PSF Sidney Hillman

Subject File

Box 152

"Clear with Sidney"!

BF Hillman Folder

July 9, 1941

My dear Mr. Hillman:

I am very anxious that we substantially increase our output of tanks and that we do it as promptly as possible.

I wish you would get together immediately with the Secretary of War and Mr. Knudsen to work out a program utilizing the maximum tank capacity in America. I am particularly anxious that the program include as much increase as possible in the planned production for the balance of the year.

As you know there is an immediate and urgent need on the part of the British for tanks. I know how difficult it is for anyone to try to indicate the exact number of tanks which are needed by the British and ourselves and it seems to me, therefore, that the criterion should be, for the next year or so at least, that the only limiting factor should be the ability of industry to produce the tanks.

I assume there will be a need for machine tools and I want to stress again the importance of getting as many of these tools as possible from existing consumer goods plants.

I am sure that your Department has given serious consideration to the increased production of tanks and I am, therefore, asking if you will let me have your general recommendations by Friday of this week.

Very sincerely yours,

The Honorable
Sidney Hillman.

BF Hillman Folder 3-41

July 9, 1941.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

My dear Mr. Hillman:

I am convinced that if we are going to get production where it must be during the coming months that it is essential that we utilize for defense purposes a substantial part of the large durable goods factories in America that are now manufacturing items to meet consumer needs.

I am convinced that we must have the services of the foremen, the skilled workers, existing engineering departments and, in fact, the going organization of these great plants if we are to get on as rapidly as our national interest requires.

I realize there will be some delay in the change over of manufacturing and there must inevitably be a cost, which in the last analysis must be borne by the Government.

I am anxious that you arrange through appropriate conferances to put this proposal into effect at once. I am prepared to take whatever executive actions are nedessary in order to accomplish this objective.

Very sincerely yours,

The Honorable
Sidney Hillman,
Associate Director General,
Office of Production Management.

HLH/lmb

PSF Hillman Fold
3-41

Hyde Park, New York
November 2, 1941.

Dear Sidney:

The British have made a formal protest against the mimeographing and publication of the information contained in Defense Progress Report No. 57 and Defense Record No. 7 of merchant shipping losses.

They protest furthermore against the very secret data concerning the British bomber program, including weight of bombs, as revealed in Defense Record No. 8.

I have before me Defense Progress Report No. 57 and there is nothing on it to indicate that it is confidential except in very finely printed words at the bottom of the report.

I feel very strongly that this confidential data must be more carefully guarded. It is bound to get into the hands of Germany. I believe there are very few people in this government entitled to this information. I question whether reports of this kind should be placed on any mimeographing or multigraphing machine.

I hope you will caution the personnel who have access to any of these figures not to discuss the figures with any one.

For instance, I note the article by Hanson W. Baldwin, in Section of the New York Times of today which gives away some of our most secret information. Obviously, this newspaperman had access either to a report which had been published, or to some individuals in the government who gave him secret information.

Very sincerely yours,

/s/ FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT

The Honorable
Sidney Hillman,
Associate Director,
Office of Production Management.

PSF Hillman Folder

HENRY L. STIMSON
SECRETARY OF WAR

FRANK KNOX
SECRETARY OF THE NAVY

WILLIAM S. KNUDSEN
DIRECTOR GENERAL

SIDNEY HILLMAN
ASSOCIATE DIRECTOR GENERAL

OFFICE OF PRODUCTION MANAGEMENT

OFFICE OF THE ASSOCIATE DIRECTOR GENERAL

WASHINGTON, D. C.

file

November 19, 1941

THE WHITE HOUSE

Nov 22 9 33 AM '41

RECEIVED

The Honorable
The President of the United States

My dear Mr. President:

This is to advise you that I have complied with the suggestion contained in your letter of November 2 to caution the personnel who had access to Defense Progress Report No. 57 and Defense Record No. 7 not to discuss the figures contained therein with anyone.

Sincerely yours,

Sidney Hillman

Sidney Hillman

File Personal

BF Hillman 3-42

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

March 18, 1942.

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT:

H.H. saw Hillman yesterday and Hillman wants to get out. Apparently Hillman thinks he has to get some word from you before he makes the move and Harry told him he would speak to you about it.

If you do not want him to get out and have something else in mind for him, Harry says he can work on that angle.

G.

BF Hillman

NATIONAL CITIZENS POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE

New York
August 23rd, 1944

Dear Religious Leader:

In writing you for the first time, I am doing an unusual thing and I can only hope that you will fully understand my motives in doing so. For these are times in which the interchange of ideas between groups, whether racial, religious or economic, is of transcendent importance to the future of American democracy and, therefore, of the whole world.

Undoubtedly, you have read of the C.I.O. Political Action Committee and the new National Citizens Political Action Committee. We have received a good deal of unpaid-for and welcome — though sometimes biased — publicity. These two movements have grown out of labor's realization that World War II is primarily a struggle for supremacy between the forces of goodwill and the "powers of darkness." In establishing these Committees, moreover, we believe that we are embodying the best in American tradition. We, of the

labor movement, take seriously and want to give substance to the Bill of Rights and Lincoln's Gettysburg Address.

In recent years many of us have become increasingly aware of the fact that those principles have roots in our religious feelings and beliefs. We have become increasingly aware of the role of the minister, priest and rabbi in interpreting those principles so that the roots of American democracy may be fed and given new vitality during days which so test their strength.

