WALTER REUTHER

1943 – 1944
September 27, 1943.

Dear Mr. Reuther:

I was very much interested and horrified by your letter of August 13th, which was held for my return.

Mr. Baruch is still anxious to see you and I hope you will let him know when you expect to be here. I should very much like to see you too.

Very sincerely yours,

Mr. Walter P. Reuther
Vice President
United Automobile, Aircraft, Agricultural Implement Workers of America
411 West Milwaukee Avenue
Detroit, Michigan.
Please return to
Miss Thompson
The President has seen
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

August 19, 1943

Memorandum for Miss Tully

Mrs. Roosevelt asked me to pass this on to you for the President. Will you return it to me, so that I can give it to Mrs. Roosevelt when she returns?

M.C.T.
Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt  
The White House  
Washington, D C

(Personal)

My dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

Mrs. Reuther and I wish to thank you for the most enjoyable and interesting afternoon spent with you on Sunday, August first.

I trust that some of the things we discussed can be realized, so that American labor will be able to change its narrow pressure group thinking, and become a dynamic, positive movement in the mobilization of broad, democratic forces in America. The success with which we are able to prosecute the war and meet the challenge of the post war period hinges to a large extent on the role played by American labor, and its ability to demonstrate a capacity for leadership on broad community and national issues.

The present slump in war production again reflects the fact that to date we have failed to do an effective job on the human engineering front. Most of the key men in the war production agencies and industry proper do not understand that the human equation in production is just as important as are the machines. Total production will be had only when a comparable job of human engineering is done, parallel with the job of production engineering. We shall not achieve maximum war production until we establish practical machinery at the factory level by which we can tap the tremendous creative technical reservoir which lies almost entirely unused in the minds of millions of American workers.

Management representatives and high-powered advertising executives in charge of the war production agencies are under the illusion that American labor can be mobilized by the same promotional techniques used to sell cigarettes and toothpaste.

As I suggested in our discussion, several key plants should be selected in which machinery would be established to afford labor an opportunity to make its maximum creative contribution. I proposed such a set-up to Judge
August 13, 1943

Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt #2

Patterson for Willow Run, and I am confident that with such machinery we can get a minimum of thirty percent increase in bomber production at Willow Run, without any additional manpower.

Given an opportunity in Willow Run, we can demonstrate by concrete achievement in increased production, the possibilities if labor's creative capacity is fully utilized. Such practical and specific accomplishments will do more to re-establish labor's position in the nation than all of the pious speeches labor leaders may make during the next year.

I shall keep you posted on Judge Patterson's decision on Willow Run.

Enclosed is a marked copy of the article quoting Henry Ford's attitude on Willow Run.

Sincerely yours,

Walter P. Reuther
Vice President
UAW-CIO

WPR:GL
uopwa 26
encl
HENRY FORD celebrates his eighty-ninth birthday on the 30th of July. He is at eighty a kindly, sprightly, forward-looking man. Most men that age have long since retired to the rocking-chair, but the wizard of Dearborn is today one of the pivotal figures around which revolves the all-out war effort of American industry.

Recently I talked with him in Dearborn; we strolled through the fifty-million-dollar Willow Run bomber plant, with its thousand acres and its sixty-five miles of cement runways. We stopped to look at the huge bombers that will travel 5,000 miles without refueling. And Henry Ford, at eighty, is the human spark-plug who keeps them rolling.

It was a cold, drizzling day; Mr. Ford turned up the collar of his coat and asked, "Well, what do you think of it?"

My reply was, "It makes me sick to my stomach."

"Why?" he asked.

"Well, when I think of what we could do in the churches of this nation with the money being spent here; of how we could spread goodwill through our missionaries around the world; of what we could do with the hospitals this cash would build—it makes me sick to think of spending all this money on bombers to kill people."

He smiled—a half-sad, knowing, prophetic smile. Then he said, slowly, "You needn't worry. There will not be many bombers made in this plant."

Of our work will be to build huge transport planes so that when peace comes we will be all set and ready to send the products of our industry to the peoples of the earth. That's what I was interested in when I built Willow Run."

"As always, he looks forward—beyond the things that are, into the future. He has done that all his life—and he will not stop it now, nor war or no war.

