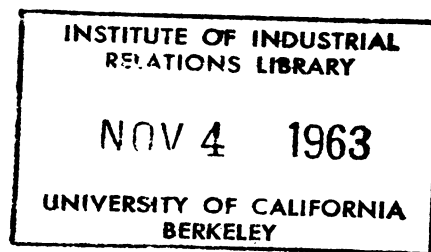


# IDEOLOGICAL OBSOLESCENCE IN COLLECTIVE BARGAINING

*by* JACK T. CONWAY *///*



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## FOREWORD

Trade unionism and collective bargaining have been intermittently subjected to legal experimentation by the American community for nearly as long as the Republic itself has been in existence. This experimentation has reflected numerous attempts to satisfy various objectives under fitfully changing economic and social conditions. Legal privilege, especially in more recent times, emanated from public approval both of unionism, as a private institutional offset to the economic power of large-scale corporate employers, and of collective bargaining, as a system of "industrial jurisprudence" which clearly reflects the country's tradition of constitutional government. On the other hand, recent legal regulation is also a reflex of public concern with what it takes to be the balance of economic power; in addition, it reflects determination to extend protection to the rights of individual wage earners both as employees and as union members.

*Contemporary* trade unionism and collective bargaining have not had the opportunity to adapt gradually to the deep-seated traditions of a slowly changing society, for they have experienced only rapid and discontinuous social change. They were infant institutions in a period of deep unemployment and social convulsion. They achieved adolescent growth in a wartime economy characterized by booming demand but legal control. They are now striving for maturity in an economy characterized by relative consumer well-being and technological change, both of which have tended to lessen demand for the services of their less skilled members. This economy has also been subject to severe international constraints, which have tended to prevent it from generating sufficient over-all demand to alleviate the impact of changing consumption patterns and technology and which have reduced the policymakers' tolerance of both rising costs and work stoppages. Moreover, with the rest of the community, many unions must adjust to the demands of the American Negroes for equality and opportunity—just as the rest of the community had to adjust to fairly similar demands raised by the trade unionists themselves nearly three decades ago.

Finally, the collective bargainers have had to contend with an increased volume of criticism. Unions have never been without

their critics; and the critics now, as in the past, have been drawn from a wide and almost incongruous variety of sources—from the ranks of friends and of enemies, from conservatives and liberals and radicals, from the self-serving and the public-spirited, from the soft-headed and the hard-headed. Much of the criticism is not new and some of it is valid and important; unionists would have done well to heed the strictures of sophisticated and sympathetic scholars like Sumner Slichter and Philip Taft a long time ago. On the other hand, much of what might be termed the current literature of disenchantment reflects an excess of emotionalism and a deficiency of careful reflection and research. Recent events have already given the lie to some of the more sweeping doubts cast upon the viability of collective bargaining in contemporary society. Even in the extraordinarily difficult areas of technological unemployment and work rules, private parties have exerted at least as much ingenuity as public policymakers; compensated “attrition” arrangements (including the modification of pension plans) appear more promising avenues of solution to the displaced mature worker problem than present public retraining programs, and there is more to some negotiated work-sharing arrangements than is met within textbooks on elementary economic analysis.

Traditional collective bargaining has failed to produce a solution to employment problems in the railroad industry, but this is an industry where collective bargaining has been enfeebled because, as Slichter wrote back in 1946, it is one of the “few industries or occupations . . . in which the public cannot permit the parties to see which can stand the longer shutdown.” This is an old exception which proves a rule, not evidence in itself of a new general order. The need exists today, as indeed it has existed since 1946, for the public to “make up its mind” concerning the definition of “national emergency,” on the one hand, and “national interest”—which includes among other things the protection of private rights—on the other. But if the public is to make up its *mind* on an issue which it obviously recognizes as crucial, it requires careful analysis, soberly presented.

Thus what is needed now is not a moratorium on criticism and debate in this area but rather that the ratio of analysis to assertion be raised and that both the potentialities and limitations of collective bargaining and trade unions be more carefully and realistically appraised by practitioners, policymakers, and the general public.

