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JUSTICE

INTERNATIONAL LADIES' GARMENT WORKERS' UNION

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N.Y. CLOTHES WIN WAGE RAISE

Labor Fights Bigotry, Meany Tells United Nations

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QUEEN of ladies' garment workers, Eugenia Ortiz, receives crown from Mary Agnes Puente at annual summer dance of ILGWU local in La Villeta, Texas (above). ORGANIZATIONAL STRIKE is under way at L. and L. Merchandising Co. in New York City as part of drive being conducted by Local 99 among office and distribution employees in ladies' neckwear industry (top right). WORLD TRADE UNIONISTS, delegates to Banff, Alberta, seminar conducted this month by International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, heard talk by ILGWU Vice Pres. Bernard Skane at luncheon in Montreal (center). BEAUTIFUL MOSAIC in lobby of AFL-CIO headquarters in Washington is admired by (left to right) Catherine Sanoa, Margaret Flak and Agnes Slebodnik, members of Local 424, Johnstown, Pa. Large group of local members visited nation's capital last month.

STYLING: GARDNER

Meany Lists Progress Yardsticks, Flays Bias, in UN Talk

AFL-CIO Pres. George Meany, an American delegate to the United Nations General Assembly, made a comprehensive statement on the report on social progress from the UN's Economic and Social Council. Excerpts from his statement follow:

The United States is firmly committed to supporting international action under the United Nations to improve social conditions of people wherever possible. We learned by the bitter experience of World War II that the well-being of our own citizens is linked closely with the well-being of people everywhere.

After World War I, our trade unions helped the German workers overcome the ravages of inflation and to save their organizations. Before World War II, U.S. labor set the pace in helping the victims of the Nazi totalitarian dictatorship. During World War II, we did our best to help the needy and to reestablish the free trade unions among the vanquished and victorious people alike.

As you know, it was the trade unions

of our country which first placed the problem of slave labor before the United Nations. We have initiated and supported policies for advancing and assisting social progress and human well-being among all people, regardless of race, color, or creed.

The trade union movement in the United States exists to promote the welfare of its members. We seek this objective through collective bargaining to insure for our members a fair share of the wealth produced by our economy. It is then up to each member to use the money and leisure he has earned as he sees fit. This is in keeping with the American tradition of each individual making his own choice to the maximum extent possible.

Social progress among countries is necessarily relative, differing because of historical, economic, institutional and other factors. Each nation must choose its own path of progress, a path adapted to its own tradition and circumstances. We in the United States have found free

institutions to be a powerful force for cultural, social and economic progress.

We still have a number of basic and critical social problems to solve in the United States. Among these is the problem of uprooting and eliminating every vestige of racial discrimination.

Discrimination, intolerance, and bigoted social customs exist everywhere in some degree. They are the weight of past centuries which, to some extent, all peoples carry. The important issue is: does there exist a determination to recognize them openly, to face up to them and to make effective progress in combating them.

In our trade unions, we have been fighting and shall continue to fight vigorously against race discrimination and other forms of social prejudice and moral corruption. And we have been getting results in eliminating such evil elements and anti-social practices.

No statement on this problem would be adequate without reference to the present controversy over school integra-

tion in certain of our Southern states. This controversy shows there is still much to be done.

Nevertheless, to put the problem into perspective I would like to point out that 31 of our 48 states now have completely integrated school systems; in 10 other states integration is progressing and in most cases without difficulties. This progress has come about largely through the influence of millions of Americans acting either individually or through voluntary associations, such as their labor unions, church and other religious groups, universities, colleges and a host of others.

Even more important, is the fact that the people of the United States have an open and active national policy against race discrimination—regardless of the cover or label under which it may be hidden. That is the meaning of the Supreme Court decision on school segregation. That is the meaning of the federal government's action in Little Rock, Ark., protecting the rights of the individual under the decisions of the court.

N. Y. Cloakmakers Win \$5.50 Piece Rate

3,000 S'East Target As Major Push Starts

Vigorous organizational campaigns are under way among close to 3,000 workers in the Southeast Region, Director E. T. Kehrer reports. Major drives are being conducted at five shops of Perfection Garment Co., with two plants in Columbia, South Carolina, one in Orangeburg, South Carolina, and two in Memphis, Tennessee, employing a total of 1,000 workers; five plants of the Talon Zipper Co. in Woodland, North Carolina; Stanley, North Carolina; Cleveland, Georgia; Morton, Mississippi; and Durant, Mississippi, with a total of 700 employees; Cartersville Undergarment Co. in Cartersville, Georgia, where a majority of the 250 employees have already signed up and where an election is expected shortly.

