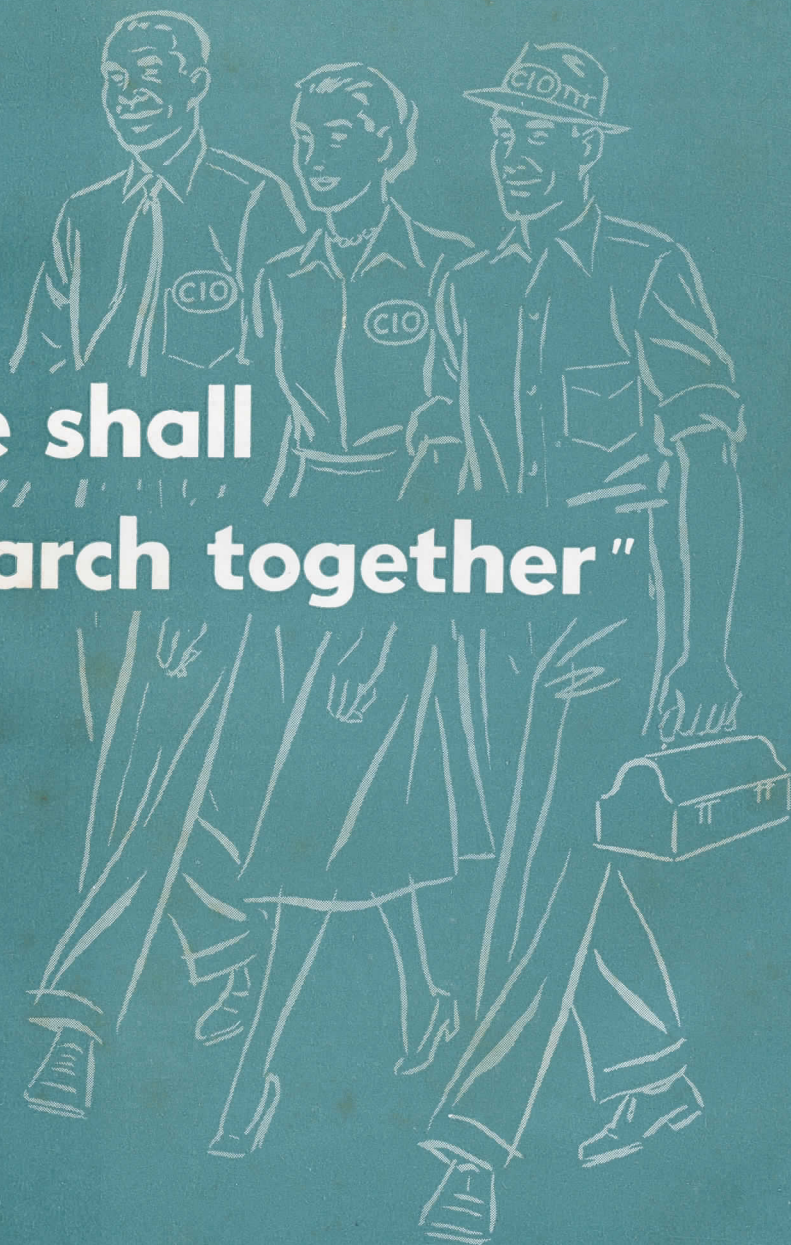


TWO STATEMENTS BY

# WALTER P. REUTHER

President, Congress of Industrial Organizations

"we shall  
march together"





*“ . . . In the halls of government, we shall speak with one voice. We shall stand together at the collective bargaining tables, doing the practical work of the bread-and-butter front. . . . We shall exhaust every means of resolving these issues across the bargaining table through the use of logic and reason—but failing to get economic justice through that process, we shall march together on the picket lines of America. . . . ”*

CIO President Walter P. Reuther  
December 4, 1952

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# **WE SHALL MARCH TOGETHER**

## **Two Statements by CIO Pres. Walter P. Reuther**

- Acceptance Speech, CIO Convention, Dec. 4, 1952
- 1953 New Year Statement

**EXCERPTS FROM ACCEPTANCE SPEECH BY  
CIO PRESIDENT WALTER P. REUTHER**

*(From an address before the Fourteenth CIO Convention, Atlantic City, N. J., Dec. 4, 1952, following Mr. Reuther's election to the presidency.)*

I stand before you humble in the face of the tremendous responsibilities which you have placed in my care. I thank you for the honor, and I pray that I shall have the strength, the courage, the wisdom, the understanding and vision to be worthy of your confidence. I am fully conscious, as would be anyone else standing in my place, that in assuming the presidency of CIO and the responsibilities that go with that office, I am not in the remotest sense taking Phil Murray's place, because no man can take Phil Murray's place.