Jack Conway's paper, which was originally delivered as an address to this Institute's Industrial Relations Conference, held in San Francisco on May 28, 1963, would be of interest if only because it represents the views of an exceptionally able and high-ranking official in the American labor movement. Mr. Conway, formerly the Deputy Administrator of the Housing and Home Finance Agency and before that Administrative Assistant to the President of the United Auto Workers of America, now serves as Executive Assistant to the President of the Industrial Union Department of the AFL-CIO. He speaks, therefore, as a trade unionist; but his paper is of primary importance not because it contains a trade unionist's reply to his critics but because it also contains highly stimulating insights into the functions, limitations, and potentialities of contemporary collective bargaining, which it assesses in the light of probable rather than utopian alternatives. We at the Institute of Industrial Relations at Berkeley believe that Mr. Conway's comments constitute a most significant and provocative contribution to the discussion of the issues with which their author is concerned, and we welcome the opportunity to publish them.

LLOYD ULMAN

September 1963

# IDEOLOGICAL OBSOLESCENCE IN COLLECTIVE BARGAINING

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The question I have undertaken to answer in this paper—Can Collective Bargaining Do The Job?—can only be answered prophetically. I cannot cut the future to the measure of my predictions. I can only try.

When it was first proposed that I discuss this question of the relevance of collective bargaining, the New York newspaper strike was still in progress. Major strikes on the docks and the railroads were in suspension at the moment. Editorials in the newspapers throughout the country were suggesting these crises indicated that collective bargaining and unions were obsolete, without recalling that before these activities became obsolete in their judgment, they had routinely offered other reasons for doing away with them. The *Wall Street Journal* had, over a period of time, published articles, news analyses, and stories whose central theme was that technological change in many industries, especially the newspaper industry, but not excluding transportation and manufacture, had gone so far and so fast, that the traditional forms of enterprise were obsolete, the traditional skills were obsolescent where they are not already obsolete, and that in a normal lifetime men and women could naturally expect that they would have to acquire two or three competences to keep current with developments, if they could keep pace at all. It was suggested that unions had already passed their time, and that it was now necessary to devise other institutions and methods for performing the service which unions once provided.

The *Wall Street Journal* is too useful a newspaper to be singled out for pillorying in this connection. Actually it only accurately summed up the spate of views and observations which are still appearing in magazines and books, that are skeptical not only of unions, but of the government, and of people. There are suggestions, for example, that human beings are also superfluous and that the task now is to reorganize the society of man to exclude people.

These judgments, which come from the ringside and not from

the ring, while fashionable, are not profound, and in my experience, embody no great wisdom. They are manifestations not of institutional obsolescence, or human obsolescence, but of a combination of ideological obsolescence and personal senescence. In the case of unions, for example, the people, frequently relics of the 1930s, who are publishing articles which purport to describe the demise of the labor movement are using exhausted concepts and illusions which blind them to what is actually happening today.

What has been written by these people about my own recent career in a sense is an anecdotal illustration of the inadequacy and irrelevance of this sideline and uninformed interpretation of the evolution of the labor movement. When I left the UAW two years ago to work in the Administration in Washington, it was said, falsely, that I was disillusioned, that I was part of a parade of people leaving the labor movement because it had come to a deadend where there was no longer any function for collective bargaining. Recently, after two very satisfying years in a Federal Agency, when I returned to work in the labor movement, the same people said, "Aha, he is disillusioned with the government."

What this incident, and altogether too many other comments on current events, reveal about these professional intellectuals who proclaim their concern about society is a shallow cynicism in connection with the very agencies and instruments, governmental and nongovernmental, that are operating most effectively to deal with injustice, inequality, and insecurity.

Government, parties, and the labor movement are decried for going too far, not going far enough, for being timid, or arrogant, for overriding individual rights, or for paralysis, for activism, or inactivism.

Moreover these denigrations characteristically carry an emotional charge and almost invariably embody a moral judgment. Not only is it said that collective bargaining is inadequate to some purpose that is never defined, it is also implied that the people who engage in collective bargaining are committing an undefined wrong, or are engaging in something that is unspecifically immoral, and are betraying some ideal ethical principle which once distinguished the labor movement in better, happier times.

These expressions of outrage, of course, mistake the essential nature of collective bargaining, which is a neutral operative activity that is used socially as an instrument for arriving at particular kinds

of decisions. A complex apparatus which has evolved in this country over one hundred and fifty years, it incorporates the experience of at least six generations of American employers and employees and works rather well when it is operated and maintained competently. Like any piece of machinery, whether it is a court or a car, the performance quality depends upon its operators. Collective bargaining is neither magic, nor automatic. For the best results, it demands intelligence, integrity, courage, and work on both sides of the bargaining table, and a reasonable regard for the traffic rules which regulate economic flow.

