A Study of the Labor Philosophy of James B. Carey, President of the International Union of Electrical, Radio, and Machine Workers

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A STUDY OF THE LABOR PHILOSOPHY OF JAMES B. CAREY
PRESIDENT OF THE INTERNATIONAL UNION OF
ELECTRICAL, RADIO, AND MACHINE WORKERS.

by

Monroe B. Sullivan

A Thesis Submitted to the Faculty of the Institute of Social and Industrial Relations of Loyola University In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of Master of Social and Industrial Relations

June

1961
LIFE

Monroe B. Sullivan was born in Grand Rapids, Michigan, December 16, 1936.

He was graduated from St. Joseph's preparatory School of Grand Rapids, Michigan in June 1954, and from St. Mary's of Baltimore, Maryland in June, 1958, with the degree of Bachelor of Arts.

He began his graduate studies at Loyola University in September, 1958. From March, 1959 to September, 1960, he was employed as a caseworker for the Cook County Department of Public Aid. Since September, 1960, he has been a teacher of Latin and English at Josephinum High School, Chicago, Illinois.
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CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this thesis is to examine in depth the labor philosophy of James B. Carey, president of the International Union of Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers, more popularly known as the IUE.

This study of Mr. Carey's labor philosophy is intended to explore his views on the objectives of the American labor movement, the means to these objectives, his views on specific areas affecting labor and, finally, the effect of Roman Catholic social philosophy upon Mr. Carey's labor philosophy.

This thesis is part of a joint research project undertaken by several members of the Institute of Social and Industrial Relations, Loyola University of Chicago. The purpose of the project is the explication and investigation of the philosophies of important contemporary American labor leaders.

Any study of a modern labor leader ought to include his views upon important social, economic, political, and philosophical problems.

The author chose to investigate the labor philosophy of Mr. Carey in order to satisfy a long and abiding interest in a man who drifted into a role of leadership during the black days of the great depression, and swiftly rose to the inner chambers of the house of labor. Mr. Carey's importance in the labor movement can be attributed to a number of factors. He is president of a large union known as the International Union of Electrical
Workers, referred to hereafter as the IUE. IUE membership is drawn almost entirely from the electrical industry whose vital role in the modern American economy is indisputable. IUE membership in 1958, the year of the latest government statistics, was 278,281. Mr. Carey served as secretary of the CIO from 1938 until its merger with the AFL in 1955, was president of the United Electrical Workers from its founding in 1936 until 1941, and was a leader in the CIO's purge of communist-dominated unions in 1949.

Today Mr. Carey is a vice-president of the AFL-CIO, secretary-treasurer of that organization's Industrial Union Department, chairman of the AFL-CIO Commission of Civil Rights, and an important figure in the field of international labor.

Carey has testified before Congressional committees on matters ranging from automation to medical care for the aged. He has never avoided controversy and his fiery nature has gained him both friend and foe.

Mr. Carey's most outstanding contribution to American unionism has been his incessant struggle against Communism in the labor movement. President Truman paid Carey his greatest tribute when he said, "You fought Communism honestly and in the American way. You fought Communism within the Constitutional rights of the individual, and that of course, was for the welfare of our country."  

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2 IUE Convention Proceedings, VII, (September, 1956), 337.
PERSONAL PROFILE

James Barron Carey was born in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania on August 12, 1911. There were seven girls and four boys in the Carey family. Carey's father was a paymaster in the Philadelphia mint and Carey grew up to the sound of his father's "union talk." The elder Carey joined an early government union and was convinced that unions were the only solution to the workingman's problems.

James Carey's boyhood and adolescence were normal. He attended St. Theresa's Grade School in Philadelphia and the public high school in Glassboro, N. J., a city to which his family moved while Carey was a youngster. During high school Carey found a job as a projectionist at a local theater. Here he worked with Montana Mathes, an avid unionist who later became an official of the Motion Picture Operator's Union. From Mathes, Carey learned the fundamentals of unionism and an understanding of the necessity of an organized labor movement.

After high school Carey took his first full-time job with Philco. He spent his evenings attending classes at Drexel Institute and later at the Wharton School for Business and Finance, taking courses in engineering and industrial management and financial forecasting. Carey never received a college degree. His high school ambition to obtain a degree in

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3 Personal profile based upon a yet untitled, unpublished work by Larston D. Farrar, Chapter XIII, 335-359.
engineering was never fulfilled. Carey took his first job with Philco as a means of financing his college education. Little did he know that this job would lead him on a course far different from the one he intended.

Only eighteen, Carey immediately began to organize a union upon commencement of his employment at Philco. This work resulted in the foundation of AFL Federal Union 18368; Carey was a leader in a strike against Philco. The strike was a protest against extra work to make up for production losses sustained by a company-sponsored picnic. The strike was successful and Carey's star was about to rise.

In quick succession Carey was elected president of the Radio and Allied Trades National Labor Council in 1933 and president of National Radio and Allied Trades in 1934. Carey was then selected as general organizer for the United States for the AFL Executive Council with instructions to organize workers in the electrical industry not claimed by any union. Carey centered his organizational work in Chicago where he faced opposition from both employers and unions. Carey was so frequently arrested for his organizational activities in Chicago that he had an arrangement with his lawyer to call in at certain periods during the day. If Carey did not call, the lawyer would begin attempts to locate Carey and furnish bail. The secretary who answered these calls was Margaret McCormick. Carey and Miss McCormick were married in 1938.

At the 1936 founding convention of the United Electrical and Radio Workers, Carey was elected president. That same year he was named first
secretary of the Committee for Industrial Organization and worked with John L. Lewis, Phil Murray, and Sidney Hillman to change the AFL's policy toward the industrial worker. When the CIO broke from the AFL, Carey served as its secretary from 1938 to 1941 and secretary-treasurer from 1941 to 1955.

Carey's reign as UE president was difficult. He was not only faced with enormous organizational drives, but also with strong opposition within the union. The UE made great strides numerically and economically under Carey's leadership. In 1941, however, Carey was ousted from his position by Julius Emspak, James Matles and other former members of the Trade Union Unity League, a communist-front organization. When the UE was eventually expelled from the CIO in 1949, Carey was given command over the new IUE and was elected to the presidency of that organization in 1950. He has remained in that capacity to the present day.

Former President Truman once told an IUE convention, "You have a very able leader and a very able spokesman in Jim Carey. He is a very good man and you will do well to keep him as long as you can." 4

METHOD

The method used in this thesis is specific in nature. Because of the length and variety of Mr. Carey's career, a limited period, from November, 1949 to March, 1960 is studied. The author has surveyed the statements

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4 IUE Convention Proceedings, VII, (September, 1956), 337.
and writings of Mr. Carey in the above period. The primary sources used were the following: the \textit{UE News}, official paper of the union; the \textit{CIO News}; the \textit{AFL-CIO News}; the \textit{American Federationalist}, a paper published monthly by the AFL-CIO; records of testimony given by Mr. Carey before Congressional Committees; \textit{Work}, a paper published monthly by the Catholic Council on Working Life, Chicago, Illinois; the \textit{1959 Convention Proceedings} of the National Association of Broadcast Employees and Technicians; IUE Convention Proceedings; CIO Convention Proceedings until 1955; AFL-CIO Convention Proceedings since 1955; and IUE Economic Policy Conference Proceedings. The author also received assistance from the IUE Department of Education which provided biographical and other useful material.

A book used to provide background material for this thesis was a yet untitled and unpublished work by Iarston D. Farrar.

The author will develop his views of Mr. Carey's labor philosophy by first analyzing Mr. Carey's ultimate objectives for the labor movement. Next, the means to those objectives will be considered. These will be divided into political and economic means. The author will also discuss Mr. Carey's views on critical factors affecting labor. The discussion will include his views on the capitalistic economic system; the role of government in industrial relations; labor's relationship to management; technological change; the relationship of American labor to the

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\footnote{The author wishes to express his gratitude to Mr. Les Finnegan, executive assistant to Mr. Carey, for his valuable advice and assistance in compiling material for this thesis.}
international labor movement; and, finally, organized labor and communism. The concluding chapter will be an analysis of the effect of Catholic social philosophy on Mr. Carey's labor philosophy.