Phil Murray's death left our movement with an irreplaceable loss. His death robbed our nation of a truly great citizen. It robbed the labor movement of a courageous leader. It robbed each and every one of us who knew him of a good and kind friend. Bishop Haas said during the services in the Cathedral in Pittsburgh that Philip Murray was a great good man. He was right, but Philip Murray was more than just a great good man. He had many other qualities, and no one in our movement can take his place. Those of us who were called upon in the councils of CIO to express ourselves on the loss of Phil Murray all felt wholly inadequate, because no one can put into words what you feel in your heart when you lose your best friend.

I remember the afternoon when the sun was bright and the day was clear and we all stood on the top of a hill outside of Pittsburgh. All of us with heavy hearts and heavy hands laid Phil Murray down to rest eternally. I looked about me, and I saw my colleagues in the CIO and my friends with whom I had walked on picket lines. I saw Cabinet members, I saw Senators, and I saw many dignitaries. I looked around and I saw old steelworkers who had retired on steelworkers' pensions, standing there on the top of the hillside with their heads bowed in sorrow, and with heavy hearts. And I thought to myself, "*Those are the men that Phil Murray would want to come here and pay him homage.*" These horny-handed steelworkers whose lives are lighter and happier, into whose lives Phil Murray brought sunshine, and into their old age a sense of security and dignity.

Phil Murray would have been glad that they were there on the hilltop. And then, I looked around and I saw hundreds of wonderful school

children who had come there from the little parish school across the hill, who had come there to say their Rosaries and to pay their respects to that great good man, Philip Murray. And I said to myself, "*These are the children that Philip Murray would have had come if he had drawn up the list,*" because Phil Murray's life and the CIO and the free labor movement of the world is all about people, about old people who have made their contribution to society, who have carried their portion of the common burden and who in their last years have a right to look forward, not to fear and insecurity, but to enjoy the autumn of their lives in dignity with heads up, walking as children of God. And of children coming into the world, not handicapped by all of the economic and social disadvantages of an irresponsible and callous society, but children born into the world with the right to grow up strong in minds and body, limited only in their individual capacities, with the right to grow physically, intellectually, spiritually and culturally into better citizens in a free world.

That is what Phil Murray gave his life for; that is what the CIO is all about. That is what you and I and the millions of people whom we have the honor, and the privilege and the responsibility of representing stand for. All over the world there are other people who stand with us in the struggle for economic and social justice. We draw inspiration from them and their struggle, and we in turn give them strength, hope and inspiration through our struggles.

This is what the free labor movement is all about.

### ***Noble Words Are Not Enough***

Yesterday, we gathered in solemn ceremony to pay tribute, as an organization, to the memory of that great, good man, Philip Murray. There were many noble words said yesterday, said with the eloquence and the sensitivity of Adlai Stevenson. Those were wonderful, noble tributes to Phil Murray, but I say to you that the memory of Phil Murray, sleeping peacefully on that Pennsylvania hilltop tonight, is a challenge, a challenge that we cannot fulfill by noble words, no matter how noble they may come from your mind and your lips, and no matter how full your heart may be when you commend them to expression.

Ours is a more practical challenge. The CIO is the monument which Philip Murray left. He left it to you and me. He left it to the people whom we represent in the mills, in the factories, on the ships, on the high seas, in the textile plants, in the garment factories; and whether or not Philip Murray left an enduring monument is not for him to decide but rather for you and me to decide. What we do with our joint responsibilities in the challenging days that lie ahead, how individually and collectively

we measure up to these great responsibilities which we share, will determine whether this CIO monument that Philip Murray gave his life to building is an enduring, living monument.

