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I would like to join with my fellow officers of the Industrial Union Department in welcoming all of you to this conference. We especially appreciate the participation of our friends from the universities and from government because without their cooperation and participation this conference would not have been possible. It is my hope that in the future, rather than getting together irregularly, we might create a permanent science-labor foundation, so that the men of science and education, and the people of labor can have a continuing relationship which will enable them to work together on the common problems flowing from their respective responsibilities. I hope that we can create some formal mechanism to facilitate a closer and more effective relationship because, more and more, the world we will be living in will be created by what the men of science and education are doing. I assume that other speakers during this conference will deal with the more technical aspects of the problem that the conference has met to consider. I would like, therefore, to talk in broader and somewhat more philosophical terms since this is the beginning of a new year, the beginning of a new Congress, and, I think in a sense, the beginning of a new period in world history. Never before have people come together to talk about

labor and science and the future under such circumstances.

These remarks are based on an address by Walter P. Reuther, president, Industrial Union Department, AFL-CIO; president, United Automobile, Aircraft and Agricultural Implement Workers of America, AFL-CIO; delivered at the Labor and Science in a Changing World Conference, held by the Industrial Union Dept., Washington, D. C., January 7, 1959.

PRIORITIES for PEACE and SURVIVAL

by Walter P. Reuther

The Growing Gap

There are several man-made satellites orbiting around the earth, and either late today or early tomorrow there will be the first man-made satellite orbiting around the sun. This brings into sharp and dramatic focus the fact that we have moved far into the outer space of scientific and technical achievement. Although this means we face increasing responsibilities, the promise has never been brighter. We have said many, many times that the same scientific technical know-how that gives us the H-bomb and the missile gives us automation and electronics, and, we hope, not too far down the road, the peaceful use of the atom in many of our industrial activities.

The real challenge of the 20th Century lies in the growing gap between our tremendous, unprecedented progress in the physical sciences and our lack of comparable progress in the human and social sciences. Because of this uneven development, we are now confronted—you and I, and the rest of the people of our great country—with a dangerous dilemma. On the one hand we need to accelerate our effort to make even greater physical progress because our very survival depends on the advancement of the physical sciences. Yet even at the current rate of scientific and technical progress we are already experiencing serious economic, social, and political problems. This means that the moral and cultural lag will become even more desperate unless we make a greater effort to find a way to match physical progress with comparable progress in the human and social sciences.

When I got around last December to thinking about what one says on a Christmas card in an attempt to reflect what one feels, I couldn't help but think that although the world has changed these past 2,000 years, fundamentally, the basic problem has not changed. We are still in trouble because of man's lack of comprehension of his relationship to his fellow man. The answer to this problem, I said in my little Christmas message, will not be found by exploring the limits of outer space; it will be found only if we can arouse the slumbering morality that lies deep within the inner man. The peace of the world is in jeopardy because nuclear giants may behave like moral pygmies, and guided missiles may fall into the hands of misguided men.

It is true that the challenge in the physical sciences is more real today than it has ever been because of the tremendous and accelerated effort of the Soviet Union. But while we work to meet that challenge we need to work in the human and social sciences. We must arouse the forces of human morality, of human decency, of human consciousness, which alone can create a positive force in the world great enough in magnitude, and powerful enough in its impact upon the consciousness of mankind to counterbalance the forces that make for war and the ultimate destruction of the human family.

Two

The Struggle Is for Survival

What we need to understand, I believe, is that we are living at a time in human history when the struggle is not for supremacy. Nothing could be more unrealistic than to think that the effort we are making can result in supremacy. No one can be supreme in the atomic age when the two possible antagonists both have the means of mutual destruction. The struggle is not for supremacy; the struggle is for survival. That means

that we of the free world-because we do profess a greater morality-must assume the greater responsibility.

