT

RADIO ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT

MAY 2, 1943

I am speaking tonight to the American people but in particular to those of our citizens who are coal miners.

Tonight this country faces a most serious situation. We are engaged in a war on the successful outcome of which will depend the whole future of our country — our democratic institutions and the very lives of our people.

This war has reached its most critical phase. After the years that we have spent in preparation, we are now moving into actual battle with our enemies. We are pouring into the battle everything that we have got — all of the vast resources of our nation. We shall need everything that we have got and everything that our Allies have got — in order to defeat the Nazis and the Fascists on the Continent of Europe, and the Japanese on the Continent of East Asia and on the Islands of the Pacific.
SECOND DRAFT

This tremendous forward movement of the United States and the United Nations cannot be stopped by our enemies, and it must not be hampered by any one individual or any one group among ourselves.

I want to make it clear that every American who has been mining coal and now ceases to mine coal — every wilfully idle miner, directly and individually, is obstructing our common war effort; he is lessening our chance for victory. We have not yet won this war, and we never shall win this war, if our total American effort on the home front, on the high seas, and on the battle fronts, is seriously slowed up.

A stopping of the coal supply, even for a short time, involves an unwarranted, unnecessary and terribly dangerous gamble with victory. Those responsible for such stoppage are assuming a very grave responsibility for the lives of American soldiers and sailors, and for the future security of our whole people.
Therefore, I say to all miners — and to all Americans everywhere, at home and abroad — the production of coal will not be stopped.

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A year ago it became evident to all of us that something had to be done about living costs. Your Government was faced with two alternatives. The first was to let the cost of living continue to go up and adjust wage scales as these cost of living rises took place. That is what we did in the first World War. The result, some of you will remember, was that we found ourselves in a squirrel cage, never getting any higher because every wage increase was soon more than offset by increases in prices. I think that many of you will also remember the crash that followed --
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It is obvious, too, that the nation cannot afford violence of any kind at the coal mines or in coal towns. I am placing the resumption of coal mining in the hands of a civilian, your good friend and mine, the Secretary of the Interior.

He is a civilian. I am not and he is not calling upon the Army for aid, but if there is violence against any miner who seeks patriotically to go back and work, then that miner must
SECOND DRAFT

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MAY 2, 1943

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This war has reached its most critical phase. After the years that we have spent in preparation, we are now moving into actual battle with our enemies. We are pouring into the battle everything that we have got—all of the vast resources of our nation. We shall need everything that we have got and everything that our Allies have got—in the coming battles in order to defeat the Nazis and the Fascists on the Continent of Europe, and the Japanese on the Continent of East Asia and on the Islands of the Pacific.
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

I have just returned from a two weeks trip on which I inspected these resources.
I saw thousands of our workers making airplanes, guns and ammunition. Our factories and our shipyards are running at full blast.

Along thousands of miles of track I saw countless acres of newly ploughed fields. The farmers of this country are planting the crops that are needed to feed our armed forces and our civilian population and our Allies. Their Government will see to it that the necessary labor will be available to harvest these crops.
On my trip, I also saw hundreds of thousands of soldiers. Young men who were green recruits when I saw them last Autumn had matured into self-assured and hardened soldiers.

The American people have accomplished a miracle. In less than two years we have done what no other nation has even approached.
SECOND DRAFT

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and the United Nations cannot be stopped by our enemies,
and it must not be hampered by any one individual or any one
group among ourselves.

I want to make it clear that every American who has
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this war, unless our total American effort on the home
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I have not, in my heart or in my mind, any doubt of the essential patriotism of the Americans who do the tough work of mining our coal. Tonight, I am speaking to the essential patriotism of their wives and children.

And I am going to state the true facts of this case as simply and as plainly as I know how.

After the attack at Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941, the three great labor organizations -- the American Federation of Labor, the Congress of Industrial Organizations and the Railroad Brotherhoods gave assurance that there would be no strikes as long as the war lasted. The President of the United Mine Workers of America was a party to that assurance.

That assurance was applauded throughout the country. It was a possible means of telling the world that we Americans -- 135,000,000 of us -- are united in our determination to fight this Total War with our Total Power.
At the request of employers and organized labor -- the War Labor Board was set up for settling disputes which could not be adjusted through collective bargaining.

The War Labor Board is a tribunal on which workers, employers and the general public are equally represented.

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In accordance with the law, the case was then referred to the War Labor Board, the agency created at the request of organized labor for this express purpose. The War Labor Board followed the usual practice which has proved successful in getting promptly, last Monday, they undertook to get the facts of the case from both the miners and the operators.

The officials of the United Mine Workers, however, declined to have anything to do with the fact finding of the War Labor Board. Their excuse was that the War Labor Board is prejudiced.

The War Labor Board was ready to give the case a fair, impartial hearing, and to render its decision. I personally have given my assurance that any adjustment of wages made by
SECOND DRAFT  - 3 -

the Board would be made retroactive. But -- the officers of the United Mine Workers refused to participate in the hearing.

On Wednesday of this past week, stoppages began to occur in some mines. A general strike throughout the industry became effective last Friday night.

At 10 o'clock, yesterday morning, your Government took over the mines and I called upon the miners to return to work for their Government, which needs their services just as surely as it needs the services of our soldiers, sailors and marines.

You miners have sons in the Army and Navy and Marine Corps. You have sons who at this very minute -- this split second -- may be fighting in New Guinea or in the Aleutian Islands or Guadalcanal or Tunisia or protecting troop ships and supplies against submarines on the high seas. Ask these Americans fighting men what they think of the stoppage of work in our most vital industry.

There is a boy named Blank who comes from the town of Blank, in the state of Blank. Some of you know him. Today he is on Guadalcanal Island. Remember that his very existence there depends on our production here of ships and food, ammunition, rifles and planes and tanks -- that the supply line of these armaments has to be manned by ships of steel and transported across thousands of miles of water. That boy may not need
them tomorrow because at this moment he is pretty well equipped but he and his buddies in this long war may be fighting there or in some other place -- fighting in the actual presence of the enemy six months hence. And what is now in the process of production may very well have a definite effect on his safety and his life six months from now.

That boy is well equipped today. But he will need far more if he is to fight successfully in the much greater battles of tomorrow. Any delay in production today may lose a battle tomorrow.
Blank is with the Marines in New Guinea. He comes from the town of Blank in the State of Blank — another coal mining community. His safety and his very life may well depend on what happens to the coal supply of this nation in the immediate days to come.

Take Blank from the town of Blank in the state of a war zone. Blank. He is on a transport going to the Casab-Boone or Lecce. The safety of his trip depends on the number of escort vessels the Navy can provide for that convoy. If there are enough escort vessels, the danger of his being drowned is far less than if the number of escort vessels is too greatly limited. Yet escort vessels very directly come out of coal mines. Almost everything in them has to be fashioned by manufacturing processes that call for the use of coal.

Take Blank from the town of Blank in the state of Blank. He, too, is the son of a coal miner. Some of you in that town remember him. He is in North Africa. He is well equipped but added to his equipment and that of his buddies we have to keep supplying his company, his battalion,
The toughness of your sons in our armed forces is not surprising. They come of fine, rugged stock. Men who work in mines are not unaccustomed to hardship. It has been the objective of this Government to reduce that hardship, to obtain for miners and for all who do the nation's work a better standard of living.
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his regiment and his division with completely adequate and
fully modern weapons and supplies of all kinds if we are to
trow the Nazis out of that present area of the war.

I could go on and cite the cases of thousands of boys
in the Army and Navy who came from coal towns. They are the
responsibility of the whole nation.

I know only too well that the cost of living is
troubling the miners' families and the families of millions
of other workers throughout the country as well.

