(Rough Draft)

WPR: (continues).. I say, what we need to keep in mind is that DeGaulle's effort to achieve a nuclear capability for France is his way of achieving a measure of greatness and this basically is the psychology of General DeGaulle. General DeGaulle is motivated primarily by an attempt to recapture the greatness for France and because in the present world setting only the countries that have a nuclear capability have power and power greatness in DeGaulle's mind are inseparable, and therefore, if the United States and the Soviet Union essentially have a monopoly upon nuclear capability, the British have a very limited nuclear capability. DeGaulle's idea is to become free of the United States and develop his own national nuclear capability and, in doing so, he will then have achieved a measure of power and therefore a measure of greatness for France. And this is DeGaulle's basic motivation.

Now, under this arrangement, since the full emphasis is going to shift, the greatness of the nation will not be measured by how many megaton bombs it has, because we're going to have a disarmament program, we're going to have a contest between social systems and the measure of greatness is going to be something determined not by nuclear capabilities but by the quality of society and the contribution you make in improving the quality of the community of the world in terms of the underdeveloped countries, et cetera.

So that, at the point that the current standards by which you measure greatness are radically and revolutionarily changed, then you don't have DeGaulle - he's going down a dead end street - that street of greatness is no longer the measure of greatness.; and, therefore, the whole context. I believe, also that if you've got the dynamics of a peace offensive rolling, obviously, France is not going to be the first great nation in the free world alliance to join in that - Great Britain, Germany, Japan, Australia, New Zealand, the low countries, Italy, France ultimately will be standing there going down a dead end street called "the nuclear arms race" - and the rest of the world will be going down a boulevard called "the way to peace" and Mr. DeGaulle just either has to recognize the fact that the world which he is striving to achieve a measure of greatness for the French Republic is the world of yesterday and that, therefore, it's the new approach to greatness in which he has to relate France in it's national effort.

IB: Well, this may seem a foolish question - but is there a possibility, under those circumstances, that France and Red China would join forces on the basis that a continuation of the build up of nuclear arms, under these circumstances of world disarmament, might give them the opportunity of world power.?

WPR: No, because, you see, it would take France twenty five years and Red China - and Red China - and - and -and France, in combination, it would take them twenty five years to achieve a nuclear capability equal to what the United States and the Soviet Union have in combination now. And, obviously, we're

not going to - when we talk about disarmament, (we talk about / we're talking about) cutting back the armament budget, we're talking about the budget that constantly builds levels of armaments upon levels of armaments and so forth . And, we wouldn't disarm overnight, so that the ratio of our military power to what Soviet - to what France and China could develo p - would always be overwhelming until this thing got moving, so that that wouldn't be a possibility.

IB: Well, let's shift the subject just a little bit to another corner of the earth. There are tensions that grow in various sections of the world which may give rise to skirmish wars - such as between Cashmere / Kasmir, I mean, Pakistan, and India - or between in the Middle East where you have this constant boiling pot - what sort of controls would a peace plan of this kind have to avoid the possibility of war outbreak ?

WPR: All right. I think you have to take - let's take the Kasmir thing which is, I think, more emotional and certainly it involves more people than the Middle East because India is the second largest nation in the world in terms of population - I think you would have to say to both Pakistan and India: "Look, here is now the opportunity to raise your living standards, to develop your economic resources, to get on with the effort of building a nation and a decent life for your people, and raising educational standards and health standards and housing standards and educational standards and all of these things - Now, the whole idea behind the peace offensive is to find a way to build a rational, responsible world

community and that includes your part of the world. Now, you've got a dispute. It's a dispute of long standing. You both feel very strongly about it, but that dispute must yield to reason and reason does not mean that you make a contest in terms of military power. And, therefore, as a condition for your right to share in the advantages and all the things that this peace offensive will make possible in terms of your people, you have got to agree to some form of arbitration that will resolve that problem. And the same basic approach has to be made, and when the great mass of people understand what is possible, there will be, I believe, the kind of practical, political pressure that the leadership of the countries where there are these localized disputes, even though they are of long standing and contain much emotional pressure, I believe, that they will yield - because, you're dealing here -you see, if there was a war, they could become allies and they would forget all about their differences while they were fighting a common enemy. I mean, when you look at the simple fact and here we are a few years after the greatest war in the history of the world in which more life was lost and more destruction was wrought upon the peoples of the world. And, what do we have? We have the simple situation where Germany and Japan were our chief enemies in that war - now they are among our most reliable allies. And the Soviet Union was our ally, and China was our ally, and now they are among our most deadly enemies. So, that if you can get people to forget their local differences when they're waging war, why can't you get them to forget these differences when they're waging the peace? - Where the rewards of peace are so much greater and, therefore, so much more attractive.

And, so you would say to Mr. Shasta? in India, and the prime minister of Pakistan, "Do you want to have access to all the advantages - do you want to do the things that this will make possible - do you realize that we can increase the standard of living in India three times as great as it is now in a couple of years - do you want to forfeit that just because you've got a fight up here about a little piece of Kasmir? - well, this is the price you have to pay - that's your contribution to making peace possible in the world". And, you do this all over. And, thisis why - you see, you can't do this if you're "piddling" because then the measure of your "piddling" is not sufficiently attractive and the dynamics it creates in terms of the reactions of the masses are not sufficiently overwhelming to discipline the leadership into being responsible. The leadership can be irresponsible, if the masses felt disciplined? - this would mobilize the masses and they will discipline the leadership.

IB: This is the most important point that has to be emphasized in this, too. Because this is the answer to so much of the chastizing? -

WPR: This is also the key to the basic problem which is obviously very apparent and, I think, why spread spare it in Latin America. We have very small fruit croup drew at the top of the power structure... on the land and the resources and who dominated the life of those nations. They don't want economic aid programs because that begins to put in motion forces that will challenge the status quo. They like the status quo. It's a pretty good arrangement - 5 percent above of ..everything and the 95 percent live in poverty? Well, as long as you "piddle" they can get away with it. But they couldn't get away with a

situation where in Latin America three or four countries of real importance were doing this and the living ~~standards~~ standards in those countries were going up very sharply and dramatically - they couldn't isolate that fact any more than China could isolate the fact that if the living standards in India, that India and China have got to be equated because they're the two great masses of people in Asia - if the living ~~standards~~ standards in India creep up $2 or $3 a year - and that's what they're doing. The Chinese can compete with that successfully, but if you could triple the living standards of India in a period of three or four years, you couldn't keep that from the people of China. You can't isolate people. Maybe they ? aren't ? in ? all the fine print - but they know what's going on - they know that things are moving. ~~You~~ And, you can't move the living standards ~~as~~ of hundreds of millions of people in India and keep that a big secret .

And, so the Chinese people would begin to know that they are paying this great cost in suffering and denial, ~~etc~~ et cetera, because their leadership is still playing the old war game.

IB: ..look. shift..Jim?.. This International Peace Agency, or whatever the name might be, can be viewed by some as a direct challenge to the U. N. ~~Now~~ And, the role of the U. N., as the peace making agency on the international scene, is something that people around the world have come to believe in and feel strongly about - it's being challenged right now - nevertheless, that is the general feeling in the world - what sort of tie-in can there be, then, between this plan and the agencies necessary to implement it and the work of the ~~UNX~~ U. N. ?

WPR: Well, obviously, everything possible should be done to use any existing agency of the United Nations and create additional new agencies but it would have to be done ~~so that~~ on the basis so that one or several nations choosing not to participate could not veto the basic idea. In other words, you would want to create an agency that would be as representative as possible, more representative of the United Nations because the United Nations does not include Red China, and they are being invited to participate in this program, but the structure of the agency would have to be such so that a negative attitude could not block an affirmative idea from being implemented.

Now, the United Nations ~~currently~~ currently is in very serious trouble precisely because it's being denied the funds of ~~carrying out the~~ to carry out the peace keeping functions. The Russians, and France, and so forth, are unwilling to pay for peace keeping functions. Why? Because, primarily those peace keeping functions deal in the area of the power structure of the countries where this operation is carried out. Why does the Soviet Union oppose to paying money into the U. N. to keep U. N. troops in the Congo? Because, those U. N. troops will play a role in the working out of the power structure relationship of the political forces in that country. So they say, "We're not going to finance a fellow to go there and keep the peace when we, our politics, are related to not keeping the peace." And France isn't willing to do it because, I suppose, because the U. N. didn't get into Algeria and do some of the kind of things to maintain the status quo where France had problems. So, she just washes her hands of it.

IB: Essentially, because these are still military measures, rather than economic measures.

WPR: That's right. So, that - you see, it's difficult to say - it's very difficult to say, "Well, look, how do you expect the Soviet Union to cooperate on this kind of thing - how do you expect other countries to cooperate when they won't even cooperate in these limited kinds of things. ?"