In churches and synagogues across the land, the working man or woman becomes on one day of the week, the worshipper. To you, in special moments of sorrow and joy, we turn for consolation and sacrament. From you, we have come to expect understanding, and we receive from you the encouragement and inspiration to do our daily work with skill and integrity.

Therefore, in writing you, I follow an old tradition, though perhaps in a new way. And I do so openly.

For the Political Action Committee says what it thinks, openly. You know whom it represents. We tell you our aims and objectives: which are to get everyone of voting age to register and to vote; to assure full post-war employment through intelligent action by government, business, labor and agriculture; to create conditions that make for security and justice; to guarantee an international organization that shall prevent future wars. To us, this means the re-election of Mr. Roosevelt and the election of a progressive Congress.

Accompanying such a rapidly growing organization some misunderstandings and fears are bound to develop. We want to reduce the misunderstanding; to allay the fears in so far as it is possible to do so. Therefore, we have added to our staff, economists, philosophers, educators and other individuals who can bring us new wisdom and insights and in time help to interpret our aims to the American people as a whole.

One of the most recent additions to our staff is Dwight J. Bradley, a former pastor in important parishes of the Congregational Christian Churches and, until recently, Director of the Council for Social Action of that denomination. Dr. Bradley has, for many years, known the labor movement as few religious leaders have had the opportunity to do. He has now accepted a task which we believe is significant; that of interpreting us to you.

There are no blueprints for such an undertaking; no well-defined goal to be described in simple terms. We only hope that, in the months that lie ahead, the religious leaders of America and religious men and women within the labor movement may come to have a greater respect for, and understanding of, each other.

Dr. Bradley will be writing you from time to time, as his work grows and becomes more clearly defined. In turn, we shall hope to hear from you. We need your help and counsel. I hope it will not be considered presumptuous for me to say that we believe you need the comradeship of enlightened leadership within the labor movement as we move together to build the kind of world which alone can justify the tragedy of these days.

Sincerely yours,

Sidney Hillman

SIDNEY HILLMAN,
Chairman

809

BSF Hillman

NATIONAL CITIZENS POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE

205 E. 42 Street
New York 17, N. Y.
August 30th, 1944

Dear Religious Leader:

The election in November will be held at a crucial moment in our country's history. If ever there was a time when each qualified voter should be registered and ready to go to the polls, that time is now. Yet at the present hour hardly more than forty million voters are registered, out of the eighty-eight million who are entitled to vote. There is great danger that the election might go by default: that a minority of voters might determine the course of events in America during the post-war years.

In time of crisis it becomes a matter of national security for every citizen to exercise his franchise as a voter. For the absence of any substantial portion of the electorate from the polls betokens an alarming decline in a sense of civic responsibility and opens the

way to the abuse, by well-organized minorities, of power over the instrumentalities of government. Trust in the ability of the people to vote right when they vote at all is the rock on which our belief in universal suffrage is founded. But the justification of this faith depends upon the exercise by the people of their right to vote.

It is self-evident, therefore, that citizens in a democracy have a moral obligation to vote. Each one must accept personal responsibility for helping to select those to whom the tasks of government shall be entrusted. And since the religious leaders of America, -- the ministers, priests and rabbis -- are in a profound sense keepers of the conscience of America, it is fitting and proper that they should accept responsibility for calling the attention of their people to this obligation.

This letter is addressed to you by one who has many years of pastoral service behind him and is now committed to a special undertaking under the auspices of the National Citizens Political Action Committee. You may not wish to "meddle" in politics nor to be identified officially with any party or faction. But you know that the issues which we face now, as has been true from the days of Moses and the prophets, as has been true throughout all the centuries since Christ, must be met on the political field as well as in the hearts of men -- must be grappled with by government as well as by individuals and private organizations. When the cry of the people came up to God in an ancient time, God's servant could not remain on the mountain slope with his flock; but a voice out of the burning bush delivered the command, -- in the words of the Negro spiritual:

> "Go down Moses, away down in Egypt's land,
> Tell old Pharoah, to let my people go."

While differences of conviction are inevitable and actually desirable when it comes to the interpretation of issues and to the specifics of action, there can be no legitimate difference of view as to the importance of getting out the vote. Not only the vote of civilians who are at home; but also of the men and women in the armed forces, in the merchant marine and the Red Cross, who, though far away, have a stake in the election almost more compelling than ours; and also of the workers in war industries away from home who unless encouraged to register may be tempted to forfeit their right to help

determine the shape of things to come.

Will you not prevail upon the people under your spiritual care both in this country and abroad, to place themselves by registration in a position to cast their votes on election day? And then on the day of election to join with their fellow citizens in the greatest trek to the voting places that has ever been known, augmented by a flood of ballots from our fighters overseas? Will you not exert all your influence to help create a public opinion in your parish and community which shall sweep all apathy away as we Americans prepare to make our solemn choices on the first Tuesday of the eleventh month of this year of judgment and grace?

Sincerely yours,

Dwight J. Bradley

DWIGHT J. BRADLEY, D.D.