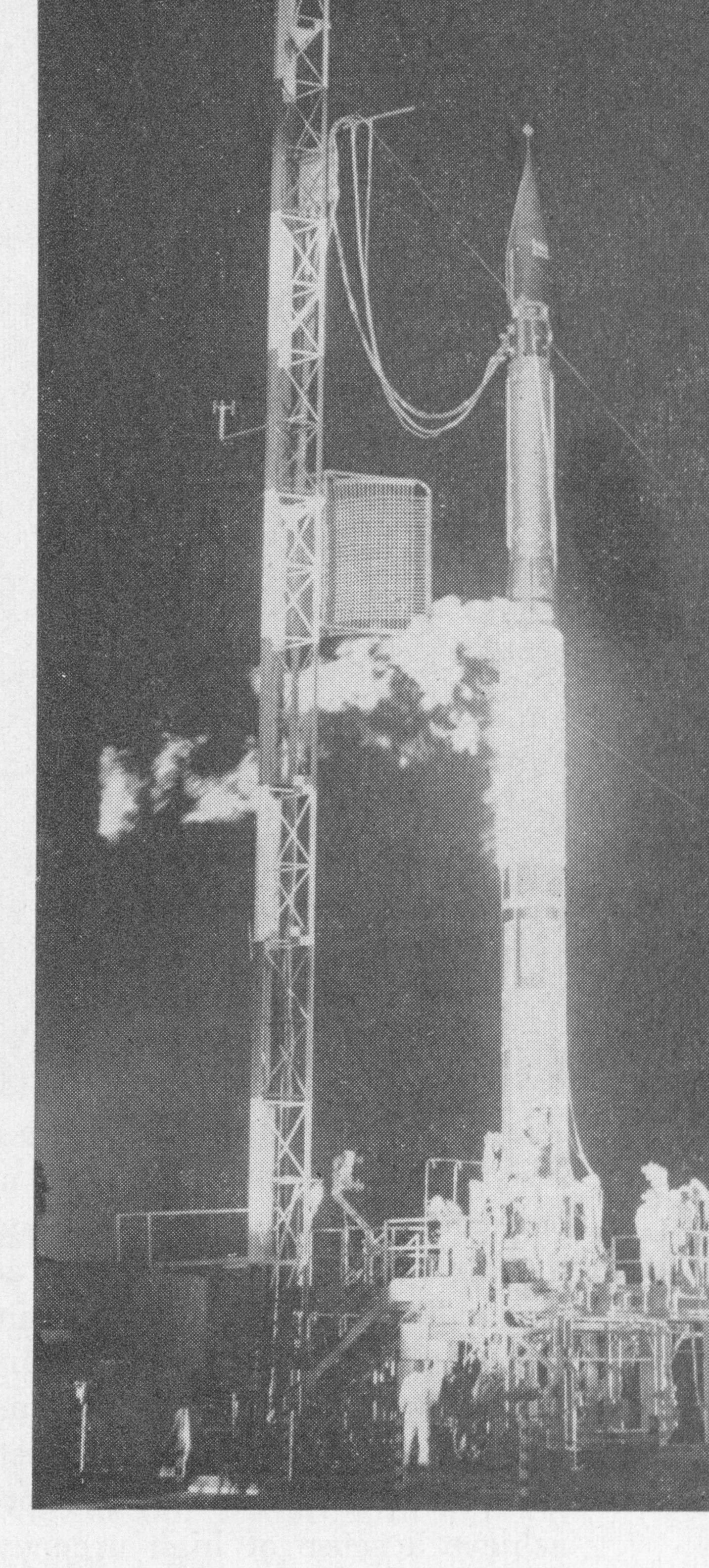
Yet, we, as a people and as a nation, have failed to comprehend the dimensions of the Soviet challenge or to understand the totality of the threat. General Omar Bradley recently expressed the feeling that I have shared in this matter when he said, and I quote him:

"I am sometimes discouraged, not by the magnitude of the problem, but by our colossal indifference to the problem."

It is the corruption of complacency that contains the seeds of potential disaster. The crisis in the world is not something that you can meet, as it were, on the side, after you do all the other things that you do in a normal world, in a normal time.

What we need to understand is that this is a one game World Series. It is not four out of seven, and you don't get a chance next year if you lose the pennant this year. You either win the first game or you lose, and you lose for keeps.

As we drift from crisis to crisis we are losing desperately. We are losing the great areas of the world that contain the majority of the human family, the great uncommitted peoples of the world. They are the balance of power, not the range of the missile or the thrust behind it. The missiles are important, but they are only the negative aspects of the contest. They only provide the opportunity to buy time for the positive effort to win these hundreds of millions of uncommitted people to the cause of freedom. This is the job that the free labor movment is working at with limited resources against tremendous odds. Whether there is enough time to meet the challenge depends upon how fully we comprehend its dimensions.



Three

The Need for a Sense of Urgency

We are losing not because our system of freedom is unequal to the challenge. We are losing because we are not trying. You know when you go into a game, and you play it as hard as you can, and you lose, it is sad. But, when you lose because you don't try, that is tragic. We are losing not because we lack the capability, not because free men are not equal to this challenge. We are losing because we have not been aroused to the magnitude of the challenge. Like General Bradley, I am frightened because of our "colossal indifference."

A good part of this colossal indifference reflects a lack of leadership and understanding in high places. Last week when I read, as I did with you and the other people of America, the new budget which came out on the same day that the Soviet budget came out, I could not but conclude that the budget proposed by the President in this hour of challenge is a flight from reality. There is confusion in the minds of people in high places. They have not understood the difference between a balanced budget and a balanced economy. It is easy to balance a budget in a classroom. In real life a balanced budget doesn't stay balanced long unless you have a balanced economy operating at full employment and full production levels.

But what is ultimately more important is that the administration has confused national solvency with national survival. This effort that we are engaged in is not a bookkeeping operation which we can win by impressing the Soviets with our balanced accounts. This is the kind of challenge that demands the mobilization of our total resources, both material and human, in a total effort to meet the totality of the threat.

Halfway and halfhearted measures and policies that are too little and too late are not adequate to meet the challenge of war, and they are not adequate to meet the infinitely more complex challenge of peace. We need to achieve a sense of high urgency in America and a sense of national unity and common purpose. We need to demonstrate the courage and the determination and the sense of dedication in meeting the present challenge that we demonstrated following Pearl Harbor.

We must work out a list of national priorities, the priorities for survival as a free people and a free nation. Then we need to find the know-how and the will and the good sense to commit our total resources to the fulfillment of this list of priorities. I would like briefly to cover some of the items that I think ought to be high on this national list of priorities for survival.

The Need for Full Mobilization of Resources

First, we need to get America back to work. We need to mobilize the potential economic abundance that full employment and full production will make possible. We have said many times, and we believe it, that the American economy is freedom's greatest material asset. If effectively mobilized, it will produce the economic resources necessary to do what needs to be done at home, and will provide us with the economic support necessary to meet our increasing responsibilities in the world.

Four



When we talk about the need of accelerating our programs of economic and social action in America, of stepping up the dimensions of our foreign aid program so that we can meet the Soviet challenge by fighting poverty and hunger and ignorance in the world, the men of little faith who have fought social progress in America down through the years cry out "We cannot raise living standards, we cannot make progress in education and housing and social security, because we have to devote our resources to military defense." Yet the challenge that we face requires that we do all of these

We say to the men of little faith and little vision: "You have challenged America's capacity to do these things in the past. You have always sold America short and America, despite your words of calamity, demonstrated its genius and fashioned its greatness by doing what the men of little faith said was impossible of achievement."

things at the same time.