Well, you've got to start out by saying that this is a different ball game. I mean, in the one case, you've got a power contest going on in the world in which the essence of power is military might and you change the rules of the game and you change the rules of the game under the kind of circumstances where the fellow who doesn't want to change the rules has no choice but to agree to a change - that's what you do. You just confront the Soviet Union with a new force that they can't ignore. And to compete with that force they've got to find the resources and the only place they can find those resources is by a reduction in the level of armaments.

IB: Of course, there's validity to the claim also and, I think, you mentioned this the other day - that as living standards rise, and there are more and more comforts for people to take advantage of, the urge to move militarily reduces - there's a greater desire to hold on to what we've got. ?..

WPR: Well, let's just take South Viet Nam - the situation in South Viet Nam - does anyone believe that the Communists in the northern part of that country could recruit people for them to carry on their gorilla activities as they have been doing quite successfully, if you could improve the living standards of these people?

And that they would be leaving behind more in terms of comforts and living standards, education - these people have ~~gottx~~ got nothing to lose, and so they're out ~~their~~ there risking their lives in ~~a~~ a struggle because they believe that the people they're fighting are the people who are denying them their share of economic and social justice. But, if you made them a part of an offensive in which the so-called ~~imperialxxxximperlxx~~ imperialist powers were the fellows making it possible to do these other things, then the whole attitude of these people will change - and, as we all know - as you raise the standard of living, people become less and less willing to risk the things they have by adventures ~~in~~ into war. Why is the Soviet Union getting more conservative compared to Red China?

IB: They've got a better life there.

~~XX~~ WPR: They've got more to risk. They've got more to lose. It's like a worker in the shop. I mean, we know that when the fellows have got - when they're secure and comfortable - they are less willing to risk an all out struggle. And, it takes a great deal of provocation before they're willing to run the risk of losing what they've got. That's the way with people elsewhere.

If the Chinese have a per capita income of $1,000 per year, the whole situation of China would be completely changed.

IB: They'd be talking more of co-existence.

WPR: That's right. And, so - we can demonstrate - we can demonstrate - what is possible ~~in~~ of raising the living standards of people by this thing? There's no question about it - that we can double the standard of living of the people of India within a period of three years, at least double it.

IB: Of course, this would make the vast difference. I think this is the major point that has to be gotten across because so much of this has gone into the military that it has no impact on living standards at all.

WPR: But look at how the living standards of the people of India have been reduced just because of the military expenditures the Indian government has to make.

IB: That's right.

WPR: Look at Israel. Look at how much money little Israel has to spend on armaments.

IB: I think its 50 percent of their budget.

WPR: That's right. And, when they spend 50 percent, this is - this is - you know, this isn't just like the United States spending $50 billion. We can spend that and while it does create problems, it doesn't create the kind of problems that Israel has when she has this abnormally high military budget.

IB: Okay - I think we've had it. . . . ? /. . .

(end of tape #3)

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THE MARGIN OF SURVIVAL
Strategy for Peace

The most important set of negotiations on whose outcome may rest the very survival of the human family is ~~gzzz~~ grinding to a halt in Geneva.

For many months the representatives of the United States and Britain has tried unsuccessfully to get an agreement from the Soviet Union on a nuclear testing ban with the necessary provisions for international inspections and verification. The Soviet Union has maneuvered and manipulated its positon, but has not been willing to accept even the minimum requirements for inspection and control.

Despite the efforts of the _____ neutral nations who serve on the United Nations Committee _____, the Soviet Union has ~~rejected~~ refused to modify its intransigent position and has more recently threatened to withdraw the small but inadequate ~~consents~~ concessions it made in proposing two inspections per year.

For the last 30 years, I have sat ~~at the~~ in negotiation tables ~~facing the~~ with representatives of the major corporations in the world. I recall some years back when I faced Mr. C. E. Wilson, then President of the General Motors

Corporation ~~at the bargaining table~~ and he said to me: "I would like to play poker with you when there is less than $900 million in the pot."

The stakes in the Geneva negotiations are obviously much higher because they relate to ~~people and~~ the very survival of the human ~~xxxx~~ family.

There are certain basic characteristics which are common to both collective bargaining and the negotiations taking place in Geneva. When both parties in any set of negotiations get themselves committed to a rigid, inflexible, ~~d~~ uncompromising position, collective bargaining is in trouble and the parties become deadlocked, which is where we are in ~~the~~ Geneva. In collective bargaining, deadlocked negotiations may result in a strike or a lockout or both, as was the case in the New York newspaper strike. A breadkown in collective bargaining can cause serious damage to both parties in negotiations and in certain ~~our~~ critical industries, can be of serious consequences to the whole nation.

The breadkown in negotiations in Geneva confronts us with a much more serious crisis, for it means that the first meaningful step (a nuclear text ban) toward a reduction in war tension is the laying of the foundation upon which a rational and workable disarmament program can be built will have failed. A continuing deadlock in negotiations means that the nuclear rat race will continue and the air and water are poluted and contaminated with the drw of death.

The choice before us is clear and compelling. Either the human family acts rationally to end the nuclear harnes race or through an irrational action the nuclear harness race will inevitably end the human race.

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Recently Pope John XXIII added his plea for peace and sanity and ~~the~~ an ending to the nuclear arms race.

The nations of the world are spending approximately $126 billion annually for armaments and the weapons of over-kill which they dare not use.

General _____ Madaris, ~~upon resigning as the~~ Director of the U.S. Mililie program, ~~several years ago~~ estimated ~~at that time~~ that the nuclear destructive capability of the United States and the Soviety Union in combination was equal to 20 tons of T and T for every man, woman, and child in the world. This was before the substantial increase in the nuclear stockpile which has taken place in recent years.

Since nothing less than the very survival of the human familily may ~~depend~~ depend upon the success of the Gen erva negotiations, we may of course ~~ask~~ ask what can be done to ~~block~~ break in the deadlock so that agreement might be possible. In collective bargaining terms negotiations are deadlocked because both parties are "boxed in" and have no elbow room to maneuver because they have both pointed themselves into a corner. No agreement is possible for ~~either party~~ neither party will yield and each party has within the framework of the current negotiations forfeited its initiative and they are mutual prisoners of the deadlock.

I have faced this kind of situation at the bargaining table man y times and the formula for breaking a deadlock in negotiations is to create a new dimention in the bargaining leverage sufficiently strong to move the other party towards agreement. In the 1955 negotiations on the Guaranteed Annual Wage, with on the major auto companies, the company had flatly

rejected our demand and the negotiations were completely deadlocked, with the termination date of the contract only a few days away. The UAW developed a new proposal ~~a~~ that represented a new dimension in the bargaining process and the company realized that it could not defend its position in the face of the new proposal. This deadlock in negotiations was broken so suddenly by the introduction of this new dimension that the company was not able to cancel the full page newspaper ~~adv~~ ad, which was to be run over the Labor Day weekend in hundreds of newspapers, setting forth the company's old position at the bargaining table.

In the negotiatons with the Soviet Union, the United States must introduce a new dimension into the negotiation process. The full harnessing of the unused economic potential of the United States is the key to developing a bargaining strategy and a bargaining leverage of sufficient strengh andpersuasion to get Mr. Khrushchev to meet them to change the "nyet" vote to a "yes."

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Mr. Khrushchev is not only crude and cocky, but most of all he is confident that communism is riding w/ the wage of the future and in due time he will bury us. As a dogmatic Marxist, he shares the view that our free society ~~is~~ is composed of competing and comflicting , irreconcilable pressure groups incapable of raising above a pressure group relationship and therefore incapable of achieving a sense of national purpose and national unity in the absence of war. He knows that ~~historically~~ history has proven that we are capable of total effort when confronted with the challenges of war. He feels we are not equal to a comparable total in meeting the in finitely mor e complex~~ing~~ contest of winning the peace. His view of America is reinforced by the fact that during th the last 10 years America has had 3 recessions and we have wasted 25 million man years of labor hours because of continuing high levels of unemployment and becuase of idle workers and idle machines, we have failed to achieve our ~~national~~ potential rate of economic growth and expansion.

In July of 1961, the Soviet Union for the first time produced more steel than did the United States because the U. S. steel industry was operating at 43% of capacity, with hundreds of thousands of steelworkers walking the streets unemployed. Mr, Khrushchev believes that we are capable of full employment, full production and the full use of our economic potential only when they are geared to war production. This is the basis of the communist propaganda that America is dominated and controlled by the Wall Street war mongers who fatten on the profits of war. We must and we can give the lie to the communist propaganda. The American economy is freedom's greatest material asset. We can and we must harness its unused economic potential for peace. By so doing we can counter the communist propaganda with freedom's most outstanding psychological weapon, the propaganda of the democratic deed.