Letters to the Clergy #3

PSF. Hillman

September 12, 1944

Dear Religious Leader:

I ventured two weeks ago to urge the importance of the coming election and to suggest that you might wish to use your influence in persuading those under your spiritual care and in your community to fulfill their moral obligation at the polls. This I did without political bias, although in candor it should be said that I am in favor of the re-election of Mr. Roosevelt. This fact does not, however, in any way affect the discussion of basic principles which has to do with voting as a responsibility of citizenship.

May we now go one step further and suggest that a voter's obligation cannot be rightly fulfilled unless he exercises his franchise with intelligence. Although this is a truism it can be too easily ignored. In the heat of controversy or because of deep-seated prejudices, or perhaps through sheer inertia, many voters cast their ballots in what the novelist Joseph Conrad has called "a blessed, warm mental fog."

One of the surest tests of a people's capacity for self-government is their capacity to resist propaganda, and to tell the difference between propaganda and honest truth. Demagogues of the old school and political tricksters of the new streamlined variety rise to power on artificial tides of popular emotion or by capitalizing on waves of reaction. But leaders in a working democracy gain and hold their influence by appealing to rational judgment and by proving their statesmanship: and their right to leadership is recognized by an electorate which is both judicious and far-seeing. Democracy and demagoguery whether old-style or modernized are in absolute conflict. Unfair accusations, clever double-talk, the raising of false issues and impossible claims are seen in a sound democracy for what they are; while every effort to find and evaluate the facts is given a respectful hearing. This is emphatically true in the present campaign and the coming election.

For the religious person there are two standards by which political claims and counter-claims should be measured. One is the Jewish-Christian ethic and the other is the ideal of democracy. No one is so well qualified to uphold these standards and help people to apply them, as the pastor, priest and rabbi. Rising above partisanship he is in a position to indicate how the partisan issues look from a higher and longer perspective.

He will be neither a neutral nor a partisan, but an interpreter and a prophet. Having identified himself with the right "as God gives him to see the right," he will contend for this in the spirit of a seer and with the courage of a warrior. While narrow partisanship, demagogic trickery and the temptations of self-interest vie with each other for control of the public mind, he will pit himself against all these in the name of goodwill and common justice.

The force which he seeks to muster for the overcoming of these reactionary forces will be a combination of social conscience, moral insight and good sense, - the three indispensible attributes of men and women competent to maintain and extend the democratic way of life.

Does it not, therefore, devolve upon those to whom the people look for spiritual guidance, to speak out? Not as special pleaders nor as leaders who share the prejudices of a class or social group; not as those dominated by personal ambition or pride; not as those influenced by self-interest and the desire to please their hearers; but as honest men sincerely trying to discern the truth, let us speak to the people as from a watch-tower. Let us interpret the meaning of these times with a wisdom greater than that of the scribes and Pharisees. Let us offer valid grounds for faith in progress and humanity in an hour so full of possibilities both for woe and for weal.

Sincerely yours,

Dwight J. Bradley

P.S. I am sure that you will be glad to receive this short tribute to Senator George W. Norris by Mr. Hillman which accompanies this letter. Perhaps you will care to use it in some public recognition of the service to the cause of true democracy by a fine Christian man and statesman.

D.J.B.

Bradley

STATEMENT OF SIDNEY HILLMAN ON THE
DEATH OF GEORGE W. NORRIS

From time to time our American democracy embodies itself in a personality whose character, whose philosophy and whose deeds become the standard for a whole generation. George W. Norris was such a man. For 40 years he served the people of Nebraska and of all our nation in Congress. He helped us through the wilderness of reaction. And never did he falter in his defense of human rights nor in his effort to extend these rights through progressive political action. He applied the ethical standards of true religion to the practical affairs of our nation. Statesmanship as he saw it is the broadest form of human service; and a great area of the United States, once blighted by poverty, is transformed into a land flowing with milk and honey as a monument to his vision and work. He warred against self-interest in high places and won great victories for the common man. He fought the good fight, and he was fighting it until the last. He accepted the honorary chairmanship of the National Citizens Political Action Committee a few short weeks ago. And we of the Committee are proud that he was with us in our work at the end. The life and works of George W. Norris will always be an inspiration to American progressives in the fight for human rights.

Letters to the Clergy #4.

September 26, 1944

Dear Religious Leader:

Shall we now turn to the main objectives, next to winning the war, that are to be debated during the campaign and determined at the polls. They are:

1 - A sound and workable international organization to prevent future wars and to encourage the arts and habits of peace. Whom shall we elect to lead us in this enterprise? Who by professed conviction, by wise and considered statement and by mature experience shall be most certain and most able to keep America from following once more the disastrous course of national selfishness and political isolation?

2 - A program of full employment. We must choose a President, a Vice-President and a Congress upon whom we can confidently depend to lead the nation through the mazes of reconversion from war to peace production; past the confusion attending the return of service men and women to civilian life in search of jobs; between inflation and deflation; beypnd the threat of economic chaos and depression by which reactionary policies would be bound to confront us if they were attempted again as in 1920. Who can guarantee the effective participation of our federal government in helping to bring us through to full employment and a national income great enough to keep full employment as our normal standard?

3 - The rights and privileges of minorities, racial, religious, political and economic. Who if elected will best support the Bill of Rights and make effective the New Bill of Rights which the times demand?