We need to draw inspiration from the life that he led and the examples that he set for men to follow. And then we need to rededicate ourselves to the cause of advancing the basic human principles, the idealism, to those basic human and social values which Phil Murray understood so well and for which he devoted his life so unselfishly.

We have had a convention, and if Phil Murray and our friends, Van Bittner and Sidney Hillman could have all been here, there would have been times when they might have prayed together, because there might have been times when they thought that the fabric of CIO, which they wove together, was being torn asunder. But I say that they needn't worry because where individual delegates or unions stood on the candidates is of no importance. What is important is that we are all going to stand together inside the CIO and carry on.

Our enemies have been watching the proceedings of this convention from the cocktail bars of the Union League clubs and the millionaires' clubs all over America. Reading the stories in the press of the division in CIO has filled their hearts with hope, filled their minds with designs to take us on if we are divided, drive us back and rob us of our hard won social and economic gains. I say to the men who sit on the plush cushions in the Union League clubs of America, I say this for you who are delegates, and I say it for the millions of CIO members back home, that the fat men on the plush cushions are wrong. We are not going to go out of here divided; we are going to go out of here united to carry on this struggle for social justice until we win.

### ***We Shall March Together***

In the halls of government we shall speak with one voice. We shall stand together at the collective bargaining tables, doing the practical work on the bread and butter front. If and when reactionary managements are unwilling to give the workers of America the things to which they are entitled, we shall exhaust every means of resolving these issues across the bargaining table through the use of logic and reason, but, failing to get economic justice through that process, we shall march together on the picket lines of America to win what is rightfully ours.

There has been some talk that we have division in CIO between the big unions and small unions. Nothing could be farther from the truth. I think the majority of little unions maybe felt that this was their first opportunity to stand up and have their say — and, God bless them — they

have that right. But what we need to do is to weld together the kind of practical, effective working teamwork between all the unions, large and small and those in between. No one, not the biggest union down to the smallest union, can get along without being a part of the family of CIO. We want to help build the little unions. We want to help them do the practical job of organizing the unorganized in their fields so that they, too, can spread the good work that they are doing for their membership on the countless thousands of workers yet unorganized in their respective jurisdictions. We want the big unions to stand together, and I say this not only as a general statement, I say it as it relates specifically to two of the very biggest unions, the Steelworkers and the Auto Workers. We have the challenge in terms of practical collective bargaining of taking on America's giant industrial corporations.

We need each other. The Auto Workers need the Steelworkers. The Steelworkers need the Auto Workers. I say nothing, nothing, no matter where it comes from, and no one are going to divide either the leadership or the rank and file of the Steelworkers and the Auto Workers. We are going to work at this job together, because we need to. We have a slogan in the UAW — "*Teamwork in the leadership and solidarity in the ranks.*" That is precisely what we are going to do inside the CIO.

There are many practical jobs ahead, jobs that will test the best that is in all of us. There is the job of organizing the unorganized. No union, no movement that rests upon past achievements will have the drive and the energy and the power without which we cannot succeed. We must recapture the crusading spirit we had in the early days, and we need to take on some of the areas of the unorganized and begin to do the kind of job that I know we are capable of doing if we pull together in the days ahead. But, our job is more than just organizing the unorganized. I think if we are going to be realistic, we must recognize the fact that when you sign up a worker in a union and he pays his dues, his obligation and his responsibilities do not end there. They just begin. All of our unions have too many people who are just card-carrying members. They pay their dues. They come to a meeting occasionally. Yes, they walk the picket lines when they are called upon. We have the job, not only to organize the unorganized, but we have the job of educating and unionizing the organized. We need to give our members a sense of participating in a great human crusade. We need to make them conscious of the fact that the free labor movement for the first time in the history of human civilization is trying consciously to give direction in the shaping of history. We are trying to participate in the great social changes that are taking place in the world in which we live.

When you belong to a union, when you understand where we are going and how we hope to get there, what tools free people have to use in the building of that better world that we dream about, then you have the satisfaction of knowing that as a free human being you have something to say about the kind of tomorrow that your children will grow up in. Until we do a better job of educating and unionizing the people whom we have organized, we will not have mobilized the real potential power and the spiritual strength of our great, free labor movement.

