accordingly. The crusader makes his sacrifice in the name of humanity, not for himself; it does not matter what happens to him personally. The institution may fight vigorously, but only to defend itself; humanity is secondary.

Perhaps the fundamental problem faced by the labor movement, as well as other social movements, is how to keep the crusading spirit alive in periods which are *not* historical turning points. Can the crusader or the crusading spirit make any contribution in stable times or stable circumstances? This is a philosophical problem of great import, but for the purposes of this study it is a moot question. America and American labor are no longer in a period of stability but in a mounting instability. This is an era of crisis, requiring the rekindling of the fires of idealism. For labor the challenge results from three factors:

1. The second industrial revolution around automation and atomic energy, which threatens to change both the character of the work force and work itself.
2. The tens of millions of unorganized workers.
3. Most important—the permanent world crisis which places the United States at its fourth great historical turning point.

II

Iron Age of June 12, 1958, headlines the fact that "union growth lags as automation begins to take its toll." The beginnings of the electronics age are changing the composition of the American work force. Blue-collar production workers are being laid off, white-collar workers are being added. One aluminum company, which doubled in sales from 1947 to 1957, cut its production staff from 36,000 to 33,000 but raised its office staff by a full 5,000. Though national production in this decade enlarged by 43 per cent, the number of factory employees remained almost stationary—only seven-tenths of 1 percent higher than in 1947.

The electronics industry lost 200,000 of 900,000 workers in the short period of four years from 1953 to 1957. An ore mine which had 5,000 workers eight years ago now operates with 1,200 mechanized miners. Where 45,000 sheet and tin workers were employed in one strip mill in 1940, 4,400 do the same work today. The steel industry, auto, rubber, can, mining, and many others have steadily reduced their hourly paid force as the new wonders of modern technology made the laborer redundant. By 1956, for the first time in history, nonproduction workers exceeded direct producers on American payrolls.

Even more dramatic changes impend. On the drawing boards of the automation engineers are new control devices that will make it possible for acres of factory or office space to be depopulated of workers entirely. Automated equipment will process raw materials, assemble them, package them, and load them onto freight cars without their being touched by a human hand. These machines can adjust to various conditions, inspect their products, correct their mistakes, and even change parts when they break down. One writer visualizes the day when a factory becomes so compact it can be operated on a railroad train, making its deliveries while it is manufacturing its product on flatcars. The change is likely to be even more dramatic in the white-collar field than in the factory. The great insurance-company offices of the future may be consolidated into three or four large rooms instead of the current twenty-five-story buildings. Automation has been mak-