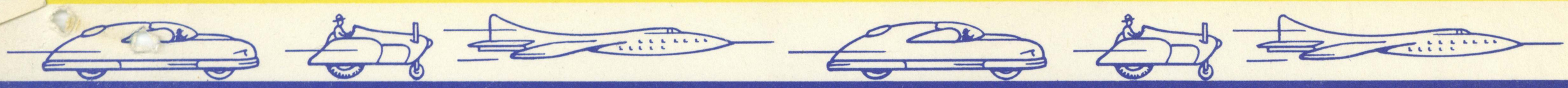
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INTERNATIONAL UNION, UNITED AUTOMOBILE, AIRCRAFT AND AGRICULTURAL IMPLEMENT WORKERS OF AMERICA

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[April 1954]

FOR RELEASE:

Sixth UAW-CIO International Education Conference

Opening Address by President Walter P. Reuther

It is a privilege for me to join with you in this Sixth UAW International Education Conference.

When I looked over some of my colleagues and friends here on the platform, Brother Mazey and Brother Livingston and some of the other old timers in our Union, I couldn't help but think that we have come a long way. When I first met with these fellows, we met secretly in basements and now we meet in the beautiful opera house in the City of Chicago. I was worried that they might call upon me to sing. I can assure you that I do my best singing in the bathroom, and if you'll excuse me tonight, I will try to stick to some things that I want to talk about.

We are meeting here tonight with more than 2500 delegates, workers from plants, factories--large and small throughout the United States and Canada. What have we come together to do? Not to listen to speeches, but to discuss together and to think out loud about the many complex and challenging problems that we face as free people in this very difficult period in the history of the human family.

I want to congratulate Brother Matthews and the members of the Executive Board, Education Committee and Brother Brendan Sexton, the Director of our Education Department, for the splendid job that they have done in organizing this Conference and in lining up the speakers and discussion groups. I think that this Conference will be a real milestone in the development of workers' education. I think that all of us will go back home enriched by having come here and discussed these problems together.

The call to the Conference says that the theme of the Conference shall be Man's Search for Peace, Justice and Abundance in a Free World--Our Responsibilities--Economic, Political and Moral.

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I believe that that's a most timely theme for the consideration of this Conference. I think that all of us can agree that the labor movement must devote more and more of its energy, its time, its resources and its leadership to the development of a broader understanding of these basic issues on the part of the rank and file membership of our Union and all other unions.

We believe that our Union is the best. We're proud of it. But if it is the best, it's the best because the rank and file, a million and a half men and women who make up our membership, have made it the best. They have given us of their loyalty and their devotion. They have sacrificed to the fullest. They have fought the good fight that made the birth of our Union possible, and they nourished its growth. Today more than one and ahalf million people belong to our Union.

We have built our Union on the principle of solidarity in the ranks, teamwork in the leadership at every level. We are not building the old kind of labor movement which essentially is a dues collection agency where the rank and file has one privilege - and that is the privilege of paying dues. We are building a new kind of labor movement - a labor movement that draws its power, both economic and spiritual, from the membership that make up its ranks; and for that kind of a movement to make its maximum contribution not only in advancing the economic interests of the membership in the narrow sense but to perform its broad social and moral responsibilities to the whole community.

Such a labor movement must work hard in the vineyards broadening the understanding of the rank and file about these many complex and pressing problems. Therefore, this Education Conference is but another part of the continuing efforts of our Union to broaden

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the participation of our membership, to develop a better understanding, and out of that broader participation and that better understanding, get a greater sense of dedication to the ideals, to the principles and to the basic democratic and human values that our Union has struggled to advance in the world.

We're going to learn from each other in this Conference. We hope that the leadership and those who will participate on the platform will contribute to your understanding.

We have built a great economic organization, an organization that is taken on the most powerful corporations in the history of American industry. And while are proud of that great economic power and the strength and the will and the determination reflected in many of our struggles, we know that our kind of movement, to have real purpose, must mobilize moral and spiritual power equal to our economic power, because power without morality in the world in which we live is power without purpose.

One of the basic problems of the world is that too many people in too many places of the world are exercising great power without a corresponding sense of social and moral responsibility. We of the UAW said many, many times over that we are not a narrow economic pressure group, trying to get something for ourselves at the expense of the rest of the community. We have acted in the knowledge that every basic value that we cherish is indivisible in character, that we can't be free except as we struggle to defend the freedom of our neighbors, those at home and our neighbors in the world. We can't live at peace unless peace is universal, and we can't enjoy economic progress or prosperity unless everyone shares in a measure of economic and social justice.

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Therefore we have said that what is good for America is good for the CIO. We cannot hope to solve our problems unless we work with men of good will in finding answers and solutions to the problems of the whole community. We are now living in a period of growing economic difficulties and increasing unemployment at home; and we are living in a period in which confusion and deepening international crisis face us in many troubled spots in the world.

The other day you and I and millions of our fellow citizens and millions of people all over the world read about the latest H-bomb, and they told us that this is not the end. Two days ago in the NEW YORK TIMES there was an article to the effect that if they take the mechanism and the guts of the H-bomb and put it in a shell, an outer shell made of cobalt, that one bomb can create the kind of radiation that the wind and the atmosphere will carry and one bomb can wipe out every form of life in one-third of the world. If anyone believes that we can have peace and security and freedom and economic and material well-being in a world in which these great powers for human destruction can be released, then they are being completely unrealistic. Unless we find a way to organize the world community so that these new found powers of science and technology given to mankind can be used, not to destroy life, but to improve life--to lift the burden of mankind and make life richer, more secure, and give hundreds of millions of people a fuller measure of human happiness and human dignity. That is the great challenge.

These are the things that we are seeking, for peace for freedom, for economic and social justice. They are all inseparably woven together, because you cannot win the peace in a vacuum, nor can you make freedom secure in a world where injustice and intolerance reign.

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If we want to fight to make peace and freedom secure, then of necessity we must wage the good fight for economic and social justice. That's exactly what we have been trying to do in our great free labor movement. To do this job we in America and Canada, the two strongest free nations of the world, need to assume a growing measure of world responsibility. And to discharge that leadership responsibility, we need to shape our programs and our policies and our leadership, not in the image of our fears, but rather in the image of our faith--not in the image of our hatred, but rather in the image of our hopes and aspirations and dreams.

One of the great problems is to find a way in the world to release the power and the motivation and the drive that lies dormant in the hearts and souls of hundreds of millions of people all around the world, and to release that power in the positive struggle for peace and freedom and human dignity and social justice. That's the great challenge. If we are going to lead the free world then we've got to demonstrate courage, not compromise. We cannot compromise with injustice and provide that measure of leadership so necessary if we are to lead the free world.

Now the delegates to this Conference come from the two countries in the world that are freedom's last best hope. We in the United States and our brothers and sisters in Canada must find the answers to our basic problems, and demonstrate that democracy can be made to work, (not in the political ivory towers, not in the election booths every two years or every four years), but make democracy work every day, every year, in the lives of all the people and demonstrate that democracy can find the answers to these problems. We will convince the rest of the world who stand in judgment of us

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of the strength and the power and the righteousness of our cause, not by the recitation of pious slogans about the virtues of democracy, but by demonstrating in a practical, tangible way in the lives of people that democracy can find the answers to these basic and challenging problems, and that we can have economic security without sacrificing our basic freedom.

But what are we searching for? As we heard on the screen when the voices of some of the great men of the past spoke, what we seek today is not something new. The forms change, the symbols change, the calendar changes, but the hopes and the aspirations of mankind have made little change in the last thousand years. For centuries, man has been searching for the answer to a very simple problem--a problem of how can the human family organize a kind of world society where people can live in peace. In that kind of peaceful world society, man can devote his economic resources, his productive capacity, his skill and his know-how to the solution of man's economic problems and to satisfying man's basic economic and material needs.

Up until now, mankind has wrestled with the age old problem of how to keep the wrinkles out of every belly, how to put clothing on naked backs, and how to put roofs over the heads of people so that they can raise their children with a measure of security and comfort. We are at a new place in history. The hopes and the aspirations have not changed, but the tools with which we work to fulfill those hopes and aspirations have changed. We know how to split the atom. We know how to do wonderful things with machinery. All we need to do is to learn to use these tools for the benefit of mankind. We have said many times before that one of the great dilemmas we face in United States and Canada is the fact that we as a free people have made greater progress in the physical sciences than we have made in the human social sciences.