We walked into the Martha-Mary Chapel—a wee church built a few years ago as a memorial to his mother and to Mrs. Ford's mother. Every morning, at eight, he goes to that chapel and worships with the children of his Greenfield Village Schools and whenever I am in town he picks me up at the Dearborn Inn and takes me along. We sit up in the gallery and watch the children conduct their own worship service. The Bible is read, the prayers spoken, and the singing done by the youngsters. The only adult taking any part in the service is the organist. Mr. Ford knows every child by name, and he whispers their names to me, one by one, as they take their parts in the worship. The beautiful organ rolls the music of the great church hymns around the white walls. One morning, Mr. Ford whispered: "Beautiful aren't they?" And I, not knowing whether he meant the hymns or the children, asked, "Which?" He replied: "The hymns. I was brought up on church hymns, and on prayers and Bible-reading. As I grow older I find myself turning to them more and more."

The children were leaving the chapel now. We went downstairs and Mr. Ford greeted each child by name as they passed us. He knew them all and he had a special word for each of them. They laughed, smiled and called back to him.

They seemed to be utterly unaware that they were talking to the greatest machine-age industrialist in America. He was just their friend.

When the children had left we sat down in a pew on the next floor while the organist continued (after—a line from Mr. Ford to play the old hymns. "Mr. Ford asked for "Rise of Ages," "Near My God to Thee," and "Oh God, Our Help in Ages Past." When they got that last one he said: "I think of that hymn a lot in these war days, and as I grow older. Somehow it expresses something for me, especially that line, Our Hopes for years to come. You know, when a man reaches eighty he hasn't too many years to go. But I'm not complaining. I've lived a lot and I have been able to do a few things to help people along the way, but not as much as people have helped me."

He was in a thoughtful, mellow mood. I asked him if he was still reading the Bible and if it still had the large place in his life that it had always had.
Then it was that he reminded me of something I had almost forgotten. "Yes, I have a Bible in every room in my house. I like to have a Bible close so I can pick it up and read. I read at least a chapter every day. You know, I took a pledge with Woodrow Wilson during the last war to do that. It was that evangelist Wilbur Chapman who got us to do it. I once asked President Wilson if he had kept his pledge and he said that he had. I know that I have. In fact all the good I know I got out of the Bible. I got it first in the old days when they used to read a chapter of the Bible every morning in grammar school. I wish they still did that. Honesty, integrity, morality, ethics, how to deal with people—all this I have learned from daily Bible-readings.

"You know, we always have a new birth of Bible-reading in wartime. It's good for us. It's coming in this war as it did in the last one. President Wilson and I were not the only ones in those years who took vows to read a chapter of the Bible every day. Millions did that, and it was all to the good."

"Twenty years ago," I said, "you told me that the Sermon on the Mount is the greatest social and human document ever written. Do you still believe that?"

He waited a while before answering, listening to the organ music. Then he said, "Yes, it still is and always will be the greatest human document ever written or spoken (for you know it was spoken—not written—by the Master on that hill). You can throw that document and its principles down in any home, any school, store or industry and it will work if you give it half a chance. It is just as much alive to-day and just as applicable to life in general as it was when it was first given to the world. I try to make its principles work in my business.

The music of the old hymns was coming to us softly and subdued now, for the organist had noticed that we were talking seriously.

"Edwin Markham would have loved this chapel," I said. Ford and Markham had been friends for many years. I took Markham to see Mr. Ford back in the early twenties. The two took to each other like old cronies. Mr. Markham said on that visit, "I put the social gospel into words; Mr. Ford puts it into deeds."

"I think that Mr. Markham wrote a poem for you, Mr. Ford; for you especially as you approach your eightieth birthday."

"What do you mean?"

"I mean that he wrote a poem once when he too was eighty years of age. In that poem he said:

"For while I hear despairing cries
   I have a faith that never dies,
   I know that if we cease from strife
   We could stretch shelter over life;
   Yet I see mothers giving birth
   To babes unlit to fill the earth.
   I see the hungry men
   Gaunt as gray wolves in lonely den.
   Even in a country filled with bread
   Men go unsheltered and unfed.
   I can but flash a sword of song
   Against this anarchy and wrong.
   I feel more tenderly the tears
   Of all the world at eighty years."

"I paused as I read those last two lines and waited for his reaction. He said, "I feel that too, at eighty."

"Then I went on:

"The fight for justice fills the world,
   The flag of faith is never furled,
   The sons of Satan throw their weight:
   God's sons are also at the gate,
   I know too, if the battles fail.
   If God's flag falters in the gale,
   If soldiers of the common good
   Lose in the cry for brotherhood,
   If noble martyrs of good will
   Go down to dust and shadows—still
   The battle is worth while—the fight
   Is one more flame against the night;
   And they who nobly fail will find

The peace of the heroic mind,
Will taste life's sacred joy, the joy
Earth cannot give nor earth destroy.
These things I see as the cloud clears.