Getting America back to work and harnessing the abundance of a full employment and full production economy and challenging the Soviet Union to a peace race, to a positive economic contest between our two competing social systems will forge an economic leverage so powerful and a bargaining

strategy so overwhelming that Mr. Khrushchev will be unable to maintain his current position of opposition to a nuclear text ban and he can be persuaded to negotiate in Geneva. This strategy for peace, based upon the full use of our economic potential, is the key to the 4 major challenges we face at home and in the world.

p

DRAFT

THE MARGIN OF SURVIVAL

This proposal is about the four basic challenges that face the people of the United States and their relationship to the compelling problems of the world. It is about the urgent need to fully mobilize our unused economic potential -- which is both the margin of survival and the key to the four basic tasks to which we must commit ourselves and our resources in a total all-out effort equal to both the tremendous dimensions of the problem and the unprecedented promise of the opportunities.

THE FOUR BASIC TASKS

1. To Win the Peace and make it both just and secure through a workable nuclear test ban with international control and inspection as the first meaningful step toward the reduction of world tension and the achievement of disarmament.

2. Launch A Massive Economic Aid and Assistance Program to help the "have-not" peoples of the less developed nations of the world to help themselves in developing their resources, to raise their living standards, to fight ignorance and disease so that the desperation of poverty and privation and social injustice will not deny these ~~xpa~~ people the opportunity of finding a democratic solution to their problems through a political system based upon consent not coercion -- so that they may have both the blessing of more bread and more freedom.

YB

3. To Improve the Quality of our Society in America by overcoming the many serious deficits in the field of employment, education, civil rights, housing, health care, resource development, etc., to provide a practical and convincing demonstration that a free society, based upon the values of the worth and the dignity of each person, is capable of achieving a common sense of purpose and the measure of social and moral responsibility needed to place the broad common interest of the whole community ahead of our respective narrow private interest in finding solutions to the urgent problems we face on a basis compatible and consistent with human freedom.

4. To Strengthen the Free World Community (Alliance) by reshaping it into A Grand Alliance for Peace with a new and heightened sense of historic purpose--with an urgent commitment to a Joint Total Waging of the Peace through a full mobilization of our joint economic potential and the unprecedented economic abundance of new tools of science and technology in a world-wide effort to make an increasing measure of economic and social justice a universal blessing for people everywhere so that the building of a sane and just world community can be achieved and the division of the world between the rich and the poor, the "have" and the "have-not", the hungry and the well-fed, can be brought to an end.

Twenty years ago, after the first atomic pile had been actually made ~~actively set off in~~ the stands of the ~~stag~~ Stagg stadium at the University of Chicago, Albert Einstein remarked "the splitting of the atom has changed everything but our way of thinking." Winning the peace in the search for survival demands a change in our way of thinking. We must more efffctively comprehend the revolutionary dimensions of the challenges we face and the bright promises that peace offers.

In 1947, we had the courage, the wisdom and the understanding to comprehend ~~of~~ the dimensions of the challenge that we faced in Europe and we helped to rebuild Europe through the Marshall Plan.

In 1963 we need to compehend the greater dimension of the world challenge for peace and act with equal wisdom and boldness. The Clay reported stated "We are truing to do doo much in too many places." What the report failed to point out was that we are ~~try~~ trying to do too much in too many placed with fare too little. The facts are that we have not committed our resources ~~ourselves~~ nor have the ~~bakkscopex~~ plans for the bold scope equal to the problems that we are doing with. The harnessing of the unused economic poten tial for a total

waging of the peace will challenge Mr. Khrushchev in the very arena where he professes so loudly that his social system is superior to ours.

Speaking on tv and radio to the Soviet people on August 7, 1961, he announced the new program of the communist party of the Soviet Union. He said:

"The superiority of the Socialist economy over capitalist economy is now not only being proved by theoretical agruments. The material evidence of this is already distinct. The countries of the Socialist community are from year to year demonstrating their superiority in the rate of economic growth, in the development of scientific and technical thought, in the raising the living standards of the working people and in the many other fields.

...

"Vladimir Ilyich, Lenin's profound and unshakable faith in the superiority of the Socialist system enabled him to challenge capitalism to economic competition, to advance the idea of peaceful coexistence between states with different social systems.

"Those who are confident of the economic victory of their social system need not impose this system upon other peoples by force of arms."

P.O.

I propose to challenge Mr. Khrushchev on the very ground that he has chosen, for in an economic contest if we will but harness our unused economic potential, it can become both our ~~we can achieve both the~~ margin of ~~superiority~~ superiority ~~of~~ of the margin of survival of the human race. Mr. Khrushchev counts on our inability to harness this economic potential for the affirmative waging of the peace.

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"Chief lackey of American Capitalism." a characterization which was neither cleared with the General Motors Coporation nor the NAM.

Mr. Khrushchev is not only crude and cocky, but most of all he is confident that communism is riding the wave of the future and in due time will bury us. As a dogmatic Marxist, he shares the view that our free society is composed of competing and comflicting, irreconcilable pressure groups incapable of rising above a pressure group relationship and therefore incapable of achieving a sense of national purpose and national unity in the absence of war. He knows that history has proven that we are capable of total effort when confronted with the challenge of war. He feels we are not equal to a comparable total effort in meeting the in finitely more complex contest of winning the peace. His view of America is reinforced by the fact that during the last 10 years America has had 3 recessions and we have wasted 25 million man years because of continuing high levels of unemployment, and becuase of idle workers and idle machines, we have failed to achieve our maximum rate of economic growth and expansion.

In July of 1961, the Soviet Union for the first time produced more steel than did the United States because the U. S. steel industry was operating at 43% of capacity, with hundreds of thousands of steelworkers walking the streets unemployed. Mr. Khrushchev believes that we are capable of full employment, full production and the full use of our economic potential only when they are geared to war production. This is the basis of the communist propaganda that America is dominated and controlled by the Wall Street war mongers who fatten on the profits of war. We must and we can give the lie to the communist propaganda. The American economy is freedom's greatest material asset. We can and we must harness its unused economic potential for peace. By so doing we can counter communist propaganda with freedom's most powerful psychological weapon, the propaganda of the democratic deed.

Getting America back to work and harnessing the abundance of a full employment and full production economy and challenging the Soviet Union to a peace race, to a positive economic contest between our two competing social systems will forge an economic leverage so powerful and a bargaining

strategy so overwhelming that Mr. Khrushchev will be unable to maintain his current position of opposition to a nuclear text ban and he can be persuated to negotiate in Geneva. This strategy for peace, based upon the full use of our economic potential, is the key to the 4 major challenges we face at home and in the world.

p

DRAFT

THE MARGIN OF SURVIVAL

This proposal is about the four basic challenges that face the people of the United States and their relationship to the compelling problems of the world. It is about the urgent need to fully mobilize our unused economic potential -- which is both the margin of survival and the key to the four basic tasks to which we must commit ourselves and our resources in a total all-out effort equal to both the tremendous dimensions of the problem and the unprecedented promise of the opportunities.

THE FOUR BASIC TASKS

1. ~~To~~ Win the Peace and make it both just and secure through a workable nuclear test ban with international control and inspection as the first meaningful step toward the reduction of world tension and the achievement of disarmament.

2. Launch A Massive Economic Aid and Assistance Program to help the "have-not" peoples of the less developed nations of the world to help themselves in developing their resources, to raise their living standards, to fight ignorance and disease so that the desperation of poverty and privation and social injustice will not deny these people the opportunity of finding a democratic solution to their problems through a political system based upon consent not coercion -- so that they may have both the blessing of more bread and more freedom.

8B

3. To Improve the Quality of our Society in America by overcoming the many serious deficits in the field of employment, education, civil rights, housing, health care, resource development, etc., to provide a practical and convincing demonstration that a free society, based upon the values of the worth and the dignity of each person, is capable of achieving a common sense of purpose and the measure of social and moral responsibility needed to place the broad common interest of the whole community ahead of our respective narrow private interest in finding solutions to the urgent problems we face on a basis compatible and consistent with human freedom.

4. To Strengthen the Free World Community (Alliance) by reshaping it into A Grand Alliance for Peace with a new and heightened sense of historic purpose--with an urgent commitment to a Joint Total Waging of the Peace through a full mobilization of our joint economic potential and the unprecedented economic abundance of new tools of science and technology in a world-wide effort to make an increasing measure of economic and social justice a universal blessing for people everywhere so that the building of a sane and just world community can be achieved and the division of the world between the rich and the poor, the "have" and the "have-not", the hungry and the well-fed, can be brought to an end.

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THE TRAGIC WASTE OF UNEMPLOYMENT

Continuing and chronic mass unemployment remains our most basic unresolved domestic problem. Unemployment -- the denial to any person able and willing to work of the opportunity to creative and socially useful and meaningful work, is both a social crime and a personal tragedy because it robs the individual so denied of any sense of dignity and purpose, or the opportunity of participating in society, and robs society of the constructive contribution that such an employed person could make. Unemployment represents a total and irretrievable economic waste; for human labor, whether of mind or muscle, is a most perishable economic valu~~tion~~e. You can store a ton of coal or steel, or a bushel of wheat or corn but you cannot store an hour of human labor. It must of necessity be used, its creative potential must be realized when it is available or it represents a total economic loss.