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We made more progress in working with machines than we have made in working with people. What we need to do is to narrow this gap and bring into parallel development and knowledge and the physical sciences with the ability to translate that knowledge into human values. That's the basic struggle in the world. Every thing else is secondary because the question of war and peace will be answered by the decisions that we make in this broader areas of the problem.

What is human freedom? All people talk about it. It's a glib phrase that some use when it is convenient. If you want to make someone believe that you are righteous, you tell them that you are for human freedom and that makes you righteous. But many people using glib phrases have no appreciation of what the nature and the character of human freedom is. Human freedom is not an absolute value. Robinson Crusoe didn't have any human freedom when he lived on that little island, because human freedom is the kind of value that you can have only in association with your fellow man, and if you want to be free you must see to it that he is free; and he in turn must work to see that you are free. All of us have got to work together in the local community, in the national community, and ultimately in the world community to preserve these basic values.

What must we do in the United States and Canada about this broader problem of developing the social and moral mechanisms needed to insure the constructive use of these new found tools? Never before in the history of the world have nations had the tools of abundance that we possess. In every other period of human history people went hungry because there was too little to eat, but in the United States and Canada we are told we have problems because the farmers have raised too much to eat.

The farmers in our two great countries together have produced more than 927 millions of bushels of wheat more than we consumed. And yet

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with those good surpluses, half of the people of the world will go to bed hungry tonight. Farm equipment workers in the United States and Canada have borne the brunt of unemployment and layoffs. Our country has the productive capacity to turn out the tools with which to create economic abundance in the fields of the world and yet these workers are walking the streets in the farm equipment cities, and half of the people in the world who cultivate the land are doing it with crooked sticks just like they did 1000 years ago. But we have a new set of tools with which to take on that problem, a set of tools that will make it possible to create untold abundance and to conquer completely man's ancient enemies of hunger and poverty ignorance and disease. We only need to demonstrate a sense of morality and responsibility and a good judgement to use these tools.

Now the purpose of the labor movement is to try to relate these great economic forces to the needs of people. The labor movement would have no purpose if it were just a nickel in the pay envelope proposition of getting a little bit more over here, little shorter hours over there. The free labor movement of the world is the vanguard of the forces of freedom and we are not content to patch up the old world so that we get laid off less frequently and we go hungry less often.

We don't want to patch it up so that the world goes to war every fifty years instead of every 25 years. We are the architects of a better world. We want to build a world in which unemployment and poverty and fear and insecurity and war can be abolished not for 10 years or 20 years or 50 years but abolished forever.

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That's the world that we're trying to build.

We are part of the great human crusade. There are 53 million of us. We speak many languages. Our skins are of various colors. But deep inside of us there is a strong and binding common denominator. It's the love and the dedication to these principles of humanity, of human dignity, of freedom, of peace, of social justice.

The free labor movement doesn't dream of a better world. It's not enough to dream.

What you've got to do is roll up your sleeves and mobilize your power and dedicate that power to the practical struggle that translates your dreams into realities.

That's why the labor movement has meaning--because it doesn't dream of these things and then say it's too bad we can't do them. It doesn't talk about justice and then say it's too bad we can't achieve it. It dares to talk about these things and it dares to go out and struggle for them in the vineyards where people work.

In our two great countries we must mobilize our productive power and then reflect that great productive power in the lives of all the people of our countries and make a contribution in the struggle for human justice all over the world.

How well are we doing?

They can hire in Washington all of the high power, high octane public relations men that they can crowd in the nation's capitol, but they will fool no one, because you cannot sell freedom like you sell toothpaste. You cannot sell ideas about justice with soap operas. The world will judge America not by our slogans, but by what we do about the basic problems.

They are going to judge us in the next period by what we do about unemployment --unemployment in Canada, unemployment in the United States. This didn't just suddenly come upon us. We have said in the literature and the resolutions of our Union and other CIO Unions

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year after year after year that with all our power the most difficult unsolved problem of our free society is to find a way to achieve and maintain full employment and full production in peace time making the good things of life for people. We know how to maintain full production in war time. When Hitler came along, we got full employment.

But we have never found the answer to that problem in peace time. The Communists say we can't do it. They say that a free society with a free economcy is incapable of solving its problem in peace time.

And the Communists are joined by the little men of big business who also believe that depressions are inevitable and some even believe that they are desirable.

We of the CIO say that we reject that defeatist philosophy. Depressions are man made. What man can make he can also avoid making. We believe it is possible to mobilize our productive power to achieve full employment and full production in peace time just the same as we can do it in war time. And we are determined to do that.

One year ago, and one day, on April 6, 1953, as the President of your Union, I directed a letter to the President of the United States and in that letter I urged him to take immediate steps to begin to create practical machinery to meet the problem of unemployment that we said would develop.

I got a very nice letter back from the President. He said he agreed with much of what I said about the need of maintaining full employment and full production but he did nothing about the practical suggestions that we made.

We proposed specifically that there be convened a meeting of labor, management and agricultural groups, consumer groups and government and we sit down around the conference table, work out a program to deal with this

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challenging problem of maintaining full employment and full production in peacetime. They said to us in those days there is no problem now and no problem is going to develop. We kept urging them but we got no action. They let things drift and then when unemployment began to rise and we called upon them again for action and all we got was pious platitudes and a policy of do nothingness. And when unemployment began to develop in sizeable proportions they said this is a temporary adjustment and then somebody said it was a new kind of adjustment. It's a rolling adjustment. A rolling adjustment is the old fashioned adjustment set to rumba music. You roll with it but if you are hungry it doesn't fill your empty belly.

And they also said that everything will be fine because spring and the robins will bring prosperity and full employment.

And what happened? Unemployment kept going higher and higher. And when we said do something about it, they said you fellows don't have confidence. We said the trouble with the people in Washington is -- and what's true of Washington is true in the Capital in Canada -- they have confused confidence with complacency.

They are working on the theory that if you really want to prove that you are confident you have got to be real complacent. If you want to do something, that proves that you have lost confidence in the future. We have not lost confidence in the future. We have lost confidence in the people who are trying to lead this country down the wrong road. Those are the people we've lost confidence in.

Now here's a clipping from a newspaper. We had a lot of trouble getting these figures released, you know.

Department of Agriculture can tell you more accurately how many new pigs were born last year than the Department of Labor can tell you how many unemplyed workers are walking the streets.

Well, they finally began to release the information. The figures came out in December and they

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were high. We said they weren't as high as the actual facts. And they came out in January and they went up some more. February went up some more.

Here are the March figures. The Secretary of Commerce says 3,725,000 workers are unemployed--an increase of 54,000. The President said at his Press Conference day before yesterday, "Well, things are getting better. In March the number of jobs went up about 50,000 because the labor force is increasing and the number of unemployed went up 50,000."

So, he says, they kind of even each other out. And, if you happen to meet a fellow who's among the 54,000 who got laid off in March, tell him not to feel badly, just tighten his belt another notch--some other guy got a job in March and that takes care of him.

Now this figure of 3,725,000 is not the whole figure. This release from the Department of Commerce goes on to say that there are 235,000 other people who are laid off who are not counted in this list because they've only been laid off for 30 days.

If you're laid off for 30 days, you're not unemployed.

And then there are millions of people working two, three and four days a week who are only partially employed. The Hudson plant is a good example. Hudson had 15,000 workers during the peak last year; then they cut it down to 7500, but the 7500 they kept on the payroll worked 16 days in the whole of January and February put together.

But they are counted as being employed--not unemployed.

Now, there are 5 million people unemployed in America when you put all of these figures together. In Canada where the labor force is much smaller 570 thousand are unemployed, for exactly the same reasons that we've got 5 million unemployed.

The President said that if things didn't improve in March he was going to take action. Well, March came along unemployment went up still further and we got no action. Why? The answer appeared in the Wall Street Journal the other day.

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The Secretary of the Treasury, Mr. Humphrey -- a fellow born in Michigan but he got rich in Ohio, so we both have to take the responsibility for him -- said the other day that they're going to wait until May before they look over the situation because spring is coming late this year.

