

University of Michigan, there will be a permanent army of 175,000 jobless in that state even after the nation recovers from the recession. Steel production fell at one point below half its total capacity. Heavy industry in general seems to have hit its peak of employment. Under the circumstances, the American economy may stabilize at an ever-growing rate of unemployment: Four million this year, six the next, and perhaps more in subsequent years. The trend of the thirties, when unemployment was slowly reduced after the New Deal came to power, may very well be reversed. Short of war itself, America can hardly spend much more for military supplies; and short of a new approach in government, it can hardly stimulate greater production in the basic industries. A permanent army of unemployed can emerge later than Mills visualized, but if it does—as seems likely—that may be one of the wellsprings for a new idealism.

Another is the Negro movement. For the first time in history the Negro people in America are developing an effective leadership of their own. Young, well-educated Negroes like Rev. Martin Luther King of Montgomery, Alabama, are not only emerging as leaders but fashioning new techniques of struggle. One of these, the nonviolent resistance used in the Montgomery bus boycott, captured the imagination of the American people and probably did more for civil rights than any single event of this period, except for the Supreme Court decision on school integration. If the effort is sustained it must eventually affect the trade-union movement as well, because on winning civil rights the Negro will certainly insist on economic rights. As things stand now, the Negro usually works in the low-paying and unorganized service industries. A disproportionate share of his brethren are outside the union fold but most anxious to join if the climate

inside labor can be improved. In organizing the service industries and the South, the Negro must be a key factor. And in the process of enrolling him, some of the idealism from his civil rights crusade may brush off on the rest of labor.

Another wellspring of idealism may be the South itself. It is still virgin territory, just as were the mass production industries in the 1930's. And just as with the mass industries a generation ago, organization in the South is so difficult, repression by police and legislatures so great, that a large strike wave there must unleash considerable self-sacrifice and stoke the fires of "insurgency."

Still another source, of course, is within the leadership of labor itself, especially in its secondary echelons. During the 1958 recession Emil Mazey, secretary-treasurer of the United Auto Workers, made a series of ringing speeches in his union reminiscent of his talks when he was an unemployed leader in the thirties. Lesser leaders of other organizations were similarly stirred to speech and action of a more fiery type. Their inherent dedication fed on the fuel of unemployment and gave some visionary leadership to many disheartened people.

No one can predict the course by which idealism will be reborn in the labor movement. Most likely it will result from a combination of factors, both objective and subjective. But neither the materialism of business unionism nor the remoteness of social unionism will be altered appreciably until there is a resurgence of evangelism in the house of labor. That resurgence cannot be hurried; history waits its own good time. But it must be anticipated.

Admittedly this is all visionary. But it has roots in reality. This is the inexorable direction of America itself, if it is to survive: more logic in social relations; less anarchy; preoccupation