TEN YEARS LOSS OF UNEMPLOYMENT

During the last 10 years, the United States has lost 25 million man years of potential economic production because of mass unemployment. We have experienced three recessions in an eight year period and unemployment has been 7 per cent or more of the work force during the last 63 months (NOTE: Reference to Joint Economic Committee Report issued in 1963).

THE TRAGIC COST TO AMERICAN YOUTH

Fill in the details and statistics showing the tragic loss in terms of unemployment for American youth. More than a million out of work -- out of school -- then deal with the problem of juvenile delinquency and adult delinquency. Juvenile delinquency is a serious problem in America but a more serious problem is adult delinquency for America's youth is not failing America -- America is failing American youth.

(Concept - social dynamite ?)

chart available

MINORITIES, NEGROES, UNEMPLOYMENT

NOTE: Develop basic facts and statistics for unemployment among Negroes and minority groups using specific cities to illustrate the point and use Washington as one of those cities.

People Want to Work

Refer to the situation where the Detroit Post Office offered 200 jobs and 25,000 people applied.

Laber-Managment Relations Deteriorate Under Impact of Unemployment

Develop that all of the major difficulties in labor-management relations, the steel strike of 1959, the dock strike in 1962, the newspaper strike of 1963, the railroad situation on featherbedding, all of these difficulties in collective bargaining stem primarily from the fact that there are more workers than there are jobs and the collective bargaining process is being asked to carry an economic responsibility which is beyond its capability of solving.

NOTE: Unemployment creates fear and insecurity and that if we had full employment this would be the greatest contribution toward solving the major problems in the field of labor-management relations.

NOTE: Quote words of Willard Wirtz and speech he made where he said we must be as concerned with the loss in man-hours because of unemployment as we are concerned with the loss of man-hours because of strike action and he said that in the last 11 months we lost more man-hours because of unemployment than we lost man-hours in ~~the~~ 36 years because of strike action.

Full Employment -- Full Production for Peace

use in article

If we can have full employment and full production to achieve the negative ~~wants~~ ends of war, then we need to find a way to achieve and find a way to maintain full employment and full production to win the positive and rewarding ~~wants~~ ends of peace.

This proposal is about this kind of an effort.

TEN YEARS LOSS IN GNP

What did mass unemployment, under-utilization of productive capacity and our failure to achieve adequate economic growth cost the American people during the last 10 years? During the last 10 years, in addition towasting 25 million man years because of mass unemployment, we wasted on the average _____per cent of our productive capacity and our economic growth on the average was at an annual rate of _____per cent per year when we had the capacity of achieving an annual average rate of growth of 5%.

Together, mass unemployment, idle capacity, and an inadequate rate of economic growth cost the United States economy and the American people _____ billions of dollars during this 10 year period. Put into everyday, understandable economic terms -- every U. S. family, from the fancy families on Park Avenue to the simple sharecropper families on the Mississippi Delta, could have had an additional income of _____dollars for each of the 10 years, or an average of _____dollars for each of the 10 years. This $600 billion is the margin of survival -- is the key to world peace and disarmament -- is the key to a massive attack on poverty and social injustice at home and in the world, and is the key to the creation of a new Grand Alliance for Peace.

THE NEXT TEN YEARS

If we had full employment and full production and a 5% rate of economic growth in the next 10 years as contrasted with the rate of economic growth that we have had in the last 10 years, this would yield _____billions of dollars more, and with that we could do at home and in the world:

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

ETC.

Show Federal Budget

Show what we could have done during the last 10 years with a 5% rate of growth in terms of the federal budget and what we can do in the next 10 years at a rate of 5% growth.

State and Local Budgets

Make same comparison -- how much more the state budget would have been and how much more the local budget could have been with a 5% rate of growth and what can be done in the next 10 years at a rate of 5% of growth.

Capital Expenses

Show how much more would have been available for capital expenses for the last 10 years if we had a 5% growth -- if we have it in the next 10 years in contrast to what happened or could have happened in the last 10 years in terms of:

Wages

Profits

MR. KHRUSHCHEV LOOKS AT AMERICA

article

No one who has had the opportunity of meeting with Mr. Khrushchev as I did for 4 hours during his visit to San Francisco on _____ Can escape being impressed with the deep sense of confidence that Mr. K. reflects when he insists that in due time communism "will bury us". Mr. K. looks at America as a dogmatic marxist and he feels that our free society is composed of conflicting, competing irreconcilable economic pressure groups and that we are not capable of peace. He believes that we are incapable of harnessing our economic resources and of committing ourselves to the kind of total effort that is essential if we are to solve the basic problems of unemployment and to overcome our serious deficits in education, housing, health care, resource development, etc. Mr. K.'s attitude about America and his belief that we are incapable of rising above the pressure group structure in our free society and make a total effort for peace is strengthened by the facts of continuing and chronic unemployment, idle capacity and the loss of 25 million man years through mass unemployment during the last 10 years.

(fixing)

For example, he looks at the steel industry in the United States and he draws comfort and confidence from the fact that during the last 6 months of 1961, the steel industry in the United States operated at less than 50% of its productive capacity and that during the month of July 1961, the Soviet Union produced more steel than the United States because the steel industry in the United States was operating at 43% of capacity and the United States had more idle steel capacity than the Soviet Union had in total steel capacity.

NOTE: Project the loss in steel tonnage during the last 10 years in the U. S. steel industry and also that the steel industry in Great Britain is operating well under its productive capacity.

Mr. Khrushchev understands, and history gives impressive proof, that as a free society we are capable of a total national effort when we are responding to the challenge of war. Mr. K. does not feel that we are capable of a comparable effort in response to the infinitely more complex challenge of peace.

I share the view that we are capable of a comparable effort in peace.

This proposal is about this central issue. How do we get America back to work? How do we achieve a greater sense of national urgency -- a stronger sense of national unity and a deeper sense of national purpose in dealing with the challenging problems of peace?

HOW DO WE GET AMERICA BACK TO WORK?

First, we must fully comprehend the dimensions of this challenge we face in the world and the scope of the problems we must find answers to at home. In the dark days following Pearl Harbor, everyone understood that half-way and half-hearted measures and policies of too little and too late were not adequate to meet the

challenge of winning the war. Today we must understand and act in the knowledge that nothing less than a comparable total effort will be equal to the more compelling and more complex challenge of winning the peace. Winning the peace is like a one-game World Series. Either we win the peace and avoid nuclear war or all is lost. There will be no new World Series at the end of next year's season and no next year or next season for man has fashioned the nuclear weapons of total self-destruction and if we continue to drift, either by design or miscalculation we will have put an end to the family of man.

Second, How did we achieve full employment and full production for war? It is not complicated. As a nation and as a people, we recognize that the winning of the war was so important -- so urgent, that we gave it top priority and subordinated everything else to that end. We must do no less if we are to win the peace.

Third, We mobilized our full economic potential to meet the needs of war. The men of little faith and little vision were pushed aside and our nation achieved production miracles as the arsenal of democracy turned out weapons of war and destruction. Today we must do no less in harnessing our full economic potential in producing, in increasing abundance, the constructive tools for peace.

In 1932 Franklin D. Roosevelt assumed the leadership of our nation at the depth of the great depression with 16 million Americans walking the streets unemployed, without jobs and without hope. The New Deal laid the foundation for an expanded more adequate and more responsible social structure through needed legislation. Franklin Roosevelt raised the hope and the morale of the American people with the slogan "We have nothing to fear but fear itself".

Economic recovery followed and millions of the unemployed went back to work. Without detracting from the great humanitarism of Franklin Roosevelt and the sense of social and moral responsibility which motivated the New Deal and the very substantial economic and social progress that was made, the facts of history compel us to recognize that the basic problem of unemployment in America was only partially solved. In 1939 there were still 9 million Americans unemployed and it took Hitler and the almost unlimited demands of war to get all of the unemployed back to work.

Today the demands of peace are as great, if not greater, as were the demands of war and if we will but demonstrate the good sense and the will to gear our unused economic potential, our idle hands and idle factories to the unmet needs of people in peacetime, we can get the unemployed back to work and we can convert America into the Great Arsenal for Peace.

GNP increase '33-'44 with 13 million out of productive employment

MOBILIZE FOR PEACE

If in the period following Pearl Harbor we had tolerated continuing unemployment and serious under-utilization of our productive capacity, we could not have produced the weapons essential to provide the margin of victory. Today, if we continue to tolerate mass unemployment and serious under-utilization of productive capacity and if we continue to fail to achieve the rate of economic growth of which we are capable, then we shall forfeit the margin of survival in the struggle to win the peace.

article

This proposal suggests we stop the tragic economic waste of mass unemployment, the serious economic waste of idle factores and an inadequate economic growth and roll up our sleeves and take on the challenge of peace and get America back to work with the same sense of national dedication and determination with which we met the challenge of war.