A problem that faced the author in preparing this thesis was that involved in systematizing Mr. Carey's many and varied views into an understandable philosophy.
CHAPTER II
CONCEPTS OF JAMES CAREY ON LABOR MOVEMENT OBJECTIVES

Man's philosophy is meaningless unless it contains final goals. A labor leader's philosophy, to be called a philosophy, must also contain ultimate objectives or goals. Leadership without objectives is like a religion without a God—meaningless, purposeless. However, ultimate goals are easily overlooked by the casual observer; final objectives often become obscured in a labyrinth of immediate and specific objectives.

The author intends to examine the ultimate goals of Mr. Carey's philosophy in three areas: IUE objectives; national objectives; international objectives. The specific means to achieve these goals will be discussed in a later chapter.

A. The Objectives of the IUE

As leader of the IUE, Mr. Carey always remains the practical, "bread and butter" unionist. His primary concern is for the material betterment of the membership. Mr. Carey once stated his views on this matter clearly and succinctly. "I don't know how we can better symbolize our program than by the letters that identify our union--IUE. I--stands for Income security; U--stands for Union security; E--stands for Employment security."

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Mr. Carey is quick to recognize the fact that changing technology can affect the long-range goals of a union and he has kept his objectives for the IUE pliable. Always the practical politician, Carey makes use of a ballot system to allow the membership to express its desires. The general goals of income, union and job security remain intact. Only the emphasis changes. Discussing the forthcoming contract negotiations with the electrical industry in 1960, Carey stated: "We will put forth our needs as we see them and as the workers have indicated in their ballots."  

It must not be thought, however, that Mr. Carey sees unionism only from the vantage point of the IUE. His interest is much broader. In fact, after studying a great many statements and policy decisions made by Mr. Carey during the last 10 years, the author is convinced that Mr. Carey attaches equal, if not greater importance, to the national and especially the international goals of the American labor movement.

B. National Objectives

"There is a need now to begin to provide the greater leisure and the public facilities necessary for the golden age that has been promised to the American people." This statement of Mr. Carey is typical of many he has made concerning the duty of the American labor movement to help provide a leisure society having adequate facilities, social and cultural, in the public sector. Carey sees the labor movement as a force most suited

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3 Ibid., p. 10.
to act as a catalyst in developing such a society. But he also believes that only a united and cooperative labor movement can effect such developments and he is deeply concerned about the forces of disunity that have plagued the labor movement since the depression. Speaking at an IUE Economic Policy Conference in April, 1955, shortly before the AFL-CIO merger, Carey stated: "Unity and militancy are the only levers able to open the door to a brighter future for ourselves, our children, and to a stronger, more economically healthy nation."4

Carey cannot conceive of a bright future for the country, however, unless labor concerns itself with the two major problems of education and civil rights. In Carey's opinion, there can be no "brighter future" for the ever-increasing leisure that economic advancement will bring and are willing to share in the benefits of that future with every man regardless of racial, cultural or religious differences. The national goals of general educational opportunities and the equal opportunity of all men are really the same to Carey. On a national scale, equal educational opportunities are impossible while civil rights continue to be denied. Consequently, Carey has strongly opposed and criticized segregated educational systems and those in authority who have not used their influence to bring about a speedy end to such

discrimination. Carey once attacked President Eisenhower for his "lack of integrity and firmness in civil rights" and accused him of aiding the race-haters when the President spoke in favor of a slower action in school integration on August 27, 1958.

Carey also emphasizes the historical role labor has played in the advancement of general education in America. "Labor's deep interest in schools and education stems not only from its abiding sense of social and civic responsibility but also from pride in the decisive role it played in the history of American education." 6

Mr. Carey proposes what he considers to be the solution to educational problems in the United States: "The best trained teachers in adequate numbers; modern scientifically equipped schools and an ever-increasing quantity of classrooms to compensate for the growing population; the availability of these teachers and schools to all children without regard to race, religion, national origin or economic status." 7 Carey feels that this program will insure opportunities for all Americans not only in the area of education, but also in economic and social life.

Carey realizes that until the hoped for day when the civil rights

5 IUE Convention Proceedings, VIII, September, 1958, p. 516.
6 Ibid., p. 518.
7 Ibid., p. 29.
of all are respected, discrimination will remain in many areas. Since discrimination is a national problem, he feels that it demands a national solution and that labor must not shirk in its duty to find such a solution. Mr. Carey's attitude is best summed up by a telegram sent by him to Martin Luther King during the 1958 IUE Convention. "We of organized Labor know that there can be no true justice—economic, political, or social justice—in our great nation as long as injustice is systematically inflicted on a minority. All Americans, of all complexions, of all walks of life, all men who believe in democracy and human dignity are indebted to you not only for your idealism and quiet, unpretentious courage but also for your accomplishments and particularly for the methods of peace, reason and spiritual brotherhood through which those accomplishments have been recorded." 8

Carey has not restricted his views on attaining the important goal of racial equality to the general profession of principles contained in the statement to Mr. King. He feels that labor and the national government must take decisive action. He admonishes labor "to see that this (racial) equality that is written into the U. S. Constitution is made an equality in fact—whether it be in terms of job opportunities, the right to attend a school, the right to eat in a restaurant, sleep in a hotel, ride on a train, or bus, the right

8 Ibid., p. 29.
to vote, and the right just to be free from fear and terror." 9 Carey asks that the President use his great moral force "not only as part of his sworn duty, but certainly as part of his moral obligation, to speak out and exert the tremendous influence of his office, thereby rousing the overwhelming majority of good people of the South in this critical time." 10 Congress must not be delinquent in its responsibility to protect minorities, particularly in the matter of protection of job opportunities. Carey criticized Congress in 1953 for its failure to pass a Fair Employment Practice Law and for turning "quietly away when the question is mentioned." 11

Finally, Carey has spoken about the necessity of price and rent controls as anti-inflationary measures. Carey was angered by the gradual repeal of such controls during the early years of the first Eisenhower administration and attacked those who "are spreading the word that price and rent controls are 'socialistic' and take away our liberties. They are going to restore our freedom. As a result, day by day price and rent controls are being weakened and people least able to stand it are being engulfed by higher living costs." 12 Carey's position is

12 IUE Convention Proceedings, IV, (October, 1952), 22.
simply that the national problems of housing and price stability can best be solved through the stabilizing effects of supply and demand.

James Carey feels that national problems such as education, racial equality, job opportunities for minorities, housing and inflation should not be solved through individual and group alone, but in combination with firm government programs.

C. International Objectives.

"I believe that what we are doing through international labor will have the greatest influence on our future peace and happiness. For, when unions bring together in brotherhood the masses of the peoples of various countries, the firmest foundation for the unity of nations is thereby laid. International unity is also promoted by wise economic measures. No nation can be permanently prosperous where others are in poverty. We should advocate the expansion of international trade, encourage rich nations to help others to develop their resources, assist them to build the necessary industries and aid them in wiping out poverty, disease and ignorance." 13

The title of international labor leader could well be applied to James Carey. An outspoken proponent of all "free" international labor movements, it is inconceivable to Carey that labor can be truly free if its freedom is confined to the North American continent. He insists that

the American labor movement true international interests and concerns; that it cooperate in every way possible to effect democratic unionism throughout the world. "Democracy means brotherhood, not only of individuals, but also of nations. In fighting for democracy, we must wage war against the dark forces of both the extreme left and right." 14

Carey feels that hunger and poverty are a threat not only to those who actually suffer them, but also to the rest of the world. "Certainly we should realize that our nation cannot remain both prosperous and free if three-fourths of the world is hungry and insecure." 15

What are Carey's views as to the international problems of dictatorships, colonialism, and underdeveloped lands?

Mr. Carey's opinions of dictatorships, be they of the right or left, are quite clear. He feels that the entire democratic world is threatened by the existence of dictatorial rule in any country and in any form. "If there is one thing we have learned in the last 20 years in our dealings with dictators, small and large, it is that democracy is not safe for any of us unless it is safe for all of us." 16

Again, Carey has spoken out against defense and foreign policies that might result in our being "alone in the world with allies composed only

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of Franco, Chiang Kai Chek, and maybe Peron of Argentina thrown in." 17
In 1956, Carey warned that "as trade unionists and citizens we must
also do our part to see that the democratic forces in the world are
assisted and that neither dictatorship nor atomic war are allowed to
threaten us." 18

On the subject of colonialism Carey has expressed himself un-
equivocally. He warned against a national policy that would commit
the United States to any and all of the colonial powers simply for
the sake of preserving our military alliance with them. Carey also
warned about taking action too late if the United States is to pre-
serve its image as a country committed to the freedom of all nations.

