

COLLECTIVE BARGAINING CHALLENGES
IN A CHANGING AMERICAN ECONOMY

An Address

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BEING INVITED TO ADDRESS THE BROTHERHOOD OF RAILWAY CARMEN IS A VERY PLEASANT EXPERIENCE FOR ME. IT GIVES ME THE OPPORTUNITY TO SEE OLD FRIENDS LIKE TONY KRAUSE. AND IT BRINGS ME THE HONOR OF SPEAKING TO A UNION WITH A LONG AND DISTINGUISHED HISTORY.

IT'S BEEN 85 YEARS SINCE THE BROTHERHOOD OF RAILWAY CARMEN WAS FOUNDED. THOSE FIRST ORGANIZERS HAD TO MEET SECRETLY AT NIGHT IN A SMOKING CAR TO WIN THE RIGHT TO UNIONIZE AND BARGAIN COLLECTIVELY.

TIMES HAVE CHANGED. NOW WE KNOW THAT SMOKING IS BAD FOR PERSONAL HEALTH -- AND THAT COLLECTIVE BARGAINING IS GOOD FOR THE HEALTH OF THE COUNTRY.

UNFORTUNATELY, A LOT OF PEOPLE STILL KEEP RIGHT ON SMOKING. AND A LOT OF PEOPLE STILL DISCOURAGE COLLECTIVE BARGAINING.

THE FEDERAL MEDIATION AND CONCILIATION SERVICE AND THE BROTHERHOOD OF RAILWAY CARMEN HAVE ONE THING IN COMMON. WE'RE BOTH COMMITTED TO THE COLLECTIVE BARGAINING PROCESS.

WE BOTH KNOW THAT BUILDING A WORKABLE COLLECTIVE BARGAINING SYSTEM IS LIKE BUILDING A FREIGHT CAR -- YOU HAVE TO START WITH A SOLID STRUCTURE AND ADD TO IT.

YOUR UNION BUILT AN ORGANIZATION AROUND THREE BASIC CONCERNS: WAGES, HOURS AND WORKING CONDITIONS.

AS TIME PASSED, YOU HAVE STRENGTHENED THAT STRUCTURE. YOU HAVE EXPANDED YOUR NEGOTIATIONS TO COVER NEW RETIREMENT AND MEDICAL BENEFITS.

LIKE THE BROTHERHOOD OF RAILWAY CARMEN, THE FEDERAL MEDIATION AND CONCILIATION SERVICE IS EXPANDING ITS EFFORTS. WE HAVE BUILT UPON A STRUCTURE THAT LABOR AND MANAGEMENT IN THE RAILROAD INDUSTRY CREATED FOR US -- THE RAILWAY LABOR ACT.

THAT ACT -- NOW APPROACHING ITS GOLDEN ANNIVERSARY -- HAS BEEN THE FOUNDATION FOR LABOR LAW IN AMERICA.

IT OPENED NEW GROUND IN DEALING WITH LABOR DISPUTES.

- IT ESTABLISHED MEDIATION AS A METHOD OF RESOLVING DISPUTES.
- IT SPECIFIED ARBITRATION AS THE MEANS OF SETTling GRIEVANCES.
- IT INCLUDED FACT-FINDING AND THE USE OF EMERGENCY BOARD PROCEDURES.
- AND IT BROUGHT BOTH THE LEGISLATIVE AND EXECUTIVE BRANCHES OF THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT INTO PLAY, IN AN ATTEMPT TO AVOID LABOR DISPUTES THAT COULD CAUSE EMERGENCIES.

LABOR AND MANAGEMENT AGREED TO THE PROVISIONS THAT BECAME THE BASIS OF THE RAILWAY LABOR ACT. FOR 20 YEARS THE ACT WORKED ALMOST PERFECTLY BECAUSE THE PARTIES WANTED IT TO WORK. EMERGENCY BOARDS WERE ACTIVATED ON THE AVERAGE OF ONLY TWICE EVERY THREE YEARS.

WHILE MANY BELIEVE THAT THE ACT HAS FALLEN FROM THIS STANDARD OF EXCELLENCE IN RECENT YEARS, IT REMAINS A CORNERSTONE IN THE SEARCH FOR NEW APPROACHES TO COLLECTIVE BARGAINING.