4 - Social security. Personal liberty and social security go hand in hand. Freedom cannot long endure when the people are afraid for tomorrow. They must be assured of opportunity to have and hold good jobs; of provision against sickness, unemployment and old age. For whom may we vote, believing that they will do the most to guarantee these basic securities to all the people?

5 - Free enterprise. This means the fullest possible guarantee of protection for the small businessman, the small investor, the ambitious individual in the factory or on the farm, the professional man and woman of integrity, and the white collar worker, from the arbitrary dominion of big business, of well-entrenched private financial interests and of vast national and international cartels. These are the chief enemies of

true free enterprise although they pretend to be its crusading supporters. Whom may we elect in confidence that they will defend our liberties against these enemies of freedom?

6 - A federal government strong and wise enough to curb the rule of any economic, political or social vested interest within the nation. The appeal to "states rights" has always cloaked an ambition by some group or section to weaken the federal administration and thus be able to defy it. We fought a bloody war to save and establish the Union. We have set up anti-trust laws to restrain the monopolistic anarchy of giant corporations stronger than any State. It is an old and continuing struggle against invisible government hiding behind state sovereignty. Who can best carry on this struggle in our behalf?

7 - Progressive policies and legislation. We need these to keep up with the changes going on all over the world. America has stood in the van of history. Democracy has thus far led the way. America must not become an island of reaction in the great sea of human progress. America cannot remain democratic if it becomes reactionary nor claim world leadership if it grows conservative. By looking backward we betray our blindness. By pressing forward we prove our vision unimpaired. Whom shall we choose on election day to clarify our vision, - to lead us into new adventures in humane living as citizens of a great democracy and as brothers of all men?

Sincerely yours,

Letters to the Clergy #6

September 18, 1944

Dear Religious Leader:

In the last letter we asked: For whom shall we vote in order to meet the present issues in the right way? Upon whom may we best rely to master the main problems? Who can do this in a way that will most benefit the people of America, most help to create conditions in which another war will be prevented before it is too late? Let me answer according to my own conviction, leaving it to you to judge whether I am right or wrong.

Mr. Roosevelt has stood for a national income great enough to guarantee full employment. The Wage and Hour Law. The Rural Electrification Administration. The Economic Bill of Rights. The National Child Labor Law. A progressive Reconversion and Re-employment Bill.

Mr. Roosevelt has led in establishing the bases of social security in our nation. The Wagner Act. The Social Security Act.

Mr. Roosevelt has stood for the rights of unprotected minorities against entrenched race domination and economic discrimination. The Fair Employment Practices Commission. The anti-Poll Tax Bill.

Mr. Roosevelt has been leading our country towards a great organization of nations despite the open or covert opposition of all whose power would be curbed by a strong and democratic world order. Beginning in 1937 with his famous Chicago "quarantine speech," he has brought into focus the Four Freedoms and the Atlantic Charter. Then came Lend Lease, the Quebec Conference, Casablanca, Moscow, Teheran, Cairo and Bretton Woods. Dumbarton Oaks brings the series to its present climax. Starting with the Good Neighbor Policy and the Reciprocal Trade Agreements he has given the movement towards peace with justice a world wide scope by making the United Nations a living reality both during the war and for the post-war years.

Mr. Roosevelt has incurred the desperate hostility of the financial and social elite of America by remembering the forgotten man. Insurance of Banking Deposits. The Securities Exchange Control. The New Bill of Rights.

Mr. Roosevelt has formulated progressive policies in accord with the changes required of any nation that is to live in peace and order in an industrialized world. He has gone to great lengths to get these policies established in the law.

In the light of this record it seems to me quite clear that Mr. Roosevelt should be re-elected, that Mr. Truman should be elected because of his progressive record as a Senator, and that the most progressive Congress in history should be sent to Washington to give counsel and support to the Roosevelt-Truman administration.

The issues are not merely political. They are fundamentally ethical. The campaign reaches down into the heart of the modern problem. How may a religious leader avoid the conviction that now, if ever, the highest religious sanctions should be given those political movements which tend towards democracy, - towards liberty within a humane social order?

Shall not the spiritual guides help the people to understand? As once in ancient times "there is the sound of a going in the tops of the mulberry trees." Only the true prophet can tell the meaning of that sound. Only he can declare the difference between those who represent the forward march of history and those who, fearful of the march and anxious to go back, try to withold the people from the promised goal. Shall not he who is ordained to the ministry of religion at least exert his influence to persuade the citizens to vote?

Sincerely yours,

Dwight J. Bradley

Letters to the Clergy #6

October 31, 1944

Dear Religious Leader:

One week from today the people of America will turn out to vote. They will cast their ballots in the most critical election since Lincoln ran for his second term during the last phases of the war between the States. They will come to the polls either in ignorance or in understanding, either with or without your help. Their decision by majority will shape the course of events for the whole world.

In reading Carl Sandburg's Life of Abraham Lincoln one is dismayed to learn that many religious leaders in the North as well as in the South not only failed to support the Great Emancipator by opposed and attacked him. These same men would no doubt now if they could return, stand in the portico of the Lincoln Memorial in solemn reverence, gazing at the sculptured figure, pondering again the Gettysburg Address and the Second Inaugural.

When Lincoln lay dead a member of his Cabinet exclaimed with sudden understanding, "Now he belongs to the ages." That was true before the assassin's bullet did its work. It was true while Lincoln was alive, patiently and intrepidly working to save the Union which other men were trying to break down.