Other campaign targets include the Kingsboro Mill in Dayton, Tennessee, with a solid majority of the 130 employees already united; the Manchester, Georgia, plant of International Latex, with 450 employees, and the Moultrie, Georgia, plant of the Warner Brasiers Co., with 200 workers.

"Recent weeks have revealed a great spurge for organization on the part of the Southern garment workers," stated Kehrer. "The chief reason seems to be that the non-union employers are putting a squeeze on piece rates, at the same time that the cost of living continues to rise. The first shock of the \$1 minimum has worn off and Southern garment workers are now demanding their fair share."

Renewal Parley
Negotiations for new agreements have been started with major wash dress manufacturers in the South:

Zimmerman on Labor Unit of Negro College Fund
Vice Pres. Charles S. Zimmerman, manager of New York Dressmakers' Local 23, has joined 29 other well-known labor leaders in launching the United Negro College Fund, it was announced this month. The fund raises money to support 11 private, fully-accredited colored colleges and universities, 20 of them located in the South.

The impartial chairman of the New York cloak industry, Sol A. Rosenblatt, on Oct. 15 granted a wage increase of up to \$5.50 a week to New York's 50,000 cloakmakers. The wage boost for both piece and time workers was hailed by ILGWU Vice Pres. Isidore Nagler, general manager of the New York Cloak Joint Board, as representing the best judgment

of the impartial chairman, even though falling short of the full demand of the cloakmakers. He pointed out, however, that the award represents an average of more than 15 cents an hour for all the cloakmakers.

The wage increase was no under-terms of the escalator clause in the current five-year collective agreement. Employers were first notified of the union's request for a cost-of-living adjustment on Aug. 21, 1957. After negotiations between the union and the employer associations became stalemated, the question, as provided by the contract, was referred to the impartial chairman on Sept. 17.

The impartial chairman awarded the following increases, based on a 35-hour week and effective the week of Dec. 16, 1957:

(a) Cutters, operators, pressers, finishers, sample makers	\$5.50
In section work shops, operators and finishers	5.00
(b) Examiners	5.00
(c) Finisher helpers	4.50
(d) Finer workers	4.50

Percentage Upped

For piece workers the increase takes the form of a larger percentage added to the price settlement as follows: In the case of operators, the total percentage is to be 37 per cent instead of 30 per cent "above the line"; for finishers, the total percentage is to be 43 per cent instead of 34 per cent "above the line."

At the same time, the impartial chairman lifted minimum wage

rates for section workers by 14 cents per hour "above the line" to the minimum established in the decision of the impartial chairman on June 17, 1953, and adjustment for the Supreme Court's decision on school segregation, shall be similarly made." Key workers in section shops are to receive a \$5.50 increase as are the operators in the shops.

General Manager Nagler pointed out that the increase was being granted to the New York cloak market, which represents 75 per cent of total national cost and output production. He added he had no doubt the remaining sections would follow the New York lead, as is usually the case, and that there would thus be no question of creating competitive cost disadvantages.

"Our best wish has been and remains to ensure the stability of our industry and our general economy. We are convinced that the increase just granted will tend toward that end, and that in view of the rise in the cost of living, it was incumbent upon us to seek the wage rise in order to preserve the standards of our cloakmakers," Nagler said.

N. Y. Rainwear Local REOPENS LOCAL IN RISE BID FOR 3,000

Involving the wage-rooster clause of the collective agreement, New York Waterproof Garment Workers' Local 29 is seeking cost-of-living pay boosts for its some 3,000 members, reports Manager Joseph Kessler.

In a letter addressed to the New York Raincoat Manufacturers' Association on Oct. 1, Kessler called for a union-management conference as quickly as possible to determine the size of the cost-of-living pay boost. The local's executive board has already appointed a committee to negotiate on behalf of the union.

Noting that the fall season in the New York rainwear industry is about over, Kessler advised employees that the local is submitting the cost-of-living pay-boost demand now, prior to calculation of spring season prices.

"Hazards of the Game"



'98' Renewal for 2,800 Workers Wins Wage Increases, Pension Fund

Some 2,800 workers in 42 New York shops have won establishment of a retirement fund and significant pay increases as the result of a three-year contract renewal between Rubberized Novelty Workers' Local 98 and the Soft Plastic Manufacturers' Association, reports Local Manager Daniel Nisanovic.

Under the agreement reached after lengthy negotiations, cutters and shipping clerks will get a wage boost of 4 cents an hour, and all other time and piece workers 4 cents an hour, retroactive to Aug. 15.

Minimum wages for general workers will rise, during the life of the contract, to \$1.15 an hour; for operators, cutters and shipping clerks, pay floors will rise, during the life of the contract, to \$1.20 an hour.

Also, to correct inequities, various piece-rate adjustments are stipulated, providing an average piece-rate gain of 4 per cent for the workers affected.