### *Some Practical Problems*

We face some practical problems on the home front in terms of anti-labor legislation, and I would like to say — not for the benefit of the people in this audience but to the people who will assume political responsibility in Washington come January — let them ponder a few simple understandable facts. What we do in America with the thing that we call freedom will determine the fate of freedom all over the world. We must get more people to understand that all of the truly basic human values, to which the free world dedicates its resources and its will to defend and extend, are indivisible and inseparable. The questions of peace and freedom are indivisible.

The First World War taught us that you could not have peace in one part of the world with the rest of the world at war. At great cost we learned that peace is indivisible.

The Second World War taught us that freedom is indivisible, and when Hitler challenged the freedom of any country in the world he also was putting our freedom in jeopardy. But there is still one lesson we need to learn, and if we learn that lesson, the prospects of building peace on a lasting basis are greatly improved; and if we fail in learning that lesson then the future may be tragic. That lesson simply is that just as peace and freedom are indivisible values so is the fact that in the world we live in, the questions of economic security and material wellbeing are likewise indivisible. You cannot make peace and freedom secure in the world as long as hundreds of millions of people are denied the necessities of life, so long as millions and millions of people are committed to belong to the have-not nations, and they and their children are denied the right to achieve economic and social justice. Communism will continue to forge that poverty and that hunger and that human desperation into the weapons of political and military aggression. And what is true in the world in a larger sense is equally true in America.

In a police state, under Hitler, Stalin or Franco, under any other kind of dictatorship, it is possible to achieve industrial peace in the absence of justice, but in a free society the only basis on which you can achieve

peace is if that industrial peace is based upon a foundation of economic and social justice. We say to the men who will assume political power in Washington, "*If you want to help build industrial peace and economic stability we will help you. We will work hard at that task at the bargaining tables of America, but remember, if you want to facilitate the achievement of economic and industrial stability, then pass legislation which will make it easier for people in America to realize their hopes and aspirations. If you try to build road blocks like Taft-Hartley, or try to put other obstacles in the way of the right of American labor to move ahead to conquer broader social horizons, then you are not facilitating the achievement of industrial peace but you are sowing the seeds out of which will grow greater industrial conflict.*"

### **Initiative and Responsibility**

Representatives of industry and the men who will assume political responsibility in January have in their hands the power to make that decision. They have the initiative, and with that initiative goes the responsibility for what must follow.

We pray that reason will prevail, that they will understand something about the rights and the aspirations of free labor, because the better they understand those basic values the more rationally and intelligently will they discharge their legislative and administrative responsibilities.

Now, there has been some talk about restricting industry-wide bargaining. Let me say that here again reason must prevail, because there are no legislative magic formulas. Yes, some will point to the steel industry, and they will say that industry-wide bargaining is the problem. But they are wrong. The problem is that the industry people bring the wrong attitude to the bargaining table.

The Amalgamated Clothing Workers, over a long period of years, have developed a constructive and practical approach to their collective bargaining problems. They have industry-wide bargaining; and yet, in their industry, using that approach to its collective bargaining problems, they have established one of the most stable and constructive records in the history of labor-management relations.

What is the essential difference between the industry-wide approach which the clothing workers have made and the way that idea is applied in other basic industries? The difference is not in form. The difference is in attitude. Free management must realize that in a free society there is no substitute for the voluntary discharge of social responsibility. All the laws that can be written cannot change this basic truth. You cannot go to the Supreme Court and change the basic fact of life — that free men, denied justice, will struggle to win that justice.

During the recent steel strike, the Supreme Court handed down a decision. I said to the boys in the Auto Workers union whom I talked to the day the decision came down, that the Court had made a decision but it had not solved the problem. All the learned men with all their wisdom, with all of the legal niceties they can put together on the finest of parchments cannot produce one ton of steel.

Steel will be produced, automobiles will be produced, the looms will weave textiles, and we will make all of the other things that we need, but free American Labor will insist that while doing these things Labor is entitled to a full measure of social justice.