END THE NUCLEAR RAT RACE

3

The ~~nuclear~~ world powers will spend in excess of $120 billion in 1963 for the producing ~~of nuclear weapons~~ armaments that they dare not use. This sum is more than _____ times as much as the combined GNP of the under-developed countries who embrace more than one-half of the people of the world. After _____ years of negotiation in Geneva, we have failed to achieve a workable nuclear test ban

and putting into nuclear weapons

article

Hentoff bomb- kills people but leaves property intact

agreement with essential provisions of international control and inspection. A nuclear test ban is urgent and compelling if we are to avoid the contamination of the air and the pollution of the world's waters, and if we are to take the first meaningful step toward a system of rational and workable disarmament.

PEACE IS A CONDITION OF HUMAN SURVIVAL

article

We are living in the twilight between the total kill of nuclear war and the bright promise of peace if we continue the madness of the nuclear arms race. The nuclear group as yet remains ~~xxx~~ limited but each day scientific and technological progress and ~~xxxx~~ access to this technological know-how threatens us with the increasing risk that is inescapable as the membership in the nuclear group expands. Only a mad man would deliberately calculate to use nuclear weapons but the odds for miscalculation multiply dangerously each day as the nuclear rat race continues and man in his total madness piles megaton upon megaton. In the madness of the competitive nuclear arms race we face the possibility of a loss of rational judgment of man's relationship to the world community and the survival of the human species.

QUOTE; President Kennedy's speech at the U.N. about the sword hanging over us.

QUOTE: Pope on the new Peace Proposal

General Medaris on retirement, as head of the Department of the U. S. Missile Program, on _____ stated that the United States had a nuclear destructive capacity equal to 10 tons of TNT for every man, woman, and child in the world and that it was estimated that the Soviet Union had a comparable nuclear destructive capability. The dilemna in the world grows out of the fact that the nuclear powers, both the United States and the Soviet Union, are both captives of the nuclear rat race for neither can, by unilateral action disengage himself as both continue to pile the nuclear weapons of over kill, megaton upon megaton.

article

The choice before the people of the world is clear and compelling. Either the human race must act to end the nuclear arms race or in due time whether by calculation or miscalculation, the nuclear arms race will surely end the human race.

The question before the nations of the world is not a matter of national sovereignty ~~sovereignty~~. The question before us is a matter of human survival for the new and increasing destructive power of the nuclear weapons of over kill have made peace an absolute condition for human survival.

Old concepts of national sovereignty and military superiority and the margin of military victory must all yield to the overwhelming realities and the conditions of peace and human survival.

QUOTE: U. S. General (get his hame) who said that we have succeeded in our nuclear arms program only if we never use these weapons.

article

The stark, naked and brutal and inescapable facts are that no one -- neither the United States nor the Soviet Union -- neither capitalist nor communist -- can survive let alone win al all-out nuclear war fought with the weapons of over-kill. The United States can win, the Soviet Union can win, the people of the world can win only if the family of man can win the peace and avoid nuclear war. The challenge before the free world and the communist world, before the United States and the Soviet Union, is to find the means of disengaging themselves from the nuclear arms race and shifting the contest between our two competing social and political systems to a peaceful contest of economic and social competition. In short, we must end the negative contest of the nuclear arms race of matching megaton for megaton at higher and more destructive and devasting levels and shift the central contest into the Ball Park of economics and social competition of a peace race.

A positive contest as to which economic and social system can best meet the needs of the human family.

In such a peaceful contest, the economic and social system that demonstrates its superiority in terms of economic, social and human values will in the long pull prevail. Mr. Khrushchev has boasted that "he will bury us" in such a contest. (QUOTE Mr. K's speech before the Soviet Congress when he announced the seven year plan to overtake and surpass the United States).

entirely

We must have the courage and the imagination and the good will and the deep sense of national purpose to challenge Mr. Khrushchev on the very ~~gxxx~~ ground where he has proclaimed to the world the superiority of his economic~~al~~ and social system. I share the view that our economy and social system based upon the values of human freedom is equal to this challenge if we will but roll up our sleeves and get America back to work. We are in trouble, not because our system of freedom is unequal to the challenge, we are in trouble because we are not trying.

This proposal is a call to peace. It is proposed that the United States provide the leadership needed to mobilize the full economic potential of the free world and to challenge the Soviet Union and its satellites to end the arms race and to meet our competition in a Positive Contest of the Total Waging of the Peace.

Negotiations in Geneva -- In our search for a workable and acceptable nuclear test ban, with a system of inspection and verification, have dragged on and are currently deadlocked. There is understandable ground for discouragement and ~~dis~~ disillusionment but we must not despair for the quest for peace must go on. A nuclear test ban must be achieved as the first step toward a meaningful beginning in reducing world tension and achieving a rational system of disarmament. Despite all of the disappointments, we must, as the President said in his historic Inaugural Address on _____ ".... not fear to negotiate or not negotiate from fear.....". The alternative is continuing drift from crisis to crisis until the crises of Cuba and the Congo multiply and plunge the world to disaster.

I have sat looking into the fact of Mr. Khrushchev and despite the many difficulties he creates and his efforts to exploit every problem in the world in his drive for the domination of world communism, I do believe that he recognizes that no one can win a nuclear war and that he desires peace as we desire peace for the people of the Soviet Union have suffered the tragedies of war and can achieve their aspirations for a good life only as we avoid nuclear war and build a just and lasting peace. (Basis for ideological split with China) article

What is needed, I believe, is a new revolutionary approach to the world situation and the present power contest in the world which has the great powers imprisoned in a nuclear arms race that neither dares to take the initiative to end. What is needed is a new approach as bold and as daring and as revolutionary in scope and dimension as are the revolutionary forces that are shaping our world.

article !! ← Can take initiative on this without agreement — (key to proposal)

The Tragic Lessons of History

The history of the world is filled with tragic chapters of man's inhumanity to man. At the end of each of the wars throughout history, the historians who followed assessed the victor and the vanquished. At the end of a nuclear war there will be no historian for the final and tragic chapter in the history of man will have been written in the radioactive rubble which will make the face of the earth uninhabitable. How can we make the human family to end the futility and folly of the arms race and to embark on a peaceful contest of sanity and survival.

How can we create a positive moral force for peace in the world--stronger in its dynamics, stronger in its dedication, stronger in its determination than the negative forces that drive us toward nuclear war and self-destruction.

This Proposal for a Total Waging of the Peace is made in the belief that man is capable of his highest achievements in terms of positive motivations. I regret the cynical concept that man and nationa are capable of their highest achievement based upon negative reflexes of fear and hatred when they are spurred by the mass psychosis of war. If people and nations can march and work and suffer and die for the negative and destructive ends of war, we must and will find a way to enlist the family of man in the positive and rewarding task of working and building and surviving because they share common hopes and common aspirations and a common faith as they join to build a just and enduring peace.

Our task is to demonstrate that there is an alternative ~~toward that peace~~ to war -- that peace, while illusive is attainable and that the rewards are worth the total effort that winning the peace will require. We must encite the human family to the undreamed of promise of peace in terms of human progress and the almost unlimited opportunity for human fulfillment. While the future is pregnant with the possibility of nuclear war and the prospects of total self-destruction of the human family, it si also bright with the promise of peace and the opportunity of undreamed of human progress for the same scientific and technoligical know-how that provides man with a capacity to create the weapons of self-destruction have also given the tools of automation and economic abundance.

This is the most challenging and exciting time to be alive in the history of man. It is the first time in human history in which man is capable of mastering his physical environment. It is the first time in history that the tools of production are adequate to meet the needs of the human family and will create the abundance and the skill and the knowledge necessary to overcome the ancient problems of the human family of food, clothing, hunger and disease. This is the first time that man had had the opportunity to build a rational and responsible world community in which we can satisfy the economic and material needs of the human family and facilitate man's growth as a social, cultural and spiritual being. These are the exciting dimensions of the promise of peace with which we must lead the light the fire in the soul of man and fix his eye on the star of disarmament and world peace.

The Stuggle to Make the Peace Secure -- To achieve a workable and reasonable nuclear test ban and meaningful disarmament transcends all other considerations. Peace and disarmament are not possible in a vacuum. They must prevail in a real world filled with despair and compelling human problems that cry for solution.

One half of the haman family live in abject poverty and are denied the very minimum standards of social justice and human dignity. (Add facts about the per capita income of certain of the underdeveloped countris of the world and the per capita income of the United States).