The employers also agreed to

establishment of a retirement fund for members of the local, to be financed by employees' percentage-of-payroll contributions, which, during the life of the contract, will reach 2 per cent.

Validation of the new agreement took place at a membership meeting Oct. 9 in the Roosevelt Auditorium, following a report by Manager Nisanovic noting that, in addition to the new contractual gains, members would continue to enjoy such previously-won benefits as a 35-hour week, six paid holidays and up to two weeks' vacation benefits.

Nisanovic lauded Executive

Vice Pres. Louis Stalberg for his assistance in bringing the negotiations to a successful conclusion.

Members of the negotiating committee, Isidora Nisanovic were local Pres. Seymour Feldin, shop chairman at Road Rubber; Vice Pres. Sol De Peris, shop chairman at the Kugel Co.; Estelle Merino, shop chairlady at the Preppack Co.; Angie Lombardi, shop chairlady at Empire Shield; and May Smith, shop chairlady at Hysone Shower Curtains. Bargaining sessions leading to the current renewal began last June.

Liberals Run 20 of Own Candidates For Posts on New York City Council

In addition to endorsing the Wagner-Gerosa-Sterk ticket for the top municipal offices in New York City, the Liberal Party this year is running 20 independent candidates for City Council, out of the 25 council posts to be filled. It is also running its own candidate for Borough President of the Bronx.

These independent candidates will be found only on the Liberal Party line—Row C.

By voting on Row C, New York garment workers not only will be able to help re-elect Mayor Wagner and his administration, but will strengthen the forces for liberal, independent politics in the city government. At the same time, a big Liberal Party vote will have a great effect on the crucial 1958 elections.

Following are some of these independent candidates, including a number associated with the ILGWU:

Max Bloom—Candidate for Bronx Borough President; attorney for ILGWU local, chairman of Bronx County Liberal Party and of its state law committee.

Mark Starr—4th Council District, Queens; ILGWU education director, Queens County Liberal Party chairman.

The Citizens' Union endorsed him as "an educator and labor leader of national reputation and unusual ability and breadth of view. He is a mature thinker with progressive ideas on governmental problems. The district would be fortunate if he could be elected."

Morris Palestine—26th Council District, Bronx; business agent for Children's Dreammakers' Local 91.

Larry Spher—28th Council District, Bronx; staff member, Dress Joint Board.

Harry Rinsdorf—10th Council

District, Brooklyn; member of Cutters' Local 15.

Albert Tverkas—14th Council District, Brooklyn; business agent for Undergarment and Negligee Workers' Local 62.

Walter L. Klychman—25th Council District, Manhattan; public relations director of Jewish Labor Committee.

Rose Schlesinger—23rd Council District, Manhattan; wife of ILGWU attorney Emil Schlesinger.

Abraham S. Welz—7th Council District, Queens; instructor in ILGWU classes.

Foranigan Taylor—23rd Council District, Manhattan; was Liberal Congressional candidate against Adam Clayton Powell, last year.

24-HOUR PICKETING BY '132' IN JERSEY NETS 2-CENT PACK

Organizational strikes, marked by round-the-clock picketing, have brought union contracts with gains totaling a 24-cent "package" per hour for workers of two more New Jersey shops, reports Manager Martin Friedman of Plastic Molders and Novelty Workers' Local 132.

After two-week walkouts last month, union benefits were won for the 55 workers in the two plants of Nezer Alloy in Newark and the 22 workers of Silver Parks in River Edge.

Improvements in the "packages" provided by newly-signed ILGWU contracts include substantial pay in-

Round-the-Clock Picketing Wins Jersey Plant



Workers at Nezer Alloy plant in Newark, N. J., members of New York Plastic Molders and Novelty Local 132, picketed 24 hours a day for more than a week. Result: One more unionized plant, 24-cent-an-hour package of gains under new ILGWU contract.

SEE—ONE EQUALS TWELVE!

1894 N.Y. STATE CONSTITUTION

New York ILGers can help correct this imbalance by voting YES for Question No. 1 on their voting machines Nov. 5. This will authorize the holding of a constitutional convention to make the necessary changes in the state's basic law. If this is not done now, there will not be another chance for 20 years.

VOTE YES ON QUESTION NO. 1

Jersey ILGers Mobilize For Meyner Re-election

As the hard-fought New Jersey gubernatorial election campaign entered home stretch, the state's ILGers enthusiastically mobilized for an all-out effort to ensure the re-election of liberal Governor Robert E. Meyner.

At a statewide leadership rally held in Newark to mark opening of the ILGWU Headquarters for Governor Meyner, local managers, officers and executive board members from all parts of the state hailed Governor Meyner's record and pledged an energetic drive to bring out the votes of the more than 30,000 ILGWU members and their families for his candidacy.