A year ago it became evident to all of us that
something had to be done about living costs. Your Government
was faced with two alternatives. The first was to let the
cost of living continue to go up and adjust wage scales
as these cost of living rises took place. That is what
we did in the first World War. The result, some of you will
remember, was that we found ourselves in a squirrel cage,
never getting any because every wage increase was
soon more than offset by increases in prices. I think
that many of you will also remember the crash that followed —
the uncontrolled inflation and the rise in the cost of living. You miners will particularly remember the wage cuts that you had to take and the unemployment that threw millions of workers out of jobs.

The other alternative, the one that your Government choose, was to make an effort to hold everything down — both prices and wages — so that a dollar would, so far as possible, buy the same amount of the necessities of life. And by necessities I mean just that.  luxuries and fancy goods that we have learned to do without in war time.

I know that we have not been able to keep the prices of some necessities as low as we should have liked to. That is true not only in coal towns but in many other places.

I want to assure you that possible steps are being taken — as fast as they can be taken in a country as vast as ours — to keep the cost of living from going any higher and to correct the abuses that have sprung up in some communities. Wherever we find that the price of essentials has risen altogether too high, such prices will be brought down.
Now, the officials of the United Mine Workers know all this. And yet, with reckless disregard of the facts of the case — reckless disregard of the common welfare — they have refused to treat with the Iron Labor Board, whose creation they approved. In doing so, they bring threat against the will of the American people in the determined prosecution of the war.
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Rents have not only been fixed in most parts of the country, but in many cities they are today considerably lower than when we entered the war. Clothing has remained fairly stable. As for food, I want to repeat that your Government will do everything possible to eliminate unjustified and avoidable price increases.

Now, the members of the United Mine Workers know all this. And yet, with reckless disregard of the facts of the case — reckless disregard of the common welfare — they have refused to treat with the War Labor Board, whose creation they approved. In doing so, they bring threat against the will of the American people in the determined prosecution of the war.
But I ask you again to consider the principal problems in this coal situation.

The first is: Officials of the United Mine Workers have refused to treat with the War Labor Board, whose creation they approved. The other, and most important issue of all, is the threat that is being made by the officers of the United Mine Workers to the prosecution of the war.

Let me say to you, very simply: Every factory and every plant engaged in war production of any kind that shuts down or slows up because of lack of coal seriously interferes with carrying on the war. You must decide for yourself, as individual Americans, whether you will be a party to the slowing up of the conduct of the war; or whether you are willing to hurt your sons or your neighbors sons all over the country -- hurt them unto possible death -- by slowing up the equipment and supplies and the reinforcements that they need in their fight against our common enemy.

You must decide whether you will consciously and knowingly give aid and comfort to the enemies of the United States and make the outcome of the war doubtful.
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Under these circumstances it is inexcusable that any other than going back to work, mining coal, keeping the war industries going, and showing the world that his heart is in the right place.

Obviously, I have no alternative other than to tell you quite frankly that even if you did not very soon resume mining coal, the war is going to go on. Coal will be mined no matter what any individual thinks about it. The nation as a whole demands it.

I say this as a simple fact; you have to keep the war supplies going. Therefore, I am simply asking you, as Americans, to return to the mines and to resume the mining of coal for our railroads, our power plants, and our factories.

It is obvious that the nation cannot afford violence of any kind at the coal mines or in coal towns. I have placed authority for the resumption of coal mining in the hands of a civilian, your good friend and mine, the Secretary of the Interior. He is a civilian. I am not and he is not calling upon the Army for aid, but if there is violence against any miner who seeks patriotically to go back and work, then that miner must...
have and his family must have -- and will have -- complete and adequate protection. If, because of violence, it becomes necessary to have troops at the mouths of pits or in coal towns for the protection of working miners and their families, those troops will be doing police duty for the sake of the nation as a whole, and particularly for the sake of the fighting men in the Army, and the Navy and the Marines -- your sons and mine -- who are fighting or who is about to fight our common enemies all over the world.
In the message that I delivered to the Congress four months ago I expressed my conviction that the state of this nation is good.

Since then, I have seen many of our troops in the Caribbean area, in Brazil, lands on the coast of our ally, Brazil, and in North Africa. I have seen great numbers of our fellow country-men from the Atlantic Seaboard to the Mexican border to the Rocky Mountains.

Tonight, in the face of a crisis of serious proportions in the coal industry, I say again that the state of this nation is good. I do believe that the American people will not tolerate the threat that has been threatened at their Government by one ambitious individual. I believe that the coal miners themselves, as Americans, will not fail to heed the clear call to duty in the vital service of their country.
I am speaking tonight to the American people and in particular to those of our citizens who are coal miners.

Tonight this country faces a serious situation. We are engaged in a war on the successful outcome of which will depend the whole future of our country, our democratic institutions and the very lives of our people.

This war has reached a new critical phase. After the years that we have spent in preparation, we are moving into active battle with our enemies. We are pouring into the battle everything that we have -- all of our vast resources.

I have just returned from a two weeks trip on which I have inspected these resources. I saw thousands of our workers making airplanes, guns and ammunition. Our factories and our ships are running at full blast.

Along thousands of miles of track I saw countless acres of newly ploughed fields. The farmers of this country are planting the crops that are needed to feed our armed forces and our civilian population and our Allies.
Government will see to it that the necessary labor will be available to harvest these crops.

On my trip, I saw hundreds of thousands of soldiers. Young men who were green recruits last Autumn have matured into self-assured and hardened soldiers.

The American people have accomplished a miracle. In less than two years we have done what no other nation has ever approached.

However, all of our massed effort is none too great to meet the demands of this war. We shall need everything that we have and everything that our Allies have -- in order to defeat the Nazis and the Fascists in the coming battles on the Continent of Europe, and the Japanese on the mainland of East Asia and the Continent of Formosa and the islands of the Pacific.

This tremendous forward movement of the United States and the United Nations cannot be stopped by our enemies.

Equally it must not be hampered by any one individual or any one group among ourselves.

I want to make it clear that every American coal miner who has stopped mining coal -- every wilfully idle miner --
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directly and individually is obstructing our war effort.

We have not yet won this war. We **will** win this war. And we must produce and deliver our total American effort on the home front, on the high seas, and on the battle fronts. If we are not willing it in the home front too.

A stopping of the coal supply, even for a short time, would involve an unwarranted, unnecessary and terribly dangerous gamble with our chances for victory. Those responsible for such stoppage would be placing in danger the lives of American soldiers and sailors, they are sabotaging the future security of our whole people.

Therefore, I say to all miners -- and to all Americans everywhere, at home and abroad -- the production of coal will not be stopped.

I have not, in my heart or in my mind, any doubt of the essential patriotism of the Americans who do the tough work of mining our coal. Tonight, I am speaking to their essential patriotism and to the patriotism of their wives and children. And I am going to state the true facts of this case as simply and as plainly as I know how.
After the attack at Pearl Harbor on December 7, the three great labor organizations -- the American Federation of Labor, the Congress of Industrial Organizations and the Railroad Brotherhoods -- gave the positive assurance that there would be no strikes as long as the war lasted. The President of the United Mine Workers of America was a party to that assurance.

That assurance was applauded throughout the country. It was a forcible means of telling the world that we Americans -- 135,000,000 of us -- are united in our determination to fight this total war with our total will and our total power.

At the request of employers and of organized labor -- including the United Mine Workers -- the War Labor Board was set up for settling any disputes which could not be adjusted through collective bargaining.

The War Labor Board is a tribunal on which workers, employers and the general public are equally represented.

In the present coal crisis, conciliation and mediation were tried unsuccessfully.
In accordance with the law, the case was then referred to the War Labor Board, the agency created at the request of organized labor for this express purpose. The members of the Board followed the usual practice which has proved successful in other disputes. Acting promptly, last Monday, they undertook to get all the facts of the case from both the miners and the operators.

The officials of the United Mine Workers, however, declined to have anything to do with the fact finding of the War Labor Board. The only excuse that they offer is that the War Labor Board is prejudiced.