When you look at the tremendous slack in our economy and the expansion of the productive capacity of other countries which represent the challenge you can begin to understand why we are in trouble.

Industrial production in the United States from the first quarter of 1957 to the first quarter of 1958 went down over 10 percent and Soviet industrial production went up 11 percent. The cause of human freedom must not suffer a repetition of that kind of economic contrast too often because the margins get thinner and thinner and more precarious.

Looking over some literature that the Soviet Union distributed in its pavilion at the World's Fair, I came across a chart on industrial production.

"The American economy is freedom's greatest material asset."

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The chart claimed that Russian industrial production went up 2,000 percent from 1913 to 1957 while industrial production in the United States rose 200 percent.

I read an article by a scientist who had just returned from Red China. In ten years, the author predicted, the steel production of Red China would be greater than the steel production of Great Britain.

During the past five years when we should have been expanding and growing at an annual rate approximating five percent at a minimum, we were limping along at a growth rate of about one and a half percent. As a result, the people of America wound up with a \$200 billion loss in gross national product. If Jimmy Carey's membership in the electrical industry makes a half a million television sets that they can't sell, the sets are put into the warehouse, and they remain in storage until they can be used. But, when five million workers are denied the opportunity of creative and productive employment their labor power is lost forever, and the wealth that could have been created is lost forever.

What we need to do is to get the American people to understand that the answer to the problem of guns and butter, the answer to the problem of a strong military posture and social and economic advance at the same time, will be found in the economics of abundance, in the economics of full employment and full production. The great gaps in our military preparedness could easily have been prevented, had we been using our resources fully over those five years. That lost \$200 billion could have built millions of brand new homes to help wipe out the slums and the social cesspools that they represent; could have built hundreds of thousands of new classrooms; could have built hospitals; could have increased social security for the 13 million people on social security; could have increased our foreign aid program. And we still would have had some money left over to help balance the budget. That \$200 billion could have meant added income for every American family, including the sharecroppers in the Deep South.

This is not just a matter of producing a margin of economic resources for increasing our living standards. In this hour of challenge, it could be the margin of economic resources necessary for the full implementation of the national priorities so essential to our survival.

The Tragic Educational Deficit

To illustrate the point, let's take the question of education, another priority item. As a nation, we have been more concerned with the condition of our plumbing than with the adequacy of our educational system. We would be in good shape if, during the past five years, there had been as much concern about the size of our schools as some people in American industry have shown for the size of our tail fins.

Look at the statistics and you will find that the average elementary school teacher in 1958 got less than a sweeper in a General Motors plant. Now, the sweepers didn't get too much; the school teachers got far too little.

What we need is the kind of courage, the kind of realism, that will commit a portion of our resources to overcoming this tragic educational deficit; that will expand our classroom facilities; that will expand our scholarship program; and that will make it possible to pay teacher salaries commensurate with their real contribution to society.

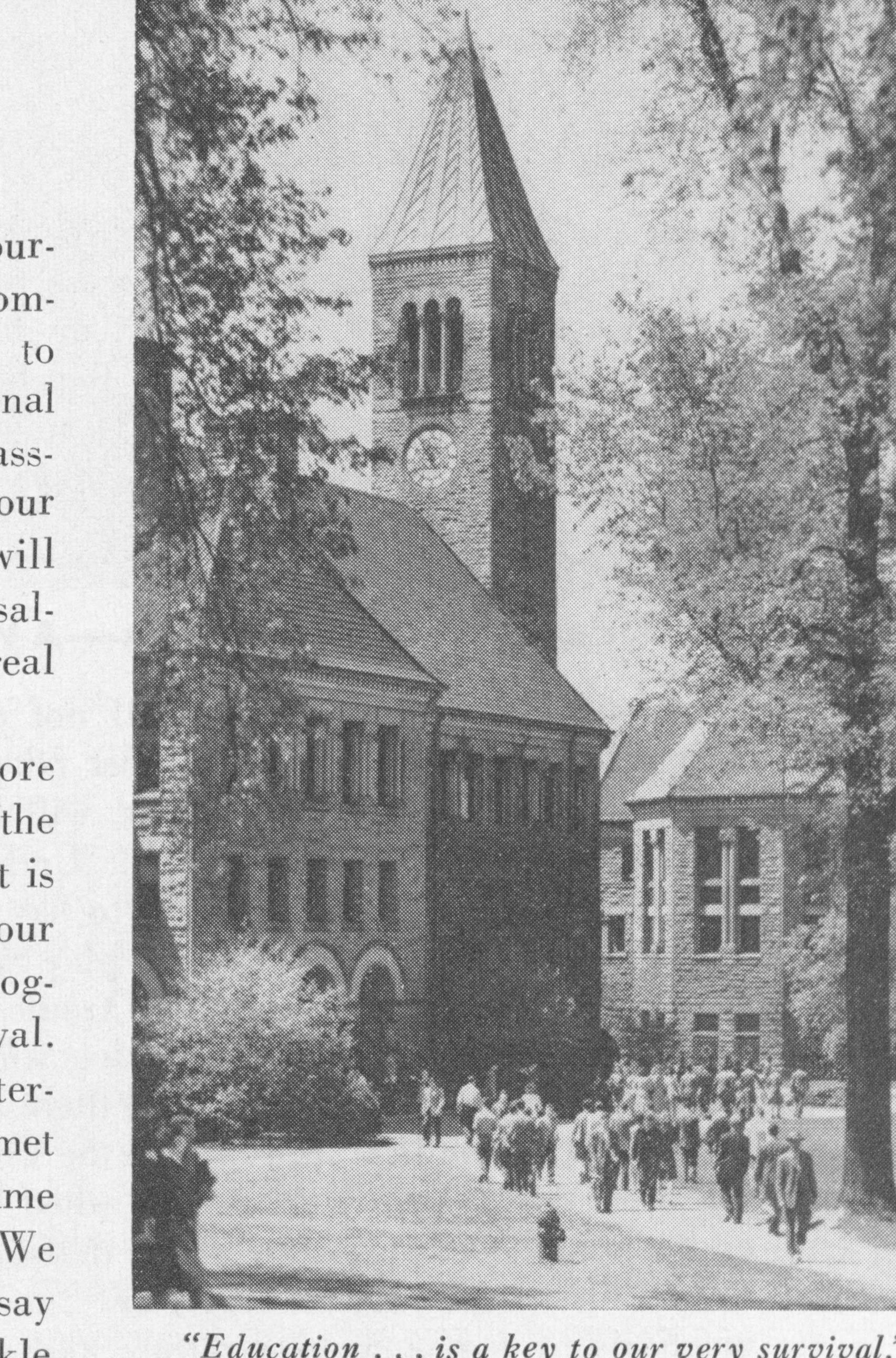
In this period, education is more than just a question of facilitating the growth of the human individual. It is the key to our scientific progress, our technical progress, our military progress. It is a key to our very survival.