Next week we shall pass our judgment on Franklin D. Roosevelt. We shall determine whether or not he may go on with his task by the authority of the people and with the support of representatives elected by the people.

If this were merely a political decision no spiritual guide would feel concerned. But it is not merely political. Its outcome will be felt for generations to come in the United Nations as well as in the United States, in each home and hamlet in the whole world. Shall our country turn back upon its history to establish a new equivalent of "normalcy?" Or shall we press on under a leadership which has kept us on the march towards expanding horizons and further goals for a decade and two years?

Shall we heed those who ridicule this march, complain of it, try to persuade us to repudiate our leadership? To what flesh pots would they have us return? Shall we forget the taskmasters under whom we suffered? Shall we resume of our own free will the making of bricks without straw?

The question which religious leaders are asking themselves is, "What shall be our part in this historic choice?" Someday our successors will either praise or blame us for our attitude towards the crisis of our time and towards the chief American figure in the crisis. For Mr. Roosevelt's place in history seems secure, no matter what may be the result of the election, no matter by what difficulties he may yet be confronted before he leaves the stage. It is for us to answer for ourselves what shall be our attitude towards him now. Shall we ask him to go on as President for another term? Or shall we say that so far as we are concerned his course is run?

Through this correspondence I have ventured to suggest a certain course involving six vital points:

1 - All voters must vote.
2 - The voters must vote intelligently.
3 - They should vote progressively.
4 - They should vote as they would have voted in November 1864: for the man who had led them through the wilderness and could lead them nearer to the people's goal.
5 - They should vote for those who will support their leader.
6 - They should cast their ballots for the century of the common man.

Political action has become the crux of all other action. And however he may decide on candidates and issues, we must have action to match our gospel, to bring us nearer to the ultimate kingdom, to a civilization really humane, to the society of friendly workmen in which all mankind may feel at home.

"Son of man, speak to the children of thy people, and say unto them, When I bring a sword upon a land, if the people of the land take a man of their coasts, and set him for their watchman: If when he seeth the sword come upon the land, he blow the trumpet, and warn the people; Then whosoever heareth the sound of the trumpet, and taketh not warning; if the sword come, and take him away, his blood shall be upon his own head."

The prophet Ezekiel speaks to us once more, today.

Sincerely yours,

Dwight J. Bradley.

BF

Hillman folder 3-44

Telephone: MUrray Hill 3-[redacted] 5580

CIO POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE

205 EAST FORTY-SECOND STREET
NEW YORK 17, NEW YORK

SIDNEY HILLMAN
Chairman

R. J. THOMAS
Secretary-Treasurer

VAN A. BITTNER
Vice-Chairman

ALBERT J. FITZGERALD
SHERMAN DALRYMPLE
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EMIL RIEVE

C. B. BALDWIN
Assistant Chairman

JOHN J. ABT
LEE PRESSMAN
Counsel

GEORGE RETTINGER
Comptroller

File Personal

November 29, 1944

The President of the United States
The White House
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. President:

Your letter was most heartwarming.

As old campaigners, you and I have come to accept the "licks" as a tribute to the effectiveness of the job. But I am delighted to learn that Fala too took them like the true thoroughbred that he is.

The enthusiasm, determination, and deep political understanding with which the CIO convention moved to put PAC on a permanent basis is a good augury for the future. I came away from Chicago confident that we can look forward to the continuance of intelligent and effective participation in American political life by millions of the men and women who do the work of the nation. I know you believe with me that this is the best guarantee that we can move forward with assurance to the attainment of the great goals which our people have set for themselves and for the world.

I do not need to tell you how greatly I deemed it a privilege to have made some contribution in the recent campaign and how deeply I and my associates in the CIO rejoice at the result. The possibility that our nation and the world might be deprived of your guidance in this most critical period of history was one that we simply could not face. It is most reassuring to know that despite the efforts of the opposition to muddy the waters and confuse the issues, the clear recognition of this basic fact never left the minds and hearts of our people.

Sincerely yours,

Sidney Hillman

Sidney Hillman

P.P.F.

7

November 25, 1944

Dear Sidney:

One thing I want to make perfectly clear to Sidney is my appreciation.

It was a great campaign and nobody knows better than I do how much you contributed to its success. I was glad to learn that the CIO in Chicago authorized the continuation of the PAC. I can think of nothing more important in the years to come than the continuing political education and political energy of the people, who do the work of this land, in determination that the American nation shall do the great job it can do for all.

I send you no condolences for the licks you took in the campaign. You and I and Pala have seen what happened to the people who gave them.

Very sincerely yours,

(Sgd)FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT

Honorable Sidney Hillman,
237 East Twentieth Street,
New York, N. Y.

typed by
mdp

Sidney Hillman

Dear Sidney:

One thing I want to make perfectly clear to Sidney is my appreciation.

It was a great campaign and nobody knows better than I do how much you contributed to its success. I was glad to learn that the CIO in Chicago authorized the continuation of the PAC. I can think of nothing more important in the years to come than the continuing political education and political energy of the people, who do the jobs of this land, in determination that the American nation shall do the great job it can do for all.

I send you no condolences for the licks you took in the campaign. You and I and Fala have seen what happened to the people who gave them.