The War Labor Board has been and is ready to give the case a fair, impartial hearing. I personally have given my assurance that any adjustment of wages made by the Board would not be retroactive to April first. But the national officers of the United Mine Workers have refused to participate in the hearing.

The responsibility for the crisis that we now face rests squarely on these national officials, and not on the Government of the United States. But the consequences threaten all of us.
On Wednesday of this past week, stoppages began to occur in some mines. A general strike throughout the industry became effective last Friday night.

At 10 o'clock, yesterday morning, the Government took over the mines. I called upon the miners to return to work for their Government. The Government needs their services just as surely as it needs the services of our soldiers, sailors and marines.

You miners have sons in the Army and Navy and Marine Corps. You have sons who at this very minute -- this split second -- may be fighting in New Guinea or in the Aleutian Islands or Guadalcanal or Tunisia or protecting troop ships and supplies against submarines on the high seas. These American fighting men want they think of the stoppage of work in our most basic industry.

There is a boy named Blank who comes from the town of Blank, in the state of Blank. Some of you know him. Today he is on Guadalcanal Island. Remember that his very existence there depends on our production here of guns and planes and ships and food. That boy is well equipped today. But he will need far more if he is to fight successfully in the much greater battles of tomorrow. Any delay in production today may lose a battle tomorrow.
Take Blank from the town of Blank in the state of Blank. He is on a transport going to a war zone. The safety of his trip depends on the number of escort vessels the Navy can provide for that convoy. If there are enough escort vessels, the danger of his being drowned is far less than if the number of escort vessels is too greatly limited. Yet escort vessels very directly come out of coal mines. Almost everything in them has to be fashioned by manufacturing processes that call for the use of coal.

Take Blank from the town of Blank in the state of Blank. He, too, is the son of a coal miner. Some of you in that town remember him. He is in North Africa. He is well equipped but added to his equipment and that of his buddies we have to keep supplying his company, his battalion, his regiment and his division with completely adequate and fully modern weapons and supplies of all kinds if we are to throw the Nazis out of that present area of the war.

The toughness of your sons in our armed forces is not surprising. They come of fine, rugged stock. Men who work in mines are not unaccustomed to hardship. It has been the objective of this Government to reduce that hardship, to obtain for miners and for all who do the nation's work a
better standard of living.

I know only too well that the cost of living is troubling the miners' families and the families of millions of other workers throughout the country as well.

A year ago it became evident to all of us that something had to be done about living costs. Your Government was faced with two alternatives. The first was to let the cost of living continue to go up and adjust wage scales as these cost of living rises took place. That is what we did in the first World War. The result, some of you will remember, was that we found ourselves in a squirrel cage, never getting any further ahead, because every wage increase was soon more than offset by increases in prices. I think that many of you will also remember the crash that followed -- the uncontrolled inflation and the rise in the cost of living. You miners will particularly remember the wage cuts that you had to take and the unemployment that three millions of workers lost their jobs.

While other wages were advancing the daily earnings in your industry fell from seven dollars in 1922 to less than $5.50 in 1929. And during this period you did well if you could get 200 days of work per year.
During this same period, your Union was declining in membership and was on the verge of bankruptcy. It was not until the passage of the National Industrial Recovery Act in 1933 that your Union was able to deal with the problems of the coal industry on a national basis. It was only through the aid from your government that it was possible for your Union to attain the strength which enabled it to reduce daily hours of employment, abolish the payment of wages in script and guarantee to its members the right to select their own checkweighmen.

The other alternative, the one that your Government chose, was to make an effort to hold everything stable -- both prices and wages -- so that a dollar would, so far as possible, buy the same amount of necessities. I mean just that. I am not speaking of the luxuries and fancy goods that we have learned to do without in war time.

I know that we have not been able to keep the prices of some necessities as low as we should have liked to. That is true not only in coal towns but in many other places.

I want to assure you that all possible steps are being taken -- as fast as they can be taken in a country as vast as ours -- to keep the cost of living from going any higher and to
correct the abuses that have sprung up in some communities.

Wherever we find that the price of essentials has risen altogether, too high, such prices will be brought down. Steps are already under way to "roll back" the price of meats.

Rents have not only been fixed in most parts of the country; but in many cities they are now considerably lower than when we entered the war. Clothing has remained fairly stable.

As for food, I want to repeat that your Government will do everything possible to eliminate unjustified and avoidable price increases.

The national officers of the United Mine Workers know all this. And yet, with reckless disregard of the facts of the case -- reckless disregard of the common welfare -- they have refused to treat with the War Labor Board, whose creation they approved. In doing so, they bring threat against the will of the American people in the determined prosecution of the war.

Under these circumstances, it is inconceivable that any patriotic miner can choose any other course other than going back to work in mining coal, keeping the war industries going, and showing the world that his head as well as his heart is in the right place.

The war is going to go on. Coal will be mined no matter what any individual thinks about it. The operation of our factories, our power plants, our railroads will not be stopped.

The nation as a whole demands it.
It is obvious that the nation cannot afford violence of any kind at the coal mines or in coal towns. I have placed authority for the resumption of coal mining in the hands of a civilian, the Secretary of the Interior. I am not and he is not calling upon the Army for aid, but if there is violence against any miner who seeks patriotism to go back and work, then that miner must have and his family must have -- and will have -- complete and adequate protection. If, because of violence, it becomes necessary to have troops at the mouths of mines or in coal towns for the protection of working miners and their families, those troops will be doing police duty for the sake of the nation as a whole, and particularly for the sake of the fighting men in the Army, the Navy and the Marines -- your sons and mine -- who are fighting or who are about to fight our common enemies all over the world.

In the message that I delivered to the Congress four months ago, I expressed my conviction that the state of this nation is good.

Since then, I have seen many of our troops in the Caribbean area, in bases on the coasts of our Ally, Brazil, and in North Africa. I have seen great numbers of our fellow
countrymen -- soldiers and civilians -- from the Atlantic Seaboard and to the Mexican border to the Rocky Mountains.

Tonight, in the face of a crisis of serious proportions in the coal industry, I say again that the state of this nation is sound. I believe that the American people will not tolerate the threat that has been hurled at their Government by any ambitious individual. I believe that the coal miners themselves, as Americans, will not fail to heed the clear call to duty in the vital service of their country.
RADIO ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT
MAY 2, 1943

I am speaking tonight to the American people and in particular to those of our citizens who are coal miners.

Tonight this country faces a serious situation. We are engaged in a war on the successful outcome of which will depend the whole future of our country, our democratic institutions and the very lives of our people.

This war has reached a critical phase. After the years that we have spent in preparation, we have moved into battle with our enemies. We are pouring into the battle everything that we have — vast resources of our nation.

I have just returned from a two weeks trip on which I have inspected these resources. I saw thousands of our workers making airplanes, guns and ammunition. Our war plants factories and our shipyards are running at full blast.

Along thousands of miles of track I saw countless acres of newly ploughed fields. The farmers of this country are planting the crops that are needed to feed our armed forces, our civilian population and our Allies.
I have just returned from a two
weeks tour of inspection on which I
saw 20,000 men being trained and
our war materials being made. My trip
took me through six states. I saw
thousands of workers in the production line,
making aircraft, guns and ammunition.
Everywhere I found great eagerness to get on
with the war. People are working long hours
and doing it efficiently and competently at difficult jobs and
living under difficult conditions without complaint.
Government will see to it that the necessary labor will be available to harvest these crops.

On my trip, I saw hundreds of thousands of soldiers. Young men who were green recruits last Autumn have matured into self-assured and hardened soldiers.

The American people have accomplished a miracle. In less than two years we have done what no other nation has ever approached.

However, all of our massed effort is none too great to meet the demands of this war. We shall need everything that we have and everything that our Allies have -- in order to defeat the Nazis and the Fascists in the coming battles on the Continent of Europe, and the Japanese on the continent of East Asia and the Islands of the Pacific.

This tremendous forward movement of the United States and the United Nations cannot be stopped by our enemies.