Now the real problem is that the millionaires club in the Cabinet -- Mr. Humphrey is the chairman and C. E. Wilson is Secretary-Treasurer --is making the decisions. They are making the wrong decisions and they are doing a great disservice not only to the President but to the whole country.

What they ought to do is sit down and tell the President the facts of life because evidently they are keeping him isolated from those facts. Instead of giving us a positive program to deal with unemployment, the Republican party launched a name-calling contest and they singled us out for special honors.

Mr. Hall, the Chairman of the National Republican Committee, shortly after we had our unemployment conference in Washington, after we began to drive harder and harder for action to deal with the growing and serious economic problems, became somewhat worried. He thought that maybe other people would agree with us--that it was time for action, but instead of giving us action, he gave us a name-calling campaign and he and his associates went around this country on platform after platform saying that we in the CIO were the prophets of doom and gloom.

Why did they single out the CIO? Because the CIO was working harder at this job on the fight for full employment than any other group and the number of brick bats they threw in our direction is a measurement of the effectiveness of the work we have been doing in the fight for full employment in America.

They said that I was among the 4 horsemen of the prophets of doom and gloom. There was Walter Reuther, Adlai Stevenson, Senator Paul Douglas and Senator Wayne Morse.

All I can say is that the company I have been keeping is a whole lot more respectable than the company that Mr. Leonard Hall has been keeping.

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I didn't mind them calling me one of the 4 horsemen of doom and gloom but then they accused me of being an egghead, that bothered me. I had to sleep on that one before I was sure of what my reactions ought to be. The next morning I said if the Republicans insist upon dividing the Americans between the eggheads and the empty heads, I prefer to be an egghead.

We are in trouble in the United States and our Canadian brothers and sisters are in trouble in Canada for simple and obvious reasons. We have just produced more wealth with the new tools of production than the people have the purchasing power to buy back. As long as there exists this serious imbalance between productive power on the one end and lack of adequate purchasing power in the hands of the people on the other hand, we are in trouble and no amount of slogans and no amount of political magic or glamour will change these basic economic facts. What we need to do is to work to bring our purchasing power into balance with our productive power so that the people who have these tremendous unfilled needs in both of our countries can begin to translate needs and demand into jobs.

This is not lack of confidence. You go back to the library when you get home and go back to 1929. Get the newspapers and find out what Hoover was saying, find out what Andy Mellon, who was the Secretary of Treasury then, was saying. Change the dates, and the chapter and verse is exactly what the theme song is today -- confidence -- let's just have confidence and everything will work out.

How many workers in America had their kids go hungry back in '29 and '30 and '31 and '32 because they lost their confidence? The problem then and the problem today is not a lack of confidence -- it's a lack of purchasing power to buy the things we need. That's our problem.

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I didn't mind them calling me one of the four horsemen of doom and gloom, but then they accused me of being an egghead.

That bothered me. That really bothered me. I had to sleep on that one before I was sure of what my reactions ought to be.

I woke up the next morning and I just made a very simple decision. I said if the Republicans insist upon dividing the Americans between the egg-heads and the empty heads I prefer to be an egghead.

We are in trouble in the United States and our Canadian brothers and sisters are in trouble in Canada for simple and obvious reasons. We have just produced more wealth with the new tools of production than the people have the purchasing power to buy back. It's just that simple and as long as there exists this serious imbalance between productive power on the one end and lack of adequate purchasing power in thehands of the people on the other hand, we are in trouble. No amount of slogans and no amount of political magic or glamor will change these basic economic facts.

What we need to do is to balance our purchasing power with our productive power so that the people who have these tremendous unfilled needs in both of our country

Four percent of America's families at the top of the economic pyramid last year had a greater income than 41 percent on the bottom of the economic pyramid. Ten percent at the top of that economic pyramid have 66 percent of all liquid assets, liquid savings and 29 percent at the bottom don't have any. Savings are at an all time high but the people who don't need it have got it. What we need to do is to get some of that money in the hands of the people who do need it.

Here's another figure that is very significant and very dangerous. From 1948 until the end of 1953, consumer credit expanded from 8.9 billion dollars in 48 to 21.8 billion dollars in 1953, or 13 billion dollars more.

Now what does that mean? It means that the American people were spending 13 billion dollars of future earnings; money they haven't earned yet. That kept our economy going at a higher level of consumption, but it caught up with us just as it did in 1929 when the bubble burst.

Now the President didn't talk about these unpleasant economic facts. He says it was an inventory adjustment, that when we clear some of the high inventories we'll reemploy the workers and everything will get back to normal. The thing he doesn't understand is if we accumulated huge inventories, as we did at a time when everybody was working, how do we expect to eat up those inventories when we have 5 million people unemployed.

Are the inventory pictures improved or are they getting worse? The President would have you believe it is improved and he perhaps thinks it has because Mr. Humphrey and these fellows are not telling him the facts. At the end of March inventories were reduced 1 billion dollars. We have a billion dollars less inventory but the volume of sales has dropped 4 billion. What's significant is

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not what are our inventories but how big our inventories are measured against the volume of sales.

Now the President went on the radio and television network a couple of weeks ago on his tax program. He was fighting to get his tax program through Congress. He said, "It is a tax plan designed to be fair to all." Well let's look at the facts. The tax proposal which Mr. Humphrey has drafted and which the Republican Administration is trying to enact into law gives 95% of the tax relief to wealthy corporations and wealthy families who don't need tax relief.

Only five per cent of the tax relief gives to families with incomes five thousand dollars and under, who make up at least 75% of the families of America.

Corporations are getting 54% or over 2 billion dollars in tax relief.

Then the President says we are going to give special consideration to income from stockholding - from dividends. He would have you believe that millions and millions and millions - practically every family - owns stock in several corporations. Now if we did, the problem would not be quite as difficult as it is but we don't.

Ninety-two per cent of the people of America own no stock whatsoever. Six tenths of one per cent own 80% of the stock and we in our Union sit across the bargaining table with some of these gentlemen. We sit across the bargaining table with the highest price corporation executives in the world. The story I have told many times about /GM negotiations. Twelve guys represent management at the bargaining table and the lowest paid makes a measly sweatshop wage of ninety thousand dollars a year.

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The fellow at the head of the table makes over $600,000 or over $300 per hour.

These are the kind of people who own the stock and they want to give them even greater tax relief in addition to these billions that they build into the main features of the tax bill.

The UAW, at our Convention a year ago, adopted a resolution on taxation in which we said that tax relief had to be given to the low-and-middle-income families by raising the level of the personal exemptions from $600 to $800, from $800 to $1000.

That's what we've been fighting to do. We were way out in front when we came out with our proposal a year ago. We didn't have many people agreeing with us. We kept plugging away and plugging away and now there is a tax proposal in the United States Senate introduced by Senator George and Senator Paul Douglas which is an implementation of the essential recommendations of the UAW-CIO tax program worked out a year ago at our Convention.

And what did we propose? We said, raise the exemptions to $800 the first step and then to $1000, and by so doing you would put billions and billions of high-velocity purchasing power dollars into the hands of the low-income families.

Those purchasing power dollars will show up in the purchasing power stream and will generate demands and those demands will reflect themselves in greater employment opportunities.

The President says, we can't afford this. We can afford tax relief to the corporations who don't need it. We can afford tax relief to wealthy families who don't need it. But for the people who need it, they tell us we can't afford it. This is the kind of double standards of economics and morality that we face across the bargaining table.

And the reason/is that the same people are making the decisions who made the decisions at the bargaining table. When we asked for pensions, they said save your money for a rainy day, when you're too old to work but too young to die. But they voted themselves fat pensions.

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These double standards of economics and morality that we find at the bargaining table, we now find in Washington in the political arena, because the big businessmen we face across the bargaining table are making the decisions in Washington.

They just don't understand that in the world in which we live they can't buy freedom, they can't buy peace, they can't buy prosperity with all their millions. But they can work with us and men of good will throughout the world and together we can build these things. What security can they buy from the H-bomb? Can they build a gold-plated, diamond studded, air-raid shelter? It won't do them any good. They've got to get it just the way we do by working with people to meet these economic problems, by gearing our productive power to the needs of the human family, by creating the kind of world environment in which peace might be possible. And yet everything they do is in the wrong direction, making our economic problems more difficult by fighting against the kind of constructive, rational approaches needed to get our economy back on the main track, to reachieve full employment.