Russia understands this. Yesterday, Jimmy Carey and a few of us met very briefly with the Deputy Prime Minister of the Soviet Union. We didn't meet and hold his hand and say "Education . . . is a key to our very survival." pretty things. We had a bare-knuckle slugfest with him. He can talk to capitalists and he is going to see bankers and corporation presidents all over America. He may kid them about the Soviet Union and the status of labor, but we know something about this. We had a very frank discussion because we believe that American labor has to be able to look these fellows in the eye and tell them we know of the hypocrisy which prevails in the Soviet Union. But, while we have utter contempt for communism and its system of values, let us never make the tragic mistake of having contempt for their competence.

Let us remember that the Soviet satellite was made possible by Soviet education. The Soviet Union is turning out ten metallurgists in their universities for every one we turn out in America.

We face a very serious problem on the educational front. The longer it takes us to come to grips with it the greater the danger that we will get a kind of crash program based on the notion that we can't have all the so-called "frills" in American education. We shall be asked merely to grind out scientists and technicians. Nothing could be more tragic than that. We would be competing in the physical sciences at a time when we have to meet not only that challenge but also demonstrate our superiority in the human and social spheres.

The purposes of higher education in a free society are quite different from the purposes of higher education in a totalitarian society. The purpose of higher education is not to grind out technicians. The purpose of educa-



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tion in a free society, I believe, is to facilitate the maximum growth of the human individual who, in the process of that growth, becomes a competent technician, or scientist, or teacher, or doctor. If we attempt to subvert the purposes of education to match the Russian effort we will have lost at that point. What we need to do is much more difficult, much more costly, but we can afford the price if we have an economy in high gear with full employment and full production.

The Underdeveloped Countries—A World Battleground

Another priority, which I will not discuss in detail, because our good friend Paul Hoffman, who has just taken on a tremendously important assignment with the United Nations, will be discussing it, is the need for ex-Nothing, again, could be more tragic and unrealistic. I happen to think,

panding our foreign aid programs. Under the pressure of internal problems, there will be a natural tendency to say: "Well, with all these problems at home, why don't we quit trying to play Santa Claus to the rest of the world?" and I am not an expert at analyzing what goes on in the minds of the men in the Kremlin-I don't know that there are any experts-that a fundamental shift in the Kremlin's approach to the world's problems has taken place since the death of Stalin. I think that when the Russians developed the H-bomb and thereby became aware of its destructive capacity, they recognized that no nation could win the next war. As a result, they decided to shift their emphasis to economic penetration, and political subversion, and this is how they hope to win the hundreds of millions of uncommitted peoples. It would be a real catastrophe if under the pressure of domestic difficulties we put all our emphasis upon military power as the answer to the Soviet challenge.

Take India—India is the hope of Asia. If freedom's cause has a possibility of success in Asia, it rests in India because only India can serve as counter-balance to Red China. Yet the margins are getting desperately narrow in India. Two years ago I was there briefly, and I came away with the feeling that India is a place where so little could do so much for so many if we could but see the opportunities, and make the most of them. Paul Hoffman will be talking about those things in detail.

There is, however, a closely related matter that merits our prompt and critical attention. High on the list of our priorities must be the urgent question of putting the right kind of moral symbol on the banner that we hold high in the world.

Most of the people of the world are dark skinned, and they include 90 percent of the uncommitted people who in the ultimate struggle between the forces of freedom and tyranny will hold the balance. They will either tip in our way, in favor of freedom, or they will tip the other way, in favor of the forces of tyranny which destroy these basic values.

As we face these people in the world, we need to get our credentials in order. You ought to sit down with peasants in India and try to explain Little Rock. You can dream up lame excuses and try to explain it away,

but they keep coming back to it. They ask a simple question that must be answered to the world, if our credentials are to be put in order. They keep asking, are you true to the principles of the American Revolution, or have you betrayed the Bill of Rights? How do you explain this moral discrepancy between America's noble promises and its ugly practices in the field of civil rights? Now, on top of Little Rock have come the bombings of churches and synagogues in the South.

You cannot explain these things away. What you have to do is solve the problem. It requires the same courage and the same dedication with which we face the challenge on the battlefronts.