Equally, it must not be hampered by any one individual or any one group among ourselves.

I want to make it clear that every American coal miner who has stopped mining coal -- every wilfully idle miner --
They are in splendid physical condition. They are mastering the superlative weapons that are pouring out of our factories.
directly and individually is obstructing our [common] war effort. We have not yet won this war. We will only as we produce and deliver our total American effort [on the home front] on the high seas; and on the battle fronts. We must win it on the home front too.

A stopping of the coal supply, even for a short time, would involve an unwarranted, unnecessary and terribly dangerous gamble with our chances for victory. Those responsible for such stoppage would be placing in the lives of American soldiers and sailors and they the future security of our whole people.

Therefore, I say to all miners — and to all Americans everywhere, at home and abroad — the production of coal will not be stopped.

I have not in my heart or in my mind any doubt of the essential patriotism of the Americans who do the tough work of mining our coal. Tonight, I am speaking to their essential patriotism and to the [essential] patriotism of their wives and children. And I am going to state the true facts of this case as simply and as plainly as I know how.
After the attack at Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941, the three great labor organizations -- the American Federation of Labor, the Congress of Industrial Organizations and the Railroad Brotherhoods -- gave the positive assurance that there would be no strikes as long as the war lasted. The President of the United Mine Workers of America was a party to that assurance.

That assurance was applauded throughout the country. It was a forcible means of telling the world that we Americans -- 135,000,000 of us -- are united in our determination to fight this total war with our total will and our total power.

At the request of employers and of organized labor -- including the United Mine Workers -- the War Labor Board was set up for settling any disputes which could not be adjusted through collective bargaining.

The War Labor Board is a tribunal on which workers, employers and the general public are equally represented.

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At 10 o'clock, yesterday morning, the Government took over the mines. I called upon the miners to return to work for their Government. The Government needs their services just as surely as it needs the services of our soldiers, sailors and marines.

You miners have sons in the Army and Navy and Marine Corps. You have sons who at this very minute -- this split second -- may be fighting in New Guinea or in the Aleutian Islands or Guadalcanal or Tunisia or protecting troop ships and supplies against submarines on the high seas. These American fighting men what they think of the stoppage of work in our most basic industry.

There is a boy named Blank who comes from the town of Blank, in the state of Blank. Some of you know him. Today he is on Guadalcanal Island. Remember that his very existence there depends on our production here of guns and planes and ships and food. That boy is well equipped today. But he will need far more if he is to fight successfully in the much greater battles of tomorrow. Any delay in production today may lose a battle tomorrow.
Here in Washington, in the Walter Reed Hospital, some of your sons are recovering from wounds.

There is, for instance, Master Sergeant Edward M. Jones, of Dornsife, Pennsylvania. He was an coal miner before his induction. His father, Edward Jones, has been a coal miner all his life.

Sergeant Jones was hit in the head, shoulder, and back by Nazi machine gun bullets while he was on a bombing mission over Europe in a Flying Fortress.

Then Lieutenant Dean, from Ashland, Kentucky, among the few of a coal miners' unit wounded on the first day the troops landed in North Africa six months ago.

There is Staff Sergeant William L. Stover, a former coal miner - his father and two brothers are coal miners. He was wounded in Tunisia while attempting to rescue two comrades whose jeep had been blown up by a Nazi mine.

These men do not consider themselves heroes. They will probably be embarrassed to hear their names mentioned over the air. They were wounded in the line of duty, and they know that there are thousands that on that same line of duty are tens of thousands and ultimately millions of other young Americans who must the least that we can give them in the way of arms and equipment.

For the future victory...
The fathers and mothers of these men, their brothers and sisters and friends — and that includes all of us — are also in the line of duty. In the name of our country, and of our fundamental rights, we cannot afford to fail. There can be no one man among us — no one faction — powerful enough to interrupt the forward march of our people to victory.

You miners have ample reason to know that there are certain basic rights for which this country stands, and that these rights are worth fighting for and dying for. That is why you have sent your sons and brothers from each mining camp and village in the nation to join in the great battle overseas. That is why you have contributed so generously, so willingly, to the purchase of war bonds and to the many funds for the relief of the victims of this war in foreign lands.
Take Blank from the town of Blank in the state of Blank. He is on a transport going to a war zone. The safety of his trip depends on the number of escort vessels the Navy can provide for that convoy. If there are enough escort vessels, the danger of his being drowned is far less than if the number of escort vessels is too greatly limited. Yet escort vessels very directly come out of coal mines. Almost everything in them has to be fashioned by manufacturing processes that call for the use of coal.

Take Blank from the town of Blank in the state of Blank. He, too, is the son of a coal miner. Some of you in that town remember him. He is in North Africa. He is well equipped but added to his equipment and that of his buddies we have to keep supplying his company, his battalion, his regiment and his division with completely adequate and fully modern weapons and supplies of all kinds if we are to throw the Nazis out of that present area of the war.

The toughness of your sons in our armed forces is not surprising. They come of fine, rugged stock. Men who work in mines are not unaccustomed to hardship. It has been the objective of this Government to reduce that hardship, to obtain for miners and for all who do the nation's work a
better standard of living.

I know only too well that the cost of living is troubling the miners' families and the families of millions of other workers throughout the country as well.

A year ago it became evident to all of us that something had to be done about living costs. Your Government was faced with two alternatives. The first was to let the cost of living continue to go up and adjust wage scales as prices increased. That is what we did in the first World War. The result, some of you will remember, was that we found ourselves in a squirrel cage, never getting any further ahead, because every wage increase was soon more than offset by increases in prices. I think that many of you will also remember the crash that followed -- the uncontrolled inflation and the rise in the cost of living. You miners will particularly remember the wage cuts that you had to take and the unemployment that three millions of workers lost their jobs.

While other wages were advancing the daily earnings in your industry fell from seven dollars in 1922 to less than $5.50 in 1929. And during this period you were very lucky if you could get 200 days of work per year, the year when "prosperity" was supposed to have reached its peak.
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During this same period your Union was declining in membership and was on the verge of bankruptcy. It was not until the passage of the National Industrial Recovery Act in 1933 that your Union was able to deal with the problems of the coal industry on a national basis. It was only through the aid from your Government that it was possible for your Union to attain the strength which enabled it to reduce daily hours of employment, abolish the payment of wages in scrip and guarantee to its members the right to select their own checkweighmen.

The other alternative, the one that your Government chose, was to make an effort to hold everything stable -- both prices and wages -- so that a dollar would, so far as possible, buy the same amount of the necessities I mean just that. I am not speaking of the luxuries and fancy goods that we have learned to do without in war time.

I know that we have not been able to keep the prices of some necessities as low as we should have liked to. That is true not only in coal towns but in many other places.

I want to assure you that all possible steps are being taken -- as fast as they can be taken in a country as vast as ours -- to keep the cost of living from going any higher and to
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correct the abuses that have sprung up in some communities.

Wherever we find that the price of essentials has risen too high, such prices will be brought down. Steps are already under way to "roll back" the price of meat.

Rents have been fixed in most parts of the country, and in many cities they are today considerably lower than when we entered the war. Clothing has remained fairly stable.

As for food, I want to repeat that your Government will do everything possible to eliminate unjustified and avoidable price increases.

[N]ow the national officers of the United Mine Workers know all this. And yet, with reckless disregard of the facts of the case -- reckless disregard of the common welfare -- they have refused to treat with the War Labor Board, whose creation they approved. In doing so, they bring threat against the will of the American people in the determined prosecution of the war.

Under these circumstances, it is inconceivable that any patriotic miner can choose any course other than going back to work, mining coal, keeping the war industries going, and showing the world that his heart as well as his heart is in the right place.

The war is going to go on. Coal will be mined no matter what any individual thinks about it. The operation of our factories, our power plants, our railroads will not be stopped.
Rent's have been fixed in most parts of the country. In many cities they have been cut to below where they were before we entered the war. Generally clothing prices have remained stable.