Here at the height of eighty years."

I paused again and waited for his comment. It was once again brief, almost laconic: "So do I see those things here at the height of eighty years." That was all, but that was enough.

As Mr. Ford looked back, that day in the chapel, he could catch a panorama of at least six-five busy years. He could remember, more than sixty years ago, when he met, fell in love with and married Mrs. Ford, and he has said to me many a time, "The most important thing I ever did was to marry Mrs. Ford. I have always called her 'The Believer,' because she stuck by me and believed in me when most people did not."

He could remember that New Year's Day in 1914 when he boosted the Ford wage scale from one dollar and a half a day to five dollars and brought about a revolution in wages in this nation, for when he did that all of American industry had to follow him.

Here is the way in which that came about. One cold rainy November day, Mr. Ford was walking through the Highland Park plant with his son, Edsel, walking just ahead. Both of them wore their hats and overcoats and were warmly clad, well-fed and smiling. As Edsel passed a drill press, Mr. Ford saw a look of hate go over the face of an Italian workman, who in a sudden fury jammed that ten-thousand-dollar press. Mr. Ford saw what had happened, guessed its cause, but said nothing to the workman.

That night he told Mrs. Ford what had happened and he said to her: "That workman saw Edsel walk past him, well-clad and well-fed. He probably came from a home where they didn't have enough to eat; probably sent his children..."
off to school this morning without warm nourishing food and with holes in their shoes. He ruined that drill press because he isn't getting a fair wage. He hates me. But I'm soon going to make it impossible for any of my workmen to hate me. I don't know how I'll do it, but I'll do it.

On New Year's Day he asked several of his executives to come to the Highland Park offices for a conference about the business.

As they sat there he said to Charlie Sorensen, who is now in full charge of the bomber plant. "Charlie, could this business stand an increase of twenty-five cents a day in wages?"

Mr. Sorensen figured a few minutes.

"Yes, we could, easily, Mr. Ford."

"Well, could we stand an increase of fifty cents a day for everybody?"

After some more figuring, Mr. Sorensen said, "Yes, we could."

"Try another twenty-five cents," said Mr. Ford eagerly.

"Yes, that's O.K. too."

"Try another twenty-five cents." And so it went all afternoon—twenty-five cents by twenty-five cents, until the wage-scale was raised from $1.30 to $1.50.

Then Mr. Ford called in the newspaper reporters and announced to the world that the Ford wage scale from that week on would be $1.50 a day.

James Couzens (later Senator Couzens), treasurer of the Ford Company, had been in New York attending a New Year's Eve party. He went back to Detroit on a night train and when he was eating his breakfast on the train, the newspapers were brought in and there he saw, for the first time, the story of that revolution—raise in the Ford wage-scale. He was dumbfounded and mad. He didn't even go home. He took a cab directly to the Ford Company offices, called on Mr. Ford, asked him if what he had read was true and when Mr. Ford admitted that it was true, he asked, "Why didn't you make it five dollars a day and break the company up right?"

"That's a good suggestion, Jim! That's just what I'll do. We made a mistake yesterday. The Ford wage scale will be five dollars a day instead of four-fifty. I'll call the reporters and tell them right away."

And that is exactly what Mr. Ford did.

Later, Senator Couzens, when he told me the story in an interview, added with a chuckle: "So you see, Doctor Stidger, I was really responsible for the five-dollar-a-day Ford wage-scale and the industrial revolution which followed!"

I remembered something I had heard Senator Couzens say about Mr. Ford back in 1932, before the Detroit Republican Club. He said: "I never loved a man or thought so much of a man in his place as I do of Mr. Ford. There never was a man who was kinder and more thoughtful than Henry Ford."

I reminded Mr. Ford of that and he smiled. "Jim was a good friend. Life has been full of good friends all along the way."

Then we turned to talking about the future, and Mr. Ford said: "This is going to be a better world after this war is over. Men are beginning to see that you can't build anything permanent on hate. The world is learning tolerance as never before. There will be more tolerance in the world because there will be more understanding. And probably the greatest thing that will come out of this war will be a Brotherhood of Man, you know the brotherhood Tennyson was talking about in 'Locksley Hall'."

"But speaking of the future, what was it Markham said in that short poem in his last book—that poem you told me about on your last visit. What was that anyway?"