"We should let the world know that the day of colonialism is over
and that we will insist on helping with its burial. Certainly we do
not want to be forced into war because some nations don't know how to
grant or refuse to grant freedom to their colonies." 19

Mr. Carey also believes that the United States also bears a
responsibility to the newly independent and underdeveloped nations
of the world. He advocates a foreign aid policy of generous pro-
portions combined with a greater understanding of the needs and
desires of impoverished and newly independent peoples. "We and our

19 Ibid
allies in the free world could — by a vigorous, dynamic program — not
only prove that we are the truest friends of the impoverished peoples,...
but that we are prepared to help them to independence and higher living
standards. We need a foreign and national defense policy which is not
subject to the budget-balancing veto of the Secretary of the Treasury.
We must end the employment of arrogance instead of friendship, the
brandishing of military might instead of patient understanding.” 20
Later he added, “the time has come when we should offer to the world
a vast program of economic and industrial aid from any savings we make
in our armament program. What a wonderful world we could have if,
instead of spent over $40 billion a year in armaments this money could
be used to help nations with technical aid and means to increase their
production of agricultural and industrial products, to raise their
standard of living.” 21

The ultimate goal of Mr. Carey is the weakening of communism by
economic aid and the fostering of democracy and democratic trade unions.
“We must make sure then that we continue a foreign policy of bringing
ever closer to our cause the truly democratic forces in every country,
aiding them to arm themselves, helping them to achieve economic

20 Ibid
21 Ibid., pp. 22,23.
progress and higher living standards. Above all we must help those impoverished millions in Asia through Point Four learn that whereas the Communists use words and propaganda, we act through practical deeds.  

Carey wishes to remain within the framework of democratic capitalism to achieve the "golden age". His solution to economic, social, or political exploitation in any of the areas discussed above would be found in a capitalistic system tempered by a free labor movement and effective government action.

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CHAPTER III

CAREY'S VIEWS OF MEANS TO ACHIEVE FINAL OBJECTIVES

The sweeping mature of Mr. Carey's final objectives for the labor movement as outlined in the preceding chapter demands, of course, practical means of implementation. Final goals can never be achieved without effective pragmatic means.

The means by which Mr. Carey would achieve his goals are twofold: economic and political.

His economic means would include organizing the unorganized, collective bargaining and the use of economic force.

Political means would include discussion of a labor party, partisan political support, political education, political use of union funds, and labor legislation.

Mr. Carey's final objectives come into much clearer focus when the means to these objectives are scrutinized. The above list of political and economic means is certainly not exhaustive. In fact, the next chapter, dealing with Mr. Carey's views on critical areas affecting labor, will often seem to continue the discussion begun in this chapter.

It must be noted that the means used to fulfill any objectives must of necessity be volatile and flexible. A future examination of Mr. Carey's philosophy might find his approach radically different from today.
A. Economic Means

1. Principles of Organization

The IUE has always been vitally concerned with organization. Mr. Carey became president of the IUE at its birth in 1949. The union was established by Philip Murray, former president of the CIO, in 1949 as a rival of the communist-dominated United Electrical Workers.

The prime organizational goal of the IUE was and, to a great extent, still is the destruction of the UE. By 1958, the IUE represented over 278,281 workers in the United States and Canada despite the loss of 100,000 jobs in the electrical industry due to technological change. Meanwhile Ue membership dropped from an estimated 500,000 in 1949 to 160,000 in 1958.¹

Carey, however, is not satisfied. He is fearful that technological changes will leave his union a skeleton. In a 1956 speech Carey said:

"We must step up our organizational activities. Frankly, we are not moving ahead fast enough in this job. With one million workers in our industry, there are hundreds of thousands still to be organized, most of them in low-pay plants of in plants where company unions or the UE still traps the workers."²

The "runaway shop", a plant that relocates in a low-wage, non-union area, has been a major organizational problem for Mr. Carey and the IUE. In 1956, however, Mr. Carey was able to boast: "The IUE's success in the South, unmatched over the past four years by any other union, has--by widespread consent--retarded the runaway shop mania of three of four years ago."³

Carey also advocates the union shop as an effective organizational tool. It not only assures the union of its continued strength, but also permits the union to concentrate on new organizational activities. Carey described the union shop as "a means whereby... employer attempts to weaken the union (are) discouraged."⁴

Today, the white collar worker is in the forefront of Carey's organizational plans. He sees the white collar worker as the wave of the future and feels that labor's ship must either ride that wave or sink. As early as 1958 Carey stated: "From now on the labor movement's major orientation must be toward the white collar worker, the skilled worker, the service worker, the technician, the expert and the engineer. Eventually the production worker, the assembly-line employee, the miner will no longer be the backbone of the labor movement. They are already a minority among

³ Ibid., p.357.
⁴ IUE Convention Proceedings, V, (September, 1953), p.413.
American wage earners and probably will become a minority among unionists."

Mr. Carey appears to be somewhat skeptical today of the AFL-CIO's ability to provide effective labor unity for achieving Carey's organizational goals. The old craft vs. industrial disputes have been reborn, greatly impairing the effectiveness of the united labor movement. In a speech before the 1959 convention of the National Association of Broadcasting Employees and Technicians Carey somewhat wistfully asked: "Wouldn't it be something if we could pool the resources of this tremendous labor movement today; to have a technician helping the other technician and doing the things that we have to do together if we are to be successful?" 6

Carey added: "If we could get this tremendous (sic) large labor movement to pool its resources, think of what we could do!" 7

2. Collective Bargaining

"The most basic fact of unionism--at any time and in any place--is its bargaining power, its economic strength. Without bargaining power an organization of workers can be many things, but NOT a union. Bargaining power, in turn, flows from three basic wellsprings--

7 Ibid., pp. 50-51.
numerical strength, militancy, and an effective democratic program." 8

The preceding statement by Mr. Carey summarizes his feelings on the importance of collective bargaining. In the electrical industry where conflict is more prevalent than cooperation, Mr. Carey feels his union's success depends upon a strong collective bargaining position.

Carey sees no other substitute for collective bargaining in achieving for the membership his final objectives of income, employment and union security. Time and again Carey speaks of attaining the final goals of the IUE through the collective bargaining process. In a keynote address before the Seventh Constitutional Convention of the IUE in 1956, Carey remarked: "First, of course, we can achieve them(goals) by the use of our collective bargaining by perfecting our ability to bargain, making sure that all resources of our organization are available to furnish the facts and information and other help needed." 9

Unless there be a basic change in Mr. Carey's thinking in the future, collective bargaining appears to be the key weapon in Carey's arsenal for effecting his goals for the IUE.

3. The Use of Economic Force

Under Carey's leadership, the IUE has had a long record of

militancy. Its 156-day strike against Westinghouse was one of the longest in labor history. In a 1956 speech Carey spoke almost boastfully of IUE militancy. "Our slogan, as I say, is 'Militant Unionism--Pioneering in Progress'. The two parts of that phrase belong together. You cannot have pioneering in progress without militant unionsim, you are bound to pioneer in progress." 10

Inter-union rivalry and the electrical industry's practice of playing off rival unions against one another undoubtedly have strengthened Carey's militant philosophy. In fact, in a speech about the aforementioned Westinghouse strike, he said: "Our young union went through a scorching baptism of fire in the Westinghouse strike and we successfully met the most critical tests that any union can face. I think that future histories not only of labor but of our whole social and economic scene will record that 156-day strike as one of the turning points in recent labor history." 11 Again speaking at the 1956 convention of the Utility Workers Union, Carey boasted: "The Westinghouse strike victory will go down in history as the last instance of any serious employer attempt to break a major nationwide strike." 12

10 Ibid., p. 17.
11 Ibid., p. 17.
12 Ibid., p. 111.
Effective collective bargaining without the ability to strike would be inconceivable to Carey. He exhorted the 1956 convention delegates to "make sure that all services—including those for strike—possessed by Districts, Conference Boards and the International are alerted when we go into the collective bargaining sessions." 13

B. Political Means

1. Labor Party

Throughout his career, James Carey has been a loyal Democrat and an outspoken opponent of a labor party. Mr. Carey feels that labor's political needs will be satisfied within the framework of the two-party system. He feels that labor can be most effective through COPE. 14

In a 1959 address he said: "I look forward to the day when the ladies' garment workers will not have their liberal party and the railway organization have their separate COPE and IAM have their separate COPE, and we will have just one COPE." 15

Although to the author's knowledge, Mr. Carey has never made a statement specifically opposing the formation of a labor party, his support of COPE and his strong partisan feelings in favor of the Democrats imply his satisfaction with the two-party system.