Rally participants cheered the creation, up to two weeks' vacation pay, health and welfare fund contributions by the employers, Blue Cross hospitalization coverage, and other standard union benefits.

Governor's pledge that "so long as I am Governor of New Jersey, I shall continue to extend to all of the workers in this state the kind of administration which will acknowledge the important role they play in the life of New Jersey.

Pledge to Workers

"These services and benefits I have been able to offer them have come over the objections of many Legislators, including my opponent. But when re-elected, I shall give even more energy, thinking and consideration to the tasks yet undone and the goals not yet reached.

"As far as I am concerned, the welfare of the wage earners of New Jersey, both as workers and as citizens, will come first and I shall expend every effort to protect, preserve and extend the rights and benefits to which they are entitled."

Sadie Reich, manager of Newark Local 225-281 and a vice chairman of the State AFL Committee for Meyner, chaired the meeting.

Commissioner Carl Holderman, formerly president of the New Jersey CIO Council and presently head of the State Department of Labor and Industry, recalled his constant cooperation with the ILGWU through the years, and pointed with pride to the fact that he was the first target of Republicans because "like any labor leader worth his salt—and there are many in your union—I was willing to stand against and the penalties rather than give up my right to strike, picket and generally fight for my fellow trade unionists."

He reviewed the work of his department and its aims for the coming year, describing the additional services which would be possible under a second term with Governor Meyner.

The ILGWU Political Department has worked closely with all managers and executive boards to make certain that it will organize drive for the Governor's re-election was under way.

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U.S. for Good Government!

In New Jersey

In New York

Working men and women in New Jersey are supporting Governor Robert B. Meyner for re-election because they want a government with a heart and with a respect for their dignity. They have examined the record of his administration on unemployment insurance, workmen's compensation, wages and working conditions, disability benefits, housing, education and civil rights—and it shows clearly that the physical and economic well-being of the wage earners of New Jersey have been his main concern.

He has fought against an often hostile Republican-controlled Legislature (of which his opponent has been a leading member) in urging legislation to improve the life of New Jersey workers and their families. Where he himself has had the administrative and executive power, he has used it consistently to insure an honest and liberal interpretation of the laws.

Governor Meyner has appointed to important office men and women of the finest caliber to carry out his program, and these appointments have been made on the basis of qualification without regard to race, color, religion or origin. He has expected and received the best from those who serve him as heads of the various state agencies.

An excellent example was his appointment of a leading trade unionist commissioner of the Labor and Industry Department.

For the first time in the history of the state, the department is under the supervision of a man who understands why such a department was created and how it should function.



Governor and Mrs. Meyner (center) with Jersey COT Messengers Frank Trykowski of Local 154 (left), Sam Patis of Local 122 (second from left), John Pruda of Local 134 (right) and Assistant COT General Murray Edelman (second from right).

Under Governor Meyner's initiation and insistence, the top rates for unemployment insurance, workmen's compensation and temporary disability benefits have been raised from \$5 to \$10 per week maximum. Meyner has indicated that in light of the continued increases in the cost of living and the average wage in New Jersey, these rates still need adjusting upward.

Even more important to New Jersey's wage earners was Governor Meyner's insistence to treat those applying for any of the social insurance benefits not as charity recipients, but as dignified men and women seeking compensation due them. He ordered the speeding up of the whole system of payments so that unemployment insurance checks no longer take six weeks or more to arrive. As a matter of fact, New Jersey now stands first in the speed of payment of checks.

Gov. Meyner's Record

1. **MINIMUM WAGES**—In the fight for the \$1.25 minimum wage nationally, Governor Meyner requested the New Jersey Legislature to memorialize the President and Congress in favor of it. When the Legislature, with his opponent as its leader refused, he used his power as Governor to indicate his support.

Where state orders could be instituted for women and minors, he ordered minimum wage increases. As a result, more than 100,000 workers in low brackets had their wages boosted and were given a 40-hour work time and one-half for overtime.

2. **EDUCATION**—The amount of state aid to the localities for schools has been tripled without additional taxes to these communities. If Governor Meyner had not succeeded in getting this aid, some communities would have had a 26 per cent hike in their taxes, or would have had a serious deterioration in their school systems.

3. **TAXES**—Governor Meyner has increased state services through careful and judicious spending, instead of additional inequitable taxes. He has opposed and remains opposed to a sales tax. He has declared his opposition to the so-called "100 per cent" tax and has pledged that no person will be expected to bear an inequitable share of taxes. He has said that when his Tax Commission reports in December, he will be guided by its advice.