There is no other way. This is not a matter of oratory, it is not a matter of eloquence; it is a matter of hard, cold, practical facts drawn from life. We hope that industry and the men who will assume political and social responsibilities will recognize these facts and will discharge their responsibilities accordingly.

### **Labor Unity Without Compromise**

We have the question of labor unity. I accept and I share the spirit of the resolution adopted by this convention and the remarks made in support of that resolution. All of us, deep in our hearts, recognize the fact that standing together in a united labor movement we could be stronger than if we are divided, but this must be qualified, for unity in itself will perform no miracles.

We must stand together in a united labor movement without compromising the basic principles upon which the CIO is built. We can never get ourselves in a position where we sacrifice principle for expediency. No union, whether large or small, must be sacrificed in working out these problems.

On taking this responsibility you have given me, I want to make it abundantly clear that as far as I am concerned, as an individual and as an official of this organization, I want to assure you fully and completely that at no time will a question of vested right in an office be the smallest obstacle in the way of achieving a united labor movement.

I say that the real measurement by which we must judge what is an honorable basis for working out labor unity is not what happens to the status of those in positions of leadership. There is only one measurement and that is the measurement of what is good for the rank and file back home. We do not count. You and I are not important, excepting as we are the symbols, and as we are the collective instrumentality through which the rank and file carries on its work. What is good for the rank and file must be the only measurement of our judgment.

I want to assure you that within the CIO we are going to go about the task ahead of us in a sensible, practical and constructive way. This convention adopted several constitutional changes. I am 100 per cent for all those changes. They make sense. As long as we had our good friend Phil with us, his great capabilities, his understanding and his unlimited patience were substitutes for many things that we now need. That is why we need a team. I can say to you that had you asked me to run the CIO alone I would have declined, because I am not capable of that responsibility. But if you say to me, "*Are you willing to be a part of a team with Allan Haywood, Jim Carey, Jake Potofsky, Emil Rieve, Joe Beirne, Buckmaster, Joe Curran, Jack Knight and all of these other fellows?*" my answer is in the affirmative. I want to be a part of that kind of team leading the CIO.

We have worked out provisions for the officers to act as an Executive Committee. That is proper. That makes sense. We have worked out provisions for an Executive Vice President having a constitutional status. Such status is necessary in order to do his job properly. We have worked out provisions to call Executive Board meetings every three months. We intend to make these Executive Board meetings into working sessions, where you come with your problems and help work out programs and policies to meet such problems.

### ***More On The Political Front***

We have a big job to do in terms of political action. This is no time to hang crepe in terms of the political outlook. We lost the election. It was disappointing but it was not disastrous. Look at the centers in which we had large CIO membership and you will find that in those centers our people came through with flying colors. I say that the great challenge ahead is to lift the level of political morality on the part of the politicians in Washington, but you cannot raise the level of political morality in Washington until you first raise the level of political conscience on the part of the people back home. That is the job we must take on.

We need to build. We need to organize. We need to educate on the political front, because the kind of labor movement that we are building cannot find the answers to the many complex social and economic problems solely at the bargaining table. Therefore let us determine not to do less but to do more on the political front.

I take no credit in a personal sense for the fact that I am a trade unionist. I was raised in a trade union family. My father was an international representative of the Brewery Workers Union. He was president of the Central Trades and Labor Assembly in our home town when he was

23 years old. Along with my brothers at my father's knee, we learned the philosophy of trade unionism, we got the struggles, the hopes and aspirations of working people every day. I was raised in the kind of trade union atmosphere that said to me when I was a boy that a trade union movement based upon the principles of pure and simple trade unionism could not adequately deal with the complex problems of the working people in the world in which we live. Our labor movement is a labor movement which integrates our efforts with the efforts of the whole people to move ahead in finding a practical and democratic solution to the complex problems that beset us. In a free and interdependent society, labor can make progress only to the extent that it helps to provide leadership in solving the problems of all the people. We have a job as free labor, of doing much more than just bargaining for our membership. We have to assume ever increasing social responsibilities. We have a practical job of completing the task of organizing the unorganized, of unionizing the organized through educational work, and we must apply ourselves to the difficult, long-range program of finding a way ultimately, in a free society, to raise collective bargaining above the level of a continuing struggle between competing economic pressure groups. A free society cannot solve its basic economic problems unless free labor and free management can find the common denominators through good faith and understanding by which both can meet their joint moral and social responsibilities to the whole community. Collective bargaining must be based upon acceptance of and extension of the democratic processes in our industrial and economic life. Basic collective bargaining decisions must be based upon economic facts and not dictated by the use of economic power.