I knew what he meant and I quoted it to him. The poem is called "The Look Ahead":

I am done with the years that were:
I am quits;
I am done with the dead and old;
They are mines worked out; I delved in their pits;
I have saved their grain of gold.
Now I turn to the future for wine and bread:
I have hidden the past adieu;
I laugh and lift hands to the years ahead:
"Come on; I am ready for you!"
"That's just the way I feel," said Henry Ford. "I'm eighty but I say to the years ahead, 'Come on; I'm ready for you!'"

And there, good reader, speaks a truly great American.
July 13, 1944

Dear Mr. Reuther:

I took many of your suggestions and the material which you gave me and passed them along to Mr. Baruch. He has written me an amusing note, the gist of which is that he thinks you are entirely correct in all you say. However, he says everything cannot be done at once and most of what you want is in his report, and if only everyone will combine and do one thing at a time, all that you want will be done.

I am bringing your letter on the Brewster plants to the attention of the President. I imagine he is trying to get it done but has not yet succeeded.

Sincerely yours,
August 7, 1944

Dear Mr. Reuther:

You will see that I turned your letter over to Mr. Baruch and that it got pretty careful attention. I am sending it to you because of the attention it received.

Mr. Baruch is the one who can move Justice Byrnes more quickly than anyone else.

I know Mr. Baruch does not think in exactly the same way we do, but he does try to get our point of view and he has influence with people like Justice Byrnes. Therefore, if you get a chance to really talk to him I think you can accomplish something.

Please send Mr. Baruch's letter back for my files after you have had time to go over it.

Sincerely yours,

Mr. Walter Reuther
UAW-CIO
411 West Milwaukee Avenue
Detroit, Michigan
Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt  
White House  
Washington, D. C.  

My dear Mrs. Roosevelt:  

This is my first opportunity to thank you for your most gracious hospitality, and for the delightful and interesting week end at Hyde Park.

Since our conversation relative to reconversion and post-war planning, developments in Washington make it imperative that early action be had.

Within the past few days, the controversy between military and civilian agencies with respect to conversion to civilian production has broken out in the open. Neither General Marshall's resistance to civilian conversion nor Mr. Nelson's plans for gradual conversion represent a realistic and practical approach to the problem. Both points of view have considerable merit, but unfortunately both are in error in assuming that there must, of necessity, be a conflict of interest between military requirements and advance conversion to civilian production.

The tooling program which I outlined in our discussion provides for the creation of industry and area tooling pools which, if put into practice, will both expedite war production and at the same time facilitate advanced conversion tooling necessary to resume civilian production.

A continuation of the clash between the military and civilian agencies on problems of conversion will be most harmful, even disastrous to effective post-war economic planning, and this undoubtedly will be exploited by the political demagogues in the coming campaign. Even the limited scope of the recent Baruch Report, which dealt only with the general problems on contract termination, has yet to be implemented by appropriate legislation.

While many phases of an over-all plan for post-war economic mobilization will necessitate legislative action, I, nevertheless, feel it imperative that the Executive branch of the Government immediately create an agency to explore the problem and begin to work out the fundamentals of a realistic plan for mobilizing our peace production efforts. The legislative aspects of such a program will continue to lag behind the needs of the situation unless such an agency can present a practical plan that will capture the imagination and
Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt  

July 11th, 1944

arouse the interest of millions of our people. Congress will not move unless the people are on the march. Such an agency, call it the "Peace Production Board" or the "Office of Peace Mobilization", should be made up of representatives of management, labor, farmer, consumer, etc. Mr. Baruch should be included in such an agency, but should be teamed up with others who have demonstrated imagination and practical boldness in the field of economic planning.

Time is of the essence in meeting this challenge. Already corporations in our industry are beginning to maneuver their war contracts in order to gain a competitive advantage on civilian production. Last week highly skilled engineers who were working on top priority B-29 production were forced to return to their original employers with the threat of losing their years of seniority if they refused to return. Upon returning to their original employer, they were assigned work on civilian production. These engineers protested being forced to leave a top priority B-29 war production job to return to civilian production, but their protest was ignored at the expense of the B-29 production program.

It is obvious from these facts that General Marshall's feelings relative to conversion to civilian production under present conditions are well founded.

I am enclosing a copy of the tooling program which I submitted to Judge Patterson and recently discussed with the Executive Committee of the War Production Board, which if carried out will insure maximum war production while facilitating advanced conversion tooling.

I enjoyed having the opportunity to discuss leisurely these matters with you, and I trust it will be possible to discuss the same questions with the President at an early date.

I hope I have not burdened you with this lengthy letter, but I feel very strongly that at this time we must work and plan to win both the war and the peace.