237 E 20th St
NYC

PSF Hillman

This is the Church

This is the Steeple

Open the Doors

and there are the People

NATIONAL CITIZENS POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE

We present our statement with profound humility but without hesitation. If we understand the mission of religion and of economic organizations—labor, farmers, business men—they do not clash but supplement each other—the one concerned with the spiritual protection and development of its members, and the other with the economic protection and improvement of its members. These two objectives are interdependent. And both are clearly dependent upon the proper functioning of political democracy.

This is the Church . . .

All too often people will say:

"There is a church." And what they point to is a building.

But, of course, a church is not a kind of building. A building alone, however magnificent, can no more constitute a church than an area of land, however rich, can constitute a nation.

Stone walls and stained windows—or whatever its materials may be, or the aggregate of those materials—do not make a church.

This is the Steeple . . .

Every church has a tower. It may be a steeple with lofty spire pointing to the heavens above and to the everlasting universe; or it may be a cupola vaulted and round, telling by its outer shape the inner meaning of things without an end and without a beginning; or it may rise in many spires supported by flying buttresses and pointed arches, to convey the same ideas; or

a tower may rise where there is no visible tower on the structure.

For the real tower of the church, whatever its denomination, does not reside in the outer symbols, unless they relate to a faith and a purpose within.

Open the Doors . . .

When the bells ring, when the doors swing open in welcome, only then does the Cross (or the Crescent or the Shield of David or whatever the symbol may be) truly reflect the sun or shine among the stars to tell of a greater order and a greater purpose.

But that order and purpose is not an abstraction. It is not unknowable nor unknown. It relates to life and to the living.

. . . And there are the People

Voices joined in song or hearts joined in silent prayer, or a congregation listening to the leader saying:

"Thou shalt do unto others . . ."

"Thou shalt love thy neighbor . . ."

"Seek ye first the Kingdom of God . . ."

"Inasmuch as ye did it unto one of the least of these . . ."

These constitute the living voice and features of the church.

For there is no church without its people. The church that exists only in the great edifice or in its pomp and ritual, is already a monument and a landmark—but not a living church.

No one knows this better

No one knows this better than the religious leader who is asking himself daily: "To serve God best, what more can I do for my congregation?"

In the living church, the religious leader serves all the people and not just some of the people. The last come first and the least come foremost and the poor precede the rich.

All the Prophets of the earth have proclaimed this to be so.

They say:

The meek who work honestly and hard come first;

The poor who struggle to make ends meet come first;

The lowly who in simple faith create each day what the people need each day, come first;

The millions in our country who are working for a living—these are the meek, the poor and the lowly proclaimed by the Prophets—and they come first.

We are for the People

Anyone who serves the working people well is, therefore, a friend of the church. Any organization dedicated to the improvement of the conditions of the workers is a friend of the church. Labor unions, in principle and in practice, are organizations which should, by corollary, please and be acceptable to every religious leader who thinks of the people first.

The CIO is primarily concerned with the protection and the improvement of the economic conditions of its members. But the leaders of the CIO know that economics is not independent of politics, and that economic gains for the workers are almost invariably dependent on political action. Political apathy may spell economic disaster for the people. This became more evident in these times of crisis, as we approached a period when political apathy on the part of the people might spell disaster to the world. For this reason the CIO considered it its duty to organize for the purpose of arousing and informing the people of the need to take political action in the coming elections—so that the coming years may bring us full employment at home and a lasting peace the world over.

This, in brief, explains the origin of the CIO Political Action Committee. In spite of the virulent attacks on this Committee from various anti-democratic and anti-labor sources, the people responded to its appeal enthusiastically. Interest and support for the CIO Political Action Committee came from labor, farmers, small busi-

nessmen, housewives, intellectuals and liberals, civic and religious leaders. What started out as a CIO activity soon grew into a people's movement. And that is how the National Citizens Political Action Committee came into existence: by popular demand.

The CIO-PAC

The CIO Political Action Committee was organized in July 1943, for the purpose of arousing the working men and women of America to a sense of their responsibilities as citizens of this nation. Mr. Philip Murray, President of the CIO, stated: "For the first time in American history, the forces of labor are now setting up a nationwide organization to protect the political rights of the working man, as well as the rights of the returning soldier, the farmer, the small business man, and the so-called 'common man'."

To protect the interests of the "common man," the CIO-PAC adopted a program which deals specifically and realistically with measures to be adopted and methods to be used in the next four

years to guarantee a complete victory over our enemies and assure the foundation of a lasting peace based upon security at home and abroad.

The National Citizens PAC

The National Citizens Political Action Committee was formed in June 1944, dedicated to the same objectives as the CIO-PAC, but extending its scope to include all forward-looking people who consider the interests of the nation before their own personal interests.

The Religious Associates of the NC-PAC

Who are the Religious Associates? The Religious Associates are a group of leaders of all Faiths, joined in a fellowship of religious social action and associated with the National Citizens Political Action Committee.

What do the Religious Associates represent? They represent, unofficially, the progressive, democratic ideals and convictions of religious men and women in America.

What Are the Aims of the R. A.? To work with the National Citizens Political Action Committee and all other progressive democratic organizations in helping the American people to find, choose and support political officials who stand for the people's welfare in the National Administration, in Congress, in State Administration, in State Legislative bodies, in City Administrations and in all departments of local government.