4. **FAIR PRACTICES**—Knowing full well that civil rights for New Jersey cannot be handled as a thing apart from education, housing, fair employment practices, etc., the Governor has worked hard in all of these fields. On his insistence, the last segregated state school, the Bordentown Manual Training School, was integrated. On his urging and insistence, a law eliminating discrimination in housing was passed. He has set an example himself in appointing a number of Negro men and women to top jobs in his administration, based on their qualifications.

Material on this page prepared by ILGWU Political Dept.

Mrs. Robert Meyner with Sadie Belach, ROT, local manager.

Liberal and labor forces in New York have mobilized to wage two important battles on Nov. 5.

—In New York City, they will go to the polls on that day to re-elect Mayor Robert F. Wagner and his administration; they will do so by voting on the Liberal Party line (Row G).

—Throughout the state, they will vote "yes" on Question No. 1, and thus help clear the way for a state constitutional convention which could bring the basic law of New York State up to date.

Speaking before Bronx County Liberal Party leaders last week, party vice chairman Alex Rose declared a large Liberal vote for Mayor Wagner would give the Mayor greater independence from Democratic machine influence during his second term.

"The present municipal election is giving us an opportunity to tone up the Wagner administration and give it new vitality and strength," he said.

"There is no real contest between Wagner and (Robert K.) Christenberry

(the Republican candidate for Mayor). The Christenberry ticket is of no consequence. But there are two ways of voting for and electing the Wagner administration."

"A large vote for the Wagner ticket on the Liberal line will insure a greater degree of independence from machine influence for the Wagner administration and will further the realization of many progressive and social objectives."

"A vote on the Liberal line will be a mandate by the voters for more independence at City Hall and efficient performance of the Wagner administration."



NYC Mayor Robert F. Wagner greets throng at recent Liberal Party rally.

Once In Twenty Years

Question Number One on the voting machine is a referendum on whether or not a state constitutional convention should be held in 1959. It is the single most important election contest to be held in New York State in 20 years. Its outcome will have a profound impact not only on the political life of the state, but on the personal lives of all of its citizens for many years to come.

There are many important reasons for holding a constitutional convention, but one stands out above all others: the state constitution, as now written, is shockingly unfair to people who live in the large cities and the rapidly-growing suburban counties of New York State. The people of these areas are severely and shamefully UNDER-REPRESENTED in the State Legislature.

In the Assembly, the vote of one member who represents only 14,000 citizens can cancel out the vote of another who represents 167,000 citizens—12 times as many! In the Senate, the vote of one Senator representing 345,000 citizens can be cancelled out by the vote of one who represents only 147,000! Thus 39 per cent of the citizens of the state elect a majority of the Assemblymen, while 40 per cent elect a majority of the Senators.

Unfair representation is not merely a matter of every mathematical calculation. It has an impact on every issue that comes before the State Legislature. In a state in which the large majority of the population lives in cities or suburban communities, the system of representation laid down in the state constitution gives the rural areas control over the legislative branch of the state government. As a result, it becomes extremely difficult—frequently impossible—for the problems of the urban and suburban areas to receive the adequate legislative consideration they require.

This evil, unfair system can be ended in only one way: through the action of a constitutional convention. For this reason, then, above all others (and there are many other important questions that a constitutional convention could deal with), it is imperative that every ILG member in New York State VOTE YES ON QUESTION NUMBER ONE, and that every member spread the word among his or her co-workers, friends, neighbors and relatives, about this most important election in 20 years.

Vote Liberal — Row C

YES ON QUESTION NUMBER ONE, and that every member spread the word among his or her co-workers, friends, neighbors and relatives, about this most important election in 20 years.

DR. SELIG PERLMAN

AMERICA'S LEADING LABOR HISTORIAN



on

CONCEPTS OF HUMAN RELATIONS IN INDUSTRY

FIRST OF

ISRAEL FEINBERG MEMORIAL LECTURES

COLLECTIVE bargaining is not just a means of raising wages and improving conditions of employment. Nor is it merely democratic government in industry. It is above all a technique whereby an inferior social class or group carries on a never-slacking pressure for a bigger share in the social sovereignty as well as for more welfare, security, and liberty for its individual members.

As such, it is not confined to a single arena—the industrial one—where employers and labor unions meet directly, but manifests itself equally in politics, legislation, court litigation, government administration, religion, education, and propaganda. Nor is collective bargaining only a phenomenon of modern society. On the contrary, its clearest and most comprehensive manifestation was shown by the urban communities in the Middle Ages—the boroughs and the guilds in the struggle against feudal lords.

Collective bargaining as a technique of the rise of a new class is quite different from the class struggle of Marxians. It is nominalist instead of realist. It is pragmatic and concrete instead of "idealist" and abstract. It is much less concerned with algebraic formulae summing up basic economic trends than with the problems of building discipline in organization, and of training leadership.