It's a funny thing. They can give tax relief to these corporations, but not to little people. They gave 2 billion dollars in tax relief in January when they terminated the excess profits tax. They propose 2 billion more now,but when we want to apply that to reducing the tax load of little people, to raise the living standards of people who have too little, they say, no we can't afford that -- let's give it to people who have more than they need and raise their standards of luxury.

We of the CIO Continue to carry on our fight. It is not lost. We got through the reduction of the tax on consumer goods the other day, the excise taxes which put about a billion dollars more of purchasing power in the pockets of the American consumers.

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They didn't want to give us that either, but that one got so hot politically that they couldn't hold the Republican boys in line and they voted a billion dollar tax reduction on the excise taxes.

But the big fight is still coming up in the Senate and I think the prospects are very good that we will get either the George-Douglas Bill through or some modification of it so that we can get some reduction in the personal exemptions which is the quickest and easiest way to begin to stimulate demand and create full employment. Now because we have fought hard, because we have dared to take the lead, because we have been willing to take all the brick-bats and abuse and stand up and slug with everything we have, we have been reaping the wrath of every vicious evil force in America. Now they are not only fighting us in terms of taxation and the full employment problem, but let me tell you what they are doing on Taft-Hartley because that is going to affect your bread and butter also.

We have had pious words followed by poisonous deeds as it relates to Taft-Hartley. We were promised that Taft-Hartley would not be repealed if the Republicans took power but they would amend it to make it fair and just and to take out its strike breaking and union busting provisions.

But what is happening?

Well Mr. David Lawrence, who is the editor of United States News and World Reports, gave the key to what's happening in Washington. Back on December 18, 1948 when he wrote "Given a few million unemployed in America and an administration in Washington which is not pro-Union, the Taft-Hartley Act could wreck the American labor movement."

Now that is precisely the formula they are trying to apply.

Taft-Hartley will not work becaise it is a negative approach to problems that require positive solution.

Why do workers go on strike? Do they go on strike because their bank accounts get so big they are unmanageable? And they have to reduce their reserves? I've never

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met any workers that went on strike for those reasons.

They went on strike because having exhausted every peaceful means at the bargaining table to get economic justice they had to resort to their economic power. Under Hitler and under Stalin, under a dictatorship, you can get economic stability, you can get industrial peace without justice, but in a society of free men industrial stability has to be based upon a foundation of economic and social justice.

Are they working in that direction? Every effort that they are making is toward building greater roadblocks, creating more obstacles in the way of the achievement of economic and social justice and the more obstacles they create, the harder workers will have to fight to overcome them and the greater the area of conflict and the more strikes there will be as a result thereof. Instead of working on the problem of unemployment, instead of working on the problem of minimum wages, instead of raising social security and dealing with the housing problems and slum clearance, instead of dealing with these positive things, they are working hard to try to make the Taft-Hartley Act more restrictive and more anti-labor in character. These are simple honest facts. Let me tell you some of the few things they are doing.

They are trying to wreck the National Labor Relations Board. They have stacked it so completely that it's management board now and they ought to re-/a name it. And that Board is changing the basic, long established policy under which free collective bargaining was encouraged.

Now they all will say we are for collective bargaining. They are for collective bargaining just as they are against sin. But the real measurement of the sincerity of people in whether they are or arenot in favor of collective bargaining is not in pious platitudes -- it's a matter of what

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are they willing to do to permit labor unions to grow. Collective bargaining is not something in a vacuum. You can't have collective bargaining unless you have unions and how can you believe in collective bargaining if you don't believe in Unions?

The National Labor Relation's Board policies have changed on the question of free speech for example. We believe in free speech. We believe everybody is entitled to have freedom of speech, including management but under the old board policy if the management had captive audiences meetings inside the factories when a union was trying to organize a plant and if they talked to the workers on company time, the old Board said the Union has equal access to talk to the workers also, under the same arrangement.

The new Board says the company can talk to the workers every day for as long as they want during working hours on a captive audience basis, that the union shall not have the same privilege, but the company can't talk to the workers for the last 24 hours before the election.

They changed another policy which is fundamental. Under the old free speech ruling of the Board, if the Company said through supervision to a worker, if you join the union you might lose your job because we may have to move the plant to some other part of the country, that's not free speech but economic coercion and an unfair labor practice.

The new Board changed that. They say if the employer says through supervision if the union wins the election we may find it necessary to lay off the workers and move out of town, that is not an unfair labor practice charge. It is only an unfair labor charge if the company through supervision says positively we are going to do it if the Union wins.

Now, they're trying to load up Taft-Hartley with vicious, more sweeping states rights provisions. Many and many a sin is being committed under the guise of the so-called "states rights" provisions. Why are they pushing for that? They want to fix it so any state can work out provisions to make it almost impossible for labor unions to perform their normal functions and make progress. Here's a copy of last wee 's Sunday NEW YORK TIMES. And here's a supplement in there by the Chamber of Commerce in the State of Mississippi in which the urge industry to move down there. They have "states rights" provisions so that unions can't build and organize and carry forward. They have tax- free provisions. They provide the land to build the factories on, ten years tax free.

What are the wages down there? The average wage for the whole United States for manufacturing industries in January was $70.92. In Mississippi, it was $46. You see, it's a combination of these things that they're working on. Under the guise of the states rights provisions, they're trying to emasculate the basic protections that labor has had under national legislation.

Senator Smith, Chairman of the Labor Committee in the Senate, professes to want to work out a fair bill, but his idea of fairness and our idea of fairness are quite something different. He came up with the idea of a strike vote after the strike started. When he was asked by newspaper men why he thought the strike vote should be taken after the strike was under way, he said that if the fellows vote before the strike starts, they won't know what sacrifices are involved. "I think we ought to wait until they get good and hungry, then take the strike vote." Now, obviously, a strike vote, motivated by that kind of spirit and that kind of attitude, is not a vote to determine the sentiments of workers, but a vote to break the strike and drive the workers back to work under the company's terms.

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The people who push for these strike votes by the government would have the public believe that you've got to protect the workers from their unions; that unions don't have democratic strike votes. They ought to just read the UAW-CIO Constitution. It takes not only a majority; it takes a two-thirds majority to get a vote. We had votes under the Smith-Connally Act during the war, and the record will show that when the government went to this great expense holding these strike votes between 87 and 90 percent of the workers voted for strikes. They had the Union shop votes under Taft-Hartley, and there better than 93 percent of the people voted for the union shop and disproved the propaganda that workers must be protected against their leaders and against their unions. In Ford, for example, in the union shop Taft-Hartley vote, 88,000 workers voted for the union security provision, and only 1000 voted against it. I'd like to see how many reactionary politicians ever got that kind of a majority vote when they went to Congress -- 88,000 to 1,000. This is just another attempt to harass labor, to weaken it, to divide it, to create problems.

When Senator Smith came up with this idea of voting after the strike got under way, we raised a lot of fuss and he changed his mind. He came up with a new idea. He said "Okay, we'll let the unions have the vote, but unless you carry the strike vote by a majority of all the people in the plant -- not the majority voting -- but the majority in the whole plant -- if you fail, then you not only can't strike but you are decertified for a year".

The government can issue an emergency injunction for 80 days. They want to change that so that the government can get an injunction without any limit. In other words, by the use of that injunction, workers would be denied their right to strike indefinitely.