With kind personal regards,

Sincerely yours,

Walter P. Reuther

Walter P. Reuther

wpr/rc

uoipa

26cio

Paragraph 1 - Could readily have been copied from the Baruch-Hancock Report.

Paragraph 2 - The First Sentence - This is untrue and misleading. Adequate over-all planning was recommended and some of the things have been put into effect, but due to a fight between the pressure groups, and the adjournment of Congress, not enough has been done.

The Last Sentence - "The prevailing idea seems to be to take off all Government controls as quickly as possible and let individual enterprise take care of reconversion." I have never seen that idea expressed anywhere. Over and Over again I have recommended the retention of controls until there is some balance between supply and demand so that the largest pocketbook or the biggest pull will not get the manufactured products.

Paragraph 3 - This is quite true and all of it was stated in the Baruch-Hancock report.

Paragraph 4 - This also was stated very distinctly.

Paragraph 5 - As to planning for reconversion, this is also quite true. The manufacturers are getting restive - Everybody is getting restive. This was brought to the attention of the authorities time and again, and finally in the West Coast Manpower Report in September of 1943.
Paragraph 6 - As regards his alarm. This is shared by all.
If he had read the Baruch-Hancock report, and the hurry, hurry, hurry letter to Mr. Byrnes, he would have found that he was not alone in his fears.

Paragraph 7 - In reference to the Kilgore Bill which is favored by him, there is much in what he says. The difficulty is that there are three or four bills in the Senate and I do not know how many in the House. Over and over again have I asked for either one committee of members of both the House and the Senate, or one committee in the House and one in the Senate to consider these problems. I am deeply concerned in the passing of a bill regarding unemployment insurance. This would have been passed in the last session, if labor had not insisted upon getting the Kilgore or some bill of which unemployment insurance was only a part.

It was only after terrific struggle that the contract termination bill was passed, although without it, work could not have been provided for 85% to 90% of the people of the country. The G.I. bill which was passed should have had, as recommended by the Baruch-Hancock report, a work director who would have seen that the bill was passed which most of the labor leaders feel should have been passed, but the Director appointed did not understand the question and had to be educated before we could get the results which Mr. Frankensteen and I have advocated.

Paragraph 9 - I concur most heartily with the last paragraph of his letter which says, "The coming election is as important as any we have ever had, but it should not be
allowed to serve as an excuse by our elected representatives for building their own personal fences at a time when the nation has a tremendously important fence-building job to be done. They should return to Washington at once, and they should stay in session until comprehensive reconversion legislation has been adopted."

Senator Vandenberg sounded a note similar to this, which I hope will bring about the desired result.

In passing legislation, we will be pushed by all the pressure groups. The one with the greatest pressure will get the most results, and an unbalanced program.

If the critics will examine the only plan which has been advocated, they will find much of what they ask for contained therein. Much would be gained by endeavoring to get first things first than to ask for a council of perfection which will never be gained.
Full Text of UAW-CIO Program
To Expedite Tooling and Maintain
High Levels of War Production
Submitted to the
War Production Board Production Executive Committee
By
Walter P. Reuther
Vice-President, UAW-CIO
Director of UAW General Motors Division

PROGRAM TO EXPEDITE TOOLING AND MAINTAIN
HIGH LEVELS OF WAR PRODUCTION

While 1943 witnesses the achievement of unprecedented production schedules and the general improvement of the military position of the United Nations, far too many people are of the opinion that our production job is about finished and that the war is about won. Over-confidence, with its resulting complacencies on the production front in the months ahead, can be disastrous. While our fighting men have written glorious pages during 1943 and the first two months of 1944, the greatest battles and the most costly sacrifices still stand between us and victory. These stark brutal facts must be fully understood at home and must be answered by greater effort on the production front.

In the period ahead, not only must we maintain the highest possible levels of war production, but we must also achieve the maximum flexibility in such production. Flexibility in production to meet the constant shift of military requirements will be an increasingly important and decisive factor as we broaden the scope of our offensive operations. Maximum flexibility in production is necessary to meet both:

a. Shift in emphasis on over-all military requirements based upon broad strategic consideration.

b. Changes in design, and construction of specific equipment dictated by combat experience or engineering developments.

Since the basic expansion of our war industry has been completed, flexibility in production is primarily a problem of retooling existing facilities.

