

will be the way they are going to organize? What tactics will they be forced to use if they don't have recourse to a peaceful representation?

Mr. REUTHER. Well, they are going to have the tactics of the jungle, because when men are denied access to the procedures of a free society, procedures that are rational and responsible, when they are denied those opportunities by society, then they, in desperation, will revert to the tactics of the jungle.

Mr. O'HARA. In other words, they are going to have to strike right at harvesttime, and do whatever else they can to inflict economic damage on that employer in order to gain recognition. If the machinery is opened to them, it is obvious that these employees could gain recognition by a peaceful election conducted by the NLRB.

Mr. REUTHER. You will be amazed how many ways they can figure out how to skin this cat, and under the circumstances where they can inflict the greatest damage on the employer, because they will be motivated by bitterness and frustration, where sound labor-management ought to be motivated by justice.

Mr. O'HARA. I agree with you, farmworkers are going to organize, and they ought to be able to do it in a peaceful way, or they will do it by whatever method is most effective to that end—by bringing economic pressure. I think the greatest step Congress can take toward preventing disruption would be to adopt this legislation. As I have said, your statement on this question has been outstanding, and I hope the UAW will see fit to have some reprints made and get it around the country.

Mr. REUTHER. May I end on an optimistic note, Mr. Chairman?

My friend, Congressman Ford said, and the rest of us are aware, that 32 years is a long time to carry out the expression of the House committee who steered the Wagner Act through Congress back in 1935.

Thirty-two years is a long time, but on the civil rights front it took a hundred years. That was a great moral issue, and finally its hour had come, and the conscience of America finally caught up with itself and we acted a hundred years late on the civil rights front.

This, I also consider a great moral issue, and I believe that the very fact that the great church organizations are responding, I think more and more people are becoming aware that this is a moral question, this is not just an economic question, this is not just a labor-management problem. This is a great moral question of how does man live with his fellow man in a free society that is built on the values of the worth and dignity of every human person.

That doesn't mean you have to be the president of a corporation, or a Congressman, or the president of a big union to be entitled to your worth and dignity.

Everyone is entitled to theirs. As we make this a political question, this is a great moral question, and only in making it so can we bring to bear upon the problem what is essential. That took us a hundred years, and we won through on the civil rights front in 1964 and 1965. We haven't completed that job, but we made steps.

If you pass the legislation you have before you, you will have made a step, but you will not have completed the job.

When I get discouraged about the 32 years, I look at the civil rights front. Many of us were arguing that many years ago.