The revolutionary technology that places increasing abundance within the grasp of the highly industrialized ~~nationalx~~ nations of the world is each day widening the economic gap between the "have" people and the "have-not" people of the world. The rich are getting richer and the poor are getting relatively poorer. Neither peace nor freedom can be made secure in the face of increasing affluence for the people of the world who ~~lieve~~ live in the favored few industrialized nations while the greater majority of mankind is condemned to the bitterness and privations of continuing social injustice, poverty, igaorance and disease.

The seed beds of social injustice will bear the bitter fruit of desperation and revolt. President Kennedy has understood the dynamics of change and challenge and the potential for revolution and revolt in Latin America and the danger of continuing luxury at the top and mass poverty and starvation at the bottom of the social structure. He has warned: "that we can not save the rich except as we help the poor".

Out of the tragedy of war we have learned that peace and freedom are indivisable and must be made universal so that all men may share in the blessings of abundance which ~~xxx~~ our technological revolution makes possible.

The task of winning the peace must, therefore, be inseparably tied to the task of helping the "have-not" ~~xp~~ people of the world to help themselves in the joint effort of making economic and social justice a universal blessing. This task requires a massive economic aid and assistance program equal to the dimensions and desperations, of the needs of the people in the "have-not" nations of the world. We must help them to help themselves to develop their resources

to raise their living standards, to educate their children, to fight disease and to narrow the gap between the standards in the under-developed nations and the standards in the highly industrialized nations. Only thus can we provide the economic and social and ~~pitix~~ political climate in which they will have reduced the forces of human desparation and will have maximized the opportunity to shape their new socities ~~where~~ around the values of human freedom and find democratic solutions to their problems through a system based upon consent and not coercion.

This is the world task facing America and the free industrialized nations of the world. This is the task of a Total Waging of the Peace. Nothing less will be equal to the challenge.

lm

INSERT "A"

Critics will say that, at least at the outset, a $20 billion aid program would mean a multi-billion-dollar hike in the national debt. My answer is, first, we do not hesitate to increase the debt in a shooting war and, second, the increase could soon be paid off out of the higher tax revenues generated by a booming economy. Corporations borrow capital to make investments which will net future returns. Increased aid spending would be an investment in both peace and prosperity.

INSERT "B"

The evidence of recent years attests that such nations resist Communist encroachment even though their economics do not mirror our own.

My answer is simply that we can only balance the budget after we have first balanced the economy. This ~~a~~ program ~~that~~ will put idle men and machines it will create full employment and ~~back~~ to work; ~~that~~ will ~~enable us to~~ increase national production, ~~by~~ thereby ~~much more than the cost of the program itself can only~~ strengthen ~~our~~ my economy, and enlarge my our tax base. ~~Such a program will increase our own national wealth over and above what we share with others.~~

The compounding economic thrust of this program will provide national income many times ~~over~~ ~~far~~ beyond the cost of giving vital assistance to the developing nations.

rewrite

My answer is that we can balance the budget only after we have first balanced the economy. It may be necessary to borrow initial financing to get the program underway, just as corporations borrow for purposes of capital investment which will net future returns. Paradoxically, the American people would hestitate not a minute to spend what is needed if suddenly faced with a shooting war. It makes much more sense to spend far less as an investment in survival to help win the peace. Moreover, expenditures in a war are not retrievable, while expenditures for peace under a program such as this will provide national income far beyond the original cost.

In the customary world of collective bargaining, new and imaginative ideas that depart from the so-called "tried and true" methods have an explosive effect upon the men of business who sit across the negotiating table. The UAW proposal to give pensions to "workers too old to work and too young to die" met with almost unreasoning resistance in the 1940s. Today it is a highly touted benefit which companies pridefully boast about. The proposal of a "guaranteed annual wage" for workers was attacked with anguished protests by the business community. ~~whose members already enjoyed their own "guaranteed annual wage".~~ Today, in the form of supplemental unemployment benefits, guaranteed income is widely ~~advertised~~ hailed by the very companies that opposed it.

In 1941, with the war going badly for the allied nations, I proposed what some called a "pie in the sky" impractical dream - - that we build 500 planes a day by converting our manufacturing ability and capacity in the auto and similar industries to airplane production. In two years time it was a dream come true, as auto assembly lines spewed forth bombers and fighters in the cause of freedom. We dared to test our way of life by thinking and doing things imaginatively and on a massive scale, and we succeeded.

We are now in the eighteenth year of the Cold War - - a period during which the United States has assiduously worked to keep the peace by building itself into the mightiest ~~world~~ power the world has ever known, in order to meet effectively the poised challenge of an armed Soviet Union. We must not weaken our military potential at this time. But if something is not done to halt the armament race, a war of nuclear annihilation becomes an ever present hazard. ~~What we~~

a balance of terror

What we need now is a positive strategy for peace, ~~something~~ a program that actively diminishes and holds the promise of eliminating the possibility of war, rather than the current negative strategy of a ~~mx~~ never ending nuclear arms build up that hovers like a Damocles' sword over all mankind. People everywhere are seeking a path to peace other than the constant threat of a nuclear holocaust. They are searching for the moral equivalent of the H bomb.

I propose that we Americans together with the industrial powers of the world reach out, turn an economic doorknob, so to speak, and walk together with mankind through the opened door to peace. This time I expect the greatest opposition to the new idea - - this proposal for peace - - will come from a man who is not Big Business, but who is probably the hardest headed business man I ever met. I mean Nikita Kruschchev. What I am about to propose would, in my opinion. not only cancel his much advertised ~~Marxist~~ timetable for Marxist world conquest; it would compel him to revise his entire strategy and meet us on our terms.

A few years ago, together with several union colleagues, I met Kruschchev face to face in San Francisco. He was making his highly publicized tour of the United States. As we of American labor argued for four hours with the visiting leader of the USSR, I could not help but feel that we were facing a shrewd, incisive adversary, every bit as alert and adroit as any business executive ~~in the~~ who ever faced us at the bargaining table. In that meeting Kruschchev scornfully dubbed me ~~automobile industry. I intend no disrespect to anybody~~ "a lackey of capitalism" — an insult which obviously was never cleared with General Motors Corporation. ~~But~~ For down through my quarter of a century of across-the-table collective bargaining, my associates in the UAW and I have had some degree of success in finding the way to make hard headed business men say "yes" when they were determined to say "no".

In the customary world of collective bargaining, new and imaginative ideas that depart from the so called "tried and true" methods, ~~usually~~ have an explosive effect upon the minds of business who sit ~~at the~~ across the negotiating table. The UAW proposal to give Reuther's "workers too old to work, yet too young to die" ~~for~~ met almost unreasoning resistance in the ~~was a~~ ~~idea in 1944~~ 1940's. Today it is a highly touted benefit which companies proudly boast about. ~~The~~ our proposal to give workers "guaranteed annual wage" was attacked with anguished protests from the business community whose members already enjoyed their ~~own~~ "guaranteed annual wage". Today, in the form of supplemental unemployment benefits, company after company advertises the guarantees of income which ~~the~~ SUB plans offer to the workers.

~~In 1944~~ With the war going badly for the allies, I proposed what some called another new idea that we could build ~~in auto + similar industries~~ planes a day by converting our manufacturing capacity to airplane production. It was a dream come true. It was dubbed a "pie in the sky" ~~dream~~ dream.

In 1941, with the war going badly for the allies, I proposed what some called a "pie in the sky" impractical dream — that we build 500 planes a day by converting our manufacturing ability and capacity in the auto industry + similar industries to airplane production. In two years, it was a dream come true — because we dared to think + do things imaginatively and on a massive scale.

~~He uses his resources and takes advantage of his opponents weaknesses to the end that the opponent is "boxed" and has no alternative to move in his~~

start here

Our formula in collective bargaining is a relatively simple one and is applied in those situations where the employer is an opponent, an antagonist. As seasoned negotiators, we assess and evaluate our resources — the soundness of our position and the willingness of our membership to fight for justice — against the employer's weaknesses (in relation to his objectives). We then devise that strategy which will utilize our resources most effectively, and simultaneously take advantage of our opponent's weaknesses, to the end that our opponent is "boxed" and has no alternative but to move in our direction.

We must use this tried tested formula as a notion in dealing with Khrushchev. We must take advantage of our greatest strength — the economic power, which is so largely unused at the moment — and put it against his weakness, the denial to his people of their understandable thirst for a higher standard of living, to push him into saying "yes" when he wants to say "no" on the question of peace and disarmament. And on this question lies the ultimate survival of mankind.

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Too much immodesty!