Our good friend, Bishop Oxnam, of the Methodist Church, once told a group of UAW people that the trouble is there is too much pious talk in America about brotherhood by too many people who afterward drop the brother and keep the hood. Let us understand that the world is watching. Little Rock may only get a two-column headline on the third page now, because it's getting to be old news-but it's still banner headlines in Asia where the great majority of the human family who are dark in skin are living and trying to search out which road they will travel.

What we do on the civil rights front will determine our moral standing in the world. Without the right kind of credentials, we cannot lead. And if we cannot lead, the free world will be without leadership because no other nation in the world has in combination the democratic heritage and the economic resources and muscle to implement that democratic heritage.

Need for Freer Intellectual Exchange

The next priority that I'd like to discuss is our need in this hour of challenge to find a way to revitalize the free marketplace of ideas. Something very sad has happened to America. The evil and ugly and immoral phenomenon called "McCarthyism" is no longer in the headlines, but it has inflicted a tragic toll upon the intellectual climate of America.

People somehow still aren't willing to stand up in the marketplace and have their say, if they think saying it may attract a few brickbats. Yet willingness to speak out is the only way that a free society can maintain a healthy intellectual ferment and stimulate the kind of discussion which leads to answers—not to the easy problems, but to the knotty problems, the difficult ones, the controversial ones.

In the universities, the stimulus that we had back in the 30's when we



[&]quot;India is the hope of Asia."

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talked about problems is gone; the dead hand of "McCarthyism" and intellectual conformity has warned students: "You may not become a vicepresident of the company when you graduate if you get involved in areas of controversy."

The hardening of attitudes in America is another manifestation of our unwillingness to grapple with ideas. What we recently went through in the auto industry would not have happened if there had not been a hardening of attitudes at the very time that we faced a national economic crisis, when there was the greatest need for labor-management understanding and cooperation to overcome the recession. People began to say: "Maybe we can exploit the recession and begin to put labor in its place."

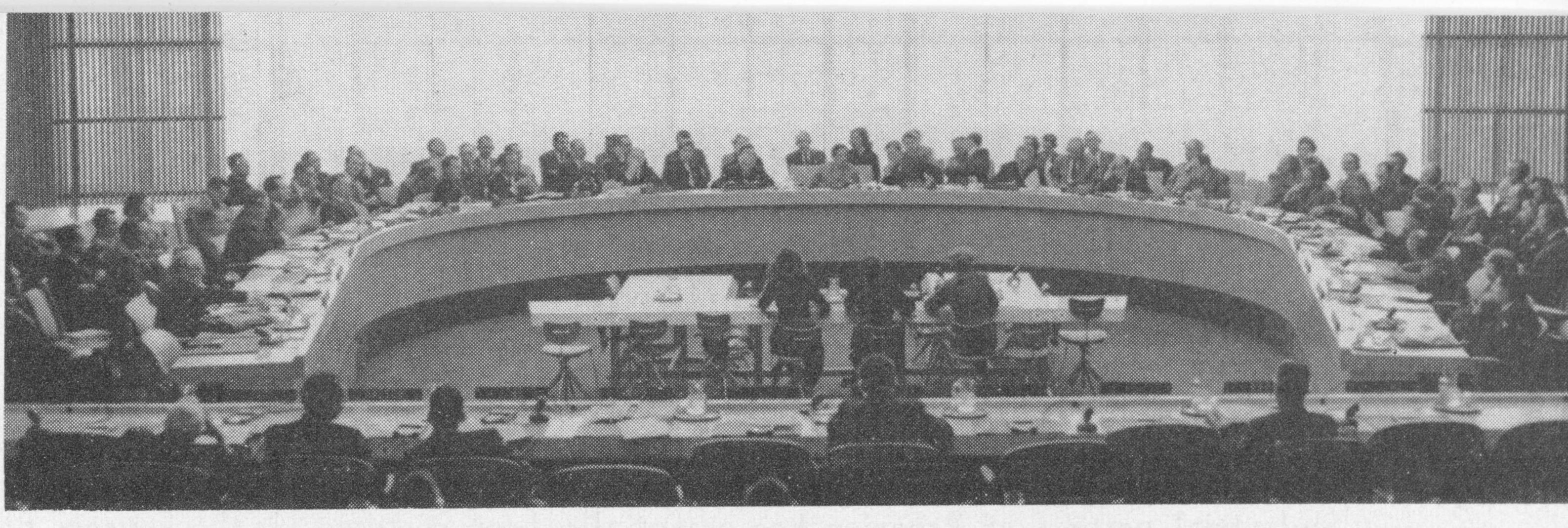
I am fearful about collective bargaining in 1959 if we have a continued hardening of attitudes, and an unwillingness to face and work out problems. I think we need to find a way to facilitate the coming together of free labor and free management with educators and government officials and other groups interested in these problems. We need to find ways of studying and probing these problems together, not in the unfavorable intellectual climate of the bargaining table where attitudes sometimes degenerate into a kind of haggling, but in an atmosphere in which everybody understands that the common denominator of human survival binds us all together, from the most underpaid and underprivileged sharecropper and the starving peasants in India to the fellow in the most lavish penthouse in Park Avenue. If free labor and free management can't understand that elementary fact then they will default in their respective responsibilities.

I read the NAM news, and I find that week after week, they keep pounding away at the American labor movement. They say that I am the most dangerous man in America, but I say they wage the class struggle more consistently, more vigorously, than any group—labor, management or other in the world. If the American labor movement responded in kind, together we would prove Marx to have been absolutely correct. We have been trying to make them understand that their program of repealing the 20th Century will not work; that somehow we have got to learn to live together in the 20th Century.