It derives its emotional impetus not from the desire to displace or "abolish" the "old ruling class," but from the wish to bring one's own group abreast of the superior groups; to gain equal rights as a group and equal consideration for the members of that group with the members of the higher groups; to acquire an exclusive jurisdiction in that sphere where the most immediate interests, both material and spiritual, are determined, and a shared jurisdiction with the older group or groups in all the other spheres.

The early medieval urban communities practiced collective bargaining thus defined. England, then a backward country away from the main trade routes, shows most clearly the technique of the rise of this "under dog." Starting as communities of petty traders, in which craftsmen groups came to be added, these communities were tiny "cells" built on the fellowship principle, in the midst of a huge organism dominated by feudalism.

Assuming that they had come into existence through trade activities as a result of an economic differentiation from the original agricultural manorial communities, they inherited from their own manorial background a communal organization of a kind, around the manorial court, resembling the modern company union.

However, the new ambition of these communities required "recognition" from the lord or overlord—

the right of the chosen leaders to act as their collective spokesmen and to stand between the lord and their own individual members. For, as long as the lord or his appointee could reach into these communities and seize an individual member for the purpose of discipline in a remote court, or assess his taxes at will, a basis was lacking for a real communal organization and life—for a real "unionism." Recognition came with the borough charter, which granted the payment of taxes in lump sum, as well as a judicial and administrative autonomy. Thereafter there was no individual bargaining and no need for the individual to kowtow to the outside power; his loyalty went to the "union."

BUT civil rights and protection from burdensome and discriminatory taxation were not enough to set up these aspiring communities. Conscious of the limitation of their economic opportunity in a world of scant purchasing power, they demanded and obtained the "closed market," or the right to treat the sum total of market opportunity as their own preserve, a species of "economic territory." The geographical territory of the town supported as many economic "territories" as there were guilds. Each guild administered its own economic territory and made its own "rules of occupancy and tenure" of opportunity for the individual.

The main objective was the literal *commune*, "communism of opportunity"—an enforced sharing of opportunity to assure to each member a chance to earn a livelihood. Profit seeking was condemned as anti-social and as destructive of solidarity. Also, the allotment of market opportunity to individuals was often guided by the seniority principle. With "recognition" as a starting point and with solidarity assured by the communal administration of the economic opportunity, these communities were equipped to continue bargaining collectively for more liberties in the political, administrative, judicial, and economic spheres.

The early democratic master workman's guild later became the capitalist-dominated Elizabethan corporation, and the original working rules looking to "communism of opportunity" became sabotaged and distorted to serve business rather than manual labor. But this hardly affected the collective bargaining technique of the rising class. The "guild capitalism" of the towns and the "free" capitalism of the open country, though divided by clashing interests, on the whole presented a united front, pressing for the incorporation of the customs or working rules of their class into the law of the land.

However, when wage labor began to employ the

mere collective bargaining technique through its early trade unions, the triumphant business class, instead of feeling flattered by such limitation, however common, saw in it nothing but rebellion calling for suppression. The rise of the labor underdog had to begin from a lower depth.

Unionism—often distinguished, from the standpoint of the intellectual, as business unionism, split unionism, and revolutionary unionism—is, at bottom, labor's instrument for collective bargaining in the wider sense of the term, namely, to effect a rise to a fuller recognition in every sphere of social activity.

While it is not the final successor of the guild, unionism shares with the latter the problems of establishing discipline in its own ranks and of obtaining recognition. And animated by the identified psychology of the scarcity of economic opportunity—job opportunity in this instance, not market opportunity—unionism is equally bent upon extending its control over the sum total of extant opportunity, in other words upon obtaining job control.

Just as the guild owned its market territory, so the union considers itself the sole owner of its job territory; and, as with the guild, the union's guiding objective is administration of its job territory upon a principle approaching communism of opportunity, to give each member, as, for instance, through the rule of the equal turn in the coal mines, a reasonable chance to earn a livelihood. This is coupled with the protection of the individual in his own particular opportunity holding—his job—and is frequently combined with seniority preference.

Since the union cannot prevent contact between its individual members and the employer, in the manner in which the guild prevented contact of its members and the lord, it does the next best thing and prevents individual bargaining by enforcing union conditions of employment, the union's rules of occupancy and tenure of the job opportunity. But wherever possible, the union tries to be the unquestioned administrator of the job opportunities, as in American union printing shops, where the union sits alone in judgment over the foreman who has discharged an employee, and confines its bargains with the employer to wages and hours.