### ***Double Standards Must Go***

These are the basic factors that should influence our collective bargaining attitudes and in a large measure will control the destiny of free men in the challenging years that lie ahead. We must work for the complete destruction of the economic and moral double standards that certain industries bring to the bargaining table.

They gave their high-paid officials fat pensions when they didn't need them, while they denied pensions to working people who did need them. We have problems like the guaranteed annual wage. They pay the people who get more than they need by the year, and they pay the people who get too little by the hour. These are not just matters of economic justice to the worker, but they are matters of economic survival for a free society. That is why we are compelled to work and if need be fight for objectives

such as the guaranteed annual wage, no matter how great the opposition. The future of peace and the future of freedom in the world in which we live cannot be made secure if we go on trying to divide up economic scarcity in the world. Freedom and peace are only possible if their future is made secure by the economics of abundance. We must fight the forces of monopoly and scarcity in their opposition to the expansion of our productive capacity and the full development of our material resources. We must create the maximum economic abundance and then translate that abundance into tangible human values. The world is going to judge America not by how many tons of steel we produce or what our material wealth is. America will be judged by the real standards by which a civilization should be judged. The real measurement of the greatness of a civilization is its ability to demonstrate the sense of social and moral responsibility needed to translate material values into human values, technological progress into human progress, human happiness and human dignity. That is the job that we in the CIO are working on.

We are living in a period of great challenge. Never in the history of the world has there been such an aggregate of power mobilized against the cause of freedom. We in America, as citizens in the strongest of the free nations of the world, share a tremendous responsibility in this great contest.

### ***Both Bread and Freedom***

Several months ago, I stood before the Republican Foreign Policy Committee in Chicago, and Senator Nixon, who was a member of that committee, asked the question, "*Is there anything in the foreign policy of the Truman Administration that the CIO disagrees with?*" He thought he had us over a barrel. And I answered the question thus — I said, "*Senator Nixon, there are things in the foreign policy of the United States Government that we in CIO disagree with, but in essence on its basic positions, we agree. We think that in some places the emphasis is wrong. We believe we need to do more on a positive basis in terms of Point Four, of helping people to help themselves. The essential difference between the CIO and the Republicans is that we criticize the Truman Administration foreign policy for its deficiencies and the Republican Party criticizes it for its virtues. That is a fundamental distinction.*"

There is a revolution going on in the world. The Communists didn't start the revolution. It is a revolution of hungry men to get the wrinkles out of their empty bellies. It is a revolution of people who have been exploited by imperialism and who are trying to throw off the shackles of imperialism and colonialism, and who want to march forward in freedom and independence. It is a struggle of the have-nots to get something for

themselves. The Communists didn't start it. They are riding its back. What we have to do is to answer the Communist propaganda not with slogans; we have to say to these hungry and desperate people all over the world — and there are hundreds of millions of them — we must expose the hypocrisy of Communist propaganda which offers these hungry and desperate people the promise of economic security with a price tag: "*The Communists offer the promise of putting food in your belly at the price of putting your soul in chains.*"

We need to answer the reactionaries in Wall Street who play the other side of that Communist record. The Communists would have people trade freedom for bread and the reactionaries would have you believe that if you want to be free you have to be economically insecure. And we say to the Communists and the reactionaries, "*You are both wrong. In the world that we are trying to help build, people can have both bread and freedom.*"

### ***A Good Life For Everyone***

Man is an economic being and needs food, clothing, housing, medical care and all of the other material needs, and we struggle to make that possible. But man is more than just an economic being. He is a social and spiritual being, and just as food is needed for the economic man so the spiritual man needs food, and freedom is the food of the soul. The great challenge in the world is to find a way so that men can so arrange their relationship of one to the other within a free society, and one nation to another in a free world, so that we can live at peace and harness the power of our advancing technology, develop our resources and translate this abundance into a good life for everyone.