THE RAILROAD INDUSTRY TODAY IS UNDERGOING MONUMENTAL CHANGES. STRONG LINES HAVE MERGED TO BECOME STRONGER. WEAK LINES ARE FALLING INTO BANKRUPTCY. TECHNOLOGICAL CHANGE HAS RATTLED THE TRADITIONAL MAKEUP OF THE WORK FORCE. THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT IS OF NECESSITY INTENSIFYING ITS ROLE.

EXPERTS TELL US THAT BOTH ENVIRONMENTAL AND ECONOMIC REQUIREMENTS WILL FORCE AN INCREASE IN THE PACE OF GROWTH AND CHANGE IN THE RAILROAD INDUSTRY.

CONSEQUENTLY, IT IS ESSENTIAL THAT WE CONTINUE TO REVIEW AND STRENGTHEN COLLECTIVE BARGAINING PROCEDURES.

OUR GREAT NATION MUST MAINTAIN AN EFFICIENT, ECONOMICAL RAIL TRANSPORT SYSTEM TO MEET THE NEEDS OF A VIBRANT, MOBILE SOCIETY.

WE ARE CONFRONTED WITH A NUMBER OF SERIOUS PROBLEMS.

IF THE BANKRUPT NORTHEASTERN RAILROADS ARE NOT SAVED, MANY OF OUR SMALLER TOWNS COULD WITHER AND DIE. COMMUNITIES LIKE LACEYVILLE, PENNSYLVANIA -- WHERE THE RAILROAD IS THE LIFELINE -- COULD BECOME GHOST TOWNS.

ACUTE BOXCAR SHORTAGES HAVE DEVELOPED. SHORTAGES SO BAD THAT CALIFORNIA LUMBER COMPANIES THAT NEED 80 BOXCARS A DAY TO HANDLE SHIPMENTS RECEIVE JUST ONE LONELY CAR.

WHILE WE ARE WORKING TO SOLVE THESE PROBLEMS, WE MUST DO OUR VERY BEST TO MAINTAIN THE HIGHEST POSSIBLE DEGREE OF LABOR-MANAGEMENT COOPERATION.

YOUR NEW CONTRACT HOLDS THE PROMISE OF LABOR PEACE IN THE NEAR FUTURE. WE MUST WORK TO SECURE THAT PEACE IN THE FACE OF THE CHALLENGES OF CHANGE THAT LIE AHEAD.

FROM THE WHEAT FARMER IN IOWA TO THE WALL STREET INVESTOR. . . FROM THE WORKER ON THE DETOIRT ASSEMBLY LINE TO THE COMMUTER IN NEW JERSEY. . . ALL OF AMERICA IS DEPENDING NOW MORE THAN EVER ON THE RAILROADS.

WE MUST DO ALL WE CAN TO AVOID LABOR STOPPAGES.

EVERYONE WHO HAS POUNDED A PICKET LINE AND GONE WITHOUT PAYDAYS KNOWS THAT STRIKES HURT.

EVERY INVESTOR WHO HAS SEEN PROFITS
VANISH KNOWS THAT STRIKES HURT.

AND THE THIRD PARTY VICTIMS -- THE
FAMILIES OF STRIKERS AND INVESTORS, THE
SHIPPERS AND EVEN THE TAX COLLECTORS, THEY
KNOW THAT STRIKES HURT.

WE ARE PAID FOR OUR PRODUCTIVITY.
WHEN IT STOPS, WE'RE IN TROUBLE.

EVEN THOUGH WE ARE GOING THROUGH A
PERIOD OF RELATIVELY STABLE LABOR-MANAGEMENT
RELATIONS, I HAVE DOUBTS THAT THE DAY OF THE
STRIKE IS ENDING. NOR DO I THINK STRIKES
SHOULD NECESSARILY END. BECAUSE AS DISTASTEFUL
AS THEY ARE, STRIKES STILL REPRESENT A FREEDOM
OF ACTION CHERISHED BY WORKERS.

YOUR RECENT 63-DAY STRIKE AGAINST THE
PORT AUTHORITY TRANS HUDSON RAILROAD
SHOWED THAT.

BUT I FEEL THAT ALL OF US HAVE A DUTY TO
SEARCH FOR METHODS THAT WILL REDUCE THE
NEED FOR STRIKES AND LOCKOUTS.