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The U.S. News & World report in its April 9th edition, had an exclusive interview with the Secretary of Commerce, Mr. Sinclair Weeks. Did he talk about some business proposition? No, he told the American people how "To Make Labor Unions Safe for Democracy." It's a strange thing, the Secretary of Labor is not interviewed to find out what the Administration thinks about labor matters. You know why, he's only got class B membership in that millionaires' club inside the cabinet. He can't talk yet. So they have the Secretary of Commerce make the statements. What does he say when he's asked a question, "Do you favor a strike vote before the strike, or after the strike?" He says, "I'm in favor of taking it before the strike starts, but I'm also for a provision that the management can ask for a second vote after the strike starts if they want it." Now, just picture this. Here is a company that doesn't want to bargain. They're dragging their feet. They're not acting in good faith. They're denying the workers their measure of justice to which they are entitled. The company says, "This is our offer, take it or leave it." You have to take a vote before you can say no, we are going to strike. You take a vote, you carry it, you have the legal right to strike, then the company can say okay, strike as long as you want. Management can wait two or three weeks, or two or three months, then he can say to the government, now the boys are hungry enough, their kids are crying --now I want a government vote on whether they want to go back to work on the original proposal.

This is the way they a re stacking the deck. I can assure you that we have a lot of work to be done in Washington. The real tragedy is the fact that these selfish economic forces in America who find themselves in power politically, have learned nothing from the lessons of history. Don't they know that the American labor movement and its struggle

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to make democracy work in the economic sphere -- this struggle to gear our productive capacity to the needs of the people -- is the only way you can save our free enterprise system. The American labor movement is the strongest anti-Communist force in America, if not in the whole wide world.

Haven't they learned anything? How secure do they think the capitalists are in Italy. How secure do you think they are when they sit in the Board of Directors' meetings in Italy? They are not very secure because the Communists got 35% of the votes because of the policy of economic stupidity, of callous indifference to the economic welfare of the great mass of people.

You can't fight Communism in a vacuum. You have got to fight Communism where it builds its power, and it builds its power out of the cesspools of social injustice in the world. Yet these fellows who are fighting for reactionary policies have learned nothing from these lessons of history. They fail to understand that unless we gear our economic wealth to the needs of all the people we cannot be prosperous and we cannot create the economic underpinning that freedom and peace in the world must have. Our job is to carry on this good fight, to preach the gospel everywhere with our fellow man, our neighbors and our workers.

We have a tremendous job to do on the political field. It becomes apparent during these periods of economic difficulty that what we have said about the bread box and the ballot box being inseparably tied together is true. When we used to say to our wives that the surest way to keep our ice box filled with good food is to see that the ballot box is filled with good votes on election day. During periods of economic difficulty these facts come home and what we need to do is go to work on the political action front and work like we have never worked before, because in '54 we can even the score.

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There are 5 million unemployed workers in America. I say we can put those five million unemployed back to work providing we take some of these reactionary politicians and make them unemployed come the election in November.

We worked out a full employment program in Washington. If you haven't studied it, you ought to get a copy. I think it is one of the finest programs that our Union has ever developed. It points out how America can mobilize its resources, its productive power, and gear those resources to the tremendous unfilled needs of the American people and make our contribution in the struggle against hunger and poverty in the world.

Do you know what unemployment is costing us today? Five million unemployed workers in America represent an economic loss of 30 billion dollars-- 30 billion dollars of wealth that we are failing to create, that we could create if we had full employment. What can we do with 30 billion dollars? With 30 billion dollars we could double the amount of money we are spending for education, instead of denying millions of children their rightful educational opportunities. We could see to it that every child, regardless of race or creed or color, all made in the image of God, could have educational opportunities that would facilitate their growth intellectually and spiritually, limited only by their individual capacities.

On the housing front, we could build 500,000 $12,000 houses. They would cost around 5 billion dollars. We could take all the people in America who are retired and give them pensions of 200 dollars a month per aged couple. We could build enough new hospitals to provide 250 thousand additional beds. We could do all these things and still have about $7\frac{1}{2}$ billion dollars left over to help fight poverty and hunger and human desperation in the world.

Let us not fool ourselves, the situation in Indo-China is serious and our nation is about to make a grave decision.

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If we have the good sense to fight poverty and hunger in the world by sending technical missionaries, the prospects for avoiding the need for sending boys with guns and planes and flame-throwers can be greatly minimized.

We can help other people to help themselves in the struggle against poverty and hunger in the world. But no, what do we do? We are willing to give the people of Indo-China 800 hundred million dollars in military aid, but then we turn around to a great country like India, where there is great poverty and 350 million people, and we say to them,we'll give you a gun for every able bodied man but we won't put forth any kind of economic effort in the practical struggle against poverty and hunger. That's where we're losing out in the world.

You can't beat Communism in Asia, you can't beat Communism in Europe, you can't beat Communisn anywhere if you fight only with guns. We must be strong with guns, but we have to fight for economic and social justice on the economic and social fronts just as hard as we fight against Communism on the battle front. That's the thing we aren't doing in the world, and that's why Communism is making great progress in Asia in particular.

We're standing here with the H-bomb which has created this great moral vacuum in the world. We have to find a way to fill that vacuum, that great emptiness, That fear and uncertainty in the hearts of people everywhere. If we don't fill that vacuum with positive peacetime values by the kind of constructive programs that take on the fight against man-made enemies of hunger and poverty and disease, then the apostles of fear and hatred will fill that moral vacuum with negative values. They will create the kind of world situation that will make peace impossible and war inevitable.

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When we talk about building a world of peace and freedom we've got to recognize that we have to struggle for economic and social justice. Our Union it is going to do that. We are going into our collective bargaining negotiations in the next year fully mobilized, fully determined. Tomorrow you will discuss the guaranteed annual wage, our hospital-medical care programs, the pension program and other collective bargaining matters.

In the fall, we will convene a National Economic Collective Bargaining Conference where we will work out demands and policies and programs for the implementation of those demands. I am sure that this Education Conference of the UAW-CIO will be a great help in building our strength and our solidarity greater than ever, and together we will draw renewed inspiration and renewed faith in the principles and the values that we believe in.

This is the hour when we must rededicate ourselves to the principles for which the American labor movement stands. The odds are great but the stakes are even greater, and I am confident that we in the UAW-CIO, working with men of good will everywhere, if we will pool our resources, if we will work together, build together plan together, and when necessary fight together, together can build a better world, fashioned in the image of peace, in the image of freedom, in the image of human dignity, in the image of justice and in the image of brotherhood.

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PARTIAL TEXT OF SPEECH BY UAW PRESIDENT

WALTER P. REUTHER

at UAW Education Conference in Chicago, April, 1954

"One of the great problems is to find a way in the world to release the power and the motivation and the drive that lies dormant in the hearts and souls of hundreds of millions of people all around the world, and to release that power in the positive struggle for peace and freedom and human dignity and social justice. That's the great challenge. If we are going to lead the free world then we've got to demonstrate courage, not compromise. We cannot compromise with injustice and provide that measure of leadership so necessary if we are to lead the free world.

"All we need to do is to learn how to use these tools for the benefit of mankind. We have said many times before that one of the great dilemmas we face in the United States and Canada is the fact that we as a free people have made greater progress in the physical sciences than we have made in the human social sciences.

"We made more progress in working with machines than we have made in working with people. What we need to do is to narrow this gap and bring into parallel development, knowledge and the physical sciences with the ability to translate that knowledge into human values. That's the basic struggle in the world. Everything else is secondary because the question of war and peace will be answered by the decisions that we make in these broader areas of the problem.

"What is human freedom? All people talk about it. It's a glib phrase that some use when it is convenient. If you want to make someone believe that you are righteous, you tell them that you are for human freedom and that makes you righteous. But many people using glib phrases have no appreciation of what the nature and the character of human freedom is. Human freedom is not an absolute value. Robinson Crusoe didn't have any human freedom when he lived on that little

island, because human freedom is the kind of value that you can have only in association with your fellow man, and if you want to be free you must see to it that he is free; and he in turn must work to see that you are free. All of us have got to work together in the local community, in the national community, and ultimately in the world community to preserve these basic values.

"What must we do in the United States and Canada about this broader problem of developing the social and moral mechanisms needed to insure the constructive use of these new found tools? Never before in the history of the world have nations had the tools of abundance that we possess. In every other period of human history people went hungry because there was too little to eat, but in the United States and Canada we are told we have problems because the farmers have raised too much to eat.