We have to keep saying things that are so simple, and truthful, that you would think that they would be obvious without repetition. We have told management, as we have told other groups, that you can't have freedom unto yourself. You can only have it as you share it with your fellow man, and we can make it secure only as we make it universal.

We have repeatedly affirmed that you can't have free labor without free management, and that neither can be free excepting as we cooperate to preserve freedom in our society and in the world. Yet the NAM constantly wages the class struggle against the American labor movement.

I hope for a growing understanding that we are bound together by common problems of survival, a realization that we have a great deal more in common in terms of basic human values than we have in conflict. With such an attitude, labor and management can sit down and go over their problems, and try to find answers to them before they become critical. I believe that



we ought to try to get management to join with us in creating some mechanism whereby we can get together periodically with Government and other groups to explore these common problems.

Need for a Technical Clearinghouse

I would like to propose still another device for revitalizing the marketplace of ideas and stimulating free and informed discussion concerning a vital problem. There doesn't ever seem to be a rush to grab my proposals or to implement them, but I discourage very slowly, so I keep making them over and over because this is how we make progress. I remember how long before Pearl Harbor, when it was obvious what the mad man Hitler was doing in the world, I tried to get American industry to mobilize for war production. I was told it couldn't be done; it was not technically feasible. Yet when the war was over they bragged about how well they converted the automobile industry. I said they could convert 80 percent, they said they did convert 85 percent of pre-war facilities. They upped me 5 percent.

We need to establish what I would call a technical clearinghouse for the exchange of knowledge of what is happening on the scientific and technical fronts. Such knowledge would make it possible for us to arrive at intelligent conclusions concerning the impact of scientific and technological change upon the America of tomorrow and the day after tomorrow; upon levels of employment; upon the nature of jobs and the kind of training programs needed to fill new jobs; upon existing industrial communities.

What happens when a six story factory with the old technology, in a big city, is replaced by a one story automated plant fifty miles from the old city? General Motors knows the impact automation is having on the auto industry. Ford knows; Chrysler knows a little bit about it, not as much as it should. General Electric and Westinghouse know what is happening in the electrical industry. DuPont knows the chemical industry. U. S. Steel knows the steel industry. But there is not a living soul equipped to weigh the combined impact, present and continuing, of this accelerated technological progress.

I think it is about time that we begin to create mechanisms to bring this knowledge together in one place. Then, with competent technical help, we can begin to evaluate and analyze it so that industry will know, so that the Government will know, so the people will know precisely where we are, where we will be and what some of the problems will be in the period of transition. Then we can put our minds to finding ways of meeting these complex problems.

"You can't have freedom unto yourself."

The workers in Detroit want to know about automation five years from now. Although the recession is supposed to be behind us, 13 percent of our total labor force is still unemployed.

What about the textile centers and the ghost towns in New England? And what happens down the road when the peaceful application of the atom becomes commercially feasible (and that isn't far off)? The whole industrial pattern of America has essentially been dictated by the sources of power. Access to coal to create steam power is often a factor in the location of plants. You put an aluminum plant, which uses a high percentage of electricity in the production process, where you have access to hydroelectric power. But the atom is going to change this. I went through the Calder Hall atomic energy plant last year when I was in England; I spent the whole day there with the chief engineer. He said to me: "We can run this reactor for 20 years with one truckload of fuel." The fact that you can put a reactor anywhere without worrying about the location of the source of power will have a tremendous impact upon the industrial pattern of America in the years ahead.

Who is thinking about that? Who has a right to think about it? Who has the responsibility? Can we leave such decisions to the blind forces of the marketplace? I think not. The American labor movement is committed beyond question to trying to find answers to these problems within the framework of our free institutions. We say to management: "Ownership fixes responsibility. Private economic decisions will prevail in important areas of our economic life only as private economic decisions are publicly responsible and adequate to meet the needs of the nation and its people." But you cannot have private economic decisions that will be rational and responsible unless they are made in the light of economic facts. If no one knows the facts, then even with good will and the best of intentions we will be flying blind and we will be in trouble.

Planning—The Pragmatic Approach

I think also, in the free marketplace of ideas in America, we ought to have the courage to use the nasty, discredited, almost subversive word, planning. If anyone believes that we can meet the challenge of tomorrow, the Soviet challenge, the challenge of automation and atomic power, by sitting back and riding with the blind forces of the commercial marketplace and Adam Smith's law of supply and demand, they are flirting with the most dangerous kind of unreality.

What we need is intelligent, rational, private and public planning, one supplementing the other, the degree of the mix depending upon what portion of the total effort can be done by private decision and private resources and the total being brought into balance by having the private effort supplemented in those areas where it is inadequate to meet the full need. This is not an ideological approach. This is a pragmatic approach that says the job must be done, the people's needs must be met, because survival is at stake and therefore the question is not an ideological one but the practical one of how to get the job done best.

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It seems to me American management had better be thinking about these things. Just reciting pious slogans about free enterprise while the economy goes to pot, while Soviet production rises 11 percent and ours declines over 10 percent, will not save America or our system of values.

Role of Government

Now, to meet our priorities for survival, we ought to call upon the Government in this period of crisis to recognize that science, education, and technology represent frontiers on which the battle for freedom is being fought. We ought to call upon the Government to take steps to create a department of science and technology with cabinet status so that we will have an effective mechanism to deal with this complex problem of extending the frontiers of human knowledge, of science, research and education.

To perform its function effectively, such an agency would have to give more emphasis and attention and resources than we have thus far given to basic research. Read the report on what is happening to basic research in America. You will find that, at a time when the Soviet budget puts greater emphasis upon this, a smaller percentage of our gross national product each year is committed to basic research.