IT'S OUR RESPONSIBILITY TO SEE THAT
ESSENTIAL SERVICES THAT AFFECT THE NATION'S
HEALTH AND SAFETY ARE CONTINUALLY PROVIDED.

IN THAT SEARCH, WE MUST MAKE SURE THAT
THE CURE ISN'T WORSE THAN THE DISEASE. WE
MUST STEP GINGERLY AROUND ALL FORMS OF
COMPULSION.

NO ONE WANTS TO REVERT TO THE CONDITIONS
THAT A CENTURY AGO FOUND FEDERAL TROOPS BREAKING
A STRIKE BY RAILROADERS WHO WERE OBJECTING TO
TAKING A 10 PERCENT PAY CUT. ONE HUNDRED WORKERS
WERE KILLED IN THAT CONFRONTATION.

NO ONE WANTS TO REVERT TO THE CONDITION THAT EXISTED IN CHICAGO NEARLY 80 YEARS AGO WHEN FEDERAL TROOPS BROKE THE STRIKE OF THE AMERICAN RAILWAY UNION AGAINST THE PULLMAN COMPANY. WE DON'T WANT A REPEAT OF CONDITIONS UNDER WHICH MEN LIKE EUGENE DEBS AND HIS FOLLOWERS WERE IMPRISONED.

IN OUR SEARCH FOR ALTERNATIVES, WE MUST STAY WITHIN THE BOUNDARIES OF ECONOMIC FREEDOM -- FOR THE WORKER AS WELL AS FOR MANAGEMENT. WE MUST PROTECT OUR NATION AGAINST PROGRAMS THAT WOULD TAKE FROM A MAN EITHER HIS LABORS OR HIS MONEY AGAINST HIS WILL.

WE MUST BUILD UPON THE HARD LESSONS LEARNED IN THE PAST CENTURY. WE MUST CONTINUE TO PROGRESS TOWARD THE ULTIMATE ERA OF INDUSTRIAL PEACE AND UNDERSTANDING.

UNIONS AND MANAGERMENTS IN THE RAILROAD INDUSTRY THIS YEAR TOOK A GIANT STRIDE IN THAT DIRECTION BY NEGOTIATING NEW CONTRACTS IN A CLIMATE OF PEACE. FOR THE FIRST TIME IN YEARS, THE CRISIS SITUATION THAT HAD BEEN EVER-PRESENT IN RAIL NEGOTIATIONS WAS AVOIDED.

IT IS HEARTENING FOR ME TO SEE REPRESENTATIVES OF OLD AND HONORED UNIONS LIKE THE RAILWAY CARMEN LEADING THE CAMPAIGN TO FIND NEW WAYS TO MAKE COLLECTIVE BARGAINING WORK BETTER.

I HAD THE PLEASANT EXPERIENCE EARLIER THIS MONTH OF ADDRESSING A GROUP OF ENLIGHTENED UNION AND MANAGEMENT LEADERS OF BURLINGTON-NORTHERN.

THE AUDIENCE CONSISTED OF REPRESENTATIVES OF YOUR UNION AND MORE THAN 20 OTHERS WHO HAVE CONTRACTS WITH THE BURLINGTON-NORTHERN.

THE BURLINGTON-NORTHERN HAS A GOOD RECORD OF LABOR-MANAGEMENT RELATIONS. BUT IT HASN'T COME BY ACCIDENT. IT HAS COME BY HARD WORK. IT HAS DEVELOPED FROM COUNTLESS MEETINGS OF LABOR AND MANAGEMENT LEADERS AT ALL LEVELS.

THEIR LINES OF COMMUNICATION ARE OPEN. AND THEY HAVE LEARNED THAT SUCCESSFUL LABOR RELATIONS REQUIRES MUTUAL UNDERSTANDING.

I WOULD LIKE TO SEE THIS PATTERN OF LABOR-MANAGEMENT COMMUNICATION BECOME A BEACON THAT OTHERS WILL FOLLOW.

BECAUSE AT ITS BEST, THERE IS NO SYSTEM IN THE WORLD THAT CAN BRING GREATER REWARDS TO BOTH WORKERS AND INVESTORS THAN THE FREE COLLECTIVE BARGAINING PROCESS.