"The farmers in our two great countries together have produced more than 927 millions of bushels of wheat more than we consumed. And yet with those good surpluses, half of the people of the world will go to bed hungry tonight. Farm equipment workers in the United States and Canada have borne the brunt of unemployment and layoffs. Our country has the productive capacity to turn out the tools with which to create economic abundance in the fields of the world and yet these workers are walking the streets in the farm equipment cities, and half of the people in the world who cultivate the land are doing it with crooked sticks just like they did 1,000 years ago. But we have a new set of tools with which to take on that problem, a set of tools that will make it possible to create untold abundance and to conquer completely man's ancient enemies of hunger and poverty, ignorance and disease. We only need to demonstrate a sense of morality and responsibility and a good judgment to use these tools.

"Now the purpose of the labor movement is to try to relate these great economic forces to the needs of people. The labor movement would have no purpose

if it were just a nickel in the pay envelope proposition of getting a little bit more over here, shorter hours over there. The free labor movement of the world is the vanguard of the forces of freedom and we are not content to patch up the old world so that we get laid off less frequently and we go hungry less often.

"We don't want to patch it up so that the world goes to war every fifty years instead of every twenty-five years. We are the architects of a better world. We want to build a world in which unemployment and poverty and fear and insecurity and war can be abolished not for 10 years or 20 years or 50 years, but abolished forever.

"That's the world that we're trying to build.

"We are part of the great human crusade. There are 53 million of us. We speak many languages. Our skins are of various colors. But deep inside of us there is a strong and binding common denominator. It's the love and the dedication to these principles of humanity, of human dignity, of freedom, of peace, of social justice.

"The free labor movement doesn't dream of a better world. It's not enough to dream.

"What you've got to do is roll up your sleeves and mobilize your power and dedicate that power to the practical struggle that translates your dreams into realities.

"That's why the labor movement has meaning--because it doesn't dream of these things and then say it's too bad we can't do them. It doesn't talk about justice and then say it's too bad we can't achieve it. It dares to talk about these things and it dares to go out and struggle for them in the vineyards where people work.

"In our two great countries we must mobilize our productive power and then reflect that great productive power in the lives of all the people of our countries and make a contribution in the struggle for human justice all over the world."

Speech

Walter P. Reuther, President
Congress of Industrial Organizations
CIO Community Services Institute
April 15, 1954, Washington, D. C.

Chairman, Friends: I am very privileged to have this opportunity of being with you.

I want to say that I am greatly encouraged by the tremendous interest which is being shown in Washington and in other parts of the country in the work of the Community Services Committee.

I would also like to pay my respect and tribute to the person who I think is most responsible for this, my good friend, Joe Beirne, president of the Communications Workers of America.

Under his leadership, the CIO Community Services Committee has broadened its activities and has been involving more and more CIO people in the very vital and important work of working with the various Community Agencies.

Now in the past, there used to be an old-fashioned idea that the many communities agencies set up in our various communities were essentially agencies of public charity. I think more and more there is the growing realization that these agencies are not agencies of charity but that they perform vital and essential services involving the health and well-being of our citizens in this very complex world of ours.

We of the CIO have tried to carry out our policy based upon an understanding and realization that we cannot solve our problems as workers excepting as we work with men of good will in the whole community to find solutions to the basic problems of all the people.

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When you look at the basic values that we, as a free people, are dedicated to preserve in the world, you will find that all of these basic values are indivisible in character. They are the kind of values that you can enjoy yourself only as you work with your neighbor, so that everyone can enjoy these values.

That is the way with the health and the welfare and the well-being of the community. If workers want their children to grow up in a community worthy of free people, they must join with their neighbors and fellow citizens to create that kind of a community. Their children can enjoy these things only as these things are made available for everyone's children.

That is why we of the CIO constantly try to stress the fact that peace and freedom, economic well-being and justice, and all of these basic values which America has cherished throughout its whole history -- that these basic values must be defended and must be extended at the local community level, at the national community level and ultimately in terms of the world community.

Now we are locked in mortal combat in the world in a struggle between conflicting ideas and conflicting values. The H-bomb is rather symbolic of the broubled time in which we live.

I went to Lansing, Michigan, to testify before the State Legislature some weeks ago on unemployment compensation, and on the way to Lansing I went through a small town in Michigan where they had built a lovely new church. It was constructed along the lines of some of these very lovely white churches you see in New England. It had a very graceful tower, but instead of having bells in that tower that would send out the message of peace on earth and good will to men, they had some air raid sirens mounted on the top of the tower.

I thought that was rather symbolic of the kind of world in which we live. Here was a church being used to give warning of the most terrible thing in the way of destructive power that civilized mankind has fashioned out of his scientific knowledge.

I couldn't help but realize that we in America, because we are the strongest of the free nations of the world, must not only demonstrate our superiority in terms of economic and material needs, but what we need to do is provide a measure of moral leadership in the world. We are not going to be judged as a free society by the economic and productive indexes or by our tremendous productive power. We are not going to be judged by how many new automobiles we can turn out in Detroit, or how many tons of steel the Steelworkers can turn out in Pittsburgh or Gary, Indiana, or how many bathtubs we have, or how many television sets, or how many telephones.

Other people in the world are impressed by these great material resources we have. But in the struggle between freedom and tyranny, which is essentially a struggle for men's minds, their hearts and their loyalities, we in America as a free society will be judged by the sense of moral and social responsiblity by which we translate material values into human values.

And that's why I think the work in the Community Services groups and the integration of CIO into the fabric of the community is important. It is in that area where we must demonstrate we are not only strong, we are not only wealthy in material values, but that we are strong and wealthy in terms of basic moral and human values.

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Now the Communists, in the struggle for men's minds and hearts and loyalty, work on the assumption and their long-range basic strategy is predicated upon the false proposition that within our kind of free society....because essentially there are areas of very sharp economic and political conflict....we will fail to develop the cohesion, the sense of purpose, and the common denominators that will hold us together despite the areas of conflict.

They believe that our free society, because it will fail to develop this common denominator, is incapable of meeting the challenge of peace.

When we face the threat of war, we rise to the occasion, not only as a free people but as the free world rises to the occasion. We have demonstrated repeatedly that in terms of the negative challenge of war, motivated by common hatreds and common fears, we are able to achieve a greater sense of unity, a greater singleness of purpose than we have been able to do in peace, when we are motivated by common hopes and common aspirations.

The Communists build their strategy from the theory that we cannot, in peace time, find the motivations and the spiritual and moral power to drive us forward.

We must demonstrate that in our society, while it encourages and facilitates the expression of differences and while economic groups have a legitimate right to pursue their economic programs, within the framework of this thing we call a free society, we can have conflict. But we can have overriding that and transcending it, that common denominator that will hold our society toghether and make it capable of meeting the infinitely more complex challenge of peace.

Fundamentally that is what we are trying to do. We are trying to prove that freedom, while it encourages and permits dissents and while it does not say that the measurement of loyalty is conformity, has within its structure a sufficient sense of responsibility to the good of the whole community. Out of that sense of responsibility comes that common denominator, without which a free society cannot be held together in the pursuit of these objectives which transcend the areas of conflict between competing economic pressure groups within the framework of that free society.

Fundamentally what we are trying to do is to prove something that has never been proven before in the world. That is the complete compatibility of the achievement of economic security and material well-being, without the need of sacrificing our basic political and spiritual freedoms.

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The Communists, and with great effect, are propagandizing the people of the world who are hungry, who are poverty stricken, whose lives are made insecure by all kinds of injustices. They are telling these hungry and desperate peoples that they have the answer to the world's problems. They are telling them that if the world will follow their leadership, they will somehow get the wrinkles out of their empty bellies.

Now, maybe it is possible for a Communist society to take the wrinkles out of men's bellies, but to get the wrinkles out of your belly, under their kind of world, you would have to put your soul in chains.

There are other people, at the other extreme end of the political axis, who would have America believe that in order to be free, you must be willing to be economically insecure; that unemployment, and all of its resulting economic and human hardships, are but the inevitable price that we must pay in order to remain free; and, therefore, if you must choose between insecurity and freedom, you obviously will take insecurity in order to have your freedom.

We say that both the Communists and the political forces of reaction on the extreme right are wrong; that it is possible to build the kind of world society in which both peace, freedom and economic justice can be achieved. We say that bread and freedom are compatible economic and social elements and you need not trade one to get the other.

And I think that essentially that is what we are trying to do.