Are These Aims Partisan? They have nothing to do with Parties as such. The R. A. will support progressive democratic policies and candidates irrespective of Party affiliation. The R. A. will oppose reactionary policies and candidates no matter by what Party they are sponsored.

Are These Aims Religious? To work for human brotherhood is religious; to work for brotherhood through political action is religious common sense.

Do Religion and Politics Mix? Politics is a means of achieving freedom and order. Whatever works for freedom and order is a concern of religion. When religion and politics are mixed on a basis of progressive democracy, political action is maintained at a high level of ethics, and religion makes itself felt as a force for righteousness.

Credo of the Religious Associates

1. We believe in the wholesomeness and sanity of the American people.
2. We believe that, given full opportunity and encouragement in free elections, the people will vote right.
3. We believe that the people are entitled to accurate information about, and honest analysis of all public issues, and to a fair-minded presentation of the claims of all individual candidates.
4. We believe that democracy is the normal

expression of the desire for a humane social order, and that people of rational goodwill are naturally democratic.

5. We believe that the religious tradition of America tends always, when rightly understood and interpreted, towards the growth and extension of democratic institutions, politically, economically and culturally.
6. We believe that the religious forces and organizations of America have a fundamental stake in the growth and development of democratic institutions and ways of life.
7. We believe that the labor movement is one of the major democratic forces in America, and that the trade unions are a center of democratic education and action in our society.
8. We believe that the religious forces and the labor movement have in common the desire to strengthen and hasten democratic trends in America, and should therefore more closely associate themselves together to this end.

9. We believe that at this time, especially, such an association is not only desirable, but imperative; and for this reason have formed a group of Religious Associates to collaborate with the National Citizens P. A. C. and with all and any other movements or organizations with the same democratic motives and objectives.
10. We believe that by associating ourselves with the labor movement we are helping to sustain and to strengthen the democratic ideals of America—to enrich the American way of life.

If you wish to become a Religious Associate, you may write to Dr. Dwight J. Bradley, 205 East 42nd St., New York 17, N. Y., and say that you are interested. He will be glad to hear from you.

Political Aims of the Religious Associates

1. To persuade every citizen of voting age to register.
2. To be sure that every registered voter votes.
3. To make certain that the elections are honest and clean.
4. To stimulate church members to study platforms, policies and candidates in the light of an unwavering belief in progressive democracy.
5. To interpret and make clear the basic issues of this election and of the post-war period from the standpoint of religious ethics.
6. To judge parties and candidates according to the standard of a peoples' crusade for full employment, the elimination of poverty and disease, the rights of minorities, and the ending of the underlying causes of war.
7. To help educate Americans in analyzing and seeing into the real issues of the present campaign and the long-range problems of democratic society.
8. To bring both religion and politics into a rational, worthy and constructive relationship with the needs of the people and the advance of civilization.
9. To encourage and foster fellowship between the churches and the labor movement in a single-hearted devotion to the cause of the common man.
10. To help build a better America and a better world.

IF YOU WISH TO KNOW MORE about the program and the objectives of the Political Action Committees, you may obtain the following publications: *The People's Program for 1944; Jobs For All After the War; The Negro In 1944; This Is Your America; The Radio Handbook; The Speaker's Manual; A Woman's Guide to Political Action.*

A packet of these is available, free of charge, at:

NATIONAL CITIZENS
POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE
205 EAST 42 STREET, NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

NATIONAL CITIZENS POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE

A Non-Partisan Organization for the election of Franklin D. Roosevelt and a Progressive Congress

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PSF Hillman

STATEMENT OF DWIGHT J. BRADLEY IN RE: WORK OF NATIONAL CITIZENS POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE WITH RELIGIOUS LEADERS AND GROUPS.

As a representative of the National Citizens Political Action Committee in the field of relationships with religious leaders and groups I am struck with the readiness of those whose chief concern is with the religious life to consider the part which religion and religious leadership may and must play in the present situation. While a certain measure of the response to my overtures has been negative and even hostile, the far larger proportion has been positive and cooperative.

Naturally, there is an almost universal insistence upon maintaining the official separation between Church and State but there seems to be no disposition to claim that religion and ethics must be kept in an ivory tower far removed from political action.

The problem is fundamentally to help religious people to realize that the Jewish-Christian tradition has always historically been in accord with the democratic aspirations of the people as over against the reactionary obstructionism of powerful entrenched minorities. A great body of church people in America still is wedded to the idea that Christianity stands or falls with the maintenance of laissez-faire capitalism and unregulated individualism. For this reason they look with suspicion upon any movement that seems to put these things under criticism or to modify them in any way. Our approach, therefore, must be elementary and persuasive, speaking largely in the A-B-C's of social progress.

The best way to approach these more conservative church members as well as to rally the su pport of those who are more liberal is through their religious leaders. We are organizing informally a fellowship called the RELIGIOUS ASSOCIATES OF THE NATIONAL CITIZENS POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE, composed of ministers, priests and

rabbis who are progressive and are ready to step out front. This organization is still in its beginning but each day I receive names of others who wish to become associated with it. I fully expect that within a short while we will have a significant and useful fellowship well under way. One method for finding out who good prospects are is by the letters we are sending out every other week between now and Election Day to more than fifteen thousand religious leaders. We also have published a sixteen page pamphlet which will have the widest possible circulation. It sets forth persuasively the claims of the labor movement upon the interest and support of religious people and the importance to religion of working closely with the labor movement and especially with the Political Action Committee.