Judgments of the success or the failure of bargaining, and there are comparative failures from time to time, as there are successes, imply a measurement against some standard, which most often is called public interest. Unfortunately, the public interest is nowhere precisely defined. Indeed, as the history of labor legislation in the United States demonstrates, it has been impossible to define, at least until now.

Even if there were an adequate, limiting, and accurate description of the public interest, the specification would not be a criterion for judging the effectiveness of collective bargaining. What is better or worse in a particular situation depends not on comparison with an ideal solution but on the contrast with the actual alternatives. It is for this reason, that when a negotiation is over, the people on both sides of the bargaining table cannot guarantee that the agreement reached was an ideal solution. All they can reply to critics is that they came up with the best solution they were able to reach. These imperfect decisions have served and continue to serve the country rather well, in spite of occasional crises which have their own uses and value.

At this moment, collective bargaining has a larger claim to vitality and utility than ever before in the history of the American society. Neither side of the American bargaining table is haunted by an uneasiness over what has been called the end of ideology or the exhaustion of the uses of collective bargaining. In the American unions, it has been estimated that there are about 250,000 men and women in leadership roles and there is no credible indication that these people believe that the labor movement has entered into a decline or that it has become universally infected by cynicism or corruption. Similarly, it is obvious that the extent to which people—wage earners and employers—in every community in the na-



tion are daily engaged in some form of collective bargaining and are by their efforts giving direction to the economy represents a total refutation of the silliness that this movement of some sixteen or seventeen million American wage earners is barren of leadership.

Taking into account the fact that bargaining also comprehends the people on the employer side of the negotiations, it is not an exaggeration to say that bargaining is actually the most widely pervasive democratic activity in the nation and is more widely accepted than ever before in American history. This development alone indicates that it is nonsense to suggest there really was an inspiring labor tradition in some glorious past which somehow has been ground to dust and lost to this generation through the operation of an iron law of bureaucracy.

Most of these capsule summaries of the situation in the American labor movement are captious, capricious, and, in reality, anxiety projections by people who are describing something within themselves rather than the exciting—even though disturbing—variety of developments in the factories and workplaces as well as the neighborhoods and the legislatures of the nation. They recall the Kentucky politician whose constituent conceded that the candidate had gotten the man a job, had arranged for a variety of services for a long list of relatives, but still asked what had been done for him lately. Actually, the labor movement has been performing and is providing an astonishing assortment of essential services to the American people not only lately, but now.

But the actuality should not be exaggerated either. No one in the labor movement would insist that the American unions are without fault, that union leaders all qualify for the Sir Galahad medal, or that the unions are the front ranks of a marching band entering paradise. But what organization or movement in the United States does meet this specification?

If you examine what the American labor movement has accomplished in the last fifteen years, it is impossible to talk of the end of collective bargaining and to speak intelligently. Paid holidays, improvement in vacations, pensions, the establishment of bargaining as an operative feature of the economy, the extension of health and sickness insurance to a majority of union wage earners, the virtual end of violence on the industrial relations scene, the supplementary unemployment program, the adoption, however imperfect, of ethical practices standards for the labor movement, the genuine ad-

vances being made against discrimination; very lately, the provisions dealing with automation, the new sabbatical vacation plan set forth in the Steel agreement, the cost-sharing plan between the union and Kaiser Steel, the American Motors Progress Sharing Plan with the UAW, whose innovating features have not yet been properly understood; and most recently, the inauguration of what could be a profound alteration in the collective bargaining process itself in steel and in the automobile industry. There is hope that a year or two from today it will be possible to add to this list the realization and the mastery of new organizing methods appropriate to the demands of the changed industrial topography. Nationally, unions, utilizing a variant form of collective bargaining have had some role in the enactment of certain features of the Trade Expansion Act, of the Area Redevelopment program, and of the Manpower Retraining Act. Except for the initiative of the labor movement, the Fair Employment Practices effort, however far it is from where it should be, would not be operating as well as it is, and the civil rights movement would be more nearly a whisper in the distance, instead of the most challenging development in the nation today.