Now, in this great struggle of ideas that goes on in the world, between the free world and the Communist world, there is a lot of confusion and there is a great deal of confusion in America.

Confusion is a very serious thing when you are in a position of responsibility and leadership. When the people who are not supposed to lead are confused, that is unfortunate. But when the people who are supposed to lead are confused, then you are in very serious and dangerous difficulties..

We in America, because we are citizens of the strongest of the free nations of the world, must of necessity carry a large and growing portion of the responsibility in leading the forces of freedom against the forces of Communist tyranny.

In this effort to give leadership, there is within our country a great struggle as to how to do it. There are those people who believe that voluntary action is the whole answer. There are those people who believe that governmental action is the whole answer.

We in the CIO believe that we must achieve a moral balance between that area of responsibility which must be an expression of the voluntary approach on the part of basic economic and social groups within our society, and we are doing everything that we can to meet this voluntarily.

There still remain areas of responsibility in which the government, as the agency of all the people, of necessity must assume the responsibility. Abe Lincoln understood this very well. He was a great philosopher, and he said that government was created by free people, to provide the instrumentality by which they should do collectively for themselves what they cannot do individually as individual citizens.

That does not mean that you can escape your individual responsibility by hiding behind the collective responsibility of the government. In a free society, whether you be of labor or management or of agriculture or of any other basic economic or social group, there is no legislative substitute for the voluntary discharge of basic moral and social responsibilities.

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That is why, in the Community Services organization, we have tried to integrate our resources, our energy, our contribution to leadership into the fabric of the whole community. Through these agencies at the community level, we can join hands with men of the business community, with government people, with people from the social agencies, with educators, with men from religious groups, so that together we can do as voluntary citizens much of the job and solve many of the problems on a voluntary basis. In this way, we can minimize the need for governmental intervention into these problems.

Now we are involved in a very difficult period in the economic development of our country. I think that in the next year, unless we can improve the economic climate in America, the challenge to community agencies is going to be greater.

Take the city of Detroit, by the way of example. We have a very effective campaign each year. For the last four years we have exceeded our quotas. The response that we have gotten from the CIO members in the factories and other CIO unions is encouraging.

I know that in the city of Detroit, the community agencies covered by the Red Feather agencies are going to have a bigger responsibility this year than they had last year because there are 141,000 unemployed workers. When unemployment increases, the responsibility and the case load of community agencies go up because they are there to take care of these problems and these problems multiply at the very time when the community finds it most difficult to raise adequate funds.

It is like being able to afford an adequate fire department when there are not any fires, but when the fires increase, that is when you have a smaller fire department to deal with them.

Well, that is the kind of a problem we are going to have, and that means we must work harder in cooperation with other groups in the community to try to raise adequate funds to deal with the growing scope and the case load of problems which these community agencies will have in the days ahead.

I believe that what we need to do is not only deal with the current problems of juvenile delinquency and all the ramifications of that, but the many other problems that grow up in our complex cities. Also what we need to do is work toward trying to get behind the problems, not just plugging the holes and patching up a little bit here, and little there, but ask ourselves, "Why do we have juvenile delinquency?"

Let's get behind the problem and begin to deal with the basic causes and not just try to plug the holes and patch up the old world. I believe in the long pull our society, that we all believe in, will survive. Freedom and the worth of the human-being and his human dignity will be raised to unprecedented heights, providing that we prove that we know how to meet these basic problems.

You can't win it by an academic, abstract discussion of democratic values. What we need to do is translate these values into tangible and positive action at every level of our society where these problems exist and demonstrate the virtues of democracy, not by pious declarations, but by practicable and tangible achievements. We must win the war of propaganda not by our pious declarations, but by our practical performance.

The only true measurement of the greatness of civilization is the ability to translate its material wealth into practical human values. It is a very profound problem, and I have given it a great deal of thought and have talked to many people about it.

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Our great dilemma is the fact that we in America have made tremendous and unprecedented progress in the physical sciences, in the art of working with machines, in the art of working with materials, but that there is a dangerous growing cultural and moral gap between the progress that we have made in the physical sciences and lack of progress on a compatible basis in the human and social sciences.

We know how to work with machines, but we do not know how to work with men. I see it in the factories that are under contract with the Automobile Workers Union. If you ever get to Cleveland and you are around the airport in Cleveland, take an hour and go through the new Ford engine plant.

Twelve or fifteen years ago, the Ford Motor Company machined an engine block for a Ford car from the rough castings to the finished engine block. We did it in 24 hours. All the technical and engineering magazines wrote a story saying this is unheard of, to think that within 24 hours, from the time a rough casting comes from the foundry, we can fully machine an engine block.

Two years ago, they did it in nine hours.

And then they opened up the new Ford engine plant in Cleveland.

You can't find the workers. Tucked between these huge machines, that we call automation, there are a few workers. They watch electric panels on which there are red, green and yellow lights. As long as all the green lights are on, all the tools are working properly. When a yellow light comes on, it means the tool in the machine is still performing but is getting fatigued. When the red light comes on, the machine has stopped because the tool is no longer performing. Change the tool and on it goes.

In the first operation, the machine measures the top of the cylinder block where the head goes and the bottom where the crank case goes on.

You know how long it takes? Thirteen seconds! It is all done and we are ready for the next operation.

It bores the cylinders and the boring bar comes down and bores the cylinder and goes back up into position, then the electric eye measures the cylinder. If it's too small, the electric eye sends an impulse to the brain of the machine. It is adjusted automatically; it takes another cut, comes back up and measures; and if it's the right size, it goes on.

No workers! Do you know how long it takes? Fourteen and six-tenths minutes.

The whole thing is completed.

That's the old line. The new line which they are going to put into operation on the Mercury job is 20 per cent more efficient.

Now the question arises here, and this is the most fundamental question to which we free people must find an answer. I think it can be said, without attempting to be dramatic, that perhaps the whole future of human freedom will hinge upon the ability of America to find an answer by which we can bring into moral balance the ability to make great technical progress with the art of working with human values.

I say that the future of civilization hinges upon that. Are these machines good or bad? Well, let us go back into history of the early days of the industrial revolution in England. Workers wrecked the looms in the British textile centers because they said these looms threatened their job security.

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But, we know that to try to stop the march forward of science and technical knowledge is to try what King Canute tried, to stop the flow of the tide. You can't do it.

What you need to do is to harness the power of science and technical knowledge into the realization of man's hopes and aspirations for a better world; a world in which we can find the answer to the age-old problems of mankind: How can you feed and clothe and house the human family? How can you meet man's material needs with a minimum of human effort, so that mankind can devote greater effort and greater energy and greater time to facilitate the growth of man as a spiritual and social being?

Because that is the purpose of society. Why are we? What is the meaning of life? Are we just economic animals who were born to the world, who go through certain periods of growth, who have to have so many calories a day to sustain us physically? Is that the purpose? If that is the purpose, then we are no different from the animals; we just appear to be different.

But the economic process, the physical and the biological process, which is the essential one whose requirements we must meet, are but the means to the end. The end is to solve these problems, so that we can grow as social beings in spiritual, basic objectives.

I sat in the White House the other evening where we kicked around some problems with about 12 or 15 people with very different points of view. We talked about a lot of problems.

One man said, "isn't it just terrible the way these food surpluses are piling up in America." United States and Canada toghether have, I think, almost a billion

bushels of wheat. This is just the wheat in surplus, to say nothing about corn and oats, and barley and rye. Billions of bushels of these grains.

I was told that we have over 600,000,000 pounds of dried milk, a tremendous milk surplus. We have every ship bottom that is tied up in the Hudson and other parts of the country loaded up with grain.

Then they talked about the fact that we have great industrial surpluses. The steel industry is operating at 68 percent of capacity. We will lose 30,000,000 tons of steel this year. The automobile industry will make 3,000,000 less automobiles than we are able to build, and what is true of automobiles is true of agricultural implements and of the textile industry and every other basic industry.

They say, "isn't it just terrible; when we have all these things, we don't know what to do with them?"

I said, "Why don't we think for a moment?" Let's turn the coin over in the world. Supposing the Russians had billions and billions of surplus grain. Supposing they had 600,000,000 pounds of dried milk, with its high protein content. Supposing they could make 3,000,000 more automobiles than they are able to use. Supposing they could make 30,000,000 tons of steel more than they are going to consume.

