

and the economy to reoccurring crises of trying to flex their collective bargaining muscles when we are at the peak of the harvest season, and aren't they, therefore, going to take undue advantage of not only the employer, but of the people in the community in general?

Now this is the second argument around which they would build these insurmountable roadblocks because they have a vested interest in the status quo.

Mr. Chairman, there are many things that I know very little about, but I do know a great deal about collective bargaining, and I know that a free society has a very basic choice to make when it wrestles with this problem that your economy is confronted with, and I believe that the choice before us is very simple: either we extend to agricultural workers the right of self-organization and collective bargaining which is enjoyed by all the others of the millions of wage earners in America, so that having access to that machinery we will put in motion those forces that are capable of building a rational and responsible basis upon which you can build sound and stable and responsible labor-management relations.

Now, the other choice is to deny these workers access to this kind of machinery, and say, "You are perpetually committed to live in an economic and social jungle. We can't give you the benefits other workers enjoy; we can't give you the access to the tools of responsible and rational collective bargaining. You have got to shift for yourselves in this economic and social jungle, and therefore you will have to develop out of your sense of desperation the instruments of social and economic struggle based upon a kind of guerrilla warfare, because the normal tools of the civilized free society are not made available to you, and so you are on your own."

And out of a sense of desperation, and out of increased bitterness, out of a sense of hopelessness because they have been shut out of society these will determine the climate and the backdrop in which these people will struggle for their measure of justice.

Because struggle they will.

You know, the choice is not whether to do it the right way or not at all. It is whether to do it the right way or the wrong way.

Now the right way is to say, "You will have access to the tools that everybody else has access to, and with those tools, working together with a sense of good will and a sense of common responsibility, labor and management will begin to build a structure in which stable, sensible, responsible, and constructive labor-management relations can evolve."

But if you deny the tools, then the pattern of that relationship will be dictated by the forces of desperation and bitterness; because the struggle will take place.

I have said many times on many occasions that the essential differences—and I know about this firsthand because I spent a year in the German underground fighting the—fighting against Hitlerism, and I worked 2 years in the Soviet Union in an automobile plant under Joe Stalin, so that my knowledge about tyranny and totalitarianism is very real and practical.

In a totalitarian society you can get industrial peace in the absence of justice, because there is a bayonet in the back of every worker, and if he dares to challenge the status quo, he can be lined up before a