

Address to be delivered by Honorable John E. Fogarty, Member of Congress from the Second Rhode Island Congressional District, at the 58th Annual Convention of the Massachusetts State Federation of Labor, Hotel Statler, Boston, Mass., on Tuesday, August 3, 1943.

My brothers:

I believe no speaker ever commenced an address with a greater desire for the indulgence of his audience - or with a firmer belief that he would receive that indulgence. Permit me to say there is no one here who is less able to arise and address you - on matters of interest to trades union people - than am I.

Please don't think I say this with an excess of modesty - - nor do I pretend at humility. The fact is - I am a young trade union man, who has the honor of being a member of the United States House of Representatives. As a member of that body, custom would dictate that I forget that I am a union man - familiar with your problems - and that I endeavor to tell you men all that we plan to do for you - - - I should draw your attention away from what we have done (and there are many members of Congress who wish that could be done) - and focus your attention on the future - where there is great promise - where there are many tomorrows, and no yesterdays - where the sun will shine all the time - and you will have no time for worry or fear - for toil or trouble.

I regret I find it impossible to do that. I find myself one of those simple humans who insists on keeping his eyes glued on today - who believes if he can live today to the fullest possible extent - if he can live today as well as he is able - he is doing his best to make unnecessary all fear of tomorrow.

So - I ask your indulgence - while I strive to avoid discussions of tomorrow with all its promises - while I discuss with you - today, with all its realities.

My father began his life as a union man, fifty years ago. My brother and myself followed in his footsteps as soon as were able to do so. We learned as we came of age in the trade union movement - the story of the days - - not buried in antiquity - - not tucked away in forgotten volumes on man's development - but vividly outstanding in the shameful days of "rugged individualists" - - the days when men were regarded as

chattels - whose bodies were to be bought or sold - to be used or discarded; and he was considered the most successful "rugged individualist" whose shop yard - whose broken down tenement houses - displayed the greatest pile of broken hopes and shattered dreams. He was the great champion of "free enterprise" who could muster the lost resounding guffaws of contempt - as he closed his shop because the company thugs reported a union meeting in the parish church basement.

Thank heaven - in our time - we have left all those days behind. We have rid ourselves of that period of exploitation - not merely because of the enactment of favorable Federal legislation, or because of the efforts of friendly State Governments. They were left behind because men declared - in their hearts and minds - that they have a God given right to a place in the sun - because men determined to crawl out of their dungeons of fear - to live the lives of free men - equal to all in the land - and to raise their children in the fear of God and no man.

Remembering that this is so - - and I doubt there is one among you who will argue for the good old days of ten dollars for sixty hours - of unsafe working and unsanitary living conditions - of company stores, and the humble doffing of caps as the company boss passed by; remembering that we have come so far - isn't it fitting that we devote some thought to our position today - and to how we can utilize that position to protect and advance our future?

Today American Labor has a record of which it may well be proud. The products of the machines which you men tend have gone into the building of the greatest flow of armaments which the armies of the world have ever seen.

Starting from scratch, this great Nation of ours - thanks to its labor forces - has outstripped the combination of all the powers that are aligned against it. This great homeland of ours has not only raised a massive Army and Navy - fully equipped and magnificently armed - but it has, at the same time, supplied the wherewithall to permit our

allies to rise from their knees and strike back at the Dictator who would wipe them from the face of the earth.

This great production for war has been a titanic struggle. Not alone was it necessary to overcome the inertia which gripped the Nation - dedicated as it was to peace - it was also necessary to overcome the lack of enthusiasm of many industrial magnates - who refused to accept the principle that there should be no blood money involved in the manufacture of the tools of war.

It is idle for me to attempt to recount to you the facts and figures of our accomplishment. Figures are cold - and statistics are tiring. Let it be sufficient - in pointing out the great feat performed by the working men and women of America - to recall that production records, in some lines, established for the year 1942, have already been completely surpassed in the first six months of 1943.

It is this great body of American Labor which goes to make up what we choose to call the "Army of the Home Front". That great Army is every bit as essential to the future safety of America as are the armies of men in the field. That Army is called upon for the same devotion to duty - and the same untiring effort - as our armies overseas.

You know how faithful you have been to your duty - your associates know the untiring efforts you have expended in furthering military production. You are also aware of the sacrifices you have made, in order to speed the day of final victory.