The free world would be in great jeopardy.

But if we free people have the courage and the vision and the wisdom, and the just common ordinary good sense which God gave all of us, to use these great surpluses and this great productive power which the American economy symbolizes, then I say these great surpluses used intelligently and with courage have more wallop than all the H-bombs that we will ever build in America.

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Now we have roughly 5,000,000 unemployed in America when you really count them all. The Commerce Department said we have 3,725,000 laid off completely, and 235,000 who are laid off temporarily. But they don't count those who are only half employed.

There are millions and millions and millions of American workers who are only half employed. Of course, they are also half unemployed. When they are not working, they are not creating wealth.

You can find from the Department of Agriculture, rather accurate, up-to-date figures on how many pigs were born last year and how many are expected to be born this year, but you can't find out how many workers are unemployed.

You can see our problem in this whole gap between doing things and knowing about material values, and forgetting their relationship to human beings. Nothing has value in the world unrelated to people because people are the only measurement of value.

When you take material value, unrelated to people, you have nothing. All the gold down in Fort Knox, what good is it? What value does it have, excepting as you can use it to advance basic human values?

Five million unemployed represents a loss, an economic loss to our country and to the free world of $30,000,000,000 of wealth each a year. The average worker in our economy, with science and technical knowledge, can produce around $6,000 of wealth per year. That means 5,000,000 unemployed represents a loss of $30,000,000,000.

Now you know what we can do with $30,000,000,000. Let me just take a minute to tell you.

Take the school system. It is a tragedy. Millions and millions of American children are being denied their rightful educational opportunities. All of these wonderful children, all made in the image of God, regardless of race or creed or color, are entitled to an opportunity to grow -- grow intellectually and spiritually and culturally, limited not by which side of the railroad track they were born on or whether their father is punching a time clock in some factory, but limited only by their individual capacity to grow as human beings.

They are being denied that in the richest country in the world. Why? Because last year we spent less for all forms of education at the elementary school level, at the high school level, at the university level, private schools, public schools, church schools, all kinds of schools, than we spent in paying for the cost of the last war in one week.

Out of this $30,000,000,000, we can double the national educational budget, which was $6,000,000,000. We could spend $12,000,000,000.

We could relieve our housing situation. In the land of the free and the home of the brave, millions of our people live in slums unworthy of human habitation, and that's not only true of Detroit, New York and Chicago. There are slums in the shadow of the nation's Capital. Why? Why is it the society that has the technical knowledge, the manpower, the human resources, and the human needs can't bring these factors together to solve our problem.

Go to Sweden and look at their housing. Not a slum in the biggest or the smallest city of Sweden. With smaller resources they can do it, yet we can't do it with

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greater resources.

I talked to a young Swedish student at a Swedish-American Fourth of July celebration where I spoke in Stockholm last summer. She happened to be my dinner guest, and we had a very pleasant conversation.

She said to me, "Gee, I hope to go back to America to get my doctor's degree." She said, "I got my master's degree there and I hope to go back." I asked, "What did you major in?" And, she said she majored in criminology and she also said, "You know America, and Chicago, especially is a wonderful place to study criminology."

That's just the point, don't you see?

Why is the juvenile delinquency rate rising in America? Is it because kids are just naturally bad? No, they aren't.

Is it because our social agencies do an inadequate job? No, there are hundreds of thousands of social workers in America who are dedicated. They are under paid, but they are dedicated.

If their measure of dedication was as low as their salaries, we'd be in real serious trouble. They are dedicated, but they are working against terrific and overwhelming odds.

Why do we have juvenile delinquency? Oh! there are many complex reasons, but among some of the more important ones is the fact that millions of kids grow up in unwholesome community environments; in communities where they live in slums, where there are no recreational facilities to afford the wholesome, healthy, constructive expression for the tremendous power that must find an outlet inside of

the average growing child. When that power inside can't find healthy, constructive, wholesome expression it gets in trouble because it finds the other kind of expression.

Then what do we do? If you suggest programs, some say, "Oh! we can't afford that." And if you make a lot of noise about it, they say, "oh, he's just always playing with fancy social reforms."

But we never hesitate to build new houses of correction to put them in.

What we have in America is not a problem of juvenile delinquency, we've got a problem of adult delinquency. We are the ones who are delinquent because we haven't done anything about this basic problem.

And that's true of many other aspects of our problems. Take the health question. How many broken-hearted people have come to social workers with their problems? How many American families are denied adequate and comprehensive medical care in the richest country in the world?

We have a shortage of hospitals. We will need about 860,000 new beds by 1960. Here we are, the richest country in the world and we can't get resources or manpower together to meet human needs.

It's because we have not developed this sense of responsibility as a community. It is because we have not strengthened the common denominator so that it will rise above the areas of conflict in the dedication and pursuit of this broad objective.

The thing that we need to understand is that no one, no matter what favorite economic position they may occupy in our society, no matter how they may be blessed with an abundance of material value and material wealth, can buy security or freedom or peace in the age of the atomic and H-bombs, excepting as they

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are able to work with other men of good will in our communities in the pursuit of a better world community in which their values, with other people's values, can be made mutually secure in a better world.

And, therefore, these things now have reached that point in the development of human history where this is not just a matter of noble motivation, although I think you ought to fight for human decency and social justice because they are right morally. But this now transcends that. This is a matter of survival in the world in which we live.

I believe that America is the last best hope of freedom everywhere. I believe that America is equal to this great challenge. I believe America not only has the material resources and the economic and productive power, but I believe America also has the spiritual and moral strength.

It has the human qualities essential to put together the kind of equation within our free society to give of leadership to the whole of the world society in building a better world.

It's a great and wonderful period in history to be living. I've said many times that the future holds greater human promise and abundance than at any other time in the history of civilization.

But, on the other hand, the future is pregnant with disaster and war. Which road will we travel?

In a large measure, America will make that decision because we are in a position to do more to shape the future of the world than any other nation including the Soviet Union; because we are blessed not only with the economic and material

resources, but with the heritage of human freedom and human dignity and with an understanding of the value of the human being.

And I say bringing those two forces together will equip us with the tools to build and with the weapons to fight.

Freedom, in the world in which we live, is not a luxury.

Next Sunday all the fair ladies will be parading down Fifth Avenue in their new Easter bonnets. But freedom is not an Easter bonnet. It's not a luxury to enjoy or to admire.

Freedom is a weapon to fight with. Freedom is a tool to build with. And I say let us use those tools and those weapons effectively.

Let those of us in the CIO join with men of good will to integrate our organization and our efforts with efforts of the other people in the community in which we live. And together at the community level, at the national level, and ultimately at the level of which the problems of the world community must be met, we can make a greater and greater and more important contribution.

Somehow I believe that freedom can win through, and together the good people of the world can build a better tomorrow.

We can fashion that better world in the image of our hopes, in the image of peace and freedom, in the image of social justice, and in the image of human brotherhood, Thank you.

Labor Participation Department

DE 2-7330

COMMUNITY CHEST FEDERATION

OF THE

NATIONAL CAPITAL AREA

1101 M STREET, N. W., WASHINGTON 5, D. C.

GLENN E. WATTS, *Chairman* HUGH K. DUFFIELD, *Vice Chairman* MAXINE L. LUCAS, *Director*

July 21, 1954

WPR

Mr. Emil Mazey
UAW-CIO
8000 East Jefferson
Detroit 14, Michigan

JUL 23 1954

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Dear Mr. Mazey:

The first annual CIO Community Services Institute of the Washington Area was held April 15, 1954 at the Y. W. C. A.

CIO President Walter P. Reuther was the principal speaker at the luncheon and spoke to a group of more than 300 people representing all types of community organizations.

Because so many requests have been received by this office for copies of Mr. Reuther's address, we have had it reproduced for circulation within agency, business, government and labor groups.

Enclosed is a copy for your reading.

Sincerely yours,

Maxine L. Lucas

Maxine L. Lucas, Director
CIO Community Services Committee
National Capitol Area

MLL:na
Enc.

Advisory Committee

SAMUEL DANLEY
DONALD S. DAWSON
MRS. HATTIE DORFMAN
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