These two items make up more than a third of the total budget of the worker's family.

As for food, which today accounts for more than half of the worker's family expenditures, I want to report again! Your Government will continue to take all necessary measures to eliminate unjustified and avoidable price increases. We are now taking measures to "roll back" the price of meats.

I am sure that the laws are being violated.
These two items make up a third of the total income of our working population. As for food, which today accounts for 40 per cent of the worker's expenditure, I want to repeat...
It is obvious that the nation cannot afford violence of any kind at the coal mines or in coal towns. I have placed authority for the resumption of coal mining in the hands of a civilian, the Secretary of the Interior. If, however, it becomes necessary to protect any miner who seeks patriotically to go back and work, then that miner must have and his family must have -- and will have -- complete and adequate protection. If because of violence it becomes necessary to have troops at the mouths of pits or in coal towns for the protection of working miners and their families, those troops will be doing police duty for the sake of the nation as a whole, and particularly for the sake of the fighting men in the Army, the Navy and the Marines -- your sons and mine -- who are fighting or who are about to fight our common enemies all over the world.

In the message that I delivered to the Congress four months ago, I expressed my conviction that the spirit of this nation is good.

Since then, I have seen our troops in the Caribbean area; in bases on the coasts of our Ally, Brazil, and in North Africa. I have seen great numbers of our fellow
I want to make it absolutely clear that this Government is not going to do anything now to weaken those rights in the civil fields.

During the past two years there have been occasions—fortunately few in number—when the threat of intervention by the production of weapons of war has made it necessary for the Government to use troops to take over plants. In each of these instances the use of troops has been temporary and short. In each instance the end result has been beneficial to the workers whose affairs

I understand the devotion of these men to their union. I know of the sacrifices they have made to build it up. I believe now, as I have all my life, that workers have the right to join unions to protect their unions.

Every improvement in the condition of the wage earners of this country has been my hearty support. I do not mean to desert them now. But I also do not mean to desert my obligations and responsibilities as President and Commander-in-Chief.
During the past two years there
has been correctness of assuming
that the present situation
involves the use of atomic
weapons. I understood
that at some point
the United States
was going to take
such a step. In such
instances the use of
troops has been temporary
and short. In such instances the
 withdrew "undermined" of troops for
the ad infinitum march has been compared to
the country and to the workers which
I unions under the doctrine of
have
more.

Some years ago I was asked The question of
the product of
a group of men. I knew the
product of freedom to me is the
idea of democracy to
make among ourselves
how to
build it up. I believe now, as I have always
been that man must have the right to
protest. These means. These means is
the way that we are fighting.
Every country has its own
time of the condition of
The means of this country has had my fifty
in the past.

A man supposed does not mean to adhere them but
countrymen -- soldiers and civilians -- from the Atlantic Seaboard
and
to the Mexican border to the Rocky Mountains.

Tonight, in the face of a crisis of serious proportions in the coal industry, I say again that the spirit
know
nation is good. I know that the American people will not
any
 tolerate
a threat that has been offered to
any one
ambitious individual. I know that the coal miners them-
selves, as Americans, will not fail to heed the clear call to

our
duty in the vital service of our country.
I am speaking tonight to the American people and in particular to those of our citizens who are coal miners.

Tonight this country faces a very serious situation. We are engaged in a war on the successful outcome of which will depend the whole future of our country, our democratic institutions and the very lives of our people.

This war has reached its most critical phase. After the years that we have spent in preparation, we see now moving into actual battle with our enemies. We are pouring into the battle everything that we have — all of the vast resources of our nation.

YESTERDAY I have just returned from a two weeks trip on which I have inspected these resources. I saw thousands of our workers making airplanes, guns and ammunition. Our factories and our ships are running at full blast.

Along thousands of miles of track I saw acres of newly ploughed fields. The farmers of this country are planting the crops that are needed to feed our armed forces and our civilian population and our Allies. Their
Government will see to it that the necessary labor will be available to harvest these crops. I saw hundreds of thousands of soldiers.

Young men who were green recruits when I saw them last Autumn have matured into self-assured and hardened soldiers.

The American people have accomplished a miracle. In less than two years we have done what no other nation has even approached.

However, all of our massed effort is none too great to meet the demands of this war. We shall need everything that we have and everything that our Allies have — in order to defeat the Nazis and the Fascists in the coming battles on the Continent of Europe, and the Japanese on the mainland of East Asia and the islands of the Pacific.

This tremendous forward movement of the United States and the United Nations cannot be stopped by our enemies.

Equally it must not be hampered by any one individual or any one group among ourselves.

I want to make it clear that every American coal miner who has stopped mining coal — every wilfully idle miner —
directly and individually is obstructing our war effort.

We have not yet won this war. We never shall win this war, unless
every American produce and deliver our total American effort on the home
front, on the high seas, and on the battle fronts. To do this we
must come to the home front first.

A stopping of the coal supply, even for a short time,
would involve an unwarranted, unnecessary and terribly dangerous gamble
with our chances for victory. Those responsible for such stoppage
would be placing in jeopardy the lives of American soldiers and sailors and
They are sabotaging the future security of our whole people.

Therefore, I say to all miners -- and to all Americans
everywhere, at home and abroad -- the production of coal will not
be stopped.

I have not, in my heart or in my mind, any doubt of
the essential patriotism of the Americans who do the tough work
of mining our coal. Tonight, I am speaking to their essential
patriotism and to the essential patriotism of their wives and
children. And I am going to state the true facts of this case
as simply and as plainly as I know how.
After the attack at Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941, the three great labor organizations -- the American Federation of Labor, the Congress of Industrial Organizations and the Railroad Brotherhoods -- gave the positive assurance that there would be no strikes as long as the war lasted. The President of the United Mine Workers of America was a party to that assurance.

That assurance was applauded throughout the country. It was a forcible means of telling the world that we Americans -- 135,000,000 of us -- are united in our determination to fight this total war with our total will and our total power.

At the request of employers and of organized labor -- including the United Mine Workers -- the War Labor Board was set up for settling any disputes which could not be adjusted through collective bargaining.

The War Labor Board is a tribunal on which workers, employers and the general public are equally represented.

In the present coal crisis, conciliation and mediation were tried unsuccessfully.
In accordance with the law, the case was then referred to the War Labor Board, the agency created at the request of organized labor for this express purpose. The members of the Board followed the usual practice which has proved successful in other disputes. Acting promptly, they undertook to get all the facts of the case from both the miners and the operators.

The officials of the United Mine Workers, however, declined to have anything to do with the fact finding of the War Labor Board. The only excuse that they offered was that the War Labor Board is prejudiced.

The War Labor Board has been and is ready to give the case a fair, impartial hearing. I personally have given my assurance that any adjustment of wages made by the Board would be retroactive to April first. But the national officers of the United Mine Workers have refused to participate in the hearing.

The responsibility for the crisis that we now face rests squarely on the national officers and not on the Government of the United States. But the consequences threaten all of us.
On Wednesday of this past week, stoppages began to occur in some mines. A general strike throughout the industry became effective last Friday night.

At 10 o'clock, yesterday morning, your Government took over the mines. I called upon the miners to return to work for their Government. The Government needs their services just as surely as it needs the services of our soldiers, sailors and marines.

You miners have sons in the Army and Navy and Marine Corps. You have sons who at this very minute -- this split second -- may be fighting in New Guinea or in the Aleutian Islands or Guadalcanal or Tunisia or protecting troop ships and supplies against submarines on the high seas. These American fighting men want what they think of the stoppage of work in our most basic industry.