13 Ibid., p. 23.
14 Committee on Political Education
2. Partisan Political Support

James Carey's support of the Democratic party is nearly as strong as his dislike of the Republican party. During the period of his career under study, Carey has continuously and bitterly criticized Republicans and the Republican party and ardently supported their opposition.

Carey referred to the first Eisenhower administration as the "Stacked Deal." "It is obvious," he said, "that the cards are being stacked against the little man, the wage earner, and the mass of the American people. I think it probable that the cards are also being stacked against progress, against economic and political democracy, and against our nation's future." Later in the same statement Carey continued: "The Stacked Deal has a simple enough objective. It takes no involved theorems by economists to define it. Reaction today—like reaction in all periods—seeks to reduce the democratic and economic power of the mass of the people and invest that power, with increasing concentration, in a financial and industrial autocracy." 

During President Eisenhower's 1956 campaign for reelection, Carey stated: "I understand that what Mr. Eisenhower is trying to do is reform the

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17 Ibid.
Republican Party and bring the elephant into the 20th century. Now that is a very fine ambition and it would be a good thing for the country if it should be undertaken on our time and at our expense. I don't think that we should have to put a Republican administration in power again for the purpose of educating Congressmen Knowland, Jenner, McCarthy, or Martin. I don't think that we should risk the possibility of that strange character, Richard Nixon, becoming President of the United States." 18

In March, 1960, Carey again attacked a Republican administration.

"The administration's indifference in the face of continuing joblessness should indicate to the American people that a change of leadership is in order." 19

Carey has not confined his partisan feelings to attacks upon Republicans. He has taken positive action through support of specific candidates. At the 1952 IUE convention Carey stated: "As far as the CIO is concerned, as far as I am concerned, and I hope as far as this convention is concerned, we will place our faith and trust this year in Adlai Stevenson and John Sporkman and do our part to see that they are elected with a liberal Senate and House of Representatives." 20

20 IUE Convention Proceedings, IV, (October, 1952), p. 27
Again in 1960 Carey joined Mr. Harrison of the Railway Clerks in supporting the nomination of Stuart Symington. "The election of Stu Symington to the Presidency would bring to the White House a man whose thoughtful liberalism and dedicated beliefs in America's future reflect the needs and views of the majority of American citizens. Stuart Symington we pledge our support." 21

Mr. Carey has never stated openly support for one political party. However, his consistent endorsement of Democratic candidates at all levels of government leaves little doubt of his partisanship.

3. Political Education

In the section above concerning Carey's views on a labor party it was noted that Mr. Carey supports liberal candidates for office, usually Democrats, and believes that labor should center its political activities in COPE.

Carey believes in labor's right to educate politically both its own members and the public. Indeed, Carey believes it is not only a right of labor to do so, but a duty. "Unions are not political organizations. But as groups of citizens, aware of the tremendous influence on our lives of political authority, we need to express our voice on political questions." 22

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22 IUE Convention Proceedings, V, (September 1953) p. 29.
Carey believes that workers, as citizens should exercise their democratic right to debate and clarify issues and to work actively in politics. "Workers like all other individual and groups in a democracy have an unabienable responsibility--a moral and civic duty--to vote, to participate in electoral campaigns and to debate and clarify the issues." 23

4. Political Use Of Funds.

Carey is extremely frank about the use of union money to support political candidates. Carey's position is that, without union money, no liberal candidate could hope to be elected. He claims for labor the same right of financial support of candidates as business interests have.

During important 1958 Congressional elections, Carey said:
"Two years ago it was conservatively estimated that to run for the U.S. Senate a candidate must have a minimum of $200,000 to spend on his campaign. Where does a liberal candidate of modest circumstances get such money? Not, to be sure, from big business or industry whose candidate the liberal is certain to oppose. There is only one source of financial support for the liberal candidate today if he has any hope of matching his opponents expenditures. The source is the voluntary contribution of dimes, quarters and dollars by union men and women." 24

23 IUE Convention Proceedings, V, (September 1953) p. 29.
24 Ibid., pp. 545-546
Carey believes in direct support for presidential candidates as well. Speaking of how labor could best support the Stenson-Sparkman ticket in 1952, Carey said: "We must do it by vigorous political action at the local and precinct level, and by making sure that by their contributions, individual workers are given a chance to do their share." 25

5. Labor Legislation

Mr. Carey's views on labor legislation as a political means to his final objective must be dichotomized into negative and positive. Carey would consider negative any legislation that would restrict labor; positive, any that might be beneficial to labor.

Carey would categorize under negative legislation such as the Taft-Hartley Act and the Landrum-Griffon Act. This is not to say that Carey would object to any and all laws that might restrict labor. Generally, however, he prefers the principle of voluntarism to compulsion in laws affection the internal matters of unions.

Testifying before the Senate Labor Committee in 1958 concerning a corrupt practice law, Carey stated:

"Correct action of the kind required today, particularly where it must be done through membership action and constitutional amendment, takes time. We believe, however, that the preservation of voluntarism is in the long run worth the additional time required to reach the objectives sought, and is preferable to the employment of compulsion, the effect of which is seriously to erode free trade unionism.

All of us become impatient from time to time with the delays—the trials and errors—attendant upon democratic action. But if the legislators who are so anxious to preserve democracy in unions understand that democracies can seldom act as quickly as autocratic institutions, they would be less hasty to force corrective action by legislative fiat—particularly when unions are moving rapidly to attain the objectives desired." 26

26 IUE Convention Proceedings, VIII, (September, 1958), 536
Carey, however, is not complacent about corrupt union practices. Speaking before a labor audience, he said: "The cancer of labor racketeering, of corrupt unionism...threatens the very future of our development as a free labor movement." Actions followed words and the IUE was the first union to establish its own Code of Ethical Practices.

Mr. Carey saves his strongest words for the Taft-Hartley Act and similar legislation. "We must fight all such measures as Taft-Hartley, because it (sic) tries to prevent workers from organizing into unions, and Taft-Hartley undermines bargaining as a basis of equality and would chain workers to the will of the employer." The Labor - Management Reporting and Disclosure Act of 1959, better known as the Landrum-Griffin Act, also came in for its share of verbal barbs from Carey. Speaking on the ABC-TV College News Conference on September 6, 1959, attacked the law as prejudicial to the rights of labor and accused Congress of approving the law partly because of a "dishonest Presidential radio-television appeal in which he (President Eisenhower) misrepresented the whole picture." Positive legislation plays an important role in the realization of Carey's final objective. A proponent of a federal FEPC law, Carey frequently voices criticism of the executive and legislative branches of government, especially when these are Republicans, for failure to act on this question.

27 Inside IUE, p. 26
28 IUE Convention Proceedings, V, (September, 1953), 27.
"While Canada possess a FEPC law, the present Washington Administration and Congress turn quietly away when the question is mentioned."30

Carey is a firm believer in a labor movement that is very much involved in the political sphere. Labor must, however, work within the existing political structure, centering its activity in COPE. A partisan, Carey would strongly support the Democratic party in general and liberal candidates in particular through educational and financial support. Negative or restrictive labor legislation must be opposed as contrary to the spirit of voluntarism and destructive of the just rights of labor, while positive or beneficial (to labor) legislation should be strongly supported.

30 Ibid., p. 30
CHAPTER IV
James Carey's Views on Critical Factors Affecting Labor

In this chapter specific critical factors affecting labor will be examined. The areas under purusal will include the capitalistic economic system, the role of government in industrial relations, labor's relationship with management, technological change, American labor and the international labor movement, and Communism and the labor movement. It must not be concluded that Mr. Carey's interest is limited exclusively to these areas. His broad viewpoint would include many others.

The discussions of goals and means to these goals in the two preceding chapters must be born in mind. Knowledge of Mr. Carey's goals and the means by which he would achieve them are essential to an understanding of his views on the critical areas under discussion.