So, it can be expected that people will rejoin to this recital, sure you have done all these things, but how come you have not established equality in American life, ended nuclear testing, and restored democratic government to Cuba? Nor is this anticipation facetious, for actually, it is clear that most of the criticism of the American labor movement today is based on what has been called the Free Tom Mooney fallacy. During the historic depression it was reported that a tenants committee met with a landlord over a list of demands and that the landlord finally said he would paint the halls, reduce the rents, turn the heat on at seven o'clock instead of eight, and provide new gas stoves, but, "Tell me," he concluded, "how can I free Tom Mooney?"

When the alienated and rather well-provided intellectuals who today choose the American labor movement for their target (this is not a reference to the people in the civil rights movement who are making proper, if uncomfortable, demands on unions for far more speed and far less deliberation), when these critics aim their spitballs at the unions, essentially they are looking at bargaining and other union activities through unfocused glasses, under a number of disabling misconceptions.

Actually the blur and the badly aimed spitballing are due to the multiple roles unions play in our society:

Their primary activity as bargaining representatives of the people in a particular workplace; their activity as a moral spokesman in the community for wage and salary workers, and the dispossessed, and the alienated, and the persecuted, and the mistreated, and the victims of whatever automatic social trend happens to be running; and their activity, as a political institution, not a party, rather an effectively organized, but by no means omnipotent, interest group, but nevertheless a big one.

While in practice, unions as collective bargaining agents can be influential factors in the determination of wages, hours, working conditions—conditions of employment in the enterprises where they have been standing—unions in fact have no effective control, and not very much influence at any particular time, over the operation of the total economy or the broad society. Unions are never in a position to Free Tom Mooney, about the most they can do is to join other people on a petition.

Unions as bargaining agents, for that matter, have little control over the context of the bargaining situation, that is, the movement of the economy, demand changes, alterations in the society, which can and do change the nature of bargaining, and have in the past in some cases simply eroded the basis for bargaining.

Critics of unions, failing to distinguish among the various functions of unions and the varying powers of unions:

- 1) make demands on unions they cannot possibly fulfill, and
- 2) criticize unions for failures in the society or in the economy that are no more the responsibility of the unions than they are of the church, or the Congress, or the President, or the companies, or history itself.

Critics thus ask of unions what they intend to do about:

- a) poverty in the United States, that is, the 20 per cent of the people who live outside the national economy, and another 20 per cent who, while they live in the community, live largely as the deprived and not as participants,
- b) discrimination in the United States one hundred years after the Emancipation Proclamation,
- c) automation and the accelerating technological displacement which

is discharging workers from the production process at one end with the speed that doughnuts, or engines, or soft drinks, or cans are released at the other end, and

- d) the disappearance of traditional democratic activities in favor of institutional and bureaucratic procedures as the pressure of size and technology move the nation toward computer, vending machine, and information storage methods.

Nowhere in the society is there more concern with these developments than in the labor movement. In most of these areas, the labor movement has been primarily responsible for making the original demands and proposals for dealing with these failures in the society. But what unions are asked to do in connection with these problems is far beyond the competence and the powers of the labor movement, and in some cases beyond the competence and powers of any society or government that is known. Here, it should be acknowledged the demand on the unions to be more effective and to exert powers they do not have also comes from union members, for understandable reasons.

Yet, while unions are taunted for failing to undertake tasks which would require far greater powers, responsibilities, and bureaucracies than anyone has ever proposed for what are essentially voluntary organizations, simultaneously they are targets of a contradictory charge. Ignoring the changes taking place in the big society, which have compelled unions to institutionalize and organize their activities, people who cherish memories from a time when unions were very often only protest groups, insist that the labor movement return to a primitive state of informal grace that survives nowhere else in the community.

Unions, like any other major human activity, need criticism, from inside and outside; the more important they are, the more criticism they need. But some of the criticism that is misdirected at the unions tends to interfere with specific indictments which should be aimed at other institutions. It is easier, for example, to direct fire against unions for their participation in discrimination, than against the companies responsible, or the cities, or the political agencies. Similarly, it is easier to ask what are unions doing about automation than to call attention specifically to the failure of companies in some instances to incorporate plans for the human use of human beings in their long-range programs, or to the failure of the

government to implement the public policy set forth in the Employment Act of 1946.

All this having been said, it should be acknowledged that unions, as bargaining agents, as quasipolitical activities, as institutional centers for agitating on moral grounds, are only now emerging from one of their less creative and less responsive periods. In partial extenuation, reference can be made to the difficulties of accommodating to federation unity and to drastic economic and social changes in the society; union leaders, unfortunately, often tend to share the smugness and the complacency of our business-oriented society itself. But no one should fail to take into account the possibility that if the labor movement should slip back into unimaginativeness, into a lack of resilience (which is not likely because of political pressures which will not tolerate immobility), it is indeed conceivable that it will play a less important role in the future.