Proper Organization of Tool Facilities and Manpower

Time is as decisive a factor on the production front as on the battle front. Maximum flexibility in production is achieved when the time factor between the decision to make a change and the realization of that change on the production line has been reduced to an absolute minimum. This requires the reorganization and full mobilization of our tooling resources to achieve the maximum impact on a specific tooling problem.
The present organization of our tooling facilities, which causes the various corporations or plants to rely primarily on their own tooling capacity, results in serious delays and tremendous waste of skilled engineering and technical personnel. It is a known fact that hundreds of highly trained engineers, designers and skilled tool and die makers have been retained by corporation A or plant B with little or nothing to do; while Corporation C and plant D in the same industry or area were compelled to work night and day, seven days a week because its engineering and tooling capacity was inadequate to cope with its tooling job at the particular time. Two or three months later, the situation would be in reverse, with corporation C and plant D having excessive manpower and tooling capacity while corporation A and plant B were compelled to work night and day on their particular tooling job.

Through proper organization of our tooling capacity, both as to facilities and manpower, we can considerably reduce both the time and cost factors of our tooling. To achieve maximum flexibility in production, the following steps are proposed:

1. ORGANIZATION OF TOOLING POOLS

   a. Tooling pools shall be organized by industry or major industrial areas, based upon the type of industry and products being manufactured, and the geographical location of such industry.

      Example: (West Coast - should create aircraft tool pool with appropriate area pools)
      (East Coast - should create aircraft tooling pools with appropriate area pools)
      (New England Ordnance Pool)

      Area tooling pools should be created in the major industrial areas such as:
      Detroit - which would include Flint, Lansing, Pontiac, and Toledo.
      Cleveland
      Philadelphia, etc.

      Industry and area tooling pools should develop sub-pools to facilitate that degree of specialization compatible with the tooling requirements of the industry or area.

   b. Tool pools shall consist of:

      (1) Engineering and designing facilities and personnel.

      (2) Tooling facilities and personnel.
2. TOOLING POOLS IN OPERATION

a. Tool work to meet production requirements shall be placed within an industry or area tooling pool based upon priority rating and the adaptability of the tool facilities to the specific tooling job.

Technical Commandos

In the operation of the tooling pools, as a general rule, jobs will be assigned where facilities and manpower are available. However, there will be situations where it will be advantageous to shift manpower within an industry or area pool, or in some cases, between industry and area pools. To facilitate such manpower shifts, it is proposed that volunteer "technical commando" groups be organized within the major industry and area tooling pools. "Technical commandos" should be organized among the following groups:

(1) Engineers, draftsmen, and designers.

(2) Tool and die makers.

(3) Skilled maintenance groups.

Specialized groups within the three divisions of "technical commandos" should be organized so that full advantage of specialization can be achieved; for example: If corporation A has a large tooling job on a wing section, you would shift engineers and skilled trades workers who have specialized on wing sections. If corporation B had a large tooling job on a tank or some other heavy mechanized equipment, engineers and tool and die makers, both familiar with such work, could be shifted to meet this tooling job. It would be necessary to establish provisions to protect the wage standards and seniority rights and to cover related expenses if commandos are transferred from one city to another.

The proper organization of engineering and tooling facilities will facilitate overall coordination and direction and will create an overall strategic tooling reserve. Maximum flexibility in our war production program can be achieved by using this strategic tooling reserve to meet technical and tooling problems on the production front as we employ our strategic military reserves to meet problems on the fighting front.

Advance Reconversion Tooling Possible

The creation of a strategic tooling reserve will not only achieve maximum flexibility in war production scheduling by expediting war tooling -- it will also establish practical machinery for minimizing the impact of reconversion to peace production by facilitating planned non-competitive advance reconversion tooling.
As the general military situation improves and our armed forces take the offensive on an increasing scale -- the Back to Business as Usual forces at home will launch an allout offensive on our home economic front. Large segments of the public -- unmindful of the disastrous effect premature reconversion might have on our military effort -- would support the Back to Business as Usual forces and create tremendous pressures on the various government procurement and production agencies.

If the government procurement and production agencies yield to such pressure they will be inviting chaos and dislocation in many vital sections of the war production front because of resulting competitive maneuvering.

The permitting of production of dribblets of consumer goods in most mass production industries not only invites competitive maneuvering -- but it is uneconomical and impractical to partially convert a production unit which is engineered and tooled to produce as a unit.

The real answer to our problem is to stick to our guns on the war production front -- but at the same time to advance reconversion tooling to facilitate speedy mass reemployment in the mass production of civilian goods when the war permits.

Since war production tooling requirements are not constant--the strategic tooling reserves created by the organization of tooling pools can be utilized to do advance reconversion tooling during periods of reduced war tooling. Facilities for advance reconversion tooling would be assigned on a non-competitive basis -- thus avoiding any competitive maneuvering.