A. Capitalistic Economic System

James Carey's faith in Capitalism was severely shaken by the great depression. Only 18 years old at the time, Carey's first reaction was confusion and ignorance of what had happened.

"Quite frankly, I felt little or no concern over what was happening in so remote a place as the New York Stock Exchange. In my thinking, people who owned corporate stock were wealthy folks who could afford the loss.

I didn't know they had been gambling with money borrowed from the little savings bank accounts of people like my father and our neighbors in Glassboro, N.J. I found that out when the little banks, and some big ones, too, began closing in the Glassboros all over the country.

I found it out also when dealers in Philco products--there I worked--began cancelling orders in large numbers."
Above all, I found it out when on each weekend I was large groups of much older and more skilled workers than myself plodding dejectedly from the plant clutching their final pay envelopes to join the laid-off hundreds and thousands who were streaming from other factories.¹

Carey's sudden awakening to the true meaning of the depression sent him on a search for an economic system that would work. He began to study any and all economic theories. "Pamphlets of every variety appeared, some of these passed out at the plant gates by men with a glance of fanaticism in their eyes. I read them all, I went beyond the pamphlets. From the public library books, I learned of Saint-Simon, Owells, Marx, Engels, the Utopians, the Socialists, the Communists, and all the other radical splinters groups to which the writings and doctrines of the masters had given inspiration. I came out of this undirected personal research with two conclusions: a) none seemed to have more than a part of the solution; b) each of them devoted a lot of time and space to denouncing all the others.²"

Carey concluded that laissez-faire capitalism had been tried and found wanting. Some other solution must be found. Eventually he began to study the social teaching of the Roman Catholic Church as contained in the papal encyclicals, "On the Condition of Labor" and "Forty Years After."³ The effect of these works on his future thinking will be dealt with in the next chapter.

The rugged individualism of an earlier age became extremely distasteful to Carey. "If we accept as true the old proverb that 'misery makes strange bedfellows', we must go a step further and realize that misery also has its compensations; it drives men closer together and rugged individualism begins to fade."⁴

² Ibid.
³ Latin titles are RERUM NOVARUM and QUADRAGESIMO ANNO respectively.
⁴ Carey, Work, p. 4.
The "hidden hand" of supply and demand in classical economics no longer was acceptable to the young Carey.

Carey became a zealous "New Dealer" and an ardent enthusiast of what is now called welfare capitalism. He would accept capitalism only if it were greatly modified. Carey would "call upon government, industry, labor and all groups of good will to work together to develop a 'Budget for Prosperity.' There is no reason why we cannot determine in our respective countries (Canada and U.S.) how much industry and agriculture should produce, how many jobs are required, what purchasing power is necessary to keep our economics healthy." Property rights must be subordinated to human rights. This belief was exemplified by his support of rent and price controls. He castigated Republican "confusionists" on that question. "They (Republicans) are spreading the work that price and rent controls are 'socialistic' and take away our freedom. As a result, day by day price and rent controls are being weakened and people least able to stand it are being engulfed by higher living costs."  

Carey would approve of other governmental "interference" in the economy, both direct and indirect.

Mr. Carey would prefer a sustained program of government expenditures directly involving the economy.

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6 IUE Convention Proceedings, IV, (October, 1952), 22.
Criticizing a decrease in governmental expenditures at the 1957 IUE Economic Policy Conference, Mr. Carey said: "Government expenditures are being slashed and as a result we have a wave of plant closings and thousands of layoffs. These government cuts are being made without much regard to the effect upon the workers and the communities."7

Legislation for spending in the public sector during a recession, a practice better known as "pump priming", is a favorite cause of Carey's. After the 1958-59 recession, Carey demanded that Congress pass "without further delay complete legislation or federal aid to schools and the Emergency Housing Act of 1950, it is a time for the FISA to provide a $1.25 minimum wage and significantly greater coverage than now exists."8

Indirect involvement with the economy should take place, Carey believes, through governmental influence in favor of low Federal Reserve discount rates. Mr. Carey feels that low interest on personal and commercial loans is essential to the growth of the country. Speaking with the unionist's typical distrust of Wall Street finance, Carey once said of high interest rates: "The only people who are happy about that situation are the bankers who are making tremendous profits out of their usury interest rates."9

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9 Ibid., p. 6.
Mr. Carey is quick to deny to business what he would grant to labor, that is, the right to modify the classical capitalistic structure for its own advantage. The modern business practice of "plowing back" profits to finance new capitalization programs instead of turning to the capital market draws sharp criticism from Mr. Carey. "The managers of our industrial society have developed a new device. In former years, they went to the capital market and by sale of stocks and bonds, raised the money for such expansion. Now they engage in what is called 'costless capital'. This means that out of production—short changing employees in wages and by price increases—the consumers and workers buy the new plants and virtually make a gift of them to the stockholders."\(^{10}\)

Even today's scaled down model of American capitalism is not satisfactory to Mr. Carey. As long as economic security is wanting to any deserving person Carey will not be satisfied with the economic status quo. In his 1958 President's Report to the IUE Convention Carey complained that "the nation that invented the atomic bomb and other scientific miracles has not yet been able to provide a solution to such basic problems as recession, unemployment and economic suffering."\(^{11}\)

\(^{10}\) Ibid.

\(^{11}\) IUE Convention Proceedings, VIII, (September, 1958), 382.
B. The Role of Government in Industrial Relations.

In the preceding section, the author reviewed Mr. Carey's concepts of the American economic system. The government was to play an important role in that system. No less important in Carey's mind is the government's role in industrial relations.

Carey feels that the primary purpose of government is to put "the welfare of the people first."12 No doubt, Carey would equate the welfare of the people with the welfare of labor.

How should the government implement such a program? Should the government assume the role of leader in the industrial relations field? Mr. Carey sees the government's role as both passive and active.

The government should play a passive role in any area in which direct government action would impede labor's goals. Thus, Carey objects to restrictive labor legislation and the entry of government into collective bargaining—at least when it appears that the ultimate victory will be labor's. Carey was angered by the government's involvement in the 1959 steel strike. "Here was a collusion between the nation's most profitable industry and the Republican big business administration in Washington—a collusion designed to cripple unionism in the steel industry if it could be done."13


Carey conceives of the government's active role in the light of the Employment Act of 1946. More specifically, the government should take steps against the problem of unemployment, particularly from the standpoint of alleviating the economic sufferings of the unemployed through UCB, and against inflation.

Speaking of the unemployment that has afflicted the electrical industry between 1950 and 1960 and the inadequacy of the state UCB programs in providing laid off workers with adequate income, Carey asked that "a national system of unemployment compensation should be adopted."14 Carey suggested a system of government patents on all automated processes and the royalties obtained from them by used to establish programs that would eliminate unemployment caused by automation.

"The government should hold title to new (automative) techniques, and the royalties from their use should be put into a fund to provide retraining, relocation expenses, and assistance to areas which have become the victims of research which they financed through their own tax dollars."15

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15 Ibid.
To counteract inflation, Carey has supported price and rent controls. Carey has bitterly criticized those who call price and rent controls socialistic and feels that they are the only means of safeguarding the purchasing power that labor gains at the bargaining table.\footnote{IUE Convention Proceedings, IV, (October, 1952), 22.}

Generally, Carey's view of the government's role in industrial relations is limited to the problems that neither labor nor management has the resources to solve.

C. Labor's Relationship to Management

James Carey began his union career in an atmosphere of militancy. Perhaps militancy is still his one outstanding quality. Carey has fought many bitter battles against some of the most powerful corporations in the world. As leader of a union established primarily to destroy the Communist-dominated UE, Mr. Carey has not been able to restrict his attacks to management alone since the growth of the IUE has necessarily been at the expense of the UE.

The first premise of Mr. Carey's thinking on labor-management relation is that management must accept wholeheartedly the principles of unionism and work together with labor to build a better society. However, the scars of past battles have greatly interfered with Mr. Carey's ability to bring about an atmosphere of good will between management and labor. Typical of Mr. Carey's attitude on management's willingness to accept unions is a statement he made before the Armed Forces Alumni Association in 1959.
"I think probably the biggest and worst obstacle (to good relations) is the appalling greed of big business and industry, a greed that has become increasingly unrestrained, obsessive and unscrupulous in recent years."¹⁷ This is hardly a statement designed to bring about feelings of cordiality.