But even in this circumstance what the labor movement now does—successfully sometimes, less successfully at other times—needs to be done, and will be done, in one institutional form or the other.

Actually, however, the labor movement is beginning to make the adaptive changes that will enable it to contend with those problems with which it is competent to deal and to associate itself with other groups in the society to deal with those problems with which it is concerned but not capable of solving by itself.

No discussion of this question should fail to enumerate the very many different forms that collective bargaining assumes today, involving it in concerns, activities, and decisions which nowhere have been described adequately, certainly not in the texts and treatises dealing with collective bargaining. Indeed what actually happens is complex and varied to a degree that falsifies the conception most people hold of union negotiations.

For example, as the result of the advances made during the last two decades, bargaining proceeds less and less frequently (as in the newspapers) in a hotel meeting room, at midnight, two minutes before a strike deadline, over a new contract. Bargaining goes on continuously in the joint committees which administer the pension programs, the supplementary unemployment benefit funds, and the medical, hospital, and sickness funds. During recent years unions have, it has seemed, been negotiating on a five-day-a-week basis with the Blue Cross-Blue Shield state organizations and other sup-

pliers of health services. Union committees have been compelled to negotiate on actuarial and related problems with the insurance companies. Funds created to deal with personnel changes arising from automation have provided a new bargaining place, have presented opportunities for unprecedented new research into the possibilities of the bargaining process, and have created the need for union leadership training of a kind never attempted before in the labor movement.

But although bargaining is an expanding activity, it certainly cannot do the job, if what is understood to be the job is the provision of full employment, job opportunities for young people, and true security for wage earners throughout their lives. These are public policy questions which require action *outside* the essentially bilateral bargaining process. However, within the limits of what can be done by dealing directly with employers or with associations of employers, something significant and enduring will be established.

Unquestionably, within the next few years collective bargaining will routinely begin to concern itself with the investment of the enormous sums of money which are accumulating in the pension funds, in the SUB funds, and, most recently, in the allocation of money from the progress-sharing funds of the American Motors Corporation or from the economies realized under the Kaiser contract.

This very hasty survey of where collective bargaining is today is intended only to indicate that collective bargaining is not a bankrupt enterprise, but that it has evolved into one of the critical decision-making activities in the economy. Moreover the simpler, less evolved forms of face-to-face collective bargaining will also undergo decisive changes that will be dramatic even if they do not produce picket lines, strike violence, and shrieking headlines. Here, of course, I refer to the move in steel and autos—and it will not stop in these industries—to take bargaining out from under the headline and to make it a cooperative inquiry into economic advance and adaptation. Already the table pounding, the violent language, the masculine vocabularies which were a hallowed if slightly ridiculous feature of the bargaining process of yesteryear have gone by the way.

But beyond the bargaining within plant limits and with specific companies and groups of companies, unions and employers must

inevitably—and soon— begin to engage in a three-sided negotiation over the operation of manpower training programs, or tariff problems, and eventually investment and fiscal policy as they relate to jobs and full employment. Moreover, when full employment is an established and continuing feature of our national economy as it must inevitably become, bargaining will necessarily continue within plants and with companies in the customary dialogue, but the crucial decisions will probably be made regionally and nationally as is beginning to be the case in England, in France, and less obviously, but with far greater effect, in Sweden.

Ultimately and inevitably under full employment conditions in the United States, the traditional demands of the union movement will undergo transformations. Already in the highly developed European countries—as in the United States, for that matter—union members with union responsibilities do not conform to the public picture of them as men walking up and down in front of a strikebound shop or factory, with or without picket signs, crying unfair. No one has counted the many thousands of workers in factories and shops and offices whose union duties require them to meet with city, state, and national governments over complicated technical problems which bear vitally on the operation of the society, employment, health administration, housing, city planning, traffic, investment, education; the list of items on the agenda includes every community concern. What should be kept in mind is that the men and women who are now engaged in making these decisions democratically in the community and the broad society only a generation ago were hired hands, people across the railroad tracks with no rights in the plant, no voice in the community, and no meaningful vote in the large social questions which shaped their lives.