WE AT THE FEDERAL MEDIATION AND CONCILIATION SERVICE ARE CONSTANTLY ON THE ALERT FOR NEW IDEAS -- IDEAS THAT WILL PUT MORE SPEED AND QUALITY INTO THE MEDIATION PROCESS.

THE ONLY REASON THAT WE EXIST AS A FEDERAL AGENCY -- AND THE ONLY REASON YOUR TAX MONEY IS USED TO KEEP US IN ACTION -- IS TO SERVE AS THE AGGRESSIVE PEACEMAKERS IN THE COLLECTIVE BARGAINING RING.

I AM CONVINCED THAT IN THE FIELD OF MEDIATION THERE IS AN ENORMOUS OPPORTUNITY TO DEVELOP NEW TECHNIQUES THAT CAN LEAD TO A MORE ACTIVE, MORE EFFICIENT ROLE FOR THE THIRD-PARTY NEUTRAL.

CURRENT INDUSTRIAL CONDITIONS IN THE UNITED STATES LEND A SENSE OF URGENCY TO OUR SEARCH FOR THE BEST POSSIBLE LABOR RELATIONS TECHNIQUES -- BECAUSE WE IN AMERICA ARE IN THE CENTER OF A NEW EVOLUTION IN THE WORLD'S ECONOMY.

FOR SOME YEARS NOW, WE HAVE HEARD ABOUT "RUNAWAY" INDUSTRIES. FIRST, IT REFERRED TO COMPANIES THAT TOOK THEIR OPERATIONS FROM THE HIGHLY INDUSTRIALIZED NORTHEASTERN UNITED STATES TO THE SOUTH.

MORE RECENTLY, THE TERM HAS BEEN APPLIED TO AMERICAN-OWNED COMPANIES THAT HAVE RELOCATED PRODUCTION AND SERVICE FACILITIES IN FOREIGN LANDS.

TODAY WE ARE SEEING A REVERSE TWIST.
FOREIGN COMPANIES ARE INVESTING HUGE SUMS
OF MONEY IN PRODUCTION AND SERVICE FACILITIES
IN OUR NATION.

FOR THE FIRST TIME SINCE OUR EARLY HISTORY
WHEN THE ENGLISH DOMINATED ALL MANUFACTURING
IN OUR COLONIES -- WE ARE FINDING FOREIGN
INVESTORS OPERATING PRODUCTION AND SERVICE
FACILITIES IN THE UNITED STATES ON A MASSIVE
SCALE.

THE CHICAGO TRIBUNE JUST LAST WEEK TOLD
THE STORY OF A JAPANESE COMPANY THAT WAS
BEING SUED BY AN AMERICAN FIRM FOR
INFRINGING ON A PATENT.

AS THE TRIAL NEARED ITS END, AN OFFICIAL
OF THE JAPANESE COMPANY WHISPERED TO HIS
DEFENSE LAWYER:

"LET'S GET THE CHARGES DISMISSED."

"ON WHAT GROUNDS?" THE STUNNED LAWYER
ASKED.

"WE JUST BOUGHT OUT THE AMERICANS,"
WAS THE REPLY.

WELL, AFTER THE TRIAL, THE JAPANESE TEAM
MAY HAVE GONE TO THE KITANO HOTEL ON FASHIONABLE
PARK AVENUE AT 38th STREET IN MANHATTAN.
IT JUST OPENED THIS MONTH -- AND IS THE FIRST
JAPANESE-OWNED HOTEL IN THE HISTORY OF NEW
YORK CITY .

OR THEY MAY HAVE GONE TO GIMBEL'S --
RATHER THAN TO AN AMERICAN-OWNED DEPARTMENT
STORE -- TO BUY THEIR WIVES SOME GIFTS.

THAT'S RIGHT. GIMBEL'S. A BRITISH COMPANY JUST RECENTLY BOUGHT GIMBEL'S -- A TRICK THAT MACY'S WAS NEVER ABLE TO ACCOMPLISH THE LIST OF FOREIGN-OWNED AMERICAN BUSINESS IS LONG AND GROWING. HERE ARE BUT A FEW EXAMPLES:

-- TWO JAPANESE COMPANIES HAVE JOINED TO CREATE THE AUBURN STEEL COMPANY, INC., IN AUBURN, N. Y. TO CONSTRUCT A STEEL-PRODUCING PLANT.