Your pay envelopes have constantly shrunk - in the face of rising food prices. There are many items you formerly considered necessities - which today are not available to you. This you know must be borne in order that our men at the front shall be the best clothed - the best fed - and the best cared for Army in all the world.

You men and women of Massachusetts - during the cold months of last winter - often returned to your homes to find no heat. You were often worried and fearful for the health of your children - because there was insufficient fuel oil to provide them with essential warmth.

You bore this burden - - - you inquired for the reason - yes, you have the right to always inquire and to know the reason - - but being told our armies and our navies needed that fuel for victory - you took your medicine in silence.

All these things you have done - - and many more - - and yet - what is your position today?

You find yourselves harried and tormented on all sides by those who have constantly sought the destruction of all evidence of organized labor. You see seated in the Halls of that body of men who are, by title at least, Representatives of the people of the Country - - those enemies of social security - minimum wages - a fair standard of living; those men who have always been diametrically opposed to all forms of social progress - because it deprives them of their grip on the unfortunate, and will prevent their exploitation of the underprivileged.

Organized Labor in America today - despite the steady outpouring of its funds into the Treasury of the United States, through the purchase of War Bonds - finds itself in the position of an unwelcome relative. We are condoned because we are here - but the determination is evident that we shall be sent packing just as quickly as the first opportunity presents itself.

In spite of the hundreds of thousands of its members who fight for the flag in all the climates of the globe - - despite the fact that sons - brothers - husbands - fathers - and sweethearts of countless thousands of its members are bearing arms in defense of freedom - - Organized Labor in America is branded as a traitorous and seditious organization - a group of individuals who seek their personal ends - leaving the Nation exposed to the enemy while they further their selfish purposes.

Who assails Labor thus? What great champions of American freedom find such spontaneous support from the daily press? The same men who have always hated labor - and all that labor stands for - - freedom and independence - equality of privilege as well as responsibility - social security and freedom from fear of the future.

These mighty politicians and editors who condemn organized labor are the self-same pettyfoggers who attempt to explain away - or hide entirely - the sordid, terrible stories of great industrialists who would not only plunder the treasury of the United States - but would place in the hands of America's soldiers rotten equipment - in order to pour into their own coffers a few hundred more thousands of dollars of blood money.

These same industrialists who are championed by the daily press - the press which constantly sounds the glories of "free enterprise" - are the examples of corporate rottenness and betrayal of America. They it is who have been willing to endanger the lives of the cream of American manhood by selling defective equipment to our Armed Forces. These big corporations - amassing profits beyond their most avaricious hopes - have been willing to stoop to even this treachery in order to build up profits through the expenditure of human lives.

Yes - they amassed profits that ran into the millions - as a result of this dastardly conduct - - such as a great industrial enterprise situated not very far from this Convention Hall, whose crookedness brought into its treasury \$5,000,000 - and for punishment this great corporation was fined a few thousand dollars!

And let me say now - any person, in public or private life, who would give counsel to - or condone - who would aid and abet such treasonous activities - is equally guilty of selling his country out to its enemies.

These same mighty tycoons of industry - these "rugged individualists" - these champions of "free enterprise" - have been ruggedly enterprising their way into the Nation's oil reserves - willing that our Navy's oil should be squandered - if they could but make use of the resources of the Nation in their money-mad pursuit of power.

Yes - these are the enemies of labor. The same enemies of fifty years ago. They see in America's preoccupation with the war, the opportunity to sell their nefarious schemes to an unsuspecting public - - - and under the guise of a return to normalcy - they will steal from us every social gain - - - and when America's victorious armies return

to their homeland - they will find we have betrayed our trust - that the freedom they fought to win for other hands - is not to be found in their own. They will find that we have permitted a return to the era of exploitation - of special privilege - to the reign of the chosen few.

That, my brothers, is the situation we face. Winning over such opposition is our responsibility. We must take up again the battle which our fathers fought. We must win again the fruits they see being torn from their grasp.

There is no time for hesitation. The time for action is now.

Our presence here demonstrates our faith in organized labor - so we must be first to take up the challenge that has been hurled - - and let every one of us assume the responsibility of telling to America the truth - about our problems, the truth about our relation to the economic life of our country. Only by doing so can Labor merit and win its rightful position in the shaping of the future world. Toward winning the acknowledgment of that position - we who are of organized labor must direct our every energy.