Employer attacks against unions are a constant source of irritation to Carey. He once described NAM as "anti-labor, anti-people, and anti-progress."¹⁸ Smarring from General Electric attacks upon unionism during the Senate-Rackets hearings, Carey accused employers of "trying to convince the public of the idea that all unions have leaders who are as guilty as Beck and Hoffa, and that we are all tied up with the Doo mob and other racketeers. GE and other corporations with which follow its policies are recklessly gambling with their future labor-management relations in a new union-busting campaign."¹⁹

Mr. Carey also believes that any attempt at strikebreaking is incompatible with good labor-management relations. Speaking about the 1959 Packing-House Workers' strike against Wilson and Company, Carey declared that Judge Cooney, president of Wilson, "must get out of bed each morning, put his shoes on backwards and walk proudly into the past.

Here is a man who has forced a strike, hired scabs, attempted to re-open his plants and is now once again attempting to foster his own, honey independent union."

Carey would prefer to establish better relations with management through the give-and-take of the collective bargaining process. General Electric's practice of making one offer and refusing compromise, a practice known, as "Boulwareism", would reduce the give-and-take of collective bargaining to a practice of take-it-or-leave-it. Speaking of the IUE's 1960 strike against GE, Carey claimed that "'Boulwareism' failed either to paralyze the union or to hypnotize the union's members into automatic acceptance of management's inadequate proposals."

Carey would not be satisfied merely with congeniality between labor and management, however. The union must become a partner and have an effective voice in any matter of importance to the workers. Plant relocation, pension funding, technological change and many other matters affecting the worker are, in Mr. Carey's mind, areas in which a union had a right to bargain. Speaking of the plant relocation problems, Carey stated:

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"As we improve our contracts and get additional fringe benefits, as we improve state legislation in states like Massachusetts and New York, we are actually, and in fact, putting our people in greater jeopardy unless we can secure some security in employment so that their jobs will not be pulled away."22

Employers must wake up to the benefits a well-disciplined and happy labor force can bring them, Carey believes. "Farsighted employers, even men who opposed unionization due to prejudice or ignorance, have discovered that it was good policy to have a working force with high pay, good working conditions, and a feeling of security. Everyone had benefited."23

D. Organized Labor and Technological Change.

Mr. Carey's great concern over the problem of automation is undoubtedly due to the IUE's position in the electrical industry. Carey summed up the problem in his President's Report to the 1956 IUE Convention. "More than any other industry, ours is uniquely affected by automation. Uniquely because: 1--IUE members will find production processes in their plants increasingly automated, and 2--IUE members will themselves be increasingly producing automation equipment."24

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22 IUE Convention Proceedings, VIII, (September, 1958), 17.
The IUE has become the creator of its own means of destruction!
Little wonder Mr. Carey is concerned.

Technological change is the greatest dilemma facing the labor movement today. Automation means hope--hope for the "golden age" that lies in the not too distant future; it also means suffering--suffering for the thousands who will be temporarily and sometimes permanently removed from useful occupations. None would deny the tremendous long-range benefits to be reaped through it; all are fearful of its short-range effects.

Automation presents even greater problems to the union leader. American unionism is based upon a job--conscious philosophy. The elimination of even one member's job raises questions about the competence of the leadership. The life principle of any union is the numerical strength and confidence of its members. Indeed, a union leader depends even more strongly upon this strength and confidence if his leadership is to remain unchallenged. James Carey shares fully in the hopes and fears raised by automation.

"Automation holds forth the promise of fantastic advances in living conditions and leisure. But in the transition period to the new technology--during the coming 10 to 20 years--every possible effort must be exerted to minimize the dislocation that the introduction of automation will create. ... If we are to enjoy the fruits of automation we must use our best foresight and wisdom in overcoming its social and economic disruption and in minimizing the possible harm it can bring to countless small businesses, communities, and working men and women."
If we employ that foresight and wisdom, we can usher in a new era of abundance such as the world has never known." 25

Carey compares the potentialities and dangers of automation to those of atomic energy. "Like atomic energy, automation holds the promise of a brighter, richer world of vastly higher living standards, pleasant working conditions, freedom from grinding repetitive work and far greater leisure." 26

Carey's most definitive statements on the problems of automation and their possible solutions were made before two subcommittees of the Joint Economic Committee in 1955 and 1960. An examination of Mr. Carey's testimony on both occasions reveals no substantial change in his analysis of the problems and solutions on the question of automation during the five year interval.

Carey's first concern is the effect that technological advance has upon jobs. As proof of his concern, Carey cites "the 85,000 factory jobs lost in the electrical machinery industry since 1953." 27 In his 1955 testimony Carey warned, "It is a lot of nonsense to say that automation will immediately create additional jobs. That, to me, is a delirerate way of fooling the public and fooling our country." 28

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26 Ibid, p. 386.
He repeated this warning in 1960. "We find that, contrary to the optimistic predictions that automation would mean more jobs, tens of thousands of factory jobs have vanished because of the use of automated equipment." Carey does not see any possibility of a cessation of job losses in the near future. In fact, he finds the future more frightening than the past. "We cannot remain content and complacent with talk that eventually automation may make more jobs. We are dealing with a problem that exists at the present time and will become worse as the huge GE expenditures each year are devoted more and more to automation equipment. At the present rate of expenditure, in about eight years the entire GE chain can be automated." 

Carey feels that the loss of jobs through automation is more severe than is necessary. He suggest three main solutions to prevent unnecessary unemployment in the future: a shorter work week, labor-management - government committees to study job losses through automation, and the granting of job tenure rights to workers in the event of plant relocation.


30 Ibid., p. 500.
First, the case for the shorter work week was argued by Carey is both appearances before Congressional subcommittees. In 1955 he stated, "A reduced workweek can be an important shock absorber during the transition period to the widespread use of automation. Within the coming 10 years the ... workweek must be reduced. Part of the benefits of rising man-hour output should be shared by business with the American people through an increase in leisure." 31 He suggested that "the problem of maintaining job opportunities for an expanding labor force will require action leading to the reduction in hours from forty to thirty six weekly would restore the 85,000 factory jobs lost in the electrical machinery industry since 1953. A progressive reduction in hours of work must be a continuing program thereafter in order to keep people fully employed." 32

Second, Carey asked for the establishment of committees composed of representatives of labor, management, the government to study the problem of unemployment due to automation and make suggestions as to possible solutions.

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"If all of us, labor, business, and government, combine to prevent social disruptions and human misery arising from the introduction of the new technology, we will be able to usher in a new era of abundance, improved living conditions, and increased leisure." The committees should not be established after the fact. Rather, they should act as a planning group to prevent future hardships. "What we see for the future are difficult problems made more acute unless labor, management, and the government really come to grips now with the need for advance planning for the benefit of the workers who will bear the most severe burden of adjustment to change." The main function of such committees would be to present a report which then could be used as a basis for labor-management negotiations.

Third, Carey turns to a problem related to that of automation, the loss of jobs through plant relocation. Since business often relocated plants for the purpose of automation rather than attempting to automate older structures, Carey feels that the problem has a place in any discussion on automation. He believes that a great deal of unnecessary unemployment is caused and many useful skills lost through plant relocation and insists that "the affected employees on the production line should be given an opportunity to move with their jobs."

34 Subcommittee on Automation and Energy Resources of Joint Economic Committee, Hearings, 1960, p. 497.
35 Ibid., p. 500
He assailed CE's relocation policy which permits the worker to "go to the new locality at their own expense and get in line with others who have been employed in order to compete for work. This is callous and heartless treatment." 37

Next, Carey turns to the problem of what to do about those who have already lost their jobs as a result of automation. His suggestions are twofold: retraining programs and support of the worker during retraining and unemployment through Unemployment Compensation Benefits, Supplementary Unemployment Benefits, and separation pay.

On retraining programs, Carey recently stated his feeling in no uncertain terms. "We will not support any practice of using automatic equipment to remove people from their jobs unless some consideration is given to providing retraining programs." 38 Carey does not explain the form these programs should take.