-- A FRENCH TIREMAKER IS SPENDING 200 MILLION DOLLARS TO CONSTRUCT TWO PLANTS IN SOUTH CAROLINA THAT WILL EMPLOY 1,800 WORKERS.

-- A SWISS COMPANY, NESTLE'S, NOT TOO LONG AGO PAID LITTON INDUSTRIES 100 MILLION DOLLARS FOR STOUFFER FOODS.

-- A JAPANESE COMPANY HAS INVESTED SIX MILLION DOLLARS IN A NEW PLANT ON A FORMER CORN FIELD IN WISCONSIN TO MANUFACTURE SOY SAUCE AND TERIYAKI SAUCE.

-- BRITAIN'S LLOYD'S BANK CAME UP WITH 115 MILLION DOLLARS TO BUY CONTROL OF THE FIRST WESTERN BANK AND TRUST COMPANY IN CALIFORNIA.

-- THE SONY CORPORATION -- JAPANESE-OWNED -- IS ASSEMBLING COLOR TELEVISION SETS IN CALIFORNIA, AND PLANS TO PRODUCE TELEVISION PICTURE TUBES THERE.

-- MAZDA -- THE COMPANY THAT MAKES THE CAR WITH THE ENGINE THAT GOES U-M-M-M-M, IS SPENDING 16 MILLION DOLLARS ON A NEW HEADQUARTERS BUILDING AND PARTS WAREHOUSE IN CALIFORNIA.

-- THE KIWI SHOE POLISH THAT SO MANY OF US HAVE TAKEN A SHINE TO. . . . WELL, IT'S MADE IN THE UNITED STATES BY AN AUSTRALIAN FIRM.

-- AN ITALIAN COMPANY IS NEGOTIATING TO BUY CONTROL OF THE RONSON CORPORATION.

-- THE LIST GOES ON AND ON. A LIECHTENSTEIN COMPANY OWNS A PLANT THAT MAKES INDUSTRIAL FASTENERS IN MINNESOTA. AND IN PENNSYLVANIA, CARBONLESS COPYING PAPER IS PRODUCED IN A PLANT OWNED BY A FIRM HEADQUARTERED IN LUXEMBOURG.

THE PEOPLE OF SOUTH CAROLINA ARE NOW BRAGGING THAT THEIR STATE HAS MORE GERMAN MONEY THAN ANY COUNTRY IN THE WORLD OUTSIDE OF GERMANY.

IT MAY BE GERMAN MARKS OR SWISS FRANCS, BUT THE SOUTH CAROLINIANS HAVE A VALID POINT.

IN THE SOUTH CAROLINA COMMUNITY OF SPARTANBURG ALONE, TWO AUSTRIAN FIRMS, A CANADIAN COMPANY, AN ENGLISH CORPORATION, SEVEN WEST GERMAN COMPANIES AND SIX SWISS-OWNED FIRMS ARE OPERATING PRODUCTION PLANTS.

THAT ADDS UP TO 17 COMPANIES IN ONE COMMUNITY IN JUST ONE OF THE 50 UNITED STATES.

IN ALL, SOUTH CAROLINA HAS LURED NEARLY 800 MILLION DOLLARS IN INVESTMENTS FROM 41 CORPORATIONS WHICH ARE HEADQUARTERED IN EIGHT FOREIGN NATIONS.

IN MY HOME STATE OF GEORGIA, WE HAVE 22 MANUFACTURING PLANTS THAT ARE OWNED AND OPERATED BY COMPANIES WITH HOME BASES IN FOREIGN LANDS.

THEY MAKE WIRE AND BEER AND KNIVES AND HYDRAULIC PRESSES AND ZIPPERS AND, YES, EVEN DANISH HAMS NOW COME FROM GAINESVILLE, GEORGIA. THEY ARE DANISH HAMS BECAUSE THEY ARE MADE BY COUNTRY FRESH FOODS, A DIVISION OF A DANISH COMPANY.

WHAT DOES THIS MEAN TO US -- PEOPLE WHO ARE PROFESSIONALS IN THE FIELD OF INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS?

I SUGGEST THAT IT MEANS THAT WE MUST WORK TO GAIN A FAR WIDER KNOWLEDGE OF LABOR-MANAGEMENT RELATIONS.