Margin for Survival

Our unused economic and human resources are our pathway to peace

By Walter P. Reuther

In my customary world of collective bargaining, I am only too aware of the apparently explosive effect of any statement I make or position I take. Now, that I am suggesting that as the leaders of the free world, we Americans could simply reach out, turn an unused economic doorknob, so to speak, and walk together with mankind into an consultating room of peace, I fully expect another outburst. Personally, I have come more and more in these past 25 years to judge the validity of my recommendations by the violence of my opposition, which is, incidentally, widely populated with many of those listed in Dun and Bradstreet. But, this time, I expect my greatest opposition to come from a man whose name is not in Standard and Poore, but who is probably the hardest-headed businessman I ever met. I mean Nikita Kruschchev. What I am about to propose would not only cancel his much-advertised Marxist timetable for world conquest, it would force him to revise his entire strategy. ~~The noise of his shoe on the table in the UN would be nothing, I am convinced, to the din in the Kremlin if the U. S. adopts my idea.~~

I met Kruschchev face to face for the first and only time a few years back one evening after a recess of the AFL-CIO convention in San Francisco. He was making his highly publicized tour of the U. S. As I sat across the table from the visiting chairman of the USSR, I could not help but feel that I was, in a sense, once again ~~in a bargaining atmosphere,~~ facing a shrewd and incisive ~~negotiator,~~ advancing every bit as alert and adroit as any executive of the automobile industry I have ever argued with. I intend no disrespect to anybody in Detroit. A hard-headed man is a hard-headed man in any situation. In that meeting, Khrushchev scornfully dubbed me "a lackey of capitalism" — an insult which obviously was never cleared with FMC. But down through my quarter of a century of across-the-table collective bargaining ~~economic conflict~~, my colleagues in the UAW and I have had some degree of success in finding ways to make hard-headed businessmen wind up saying "yes" when they

came to the table determined to say "no." ~~The basics of~~ a successful formula in collective bargaining ~~for what it is worth~~ is a relatively simple one. ~~I and my associates~~ The wise and seasoned negotiator evaluates ~~our~~ his resources against the employer's weaknesses. He assesses the employer's objectives and those of the business he represents ~~in relation to their objectives.~~ ~~and then and accordingly,~~ All I suggest now is that we deal with Khruschchev the same way, to take advantage of ~~his~~ our strength, which is unused at the moment, and pit it against his weakness, which is greater than is commonly acknowledged, to push him into saying "yes" when he wants to say "no" on the question of peace and disarmament, upon which depends the ultimate survival of mankind. ~~On this last point,~~ let me say, parenthetically, ~~I trust no sane man would disagree.~~

What ~~then,~~ are our resources? ~~I contend~~ They are our unused industrial capacity: our steel mills ~~idle far too often~~ that lie idle; our factories, machine shops and assembly lines ~~moving~~ that run only part of the time; and, ~~even more,~~ above all, the unused skills and productive capacity of the ~~nearly 6~~ over 4 million Americans who have no jobs to go to tomorrow morning, many of whom have had no time cards to punch-in for years now. Against this, what is Khruschchev's weakness? ~~I believe~~ It is his strained, struggling economy ~~pushed to the wall~~ hard pressed to meet the needs and wants ~~by the mounting dissatisfaction~~ of his countrymen, whose rising expectations of a better standard of living were ignited by this Khruschchev ~~same man~~ himself in order to overcome any uncomplimentary comparisons in his own land with life there as contrasted to life here.

Next, what are his objectives? He has clearly and unmistakably stated them. "We do not want a kingdom in between. We want a beautiful empire on earth," he has said. If that is his goal, just as it is, in a sense, our desired end, too, without the imperialism he so nakedly professes, then have we too far to go in winning our point?

We have untagged resources at our command, if we but know how to use them. They are our margin of survival. Khruschchev has weaknesses which, in the light of his promises to his people and of his stated objectives, are his Achilles' heel, if we but know how to take advantage of them.

Let me say, here and now, before the uproar of the opposition begins, that I have suffered my suggestions on matters other than collective bargaining to be summarily if not angrily dismissed before, only to wind up smiling to myself at their acceptance. Way back, in 1941, even before I had the honor to become head of the UAW, the late Philip Murray, then the CIO's leader, submitted to President Franklin Deland Roosevelt a plan I drafted for swift and economical preparation for defense by the conversion of our automobile industry to armament production. The clamor that arose from business offices in Detroit was deafening, if not profane. Fortunately, when the noise subsided, President Roosevelt was able to guide our country's industries with the blueprint I drew. Toward the end of World War II, K. T. Keller, then head of Chrysler Corporation, testified before a Congressional Committee, that his firm had converted 80+ % of its production to defense work. I have not always, despite my critics' complaints, been entirely a wooly-headed social theorist, or a menace to my country's safety.

The proposal I now offer could be launched most effectively if the President and the Congress were to formally announce America's commitment to a massive, long-range program to move the underdeveloped countries steadily upward from dark poverty and misery into sunlit self-sustaining growth. ~~I suggest this because, as~~ Some of my older fellow Americans ~~will~~ well remember, our country's resurgence from the dismal economic depression in 1932, ~~was~~ kindled by the simple, stirring and emboldening statement in President Franklin Roosevelt's first inaugural address, "We have nothing to fear but fear itself." Those eight words gave a nation an economic rebirth. Eighteen years later, at the bottom of another valley in our nation's

We know what the needs of the underdeveloped countries are ~~need~~ and we have the industrial and human resources which can be mobilized to meet those needs. From our idle mills can come a flow of steel to build the railways, bridges, schools, hospitals and all the other structures basic to a modern society. From the ~~xxxxx~~ unused capacity of our automobile and agricultural implement~~x~~ plants can stream a mighty caravan of trucks and buses, tractors and combines and other farm equipment. From our shops can come the machines and tools for modern industrial production and brimming warehouses. From our farms we can supply the food and fiber to meet the immediate needs of the hunger that stalks their lands ~~their bodies~~. ~~Above all~~, Our schools and colleges and technical institutions ~~we~~ can send forth an army of teachers to help them acquire the basic elements of knowledge and understanding as well as instruction in the specific skills of an industrial society.

Journey, this time in foreign r lations, President Harry S. Truman thrust us back into the leadership of the free world with his Point IV program enunciated in his 1948 message to theCongress. ~~I believe the awakening of many of our newer nations dates from that address.~~ Today, we have an equally eloquent spokesman for freedom in President John F. Kennedy, behind whom, I believe, our country will rally and close ranks, and toward whom, I am equally certain, the free world looks for international leadership.

We could accompany that declaration with a formal challenge to the USSR to join us in (1) a world-wide campaign against poverty, ignorance and disease and (2) a fool-proof disarmament agreement, which would allow the resources released by ensuing cutbacks in military budgets to be shifted into the peaceful emancipation of men, from their primitive captors: hunger, fear, sickness and the lack of education. Now, challenges are nothing new to Chairman Khruschchev. He is himself rather adept at tossing the gauntlet. The point I make is that with this broadcast call we would commit the Communist leaders to joust in the very arena where Khruschchev has boasted the superiority of his system - surpasses all others. Only the men of little faith and little vision fail to comprehend that we can achieve a full production - full employment economy, if only we will harness our full economic potential in producing the constructive tools of peace as we mobilized twenty one years ago to meet the needs of war. This must be our challenge to the Soviet system; this must be our answer to those who yearn for the achievement of peace in a world stripped of the nuclear peril.

~~back away from any economic duel with the USSR is that I, rather than they, have faith that our way of life can triumph if only we have the same courage of that little band of men back in 1776, who created the philosophy of free government to which I subscribe so heartily.~~

If challenged on the economic front, the men in the Kremlin would have three alternatives in their strategy. They could: (1) [redacted]

nations by cutting deeply into the living standards of the Russian people and postponing once again their hopes and expectations of an easier life for themselves; or (3) try to meet the challenge by proposing a workable arms reduction that would enable them to shift their scarce resources from the preparation for war to the contest for peace.

A The USSR would not dare back off from such a challenge. If Communism has any future outside the countries already crushed in its fists, that future lies in the underdeveloped lands. If Communism fails to establish itself among these new and groping peoples, it is doomed to become a diminishing force. And its entire appeal is based upon the assertion that Communists have a "scientific" formula for the economic emancipation and reclamation of all people.

I am convinced that the free world has a better formula at its command, that by putting back to work our present unused industrial and human capacity we can back up our formula of freedom with a material might of goods and services which the Communist world can never match. The success of the Marshall Plan in resurrecting Europe proved ~~that~~.

To enlist those who may have doubts of our intention, we need the moral equivalent."

refuse the contest; or (2) accept the challenge and try to foot the bill for a stepped-up program of aid to the new, struggling nations by cutting deeply into the and postponing once again their hopes and expectations for an easier life for themselves living standards of the Russian people; or (3) try to meet the challenge through serious efforts to negotiate a disarmament agreement that would enable them to shift their scarce resources from the preparation for war to the contest for peace.

Their entire claim to having a preferable system for men to live by is based upon their assertion that they have a "scientific" economic formula for the emancipation and reclamation of all people. If Communism has any future outside the countries already crushed in its fists, that future lies in the underdeveloped lands. If Communism fails in these new and groping areas, it is doomed to become a diminishing force. I say, let's call Khruschchev's bluff. He and whoever his heir might be would have no choice but to stay in the game, even though it will ultimately, I am convinced, be a defeat for Communism.