Out of this almost invisible but dramatic process will come new institutions in our society, which, far from isolating and alienating human beings, will restore them to the governing process and give more and more of them increasing responsibilities. The new agencies will generate new politics whose issues will be alternative programs for full employment, alternate ways of investing to maintain the dynamics of a growing economy, alternate devices and agencies for facilitating the movement from a manual, largely uneducated working class to an educated society of wage earners. Here one statistic invites examination: in 1930, for all the jobs available in

the economy, 32 per cent were unskilled and 25 per cent were either semiskilled or service jobs. Thus 57 per cent of all jobs required relatively little education. By 1970, it has been predicted that instead of a demand category of 32 per cent for unskilled labor, only 5 per cent of available jobs will be unskilled; from 25 per cent, the proportion of semiskilled and service jobs will have shrunk to 21 per cent. Seventy-five per cent of all jobs available will, we are told, require a rather high degree of education. These developments have a significance for the society which is by no means confined to their impact on collective bargaining or the structure of the trade union movement. Trade unionists, however, cannot help but wonder at the influence these developments will have on the structure of unions, local and national, and on the types of personality possessed by those who will become union leaders in the future. In any event, the union structure, the union processes, and union activities, which have already changed more than is generally acknowledged, will inevitably undergo a further dramatic metamorphosis.

For we are, above everything else, a dynamic, mobile, and protean society. The rate of change in the technology, however much it confounds the people caught in the process, does produce equilibrating accommodations. Even when the intellectual reaction to change is apparently out of date and seems to be an effort to solve today's problems with yesterday's answers, the community, making use of a common experience, does adjust and emerge, painful though the adjustment may seem to be.

When one describes the growing participation of the union in the industrial and social economy and the evolution of collective bargaining into an increasingly bureaucratic activity (for the very reason that the society itself is increasingly organized rationally), one runs the risk that critics will be encouraged to cry out, "I told you so, unions *are* becoming one vast bureaucracy."

But the administering bureaucracy that has necessarily evolved in the union is not the bureaucracy critics talk about. They complain, and their complaints would be valid if their description were accurate, of a deadening, self-serving, insensitive bureaucracy lodged comfortably in affluent recumbency on the backs of wage earners. What actually operates in the unions, however, is a rational reconstruction of some features of the economic process to admit more democracy, more flexibility—so that if there must be crises they will not come from blundering, from stupidity, or from ineffi-



ciency, or because the proper briefs, or forms, or petitions have not been filed. In contemporary society, where measurements are in millions, hundreds of millions, and billions, there is no escaping the use of efficient administrative machinery. This is bureaucracy, but it is a creative procedural process that organizes and facilitates democratic procedures.

Admittedly, there are dangers from this development, which have not altogether been evaded in Sweden or Israel, two places where the evolution is well advanced. But if some bureaucratization in its invidious sense cannot be escaped, it can also be said that even tribal societies have their flyspecks. The movement will not be from an ideal society to an imperfect one, but rather from one kind of less efficient society to a more efficient but still imperfect endeavor. Bureaucracy will be easier to bear as an imperfection than unemployment or insecurity.

It has been said that politics is the art of the possible. This implies exclusion of the impossible but not of the improbable. Historically, the labor movement—both its political and economic wings—has on occasion played both “practical” and highly improbable politics; it counterpointed obviously possible demands against demands that were not obviously possible. It can be taken for granted that unions, which inevitably carry on their work under a number of countervailing political pressures, will not abandon the element of unreasonableness in their demands (even in the new society) which often make them so exasperating to employers, to governments, and to right-thinking academicians who know perfectly well that what the unions are demanding is impossible, or impractical until the demands are ultimately won. The agitator element in the makeup of the union movement will, as it has in the past, continue to preserve the morality of the labor movement, which is fundamentally not only the justification of unions but also a specific antidote against rigidity in the society. What seems unreasonable to employers may be the basis of moral responsibility to the rank and file.

Can Collective Bargaining Do the Job? If it can't, something else will have to be invented to do what collective bargaining is doing. When it is invented, what will come off the assembly line will not be a computer, but collective bargaining. Even employers who have sought to escape it, at great cost to themselves and the community, have discovered that.

More than anything else, now there is needed, not wailing about the bankruptcy of collective bargaining, or the exhaustion of vitality in the unions, or the end of ideology, but careful, closely focused examination of function and responsibility and potentiality—an approach that is scientific in its integrity, moral in its responsibility to human needs, and practical without complacency in its realism.