WILL THESE COMPANIES BRING WITH THEM THE STANDARDS OF THEIR OWN LANDS? AND IF NOT, WILL THEIR AMERICAN MANAGERMENTS BE INFLUENCED BY THE INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS POLICIES OF THE HOME COUNTRY?

THE MANAGER OF THE SONY COMPANY HAS SAID THAT THE ONLY THING JAPANESE ABOUT HIS FIRM'S LABOR RELATIONS IS THAT -- AND THESE ARE HIS WORDS AS REPORTED IN THE NEW YORK TIMES:

"NOBODY HIRED IS GOING TO BE FIRED. THERE WILL BE NO LAYOFFS."

THAT'S GOOD TO HEAR. BUT IT IS A CONDITION OF WORK. AND IT DOES INVOLVE LABOR-MANAGEMENT RELATIONS.

A LARGE GERMAN CHEMICAL COMPANY REPORTS THAT ITS WAGE COSTS IN SOUTH CAROLINA ARE 15 PERCENT LOWER THAN IN GERMANY. THAT, TOO, IS A FACTOR OF LABOR RELATIONS.

SO IT BEHOOVES EACH OF US -- NOW -- TO LEARN AS MUCH AS WE CAN ABOUT THE COLLECTIVE BARGAINING PRACTICES OF OTHER NATIONS IF WE ARE TO DO OUR JOB AS THE INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS PEACEMAKERS OF THE UNITED STATES.

BY DOING THIS, WE WILL BETTER BE ABLE TO SERVE THE FOREIGN COMPANIES WHO ARE INVESTING IN PRODUCTION AND SERVICE FACILITIES HERE THE PEOPLE THEY EMPLOY THE COMMUNITIES THAT BECOME THEIR ADOPTED HOMES AND THE NATION THAT HAS MADE THEM WELCOME.

THERE IS EVERY INDICATION THAT FOREIGN INVESTMENT IN OUR LAND WILL ACCELERATE EVEN BEYOND ITS CURRENT PACE.

THE DECLINE OF THE DOLLAR ON THE WORLD MONEY MARKET. . . THE INCREASE IN TRANSPORTATION COSTS. . . THE SHARP RISE IN WAGES AND EMPLOYEE BENEFITS IN FOREIGN COUNTRIES -- ALL ARE MAKING IT MORE ATTRACTIVE FOR FOREIGN CORPORATIONS TO CREATE FACILITIES IN THE MIDST OF THE WORLD'S GREATEST MARKET, THE UNITED STATES.

AS CONDITIONS CHANGE THE ART OF LABOR RELATIONS, SO TOO MUST THE MEDIATOR AND THE NEGOTIATOR CHANGE TO MEET THE MORE SOPHISTICATED BARGAINING SITUATIONS OF THE '70s.

I SINCERELY BELIEVE THAT A MORE ACTIVIST APPROACH BY FMCS MEDIATORS WILL HAVE A TELLING EFFECT ON OUR COMMITMENT TO LABOR - MANAGEMENT PEACE.

BUT NO MATTER WHAT ACTION WE AT THE FMCS MAY TAKE, THE ULTIMATE SUCCESS OF THE FREE COLLECTIVE BARGAINING PROCESS DEPENDS UPON THE NEGOTIATORS -- THOSE WHO ARE GIVEN THE HONOR OF REPRESENTING THE BEST INTERESTS OF THE WORKER AND THE INVESTOR.

YOUR UNION HAS A TRADITION OF RESPONSIBILITY AND REASONABLENESS AT THE BARGAINING TABLE. AND I SENSE HERE A DETERMINATION TO STRENGTHEN AN ALREADY FINE RECORD OF ACCOMPLISHMENT.

I AM CONFIDENT THAT WE WHO ARE DEDICATED TO PROTECTING AND PROMOTING THE FREE COLLECTIVE BARGAINING SYSTEM WILL BE ABLE TO DEPEND UPON THE BROTHERHOOD OF RAILWAY CARMEN AS TEAMMATES IN MEETING THE CHALLENGES THAT LIE AHEAD.

OUR REWARD WILL COME IN THE KNOWLEDGE THAT WE HAVE HELPED TO PRESERVE A PROCESS THAT LETS MANKIND LIVE IN FREEDOM -- WITH DIGNITY.