If the same approach were made in the tool machine industry the war production program could be expedited while permitting the manufacture of key and replacement bottleneck machinery necessary to resume mass production of civilian goods.

The overall approach to the tooling problem will achieve full utilization of engineering and tooling resources to speed the day of victory and will save many months of precious time in the resumption of civilian production necessary to make the peace secure.

Full Employment and Guaranteed Weekly Wage

The above tooling proposal will expedite war tooling and get production rolling more quickly, but we still face the further problem of maintaining continued high levels of war production. The increasing number of cutbacks in war production has created the "cutback jitters" among many production workers. The fortunes of war will necessitate a constant shifting in our production scheduling with curtailment of one item and expansion of another. This may result in a layoff or partial unemployment during the period of re-tooling.
It is difficult, if not impossible, to maintain top labor morale when workers who meet and frequently exceed production quotas are rewarded by layoffs. Time after time workers, through encouragement and exhortation by government, labor organizations and management, have achieved new records in production only to find, to their amazement, that they are to be laid off or placed on short work weeks.

Where such incidents occur, it is exceedingly difficult, sometimes impossible, to again build labor morale. It is no comfort to a laid off or partially employed worker that he has an "E" button and his plant an "E" banner for excellent production. He feels quite properly that neither the war effort nor his own economic interests are being advanced by such enforced idleness.

The establishment of a national wage policy, guaranteeing every war worker either a full week's work or a full week's pay if he loses time through no fault of his own, will do much toward solving this problem.

Under such a national wage policy, government and management would be compelled to plan for full employment. Labor hoarding would be effectively discouraged; surplus labor would be made available for plants and industries which face shortages and labor morale would be immeasurably boosted -- and maintained.

It is difficult to convince partially employed workers that more sweat is needed, that absenteeism must end and that strikes can be disastrous. Labor would no longer need fear that more sweat would mean unemployment; it would not have to suffer the consequences of material shortages, poor planning or the changing Army and Navy requirements and specifications.

A guaranteed work week or guaranteed weekly pay would go far toward correcting this situation. The penalty to be paid for keeping workers idle would exert pressure on management and governmental production agencies to plan production, the flow of raw materials, etc., more carefully. For the workers, such a guarantee would remove fear that extra sweat on Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday will mean a layoff for the remainder of the week.

There is nothing either revolutionary or novel about this proposal. It has been in effect in England for some time, and with good results.

Layoffs and loss of employment resulting from the exigencies of war are not the fault of government or management. They are also not the fault of the individual worker who must bear the burden through loss of employment. It is economically unsound and morally unjust to expect a worker to bear the full shock of such dislocation in our production scheduling when the causes are beyond his control.

The cost of providing every war worker either with full employment or a guaranteed weekly wage if he works less than a full
week through no fault of his own, would be insignificant compared to the increased production that would result from higher morale.

Under a guaranteed weekly wage plan the worker would feel free to exert his maximum efforts; he would know that more sweat would not mean economic insecurity.

March 3, 1944
Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt
The White House
Washington, D. C.

My dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

I am writing you about a matter which is causing deep concern to the workers in our industry, and one which I feel will have serious political repercussions if not given immediate attention.

As you know, some weeks ago the Navy without warning cancelled its contract with the Brewster Aeronautical Corporation, affecting the jobs of approximately 13,000 workers. In desperation because of this threatened layoff, the workers dramatized their problem by staying in the plant.

This action received nationwide publicity, and the matter came to the attention of President Roosevelt, who, at his press conference on May 30, 1944, assured the workers that work would be found for their plants.

More than five weeks have passed since the President's public commitment and no work has been found for the Brewster plants. The Navy Department agreed to employ approximately 2500 of the workers at the Johnsville plant, which they were to convert into a reconditioning center; but this has also failed to materialize.

While the history of the Brewster Corporation is one that leaves much to be desired, it should be fully realized that in the present situation the Brewster case is more than an isolated one, but rather a symbol of the whole problem relative to unemployment due to production cutbacks.

The Brewster case is most important because it is the first complete curtailment of a major operation which has thrown all the workers on the street because no other war contract has been placed in the plant. Furthermore, because of the national publicity and the President's personal public commitment, in the eyes of millions of war workers it stands as a test case.
July 11, 1944

Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt

in the Administration's policy and program for dealing with the threatening problem of war production cutbacks.