I, myself, make it a point to speak as often as possible to church groups and in pulpits; and I plan to attend as many church conferences as possible this Fall. We are cooperating with the Religion and Labor Foundation in setting up a Conference of labor and religious leaders to be held in Pittsburgh October 9-11 and we hope to be able to hold other Conferences of the same sort thereafter. We also make use of the secular and religious press to the fullest possible extent and have had good results thus far in this area.

It is my opinion that we have started something which may be of inestimable service not only between now and the election but for years to come in bringing progressive political action and religious idealism and ethics into closer accord than ever before in our country. The job seems worthwhile and if it is successful the results should be striking.

Dwight J. Bradley
September 6, 1944

PSF
Hillman

Dwight Jaques Bradley, born in Yankton, S. D., in 1889. Son of Dan F. Bradley, college president and noted clergyman, who was also a die-hard Republican never known to have split his ticket for any non-GOP candidate. Even supported Taft in 1912.

Dwight Bradley was educated at Rollins and Oberlin Colleges and at Western Reserve University. Studied for the ministry at Pacific School of Religion, Berkeley, California. Has honorary degree of Doctor of Divinity from Colby College, Pacific School of Religion and Oberlin College.

Pastorates in Oakland, California; Cleveland, Ohio; El Paso, Texas; Webster Groves, Missouri; Newton Centre, Massachusetts; Boston, Massachusetts. Served in Army YMCA in World War 1. Professor for eight years at Andover-Newton Theological School. Three years President of Greater Boston Federation of Churches. For five years Director of the Council for Social Action of the Congregational Christian Churches in the United States.

Leader for 25 years in progressive social and political action in the Congregational Christian denomination. Active in work of the Federal Council of Churches - especially in industrial, racial and international relations commissions. Member of Federal Council preaching missions with special emphasis on religion and labor. Organized Federal Council Commission Camp and War Industry Communities.

Student of social conditions in Great Britain, Europe and the Near East, as well as the United States. Last trip to England in summer of 1936, becoming convinced that World War II was inevitable, that America was inevitably involved. Between 1938-42 travelled 400,000 miles over the United States making personal survey of social conditions, emphasizing evolution of the labor movement,

farm conditions, migratory labor, reactionary movements such as the Associated Farmers and the National Association of Manufacturers.

Consistent supporter of the League of Nations.

Consistent supporter of Mr. Roosevelt and the New Deal.

Supporter of main trends of Mr. Roosevelt's foreign policy from the Chicago "quarantine speech" in 1937 to the present. Carried on pre-Pearl Harbor struggle against isolationism and political pacifism in the churches. Supported all measures preparing for and winning the war.

Supported Roosevelt-Wallace ticket in 1940 against heavy opposition within church groups. Worked for anti-Poll Tax Bill and publicly denounced Dies Committee.

Author of many books on religion and social questions. In 1943, published "Freedom of the Soul," an interpretation of progressive political action in terms of religious faith and faith in the common man.

Appointed in 1943 to administrative post on the National War Labor Board, but rejected by the Civil Service Commission.

After devoting six months in 1943-44 to a special program of writing accepted position on staff of the National Citizens Political Action Committee, June 1944.

Philadelphia proves it again

ROOSEVELT GETS YOU ACTION!

President Roosevelt swiftly and decisively settled the disgraceful Philadelphia transit strike.

It took compassion. It took wisdom. It took *courage*! Arrayed against the President was a group of vicious race-haters. At stake was the future of the President's Fair Employment Practice Committee which has been under the constant attack of anti-Roosevelt forces.

Philadelphia was not only a victory. It was a magnificent demonstration that the President can be relied upon to act with the fearlessness needed to assure equal rights to racial minorities. Roosevelt and Truman deserve the support of every thinking Negro. Candidates have always *promised*. Roosevelt *delivers!*

"The prompt action of the government in support of the FEPC is notice to the Negroes in the United States that Franklin D. Roosevelt still stands for freedom and democracy and that his continuation in office for another four years is the only way by which the Negro can consolidate the social gains under the New Deal." — **ROSCOE C. DUNJEE,** Editor and Publisher, The Black Dispatch (Oklahoma City)

"Millions of American citizens of all races and creeds will take renewed faith in the fundamental rightness of our democratic institutions as a result of the decisive action taken by President Roosevelt in this unfortunate situation." — **EUGENE KINCKLE JONES,** General Secretary, National Urban League.

"I am sure that Negroes and whites alike who believe in justice will indicate their approval of the course pursued in Philadelphia by continuing to give their wholehearted backing to the administration and the organized labor movement as long as they function as effectively as in this case." — **CHANNING H. TOBIAS,** National YMCA Executive

"The uncompromising manner in which the government settled this dispute is additional evidence of the desire of the administration to improve the occupational status of Negro workers." — **ROBERT C. WEAVER,** Executive Director, Mayor's Committee on Race Relations (Chicago)

"This action indicates again that the President and Commander-In-Chief can be depended upon to act promptly in opposing all efforts to split the unity of the American people."—**MAX YERGEN,** President, National Negro Congress

Register! And Vote for ROOSEVELT *and* TRUMAN

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