This struggle in the world between freedom and tyranny, between democracy and Communism, is a struggle for men's minds and their hearts and their loyalties. It cannot be won on the battlefields. It can only be won on the economic and social field in the struggle for human justice.

While we in CIO support the building of military strength in our nation and with our allies in the free world, let us not forget that to win the hearts and minds of men we must move boldly ahead on the economic and social fronts in terms of the living standards of people, of their hopes and aspirations.

The shortest road for Communist propaganda to travel is through the wrinkles of an empty belly. One third of the people of the world are living on less than \$1 per week, and that is why they are the easy victims of Communist propaganda. Our job is not only to hold Communism, to stop aggression on the battle fronts, but to move ahead on the economic and social fronts.

We have a very practical decision. If we have the courage to take the



price tag off our peacetime efforts, if we understand the forces at work in the changing world in which we live, if we grasp fully the fact that freedom faces a continuing crisis, and that Korea is merely a localized expression of a total world problem, then we shall understand and act in the knowledge that freedom's fight must be won on the economic and social fronts in the struggle for human betterment. I believe that history will prove that if we have the courage to carry out bold programs of economic aid to help people to help themselves, that the more young Americans we send abroad with medical kits and slide rules and text books as technical missionaries to work on the social and economic fronts, the fewer American boys we will need to send with guns and tanks and planes to fight on the battle fronts.

### *The Challenge From Within*

I want to conclude with one simple thought. What is the great challenge free men must face? It is not Communism; it is within ourselves. That is where the challenge lies. It is within free men, within a free society. I say we need, we must find a way, to tap the tremendous spiritual reservoir that resides within a free people and translate that power into constructive approaches to the world's problems. If we do that we can win the struggle for peace and freedom. The tragedy of the world has been that generation after generation, peoples all over the world have gone to war; they have sacrificed their finest young men on the battlefields of the world. Isn't there something wrong with free men when they can only find a sense of urgency in the negative terms of war?

You can get people marching and sacrificing and fighting for the negative ends of war, and yet we haven't found the way to mobilize that spiritual power for the positive ends of peace. That is the great challenge. And I say to you in CIO, in all humility, with a real sense of my own personal limitations, I pledge to you all that I have. I will do everything within my capacity to discharge this high office in a spirit of humbleness, in a spirit of teamwork with my associates, and I am confident that you and I, in discharging our joint responsibility in the years ahead, can make a contribution not only to our own membership, not only to our own country, but to free men everywhere. We can stand with them and work with them. We can march with them in building that brave new world we dream of, that world in which men can live in peace as neighbors, that world where people everywhere can enjoy a fuller measure of social and economic justice, a world that you and I and men of good will everywhere can shape in the image of freedom and in the image of justice and in the image of brotherhood.

## CIO PRESIDENT REUTHER'S NEW YEAR STATEMENT FOR 1953

American labor faces the future confident that free men working together possess the spiritual strength and the practical know-how to win against the forces of Communism and tyranny.

1953 is both a challenge and an opportunity. Never before has the future been so pregnant with disaster and yet so full of hope and opportunity. America, as the strongest of the free nations of the world, has a major share of the responsibility in leading the free world in the challenging days ahead. We must have the strength to meet the danger ahead, but we must also demonstrate the imagination and courage to make the most of our opportunities. While neither war nor peace are inevitable, we need, however, to recognize clearly that we can drift into war, but that peace can be won only if we pursue it with total dedication.

In the face of unprovoked Communist aggression, the free world of necessity must build strongly its mutual military defenses. However, it is imperative that our military effort be understood and properly evaluated in our over-all effort to stop Communist aggression and build the peace.

Our military build-up is but the negative aspect of our total fight against the forces of Communist tyranny and Soviet imperialism. It is the negative holding action on the military front that affords us an opportunity to move to the offensive on the economic, political and social fronts where the historic battle between freedom and tyranny will be decided. It is precisely in the economic, political and social fields that the free world has the overwhelming margin of superiority.