Carey emphasized the importance of providing incomes for workers displaced by automation during the 1960 Congressional testimony. "To the extent that...measures to provide steady employment fail, an income must be assured to the laidoff employees so that they can live in decency and not be compelled to suffer a drastic reduction in their living standards or to exhaust their painfully stored up savings." 39

37 I bid., p. 501.
This income will be provided by measures mentioned above - UCB, SUB, and separation pay. The present UCB principle would form the framework for Carey's plan. But UCB alone is not enough. "We propose the SUB program for temporary layoffs and a separation pay for long-term layoffs."[40] Carey would use SUB to bring the worker's unemployment income up to 80% of his average net pay. The program would be funded by an amount equal to 3% of payroll. For long-term and permanent layoffs, the separation pay program would be used.

"We propose that employees with at least two years of service, laid off for more than twelve months, shall have the right, at their discretion, to accept a separation pay allowance equal to one week for each year of service. Where SUB benefits have already been paid, they will be deducted from the separation pay allowance that is due."[41]

Finally certain of Mr. Carey's statements have shown a clear distrust of motives of business in introducing and using automated processes. He once stated: "We do not fear automation. We only fear what greedy, shortsighted, selfish men may do with it. There is no automation device to make employers treat us fairly or treat the consumer fairly. We shall have to handle that through our collective bargaining and our militant unionism."[42]

[40] Ibid
[41] Ibid, p. 508
More recently, he remarked that, "although we welcome improved technology that can produce more with less effort, we can see that unless this improved technology is used wisely, it will create hardships for the employees and the communities, while increased profits go to build up and further concentrate corporate power."\(^{43}\)

E. American Labor and International Labor Movement

Since 1945, James Carey has been actively involved in the international labor movement. As secretary of the CIO delegation, Carey helped to establish the World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU) on 1945. When the WFTU fell under Communist domination, Carey helped to found the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU). He was a delegate to the third, fourth, and fifth World Congress of the ICFTU and is presently the first substitute member from North America on the ICFTU Executive Board.\(^{44}\)

The chief objective of the ICFTU is, in Carey’s mind, the destruction of Communism by showing through concrete example that workers can attain prosperity and retain freedom all within the framework of democracy.


\(^{44}\) *Biographical Sketch of James Carey*, p. 3.
Since material prosperity is Communism's most effective promise to the poor and desperate, Carey feels that the ICFTU must make the same promise without the sacrifice of man's soul. "The ICFTU is determined to keep alive the spirit of freedom in the hearts of these tens of millions of enslaved workers, so that they can move toward their eventual freedom. ICFTU is also doing its part to help workers in backward areas learn the benefits of trade unionism, make their unions effective, and insure that decent standards of life and work become the lot of workers everywhere."45

Carey would assign a major role in the achievement of world prosperity to American labor. As the greatest example of the worker's ability to attain economic prosperity within the capitalistic economic system, the American labor movement has an obligation, according to Carey, to convey this example to the Communist world. This obligation rests not only upon the AFL-CIO but individual unions as well.

"Our union, and the AFL-CIO generally should devote more attention to international labor cooperation. We need to do this not only to promote world peace and freedom but as a protection for ourselves and for other workers throughout the world. We should not only strengthen the ICFTU, which is the parent world body of free labor, but we should participate actively in the International Labor Organization and the International Metalworkers Federation." 46

45 Ibid.
46 IUE Convention Proceedings, VII, (September, 1956), 22.
In a speech over Radio Free Europe on January 1, 1960, Carey said:

"The world of the 1960's, the American Labor Movement hopes, will become smaller and closer and less inflammable because of the increasingly closer ties among the workers in all nations who believe in democratic unions, in democratic government, and in democratic peace. More than 15 million American workers in the AFL-CIO pledge themselves anew to the support of their union brothers and sisters in every land where democratic unionism does not exist and particularly in those countries behind the Iron Curtain where democracy--both in the labor movement and in government--has been suppressed in violence and in blood and in tragedy."

Perhaps more than any other union leader, James Carey deserves the title "international" labor leader. He continues to display a sincere and deep concern for workers suffering under any type of exploitation. He is firmly convinced that "free labor, no matter what country it comes from, can work together in harmony, because it speaks the same language of democracy, freedom and dignity."47

F. Communism and the Labor Movement

The IUE was established in 1949 as a rival to the UE. Under the leadership of Philip Murray, the CIO expelled the UE for Communist domination. James Carey was selected as the leader of the new IUE and subsequently became its president. From its creation, the IUE under James Carey has been dedicated to the destruction of the UE. Carey's success was amazing. Today UE membership is about 10 per cent of its 1949 total. The IUE has become one of the nation's most powerful unions.

During the frantic early years of IUE organizational drives against UE Carey boasted: "We have freed hundreds of thousands of workers from the domination of the corrupt, Communist-controlled UE and have given those workers participation in our democratic brotherhood. In so doing we have protected the security and safety of our countries against the danger of sabotage from within or without." 49

At the 1950 IUE Convention, Carey mocked a telegram he received from Albert Fitzgerald, president of the UE, at the time of UE's expulsion from the CIO. The Wire informed Carey that he was expelled from UE membership because of his attempts to disrupt the union. Carey read the reply he would someday send to Mr. Fitzgerald:

"Inasmuch as I have been fairly busy this last year, I have had no earlier opportunity to answer your telegram of November 3, 1949, informing me that I no longer had rights and privileges of the UE membership and that I was no longer to hold myself out as a member of UE local 101. Your wire reflected your congenital stupidity. The fact is that 24 hours earlier I had been publicly expelled from the American Labor Movement along with you and the Communists who made up their mind for you every few minutes. When your wire reached me, however, I was back in the American Labor Movement as a member of Local 101, IUE-CIO. What you call local 101 was no longer in existence. It had passed into oblivion with the once proud name of UE, and with the Matlack-Emspak-Fitzgerald gang who made that name a symbol of your country's enemies." 50

49 Ibid. p. 23.
Carey's anti-Communism needs no apologies. His entire career with IUE is adequate proof. His description of the UE leadership as "puppets of a Communist dictatorship which seeks to undermine our freedom and democracy," best exemplifies his intense hatred of Communism.

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\[51\] IUE Convention Proceedings, LV, (October, 1952), 24.
CHAPTER V

EFFECT OF CATHOLIC SOCIAL PHILOSOPHY
ON THE LABOR PHILOSOPHY OF JAMES CAREY

To understand fully the labor philosophy of James Carey, it is necessary to examine the influence of Roman Catholic social doctrine on Mr. Carey. Religious beliefs are not always important in the formation of a labor philosophy. Humanitarian ideals have probably played an equal, if not more important, part in forming the social philosophies of American labor leaders. However, a religiously oriented social doctrine, rather than humanitarianism, has been the wellspring of Mr. Carey's labor philosophy.

James Carey has described his upbringing as that found in a "good Catholic home." Like so many Catholics at the time of the great depression, Carey had never been informed of the fact that Catholicism includes social as well as personal doctrines. A chance meeting with a priest during a bus trip at the beginning of the depression began Carey's introduction to Catholic social doctrines. The priest suggested that Carey read Leo XIII's encyclical on labor before turning to radicalism as a solution to social injustice.

Carey later describes his amazement at discovering that Roman Catholicism was concerned with man's social problems.

1 Carey, Work, p. 4.
"Never, never, never, had I been told that the Church had a social philosophy, that the popes had written on the subject."²

However, Carey was looking for a quicker solution to social evils than the Pope suggested in "Rerum Novarum". A first reading of that work left him frustrated and confused. "I wanted a more direct solution, one that would immediately meet the needs of the people. Little did I realize at the time the impression that prior readings had on my consciousness. I was in fact saturated with materialism."³ If not impressed by the entirety of Leo XIII's solution, Carey found two things expressed in the encyclical most appealing. First, the Pope denounced as strongly as any radical reformers the greed of employers who exploited labor. Second, the Pope strongly urged the workers to form unions to protect themselves from injustice. These two points convinced Carey to read the encyclical again. "To my surprise I found other points that I had overlooked on my first reading. Subsequent readings in the weeks that followed brought a stream of new revelations."⁴

Mr. Carey's actions as union leader are probably the greatest evidence of the effect that the papal encyclicals have had on his labor philosophy: rejection of utopian schemes as solutions to social evils; faith in the democratic system; concern over organization

² Ibid.
³ Ibid.
⁴ Ibid.
of all workers, skilled and unskilled, blue-collar and white collar; rejection of laissez-faire capitalism for a more modified system; emphasis of man's spiritual nature as a protection against gross materialism. These and many other manifestations of Mr. Carey's social philosophy are hardly the result of materialism or humanitarianism.