There is a boy named Blank who comes from the town of Blank, in the state of Blank. Some of you know him. Today he is on Guadalcanal Island. Remember that his very existence there depends on our production here of guns and planes and ships and food. That boy is well equipped today. But he will need far more if he is to fight successfully in the much greater battles of tomorrow. Any delay in production today may lose a battle tomorrow.
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Take Blank from the town of Blank in the state of Blank. He is on a transport going to a war zone. The safety of his trip depends on the number of escort vessels the Navy can provide for that convoy. If there are enough escort vessels, the danger of his being drowned is far less than if the number of escort vessels is too greatly limited. Yet escort vessels very directly come out of coal mines. Almost everything in them has to be fashioned by manufacturing processes that call for the use of coal.

Take Blank from the town of Blank in the state of Blank. He, too, is the son of a coal miner. Some of you in that town remember him. He is in North Africa. He is well equipped but added to his equipment and that of his buddies we have to keep supplying his company, his battalion, his regiment and his division with completely adequate and fully modern weapons and supplies of all kinds if we are to throw the Nazis out of that present area of the war.

The toughness of your sons in our armed forces is not surprising. They come of fine, rugged stock. Men who work in mines are not unaccustomed to hardship. It has been the objective of this Government to reduce that hardship, to obtain for miners and for all who do the nation’s work a
better standard of living.

I know only too well that the cost of living is troubling the miners' families and the families of millions of other workers throughout the country as well.

A year ago it became evident to all of us that something had to be done about living costs. Your Government was faced with two alternatives. The first was to let the cost of living continue to go up and adjust wage scales as those costs were met. That is what we did in the first World War. The result, some of you will remember, was that we found ourselves in a squirrel cage, never getting any further ahead, because every wage increase was soon more than offset by increases in prices. I think that many of you will also remember the crash that followed -- the uncontrolled inflation and the rise in the cost of living. You miners will particularly remember the wage cuts that you had to take and the unemployment that three millions of workers were out of jobs.

While other wages were advancing the daily earnings in your industry fell from seven dollars in 1922 to less than $5.50 in 1929. And during this period you did well if you could get 200 days of work per year.
During this same period your Union was declining in membership and was on the verge of bankruptcy. It was not until the passage of the National Industrial Recovery Act in 1933 that your Union was able to deal with the problems of the coal industry on a national basis. It was only through the aid from your government that it was possible for your Union to attain the strength which enabled it to reduce daily hours of employment, abolish the payment of wages in scrip, and guarantee to its members the right to select their own checkweighman.

The other alternative, the one that your Government chose, was to make an effort to hold everything stable -- both prices and wages -- so that a dollar would, so far as possible, buy the same amount of the necessities I mean just that. I am not speaking of the luxuries and fancy goods that we have learned to do without in war time.

I know that we have not been able to keep the prices of some necessities as low as we should have liked. That is true not only in coal towns but in many other places.

I want to assure you that all possible steps are being taken -- as fast as they can be taken in a country as vast as ours -- to keep the cost of living from going any higher and to
correct the abuses that have sprung up in some communities.

Wherever we find that the price of essentials has risen altogether too high, such prices will be brought down. Steps are already under way to "roll back" the price of meats.

Rentals have generally been fixed in most parts of the country, but in many cities they are today considerably lower than when we entered the war. Clothing has remained fairly stable.

As for food, I want to repeat that your Government will do everything possible to eliminate unjustified and avoidable price increases.

The national officers of the United Mine Workers know all this. And yet, with reckless disregard of the facts of the case -- reckless disregard of the common welfare -- they have refused to treat with the War Labor Board, whose creation they approved. In doing so, they bring threat against the will of the American people in the determined prosecution of the war.

Under these circumstances, it is inconceivable that any patriotic miner can choose any other course other than going back to work mining coal, keeping the war industries going, and showing the world that his head as well as his heart is in the right place.

The war is going to go on. Coal will be mined no matter what any individual thinks about it. The operation of our factories, our power-plants, our railroads will not be stopped.

The nation as a whole demands it.
It is obvious that the nation cannot afford violence of any kind at the coal mines or in coal towns. I have placed authority for the resumption of coal mining in the hands of a civilian, the Secretary of the Interior. I am met and he is not setting upon the Army for aid, but if there is violence against any miner who seeks patriotically to go back and work, then that miner must have and his family must have -- and will have -- complete and adequate protection. If, because of violence, it becomes necessary to have troops at the mouths of shafts or in coal towns for the protection of working miners and their families, these troops will be doing police duty for the sake of the nation as a whole, and particularly for the sake of the fighting men in the Army, the Navy and the Marines -- your sons and mine -- who are fighting or who is about to fight our common enemies all over the world.

In the message that I delivered to the Congress four months ago, I expressed my conviction that the state of this nation is good.

Since then, I have seen many of our troops in the Caribbean area, in bases on the coasts of our Ally, Brazil, and in North Africa. I have seen great numbers of our fellow
countrymen -- soldiers and civilians -- from the Atlantic Seaboard to the Mexican border to the Rocky Mountains.

Tonight, in the face of a crisis of serious proportions in the coal industry, I say again that the state of this nation is grim. I believe that the American people will not tolerate the threat that has been hurled at their Government by any ambitious individual. I believe that the coal miners themselves, as Americans, will not fail to heed the clear call to duty in the vital service of their country.
I am speaking tonight to the American people and in particular to those of our citizens who are coal miners.

Tonight this country faces a (most) serious situation. We are engaged in a war on the successful outcome of which will depend the whole future of our country, our democratic institutions and the very lives of our people.

This war has reached its most critical phase. After the years that we have spent in preparation, we are now moving actively and continuously into actual battle with our enemies. We are pouring into the battle everything that we have -- all of the vast resources of our nation.

I have just returned from a two weeks trip on which I have inspected these resources. I saw thousands of our workers making airplanes, guns and ammunition. Our factories and our shipyards are running at full blast.

Along thousands of miles of track I saw countless acres of newly ploughed fields. The farmers of this country are planting the crops that are needed to feed our armed forces and our civilian population and our Allies. The
Government will see to it that the necessary labor will be available to harvest these crops.

On my trip, I saw hundreds of thousands of soldiers. Young men, who were green recruits last Autumn, have matured into self-assured and hardened soldiers.

The American people have accomplished a miracle. In less than two years we have done what no other nation has even approached.

However, all of our massed effort is none too great to meet the demands of this war. We shall need everything that we have and everything that our Allies have — in order to defeat the Nazis and the Fascists in the coming battles on the Continent of Europe, and the Japanese on the mainland of East Asia and the islands of the Pacific.

This tremendous forward movement of the United States and the United Nations cannot be stopped by our enemies. Equally it must not be hampered by any one individual or any one group among ourselves.

I want to make it clear that every American coal miner who has stopped mining coal — every wilfully idle miner —
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directly and individually is obstructing our common war effort.

We have not yet won this war. We must win this war, unless we produce and deliver our total American effort on the home front, on the high seas, and on the battle fronts.

A stopping of the coal supply, even for a short time, involves an unwarranted, unnecessary and terribly dangerous gamble with our chances for victory. Those responsible for such stoppage would be placing in jeopardy the lives of American soldiers and sailors. They are sabotaging the future security of our whole people.

Therefore, I say to all miners -- and to all Americans everywhere, at home and abroad -- the production of coal will not be stopped.

I have not, in my heart or in my mind, any doubt of the essential patriotism of the Americans who do the tough work of mining our coal. Tonight, I am speaking to their essential patriotism and to the essential patriotism of their wives and children. And I am going to state the true facts of this case as simply and as plainly as I know how.
After the attack at Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941, the three great labor organizations -- the American Federation of Labor, the Congress of Industrial Organizations and the Railroad Brotherhoods -- gave the positive assurance that there would be no strikes as long as the war lasted. The President of the United Mine Workers of America was a party to that assurance.

That assurance was applauded throughout the country. It was a forcible means of telling the world that we Americans -- 135,000,000 of us -- are united in our determination to fight this total war with our total will and our total power.