We know full well - if industrialists, and the industrialist press, would devote to promoting cooperation among labor and business but one-half of the energy it expends in seeking to discredit labor - then 99 percent of our industrial troubles would vanish overnight.

What better group of men or women could there be - what more sincere hearts and minds could be found - in any discussions of peace and security - than the working men and women of the world - who raise the sons who make up the world's armies - and the daughters who work and pray for their success.

The voice of those working people of the world must be heard in any honest attempt to solve the manifold problems and concerns of labor - for only by so doing can men make a sincere effort to remove the economic distress upon which all war lords feed.

As members of Organized Labor in America we can plan now to make that voice heard. We can devote our best efforts to formulating methods for solving the intricate

problems which will come with the demobilization of our armies and our war industries.

We can make possible a complete revitalizing of the Federal Labor Department. We can bring about a thorough revision of labor legislation - in the light of enactments by Federal - State - and Municipal Government Agencies. We can cause to be made a complete survey of all judicial determinations which have affected labor's rights and responsibilities, as an aid in charting our course through future years.

If we do our work thoroughly, we can propose - with every reason to expect a welcome reception of our proposal - that there be attached to our State Department's representatives in all the countries of the world, officials who are thoroughly familiar with the problems and difficulties of working men and women. Such an official - just as military attaches have done in the past - can aid our government immeasurably in its efforts to promote a genuine, honest brand of cooperation with all the peoples of the world. The conscientious performance of duty by such an officer would go far toward removing many of the world's economic ills - and so remove the cause for international distrust, the breeding grounds for international hatred. He would go far toward making a certainty the freedom from want and fear - for which our sons are fighting and dying in every land.

Throughout all time man has dreamed of security for himself - and his children. The prayers of every father, from the dawn of creation, ring with the appeal for freedom from fear and want. The corridors of time resound to the sobs of frantic and despairing mothers - who have witnessed the slaughter of infants - the despoiling of young manhood - all as sacrifices to man's ambition.

All mankind has cried out in horror at the terrible toll which wars have taken.

Desolation, grief and misery have ever been the constant companions of Mars - and the fear that lurks in the hearts of men has always been aroused by the suffering that war brings. That fear has always prompted the most fervent of prayers for an early and a lasting peace.

Never before, however, has this horror and this desolation of war been so powerful among men as it is today. Modern warfare has surpassed in violence - in suffering, for the innocent - in slaughter of noncombatants - anything which the most depraved of sadists could possibly conjure up out of the depths of his diseased mind.

Modern warfare has brought home to all of us the conviction that the human race - unless it finds the means to stop this periodic bloodletting - invites collective suicide. The races of men cannot long stand such ravages as are now being perpetrated in the name of civilization.

Many schemes - for winning a lasting peace - are offered for our contemplation.

Leagues and Federations are advocated - military and economic punishment for aggressors is suggested. The great statesmen and diplomats of the world - educators and thinkers - politicians and brain trust - all search for a quick and happy solution. Well they know that plans for such an accomplishment must be laid now - and laid in a fast and solid foundation. Now is the time - when feelings are most sincere - because men are united in the common hope of victory - when inspiration springs from the noblest source - and advice is most apt to be right.

When peace shall come again to this weary world - then opposing national and individual interests will once more spring to the fore, and they will cause every people to interpret the victory we shall have won, according to their own satisfaction.

Aims and purposes will be as varied as the rays of the sun - and they will flow in as many different directions.

When the lights go on again - all over the world - the problems of food - demobilization of armies - control of finances - conversion of industries - in all the countries of the world, those problems will rise to haunt us - - and unless we have planned well - unless we have laid our groundwork in unshakeable foundations - we shall find that those problems will be the source of new discord and disunity - and they will drive the

peoples of the world closer to discontent and explosion than did the actual clash of opposing armies.

Yes - there will be dangerous problems to be disposed of - - and thought must be given to their disposition now. Not so that all the so-called Post War Planners will be glorified - not so that we might find Utopia in our time - - but to guarantee that when statesmen and representatives of the working men and women of the world shall gather at the Council Table of Peace - there shall not be cast across the shining rays of victory - the shadows of hate and greed and distrust - the shadows that will foretell a new - and a final - World War.

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(per JEF - E. Carter)