It is in the field of human betterment, in the practical tangible day-to-day job of translating man's hopes and aspirations into reality, into higher living standards, a fuller measure of security, more happiness and greater human dignity, that the Communists do not dare to compete with the free world.

The struggle between democracy and Communism, between freedom and tyranny, is essentially a struggle for men's minds, their hearts, and their loyalty; and it can be won only in terms of demonstrating which way of life offers the best hope of satisfying man's needs and aspirations.

### ***The Need For Economic Abundance***

We shall win the loyalty of people everywhere, we shall fill them with renewed hope and strength for faith in freedom by the propaganda of the democratic deed. We must nail the Communist lie that man needs trade freedom for bread by proving that bread and freedom are compatible, and that the world that we are working to build will enable man to satisfy his economic and material needs within an ever-broadening framework of political and spiritual freedom.

In this task the American economy is freedom's greatest material asset. If fully mobilized, it can provide in large measure the weapons for military defense and the tools for the economic and social offense against poverty, hunger, economic and social injustices, which are the sources of Communism's strength.

The key to the future and the almost limitless possibilities of the economic development of the free world is the acceptance of the principle of economic abundance. We cannot win the struggle against Communist tyranny, we cannot make people and freedom secure in the world so long as we continue to divide up economic scarcity.

We can succeed only to the extent that we learn to create and distribute economic abundance. 1953 should add a fifth basic freedom — freedom from the fear of economic abundance.

### ***Full Production For Peace***

The single most fundamental unsolved problem of our free society is the achievement and maintenance of full employment and full production in peacetime. Repeatedly, we have demonstrated our ability to break production records and to achieve unprecedented levels of employment for the purpose of forging the weapons of war and destruction. It remains for us to match and surpass this record in creating abundance for peace. This will require greater faith in the economic future of America. The philosophy of economic scarcity — "too little and too late" — must yield to the broad concept of an ever-expanding productive capacity geared to the full development of our natural resources.

In a large measure, the relationship between labor and management will determine the future growth of the American economy, for collective bargaining is the important area in which decisions need to be made to bring purchasing power in balance with our productive power.

Free labor and free management must approach their joint responsibilities at the bargaining table, conscious of their obligations to the whole nation and ever mindful of the fact that real progress for either labor or management is possible only to the extent that collective bargaining assists in advancing the interests of the whole community.

As we enter 1953, management should review the lessons of history and avoid the tragic mistake of believing that restrictive labor legislation is a substitute for good faith at the collective bargaining table. In a free society there is no substitute for good faith and a voluntary discharge of moral and social responsibility.

Stable and constructive labor-management relations so essential to America and the free world can only be built on a foundation of economic and social justice which will permit American workers and their families to enjoy ever higher standards of living made possible by advancing technology.

### ***Democracy Means Freedom***

While building our strength to meet the threat of Communist tyranny in the world, it is equally imperative that we take heed of those dangerous forces of intolerance and character assassination which threaten our freedom at home.

The American concept of freedom of thought has met the tests of history, and we must not permit the forces of fear and hysteria to strangle freedom's voice at home under the guise of preserving freedom in the world. Proper security measures are essential, and treason must be dealt with without mercy, but American freedom will be weakened, not strengthened, by thought control, insistence upon conformity, and the growing infringement upon basic civil liberties.

The CIO recognizes the grave responsibilities being assumed by the incoming national Administration, and we pledge our complete cooperation in the constructive endeavors of the new Administration which are designed to promote peace with honor, stability with freedom, and economic and social progress for people everywhere.

We reject with disdain any thought of playing the role of a reckless and negative opposition, which, unfortunately, has characterized the activities of certain Republican Congressional leaders in recent years.

The CIO believes it has a clear duty to remain loyal to the program for which it has fought for many years and which was underscored at its recent Atlantic City Convention. We shall fight with renewed vigor for the abolition of the twin evils of discrimination and segregation. Likewise, there shall be no let-up in the CIO campaign for social welfare programs which reflect the economic realities of 1953, and for a housing program and aid to our schools, which are needed to meet two of the nation's greatest unsolved problems.

We shall continue to support those international policies which are designed to promote democracy and freedom throughout the world.