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The responsibility for the crisis that we now face rests squarely on these national officials, and not on the Government of the United States. But the consequences threaten all of us.
Take Blank from the town of Blank in the state of Blank. He is on a transport going to a war zone. The safety of his trip depends on the number of escort vessels the Navy can provide for that convoy. If there are enough escort vessels, the danger of his being drowned is far less than if the number of escort vessels is too greatly limited. Yet escort vessels very directly come out of coal mines. Almost everything in them has to be fashioned by manufacturing processes that call for the use of coal.

Take Blank from the town of Blank in the state of Blank. He, too, is the son of a coal miner. Some of you in that town remember him. He is in North Africa. He is well equipped but added to his equipment and that of his buddies we have to keep supplying his company, his batallion, his regiment and his division with completely adequate and fully modern weapons and supplies of all kinds if we are to throw the Nazis out of that present area of the war.

The toughness of your sons in our armed forces is not surprising. They come of fine, rugged stock. Men who work in mines are not unaccustomed to hardship. It has been the objective of this Government to reduce that hardship, to obtain for miners and for all who do the nation's work a
better standard of living.

I know only too well that the cost of living is troubling the miners' families and the families of millions of other workers throughout the country as well.

A year ago it became evident to all of us that something had to be done about living costs. Your Government was faced with two alternatives. The first was to let the cost of living continue to go up and adjust wage scales as increased rises took place. That is what we did in the first World War. The result, some of you will remember, was that we found ourselves in a squirrel cage, never getting any further ahead, because every wage increase was soon more than offset by increases in prices. I think that many of you will also remember the crash that followed -- the uncontrolled inflation and the rise in the cost of living. You miners will particularly remember the wage cuts that you had to take and the unemployment that three millions of workers out of jobs.

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Wherever we find that the price of essentials has risen altogether too high, such prices will be brought down, for example, steps are already under way to "roll back" the price of meats.

Rents have been fixed in most parts of the country, but in many cities they are considerably lower than when we entered the war. Clothing has remained fairly stable.

As for food, I want to repeat that your Government will do everything possible to eliminate unjustified and avoidable price increases,

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Under these circumstances, it is inconceivable that any patriotic miner can choose any other course other than going back and to work mining coal, keeping the war industries going, and showing the world that his head as well as his heart is in the right place.

The war is going to go on. Coal will be mined no matter what any individual thinks about it. The operation of our factories, our power plants, our railroads will not be stopped.

The nation as a whole demands it. Can human beings must march to our
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countrymen -- soldiers and civilians -- from the Atlantic Seaboard to the Mexican border to the Rocky Mountains.

Tonight, in the face of a crisis of serious proportions in the coal industry, I say again that the state of this nation is sound. I believe that the American people will not tolerate the threat that has been hurled at their Government by one ambitious individual. I believe that the coal mine workers themselves, as Americans, will not fail to heed the clear call to duty in the vital service of their country.
I am speaking tonight to the American people and in particular to those of our citizens who are coal miners.

Tonight this country faces a serious crisis. We are engaged in a war on the successful outcome of which will depend the whole future of our country, our domestic institutions and the very lives of our people.

This war has reached a new critical phase. After the years that we have spent in preparation, we have moved into active and continuing battle with our enemies. We are pouring into the wide, deep battle everything that we have -- our young men and the vast resources of our nation.

I have just returned from a two weeks tour of inspection on which I saw our men being trained and our war materials made. My trip took me through twenty States. I saw thousands of workers on the production line, making airplanes, guns and ammunition.
Everywhere I found great eagerness to get on with the war. Men and women are working long hours at difficult jobs and living under difficult conditions without complaint.

Along thousand of miles of track I saw countless acres of newly ploughed fields. The farmers of this country are planting the crops that are needed to feed our armed forces, our civilian population and our Allies. This Government will see to it that the necessary labor will be available to harvest these crops.

On my trip, I saw hundreds of thousands of soldiers. Young men who were green recruits last Autumn have matured into self-assured and hardened soldiers. They are in splendid physical condition. They are mastering the superior weapons that are pouring out of our factories.

The American people have accomplished a miracle.

However, all of our massed effort is none too great to meet the demands of this war. We shall need everything that we have and everything that our Allies have to defeat the Nazis and the Fascists in the coming battles on the Continent of Europe, and the Japanese in the whole of the Continent of Asia and the Islands of the Pacific.
This tremendous forward movement of the United States and the United Nations cannot be stopped by our enemies.

Equally, it must not be hampered by any one individual or by the leaders of any one group. I want to make it clear that every American coal miner who has stopped mining coal -- no matter how sincere his motives, no matter how legitimate he may believe his decision to be -- every idle miner directly and individually is obstructing our war effort. We have not yet won this war. We will win this war only as we produce and deliver our total American effort on the high seas and on the battle fronts. That requires unrelenting, uninterrupted effort here on the home front.

A stopping of the coal supply, even for a short time, would involve a gamble with the lives of American soldiers and sailors and the future security of our whole people. It would involve an unwarranted, unnecessary and terribly dangerous gamble with our chances for victory.

Therefore, I say to all miners -- and to all Americans everywhere, at home and abroad -- the production of coal will not be stopped.
I have not in my heart or in my mind any doubt of the essential patriotism of the Americans who do the tough work of winning our war. Tonight, I am speaking to the essential patriotism of the modern American and to the patriotism of their wives and children. And I am going to state the true facts of this case simply and as plainly as I know how.

After the attack at Pearl Harbor, the three great labor organizations — the American Federation of Labor, the Congress of Industrial Organizations and the Railroad Brotherhoods — gave the positive assurance that there would be no strikes as long as the war lasted. The President of the United Mine Workers of America was a party to that assurance.

That pledge was applauded throughout the country. It was a forcible means of telling the world that we Americans — 135,000,000 of us — are united in our determination to fight this total war with our total will and our total power.

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In accordance with the law, the case was then referred to the War Labor Board, the agency created to protect organized labor for this express purpose. The members of the Board followed the usual practice which has proved successful in other disputes. Acting promptly, they undertook to get all the facts of the case from both the miners and the operators.

The national officers of the United Mine Workers, however, declined to have anything to do with the fact finding of the War Labor Board. The only excuse that they offer is that the War Labor Board is prejudiced.

The War Labor Board has been at work and is ready to give the case a fair, impartial hearing. I have given my assurance that if any adjustment of wages is made by the Board it will be made retroactive to April first. But the national officers of the United Mine Workers have refused to participate in the hearing as they did last year.
On Thursday morning I telegraphed to the officers of the United Mine Workers asking that the miners continue mining coal on Saturday morning. However, a general strike throughout the industry became effective Friday night.
You miners have sons in the Army and Navy and Marine Corps. You have sons who at this very minute -- this split second -- may be fighting in New Guinea or in the Aleutian Islands or Guadalcanal or Tunisia or protecting troop ships and supplies against submarines on the high seas. We have already received telegrams from some of our fighting men overseas, and I only wish they could tell you what they think of the stoppage of work in the coal mines.

Some of your own sons have come back from the fighting fronts, wounded. A number of them are now here in a hospital in Washington. Several have been decorated by their Government.

I could tell you of one from Pennsylvania. He was a coal miner before his induction. His father is a coal miner. He was seriously wounded by Nazi machine gun bullets while he was on a bombing mission over Europe in a Flying Fortress.
marines -- and the services of the millions who are turning out the munitions of war.
The responsibility for the crisis that we now face rests squarely on these national officers of the United Mine Workers, and not on the Government of the United States. But the consequences of this arbitrary action threaten all of us.

On Wednesday of this past week, stoppages began to occur in some mines. A general strike throughout the industry became effective last Friday night.

At ten o'clock, yesterday morning, the Government took over the mines. I called upon the miners to return to work for their Government. The Government needs their services just as surely as it needs the services of our soldiers, sailors and marines.

You miners have sons in the Army and Navy and Marine Corps. You have sons who at this very minute -- this split second -- may be fighting in New Guinea or in the Aleutian Islands or Guadalcanal or Tunisia or protecting troop ships and supplies against submarines on the high seas. I only wish these American fighting men could tell you what they think of the stoppage of work in our most basic industry.