WE have seen the role of group custom and informal "laws" ruling industrial relations. It was my illustrious teacher, John R. Commons, who brought out the role played by the third party—society—in this process in the past as well as in the present. In his *Legal Foundations of Capitalism*, he showed how in the struggle around the "rent bargain" the barons had reduced the King of England from an over-all owner to a recipient of a land tax fixed by collective bargaining between their representatives and his.

In a similar way, the merchants of England began, through their participation in the piepowder courts at the fairs, to impose the customs of their group upon the presiding judge, who was only too glad thus to fill the void of his ignorance. Out of this unimpressive beginning, through a process of osmosis over several centuries between judges increasingly appreciative of the growing importance of the merchants to the Commonwealth of England and a continuous custom-making by that merchant class to suit changing conditions, came the "law merchant," and finally the latter's incorporation in the common law.

What produced this significant result was the unremitting pushing by the merchant class; the willingness of undomestic intellectuals, the judges, to absorb pressures from below and thus prevent frustration and ultimately a judicial sifting of these merchant customs, the rejection of some and the acceptance of those that looked acceptable from the standpoint of the moving pattern of the law. The intellectual mechanism employed was the expansion of the meaning of property from the mere "physical" to embrace the "incorporated" and the "intangible."

Commons delighted in seeing the judges of America, during the last years of his life, do with the customs of the labor movement—the fair wage, the normal working day, the union shop, and seniority—what their English predecessors had done with the customs of the merchants.

Earlier, he had been greatly impressed by the establishment of Australia's Court of Conciliation and Ad-

lization, although not by the system of compulsory arbitration of labor disputes. But the shift away from dogmatism by our official intellectuals came only after the labor movement had gathered momentum both in industry and government under the aegis of the New Deal—algebraic in conformity with Communist conception how social change takes place.

In this American scene, in which perhaps, among the major countries of the West, private property and freedom of enterprise have shown their greatest retrogression, Communism was known as an advanced liberal, if not a radical. If it is noteworthy, though, that conservatives frequently understood him better than did the conventional radicals, while yielding to his claims, they only proclaimed that he was "fifty years ahead of his time."

The left-wing liberals were disappointed as to his refusal to join them in indicting capitalism as a system. Not were matters helped much when he, on his part, indulged in posturing, however gently, their fondest dreams by blandly declaring that his labor history studies have shown that labor cannot manage and that operative management by government, except in certain areas such as municipal and power-generating utilities, would not be sufficiently above management by labor.

For Communism was convinced that, in order that the standard of living of the many might keep going up, society needed the pre-arranged drive of privately appointed management, a drive which must be supervised, to be sure, by society's attention to the rules of the game, including not a few of his own devising, but accompanied by social policies encouraging the hater of the union rules hampering efficiency for management's concussions on wages and status.

But even if American labor was neither cut out for nor did it even desire to manage industry in the sense of making decisions about investment, developing markets and taking chances on making profits or avoiding losses, it nevertheless made a great contribution in laying the foundations of industrial government.

In fact, industrial government is labor's outstanding contribution to capitalist society. In America it began in a large way with the agreement system, erected in 1898, between the United Mine Workers and the operators in the Central Competitive Field. That agreement system became a school in which labor taught the employers the art of peaceably sharing their market opportunity instead of the former cutthroat competition. This was implemented through an elaborate wage rate structure aiming to equalize competitive costs notwithstanding geological and geographical inequalities.

The unions, of course, was inspired by no philanthropy toward the employers. It merely felt that for the realization of its own objective of job conservation and job sharing, it was necessary that the operators, as competitors, be trained in economic good manners and sportsmanship. This industrial government of the mining industry disregarded the ideology of competitive capitalism, as well as the gospel of scientific management; it advanced the economic life of the worker and it increased the costs to the consumer. But it did so in the name of humanity to the producer, the job holder, and the operator alike.

In the agreement system in the men's clothing industry, established in Chicago in 1911 between Hart, Schaffner and Marx and the union led by Sidney Hillman, industrial government avoided conflict with efficiency, and, in time, developed a governing apparatus which should be the delight of catholic-minded political scientists.

However, both varieties of industrial government, in bituminous coal and in men's clothing, required, for survival, an extension over each entire industry of the standards fixed by the collective bargain. And the implication, as far as the attitude of public authority is concerned, is that collective bargaining has entered



Israel Feinberg Memorial Fund

Established on the initiative of the New York Civil Liberties Board in September, 1953, the first anniversary of Feinberg's death, to honor the memory of the late ICGWU vice president who served as joint labor general manager from 1939 to 1952. The series on human relations in industry will be given over a three-year period.

into the stage of promotion rather than that of mere isolation, however benevolent.