Why has Carey found papal social teachings so appealing? Why did these doctrines satisfy him when Marx, Owens, and others had left him full of doubt and confusion? The answer to these questions would seem to be in Mr. Carey's spiritual and intellectual approach to life.

Mr. Carey finds no contradiction in accepting spiritual and metaphysical reality along with material reality. To dichotomize man's nature into spiritual and material or to deny spirituality altogether are equally inconceivable to Carey. He feels that matter and spirit are complimentary, not exclusive or antithetical. Reading "Rerum Novarum" and later Pius XI's "Forty Years After" and "Atheistic Communism" convinced Carey that "moral and spiritual values must go hand in hand with the quest for man's material sufficiency."5

Nevertheless, a social doctrine recognizing man's spiritual nature would be unacceptable to Mr. Carey if it were so impractical as to defy implementation. His pragmatic intellectual nature at

5 Ibid.
first tempted Carey to reject Catholic social doctrine. Further study, however, convinced him that the apparent logical simplicity of Marxism and other materialistic systems was often the most illogical in the long run; it also convinced him that Catholic social teaching was much more sensible, although necessarily more complicated because of its concern with man's spiritual nature, than he first thought. He concluded that, rather than being impractical and utopian, "papal social teachings...present a down to earth commonsense approach to the solution of human problems, an easily understood presentation of the eternal truths on which man's relationship to man and to his God must be based if a suffering world is to recover its sanity."\(^6\)

To conclude that Catholic social teachings were influential in forming Mr. Carey's labor philosophy would be an understatement. It seems that these doctrines formed the basis, spiritual and intellectual, of Mr. Carey's entire social philosophy. They gave him the direction he so sorely needed during his days of disillusionment at the beginning of the depression of the thirties; they gave him a system that satisfied him intellectually and spiritually and was adapted to the tremendous variety of social problems that affront the modern Christian; they impressed upon him the broad challenges of the Christian who would seek to build a society based upon justice and charity.

\(^6\) Ibid.
CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION

In the preceding chapters the author has attempted to analyze and codify Mr. Carey's statements and actions in order to discover a cogent and logical philosophy behind them. The scope of the analysis has been specific—final objectives means to objectives, critical areas affecting labor, the effect of Catholic social philosophy.

Any judgment of a man's philosophy must take into account the fact that a man's words may not be a true reflection of his actions. However great this shortcoming may be, it is one which necessarily exists in a work of this type. The only true resolution of this problem would lie in a close and personal relationship between the author and Mr. Carey. Such means are clearly unavailable to the author.

James Carey's philosophy can best be described as "uplift unionism." Business or "bread and butter" unionism cannot satisfy Mr. Carey's desire to bring about a new social order. Nevertheless, he recognizes the value of many of its premises, relying upon the traditional use of collective bargaining and the strike as the primary means of obtaining labor's goals. He rejects utopian schemes and broad panaceas as firmly as Samuel Gompers did. Unions, however, must not restrict themselves to a "more money now" approach. His approach is much more liberal than that. The achievement of
economic and social advance for the IUE is certainly a primary objective of Carey, but it would be unthinkable for him to stop at this point. He envisions American labor as a powerful and united force more capable than any other force of bringing about a "golden age" of leisure for society. His liberal philosophy does not permit him to limit labor's actions to the economic sphere alone. He has the foresight to see that other means must be used if labor is to serve more than its own selfish interests.

Carey's liberal philosophy was exemplified early in his career when he realized the need to end the lethargy of the AFL in organizing the unskilled. The New Deal convinced him of the benefits that government could bring if only labor exercised its considerable political power. Carey does not fear government; indeed, he accepts it as a partner. At the same time, he realized the limits of governmental power and would not have labor put too much reliance upon it. In short, Carey's philosophy of unionism is in sharp contrast to that of a Hoffa or Hutcheson. While the latter would prefer to use almost exclusively their unions' formidable economic power to bring about desired goals, Carey would prefer to weld the economic with the political, emphasizing whatever one the situation requires.

The scope of Mr. Carey's philosophy is so broad that one cannot help but wonder about its practicality. As leader of a union in an industry which, by his own admission, eventually will be al-
most entirely automated, Carey may have taken on more than he can handle. Mr. Carey's concern with the plight of his fellow man, ranging from colonialism to the latest grievance in an IUE local, is certainly noble. But, are they possible of achievement? Carey would probably answer such objections by asking whether labor or any other social group can adequately perform its duties unless it considers not only its own narrow needs and desires, but those of society and the world as well. While Carey's views may prove to be the most farsighted and successful in the long run, these objections remain valid and unanswered.

Is Mr. Carey consistent in his philosophy? Does he follow his own points of view to their logical conclusions and grant to others what he permits himself and his cohorts?

Carey has been faithful to his stated goals for the IUE, national, and international labor. He has also been consistent in his use of economic and political means in obtaining these goals. As leader of the IUE, he has always held the welfare of membership as his primary duty. The growth and economic success of the IUE in an industry which contains some of the nation's largest and most powerful corporations some of the nation's largest and most powerful corporations is adequate proof. On the national level, Carey has been a leader in the fight for civil rights, housing, and social welfare programs. He established an IUE Civil Rights Committee shortly after the union was founded and has spoken courageously on behalf of Negros and other minorities on
many occasions. Carey has been an outspoken critic of inadequate housing conditions, the removal of rent controls, and social welfare programs, particularly UCB, which, he feels, do not meet the needs of the time. Carey has been outstanding among labor leaders in pursuit of his international goals for labor. He has frequently chided labor for not showing more interest in international problems and in the organization established to solve some of those problems within the framework of democratic unionism, the ICFTU.

Carey has shown some inconsistency in his philosophy, particularly in certain critical areas affecting labor. An advocate of AFL-CIO unity as a major tool of organization, Carey has often been accused of being antagonistic toward the building trades unions and causing unnecessary dissension within the federation. In the area of legislation, Carey is a strong advocate of laws protecting labor. However, his attitude toward restrictive legislation is negative. If union abuses exist, labor should be allowed to work out its own solution. Carey should logically extend the same right to business in matters such as anti-trust legislation. He remains opposed to any such concessions to business. Carey's position on automation is confusing. Full of praise for the tremendous benefits automation will eventually bring to the American public, Carey nevertheless remains skeptical of the motives of business in introducing new processes. While many of his solutions to the problems of automation show great insight, his solution of a drastically reduced workweek is completely unacceptable to management in that it would defeat one of the prime goals of the
new technology, the reduction of labor costs. Carey's position on labor-management cooperation has also been inconsistent and deserves criticism. Although he has frequently spoken of the need for more cooperation between labor and management, his obvious mistrust of the aims and motives of business has contributed little to the accomplishment of that noble goal. In all fairness to Carey, it should be pointed out that the electrical industry has not been noted for its wholehearted acceptance of organized labor and much of Carey's criticism and distrust is understandable, if not fully justified. Finally, Carey must be challenged on some of his views concerning the capitalistic economic system. His exhortations to business to follow the traditional methods of classical economics in such matters as capitalization and pricing of products hardly seem valid in view of the freedom he has exercised in changing that system to fit the needs of labor. What you grant to Peter you must give to Paul.

Fundamentally, the philosophy of James Carey is sound and his motives sincere. Unlike many other labor leaders and social reformers, Mr. Carey's labor philosophy seems to spring more from the social doctrines of his Roman Catholic faith than from humanitarianism. The author believes that Mr. Carey's rejection of materialistic solutions to problems in the social order is a direct result of his commitment to Catholic social philosophy. Carey quickly recognized the shallowness of solutions which would satisfy man's material needs at the expense of the spiritual. Mr. Carey possesses the shrewdness to comprehend the essential compatibility of man's material and spiritual natures.
In many respects James Carey is enigmatic. Selfless in his personal life, he often displays great ambition; dedicated to the cause of industrial peace, he would often pursue it with a militancy that excludes compromise; despising rugged individualism, he shares many of its characteristics; impetuous by nature, he often possesses a calm insight into perplexing problems; deeply committed to the betterment of man's material status, he is even more conscious of the spiritual; enjoying the honors of high office, he has never forgotten the duties that honors bear. James Carey is, like the union he leads, "in a hurry" to attain the ideals and goals to which he has dedicated his life.
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