We have received telegrams from the men at the front. I truly wish they could tell you what they think of stopping work in the coal mines.
Another boy, from Kentucky, the son of a coal miner, was wounded when our troops first landed in North Africa six months ago.

There is still another, from Illinois. He was a coal miner -- his father and two brothers are coal miners. He was seriously wounded in Tunisia while attempting to rescue two comrades whose jeep had been blown up by a Nazi mine.

These men do not consider themselves heroes. They would probably be embarrassed if I mentioned their names over the air. They were wounded in the line of duty. They know how essential it is to the tens of thousands and ultimately millions
Here in Washington, in the Walter Reed Hospital, some of your sons are recovering from wounds.

There is, for instance, Master Sergeant Edward M. Jones, of Donnie, Pennsylvania. He was a coal miner before his induction. His father is a coal miner. Sergeant Jones was hit in the head, shoulder and back by Nazi machine gun bullets while he was on a bombing mission over Europe in a Flying Fortress.

Also in this hospital are Private Fred Dean, from Ashland, Kentucky, and Private First Class Andrew Mattias, of Wilkes Barre, Pennsylvania, both the sons of coal miners, both wounded when our troops first landed in North Africa six months ago.

There is Staff Sergeant William L. Stover, of Taylorville, Illinois. He was a coal miner — his father and two brothers are coal miners. He was seriously wounded in Tunisia while attempting to rescue two comrades whose jeep had been blown up by a Nazi mine.

These men do not consider themselves heroes. They will probably be embarrassed to hear their names mentioned over the air. They were wounded in the line of duty. They know how essential it is to the tens of thousands and ultimately millions
of other young Americans [They know how essential it is for us to] get the best of arms and equipment into the hands of our fighting forces -- and get them there quickly.

The fathers and mothers of our fighting men, their brothers and sisters and friends -- and that includes all of us -- are also in the line of duty -- the production line. Any failure in production may well result in costly defeat on the field of battle.

There can be no one among us -- no one faction -- powerful enough to interrupt the forward march of our people to victory.

You miners have ample reason to know that there are certain basic rights for which this country stands, and that those rights are worth fighting for and dying for. That is why you have sent your sons and brothers from each mining town in the nation to join in the great struggle overseas.

That is why you have contributed so generously, so willingly, to the purchase of war bonds and to the many funds for the relief of war victims in foreign lands. That is why, since this war started, you have increased the annual production of coal by almost five hundred million tons a year.
The toughness of your sons in our armed forces is not surprising. They come of fine, rugged stock. Men who work in mines are not unaccustomed to hardship. It has been the objective of this Government to reduce that hardship, to obtain for miners and for all who do the nation's work a better standard of living.

I know only too well that the cost of living is troubling the miners' families and the families of millions of other workers throughout the country as well.

A year ago it became evident to all of us that something had to be done about living costs. Your Government determined not to let the cost of living continue to go up as it did in the first World War. Then, as some of you will remember, we found ourselves in a squirrel cage, never getting any further ahead. Every wage increase was more than offset by price increases. Uncontrolled inflation and a skyrocketing in the cost of living ended in financial collapse.

You miners particularly will remember the wage cuts you had to take. You remember the millions of workers who lost their jobs.
While wages in other industries were advancing, the daily earnings in coal mines fell from seven dollars in 1922 to a little more than five dollars in 1929, the year when "prosperity" was supposed to have reached its peak. And you were very lucky if you could get two hundred days of work a year.

During this same period of the nineteen twenties, your Union was declining in membership and was constantly on the verge of bankruptcy. It was not until the passage of the National Industrial Recovery Act in 1933 that your Union was able to deal with the problems of the coal industry on a national basis. It was only through the aid from your Government that it was possible for your Union to attain the strength which enabled it to reduce daily hours of employment, abolish the payment of wages in scrip and guarantee to its members the right to select their own checkweighmen.

Your Government has been determined to maintain stability of both prices and wages -- so that a dollar would, so far as possible, buy the same amount of the necessities of life. And by necessities I mean just that -- not the luxuries and fancy goods that we have learned to do without in war time.
I know that we have not been able to keep the prices of some necessities as low as we should have liked to. That is true not only in coal towns but in many other places.

I want to assure you that all possible steps are being taken -- as fast as they can be taken in a country as vast as ours -- to keep the cost of living from going any higher and to correct the abuses that have sprung up in some communities. Wherever we find that the prices of essentials have risen too high, such prices will be brought down. Wherever we find these being violated, the violators will be punished.

Rents have been fixed in most parts of the country. In many cities they have been cut to below where they were before we entered the war. Clothing prices have generally remained stable.

These two items make up more than a third of the total budget of the worker's family.

As for food, which today accounts for less than half of the family expenditure, I want to repeat again: Your Government will continue to take all necessary measures to eliminate unjustified and avoidable price increases. We are now taking measures to "roll back" the prices of meats.
The national officers of the United Mine Workers know all this. And yet, with reckless disregard of the facts of the case -- reckless disregard of the common welfare -- they have refused to treat with the War Labor Board, whose creation they approved. In doing so, they bring threat against the will of the American people, in the determined prosecution of the war.

Under these circumstances, it is inconceivable that any patriotic miner can choose any course other than going back to work and mining coal.

The war is going to go on. Coal will be mined no matter what any individual thinks about it. The operation of our factories, our power plants, our railroads will not be stopped. Our munitions must move to our troops.

The nation cannot afford violence of any kind at the coal mines or in coal towns. I have placed authority for the resumption of coal mining in the hands of a civilian, the Secretary of the Interior. If it becomes necessary to protect any miner who seeks patriotically to go back and work, then that miner must have and his family must have -- and will have -- complete and adequate protection. If it becomes necessary to have troops at the mine mouths or in coal towns for the
protection of working miners and their families, those troops will be doing police duty for the sake of the nation as a whole, and particularly for the sake of the fighting men in the Army, the Navy and the Marines -- yours sons and mine -- who are fighting for who are about to fight our common enemies all over the world.

I understand the devotion of the coal miners to their union. I know of the sacrifices they have made to build it up. I believe now, as I have all my life, in the right of workers to join unions and to protect their unions. I want to make it absolutely clear that this Government is not going to do anything now to weaken those rights in the coal fields.

Every improvement in the conditions of the coal miners of this country has had my hearty support. I do not mean to desert them now. But I also do not mean to desert my obligations and responsibilities as President and Commander-in-Chief.

In the message that I delivered to the Congress four months ago, I expressed my conviction that the spirit of this nation is good.

Since then, I have seen our troops in the Caribbean area, in bases on the coasts of our Ally, Brazil, and in North Africa.
The first necessity is the perpetuation of coal mining. The terms of the old contract were extended by the Board and must be followed by Secretary Fears of the Interior. If any adjustment in wages resulting from a decision of the War Labor Board or from any new agreement between the operators and miners which becomes apparent by the War Labor Board, that adjustment will be made retroactive to April 1st.
Recently, again.

I have seen great numbers of our fellow countrymen -- soldiers and civilians -- from the Atlantic Seaboard to the Mexican border and to the Rocky Mountains.

Tonight, in the face of a crisis of serious proportions in the coal industry, I say again that the spirit of this nation is good. I know that the American people will not tolerate any threat offered to their Government by any one ambitious individual.

I believe that the coal miners themselves, as Americans, will not fail to heed the clear call to duty in the vital service of our country.

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I know that the American people will not tolerate any threat offered to their Government by anyone. I believe the coal miners will not continue to strike against the Government. I believe the coal miners themselves as Americans will not fail to heed the clear call to duty. Like all other good Americans, they will march shoulder to shoulder with their armed forces to victory.
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Tommorrow the star and stripes will fly over the white house. I hope every miner will beat work under that flag.