I should also like to suggest that we call upon the Government, both the Congressional and Executive branches, to join together in creating a permanent, representative, non-partisan citizens committee, whose task it would be to continually re-evaluate where we are and to make recommendations to Congress and the President on priorities, so that we can get them in



"We ought to call upon the government."

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their proper relationship one to the other. We have had the Rockefeller Report; we have had the Gaither Report. We have had many other private reports, all of which have pointed out both the magnitude of the challenge and the sense of urgency we need, but there is no governmental body that can concentrate as a continuing operation upon this kind of effort. I believe that such an effort ought to be made. Such a body would work closely with the Executive branch, with the Security Council, with Congress. In focusing attention upon the priorities for survival, it could convey to the Government and the people, more effectively than any private group, the sense of urgency we so badly need.

Abraham Lincoln, who was perhaps one of our great philosophers, said: "If we could first know where we are, and whither we are tending, we could then better judge what to do and how to do it." I suggest that this is an hour in the history of human freedom, in the history of American democracy, when we need to re-evaluate where we are and where we are tending, and then together as free people decide how we shall meet the challenge.

Free People Can Meet the Challenge

I, personally, have unlimited faith in the capacity of free men. You know, the communists have based their whole strategy of world domination upon the concept that a free society is made up of conflicting and competing economic pressure groups, incapable of achieving the sense of common purpose necessary to overcome the recurring crises in our system. They believe that as the crises deepen, the conflict sharpens, and the divergency between the groups broadens. The great challenge that we face is to disprove that concept, to demonstrate that free men, free labor, free management, and free government, have the capacity to rise above partisan considerations or group advantage and find areas of common purpose and a sense of national unity. This is what we need.

You can't have a progressive worsening of relationships between basic economic and political groups of America, as was the case in 1958, and expect America to be equal to the challenge. You can't have all these private fights and at the same time commit the resources of America to the great tasks that we all face.

It's been said that free labor and free management sat down together with free government after Pearl Harbor only because we shared common fears that Hitler and his allies would nail our common hides to the common barn door. If this is true then there is no hope; we ought to negotiate the best surrender that we can get.

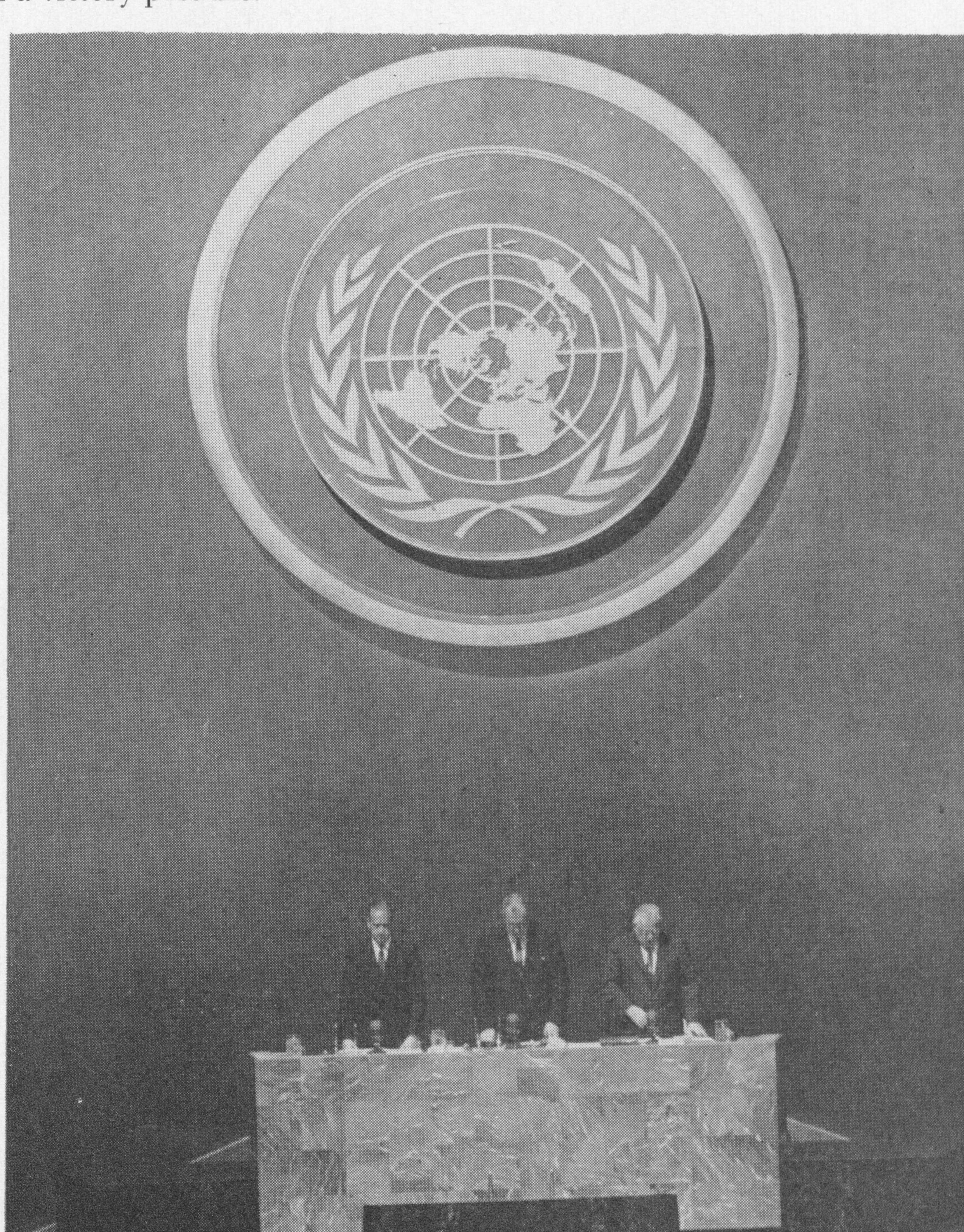
However, I do not believe that that is true. I reject the cynical notion that mankind is only capable of his highest achievement in terms of negative reflexes. I believe it is possible to get our people to work and fight and sacrifice for the things they believe in with the same sense of dedication and devotion and the same will they demonstrated during war in the struggle against a common enemy. Why can't we get people working because they share common hopes, sacrificing because they share common aspirations,