What is our tactical weapon--I said our tactical weapon, not our strategic weapon; our strategic weapon is our unused economic strength--in this contest? Our sabre must be loans and grants, with the heaviest proportion of it in the form of goods, equipment, tools, food and instruction in skills. I contend that only the smaller portion of it need be in the form of cash or credit. I realize that the inclusion of any hard money or credit at all will immediately invoke some yelps, but I am not alone in my belief that any financial aid is the most profitable long-term investment that can be made. Paul Hoffman's personal financial accretions and his contributions through adroit management to the bank accounts of the stockholders of Studebaker Corp. during his prosperous tenure there surely attest

to his appreciation of the dollar. I might add, from personal experience, that I have never, to my discomfort at times, ever found Paul Hoffman docile at the bargaining table, either. Yet, he has said, "...foreign aid is not charity; it is sound business management in the same sense as the more familiar forms of product or market development." apparently, he is so convinced of the soundness of this principle that he now devotes himself not to a well-deserved retirement but to tireless furthering of his belief as the very active director of the United Nations' Special Fund.

Which leads me to another keystone of this structure I propose. That is that we employ as our, so-to-speak, weapons carrier for our food and tools and know-how in this bloodless battle, an agency, especially created if necessary, of the United Nations. I don't think I need recite at great length the commendable achievements of such UN agencies as WHO (World Health Organization) or FAO (Food and Agricultural Organization) or UNICEF (the UN's agency for children). Their deeds have been published; and, if you were to meet as many visitors from the newer nations as I have when they come touring the UAW's international offices in Detroit, Solidarity House, you, too, would get ample personal testimony to these agencies' good, effective work.

Furthermore, it seems to me that such an international instrument would convey with it an unselfish connotation that would rid us of the distasteful and blatant tag of being Father Bountiful bestowing largesse but expecting genuflection and slavish emulation of the U. S. in return. It is high time, I suspect, that we grow up and realize that while the emerging nations will, if at all possible, reject Soviet imperialism, they also very likely will very wisely realize that it is not feasible for them, on their smaller scale,

to ape every aspect of our economic system. The method they will choose, I think, will be somewhere in between, a satisfactory and workable adaptation of their own that will allow individual liberty along with an improved standard of living. Our way does not have an exclusive patent on freedom with progress. Walter Lippmann, that venerable observer and writer, put it this way:

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If Khruschchev should refuse to enter the competition I have outlined, I say we should begin the game anyway, ourselves, soberly and prudently, of course, but also enthusiastically and fully committed to complete use of all our resources, which are massive but idle at the moment. After all, our goal is peace through the well-being of free men. I tell you hungry men, desperate men, ignorant and prejudiced men, denied men--these are the oneswho are tempted to think war will bring them what they don't have, which is, basically, equality in the council of nations. I contend that if the present have-not nations find this, the chances for peace increase fantastically. At the same time we are helping others to lift themselves by their own efforts, we shall also be dosing ourselves, for our economy, too, could stand some medicine--and by that I mean a higher growth rate.

This increased growth, once jogged into being, would pay for the program I have submitted and, over and above that, at the same time create an even greater standard of living for us here at home. I know that there are those who are, even at this point,

screaming that this is just another giveaway. But I remind them that in order to give away anything we first have to build or manufacture or acquire what we give, and in that process of building, manufacturing and acquiring we would be creating jobs for millions of idle Americans, we would be piling up profits for management, we would be pushing up our standard of lving and raising the money in the populace at all levels against which our government could levy taxes. Let me ask you: Does an idle steel mill create any profits out of which to pay taxes? Similarly: does an idle man create any income out of which to pay taxes? When I advocate growth, I do not also advocate that any one, least of all a worker, should shirk his responsibility to the cause of peace through this program offoreign aid.

When I hear or read tirades against giveaways, I recall my visit some years ago to India, where I watched these patient, dogged people go about the heart-breakingly difficult task of improving their lives. At one point in the journey, I watched thousands of them building a dam, by carrying earth in baskets. I thought, as I watched, that at that very moment in Peoria, Ill. there stood literally acres of unsold tractors and earthmoving equipment, while restless thousands of Peorians were idle because those machines were unsold. If we had been supplying India, we would have sold those tractors, given jobs to Americans and given jobs to Indians. From those jobs, those Indians would have created income from which their nation could have bought even more tractors and other machinery from us. I say foreign aid increases our well-being by making us an even busier supplier who must hire more to create those goods.

As the aid program I propose increases, it is easily predictable that Khruschchev also must order a switch in his empire's economic direction. To meet our increased aid, he must in the name of the USSR's prestige also increase his aid program. This will force him to lower his commitment to arms production. As he cuts back, we can also cut back, and use much of this saving of ours to bolster the aid program, to make it even more massive. I use this word "massive" not advisedly, but purposely, and to back up my assertion I turn to the report on our past foreign aid programs made by Gen. Lucius Clay, a devoted servant of America for whom I have deep respect. In his report, General Clay implied that we failed in certain situations because we tried to do too much in too many places. I believe the General misinterpreted the figures. I believe we failed in certain situations because we tried to do too much in too many places <u>with far too little</u>. As evidence of the need for grand scale operation in order to assure success, I point to the Marshall Plan. Here, indeed, was great effort, and here, indeed, was great success. Europe today is answer enough to anyone who would say that our efforts failed. Furthermore, let me offer you some figures comparing per capital expenditures.

In this instance, of getting our forigh aid program off the ground, and of the tremendous expenditures involved, I think of an industrial exhibition display once set up by the Allison aircraft engine firm. Their device was to rig up a series of faucets from which would pour water, representing gasoline. As their engine revved up and took off, tremendous gallonage poured from the faucets.

But as the plane reached altitude and began cruising, the flow from the faucets subsided and was much less. Those of us who drive cars also know that the engine requires much more gas in first gear than it does in third. So it is with foreign aid. The beginning requires a tremendous effort, but the outlay tapers off as the program goes on, and it is the duration of the drive that matters.

I say, too, that this gigantic initial thrust has another psychological effect, equally imperative to our success in obtaining peace. If the amount set up is big enough, those smaller nations who have not heretofore been able to utilize this aid to increase their education and industrial capacity will insist that their governments do what is required to obtain this help. Parallel to that, I contend that if this effort is made through a UN agency, an international instrument, there will be more doors of more nations opened, and more people liberated from by this aid from the cause of dissension and wars, their centuries of enslavement to ignorance, hunger and desperation. It goes without saying at this point, that I insist that we concentrate this aid in those countries that are willing to apply the necessary safeguards to assure that these benefits get to the population. As this happens, and men in other nations learn of it and spread this information, there will be a groundswell of popular sentiment from the people in those nations to form governments that will follow the pattern necessary for participation. ~~As proof, I cite you Venezuela.~~

I also insist, as a corollary, that we make this aid the kind that is necessary to promote the conditions of peace through industrial development. If I may borrow agains from Paul Hoffman's insight, " *****-----

compares foreign aid to assembly line

Our aid should go into education of people for industrial life, for construction of dams to empower industry and for roads by which to distribute the products of that industry. As each nation steps forward to apply, let us study that nation and its people and find what it is there that obstructs peace, and so adopt our program to remove that roadblock. Furthermore, as Walter Lippman so wisely implied, in lending and supporting growth for peace let's drop our ideological blinders. It is important that men travel toward peace, not that they travel in a specified vehicle. Democracy has many forms other than ours that are just as beneficial to people and peace generating. Always, in every decision of program and content, we must first and foremost ask ourselves: "Does this further peace?" That is the paramount task.

This, in brief, is my suggestion of how we can put this nation's great but slothful industrial capacity to work for peace. I make this plea confident that I am not alone in my desire to see mankind survive. It is particularly heartening to me of late to note that men of stature in business also are coming to share this conviction. Not too long ago, I took part in an International Arms Control Symposium sponsored by Bendix Corporation to explore ways of reducing armament production without shattering our economy. Speaker after speaker from business after

business voiced reason after reason why far-sighted businessmen are concerned about the establishment of a peaceful realm. I think their concern is best, if somewhat brusquely, summed up by Bendiz vice president Russell D. O'Neal, who said, "We want live customers." I couldn't agree more. In this discussion, another businessman observed that if a transition from arms to peaceful manufacturing could be achieved, "The results would be invigorating not only to the American economy but also to the entire free world." Again, I couldn't agree more. In the final analysis, I offer you the thought so clearly expressed by a man whose wisdom I often find helpful. He is A. Powell Davies, pastor of ~~to big, too small etc~~ _____, who summs up our problem this way :

This has been the entire reason for my proposal, and to it, I say Amen.

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