We are already receiving inquiries from workers throughout the country asking the officers of our union why the Brewster plants have no work, in view of the President's public commitment. I fully appreciate the magnitude of the President's responsibilities, and the sheer impossibility of his personally following through on all such matters; but I am fearful that our enemies with their double talk and cheap political demagogy will exploit this situation if it is not dealt with effectively.

I should like to urge you to call this matter to the attention of the President. If no war work can be had for the Brewster plants, then steps should be taken to have the Navy immediately negotiate adjustment of its claims with the Brewster Corporation; and have the Defense Plant Corporation authorize the Brewster Corporation to utilize its machinery and facilities for the production of essential civilian goods.

In view of the fact that the Brewster situation stands as a test case, it is imperative that no further time be lost in either getting a war job into these plants, or facilitating their early resumption of essential civilian production. Anything that you might do to assist in this matter will be greatly appreciated.

Sincerely yours,

Walter P. Reuther
Vice President UAW-CIO
A 'Brewster' Develops
As Navy Ends Contract

Only a skeleton force remained at work today at the plant of Burchell Products, Inc., 238 William St., because the Navy, in a sudden conference Monday with the company officials and a representative of Local 1225, United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America, CIO, announced the termination of its contract with the company, effective July 31.

This action, the Navy announced, had been taken after a week-long consideration by the Production Executive Committee of the War Production Board. This is the committee established after the Brewster cancellation to "establish uniform policies for giving reasonable notice to contractors whenever a decision is reached to cancel a contract," and "to determine prior to the cancellation whether or not the plant can be used for production purposes by any other government agency."

Actually formed to avoid another "Brewster," this is what the Committee's action means to Burchell Products:

- Over 900 employees of the Burchell plant will be jobless, and the plant itself will probably have to close.
- Over 2000 employees of the 135 subcontractors now working for the plant will be "seriously" affected.
- About 90 per cent of the subcontractors, small businessmen employing from 10 to 15 workers each, may have to shut up shop.

Since February, 1941, when Burchell signed its first Navy contract, it has turned out $12,000,000 worth of Navy equipment. Last July, just one year ago, Burchell signed another contract to turn out 1000 dead reckoning tracers—automatic navigation devices used on destroyers and escort vessels in case of submarine attack.

Early in June rumors of a cutback in the contract caused T. J. Kauffeld, vice president and general manager of the plant, to confer with Navy officials in Washington. There, Kauffeld was advised to continue production of the tracers. He says he was told that no action would be taken by the Navy for at least three or four weeks; any action ultimately taken would be based on reports submitted by the various interested departments; the Navy would not put Burchell out of business; if a cutback or a cancellation were decided upon, other precision work would be put into the plant to take up the slack; in any event, before final action was taken the Navy would confer with management.

The next word received from the Navy, Kauffeld said, was notice to appear at 50 Church St. Monday, when the company was informed of the cancellation.

No assurance, Kauffeld said, was given that the company pay roll for this month, including accrued vacation pay for almost the complete staff of 900, would be met by the Navy. Yesterday the plant ceased operation on all tracer work until such assurance could be obtained.

Kauffeld also pointed out that, although the Navy's release to the press said "consideration is being made by the company to transferring as many as possible to other war contracts held by Burchell," such action is impossible. The only other contracts held by the company, he said, include one with the
August 24, 1944

Dear Mr. Reuther:

There is a young Ensign in the Navy, Louis Harris, who graduated at Chapel Mill, under Dr. Frank Graham. He has always wanted to go into the labor movement and he has done pretty well since he has been in command of a small patrol boat out in Boston and now has been given a much larger tug which will operate out of Portsmouth, New Hampshire.

He is thinking of what he wants to do in the future as part of the labor movement. I suggested that he talk to you. He wants to go into some industry where he can work with his hands and come up through the ranks, but he can not quite decide which industry he can go into. He would like to be in something where he might eventually be useful in the whole international picture, because he has a great interest in the peace of the future, which he thinks must come through the labor people of the world understanding each other and working together.

Sincerely yours,

Mr. Walter Reuther

Copy for Lou Harris
September 4, 1944.

Dear Mr. Reuther:

I am enclosing a letter with newspaper clipping from Mr. A. R. Chenoweth,
Fall Brook, California. I will appreciate it if you will give me the facts and return the enclosed letter.

Very sincerely yours,

Mr. Walter P. Reuther
U.A.A.A.I.W of A (CIO)
All West Milwaukee Avenue
Detroit, Michigan.
Chenomath

The newspaper account
which your friend me
does not seem to make
sense. I am hoping to
get the facts which I
will send you. E.P.

dead to battle.

Reuter to ask if
to give Mr. P. the
news E.P.