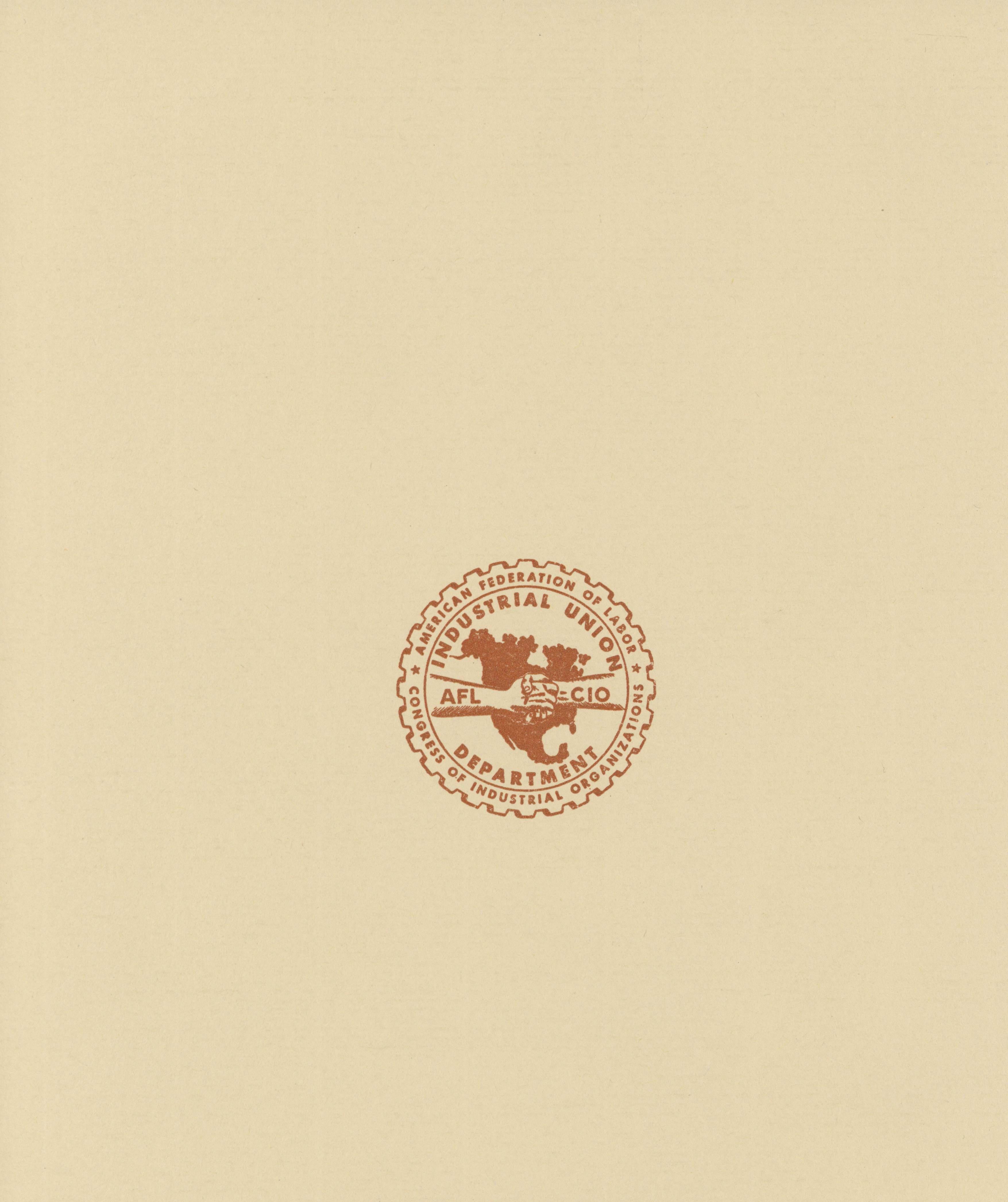
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building together because they share common dreams and a common faith? This is the great challenge: to create a dynamic, democratic force to oppose communism not negatively but by positive achievement.

We are the only country in the world which can really lead in the development of such a democratic force, not because we are superior, but because the Good Lord was just more generous with us. We are the only country that has the full combination of economic resources, productive capacity, and democratic heritage. For that reason alone we have the major responsibility.

I say we can meet that responsibility, but we can meet it only if we meet it together. Only if we demonstrate the capacity to rise above the partisanship that divides us, the group conflicts that keep us apart, only if we find a way to work out this list of national priorities for survival, and then commit America to their achievement. If we do that in 1959, we will be able to gather in January of 1960, no matter how many new satellites are in orbit, no matter whether they be around the earth or the moon, or the sun, or Jupiter, knowing that the cause of freedom is in secure hands, and that we can and will win the struggle for survival. I say to you that our job is to work together to make such a victory possible.





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