CO Much for the "hoary" but type-creating past.^{1,2} What in history will be put down as the real contribution of the CIO? The CIO was born as the joint product of a long-sought and within a considerable segment of the already existing labor movement and of the new external opportunity to attain it as a consequence of the most dramatic shift in American history in the total social arena, with the advent of the New Deal.

Within the labor movement, the unions whose leaders, notably in the garment trades, have drunk abundantly from the well of isolation and were convinced that the only union structure befitting modern industry, for collective bargaining as well as for the more remote objective of a new society, was unionism by industry, found, first, a veritable godsend in the conversion of John L. Lewis, only a short while before the "progressive" chief *bris nora*; secondly, in the newly arisen external opportunity that came in consequence of the temporary loss of prestige by the business leadership as a whole, and in the deterioration in the hitherto impregnable position of the anti-union employers which was a part of it; and, most important, in the emergence of the new and self-confident political leadership under a leader endowed with an unmatched capacity for communicating without any barriers with the mass of the citizenry.

With this aid, external as well as internal, the CIO leadership amply demonstrated how the American labor movement could be moved off the "dead center." It showed a genuine "will to organize" how to utilize all available organizing talent with no questions asked, for a long spell, as to political economy; how to shift from the absolute union prejudice against company unions to a policy of infiltrating them; how the existing groupings by nationality and in parish benefit societies prevalent among the immigrants, offered another arena for union missionary work; how to make use of trained technicians in economics, statistics and public relations; and how to put real drive in the use of the standard methods of American unionism such as "collective bargaining in politics" with the "old" parties and the "infiltration" of the tickets of these parties through a manipulation of the primary elections.

For at least a decade, until the very success of the CIO had shaken the older organization out of its "naï," there could be little doubt in the eyes of the beholder that in the CIO the American labor movement had achieved a "New Deal" of its own.

Nevertheless, the criterion of "fitness" in its environment by which the AFL of the Thirties had obviously fallen short in the mass production industrial centers, was equally applicable in explaining why the CIO had in turn fallen short of realizing the "great expectation" of the Thirties.

The CIO rapidly entered the terrain where there was a natural constituency awaiting it, the first and second generation "new" immigrants, once the immigrants' fear of discharge for joining a union was allayed by the CIO organizers spreading far and wide the happy news that "the President wants you to join the union." The release from fear simultaneously reduced the immigrant's long-pent-up craving for asserting the equality of citizenship with the older American stocks and to assert it both in industry and in government.

But the "Oklahoma land grab" swelling the bulk of the CIO was destined to abort, long the limits of the "land available to entry" were beginning to be reached. For the very same reasons why in the eyes of the reform-minded and revolution-minded leadership the CIO was an answer to their prayer for a really "modern" American labor movement—a far siter movement of the "standard" labor movement such as the British—in American living away from the metropolitan industrial centers as well as in a great many within those centers, wage centers, included, the CIO seemed indelibly stamped with "foreignness."

The prevailing impression that the CIO tolerated within its midst Communist unions, an impression which the biased expulsion of those unions in 1949-50 was unable to overcome in the mind of the public at large, had built a high barrier for it over most of the United States.

In the South, traditionally with a low boiling point as any "outside" interference whatsoever, the CIO's "Operation Dixie" soon after the war, well-financed and stubbornly-led though it was, accumulated under the heavy burden of the charges of "alienism" and "subversion" which that "Operation" had to bear.

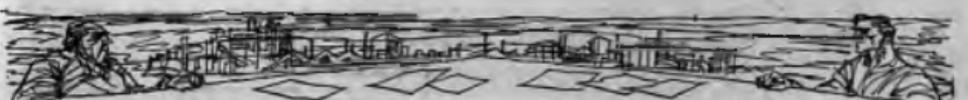
Thus the CIO, having passed superbly the "fitness" test in the industrial "high lands," proved unable to build out its fortified position into the lowering-lying industrial terrain. After 20 years of dramatic performance, in which it conquered for unionism the "forbidden ground" from which the AFL had been expelled early in the century, it still was obliged to re-enter in 1955 the united labor movement merely as a candidate of a limited number of union giants but scarcely as an all-comprehensive labor movement and, in consequence, as not much better than a junior partner of the AFL in the merged movement.

NOW, at long last, we must come to grips with the lecture's official title, "New Concepts of Human Relations in Industry." Have we formulated any such concepts? Not that I am aware of!

That the managers of the country's largest corporations have lately been brought to deal with unions and that these unions are now as gigantic in size as their opposite number is not to be marvelled at. That both sides are employing well-trained personnel to assist them in collective bargaining and in operating the agreements, is again a natural outcome. That managers and union leaders are today grappling with the same problems of production costs, efficiency, technological change such as automation, and the like, is likewise no more than a repetition of the past, but only with modern trimmings.

Capitalism, now perhaps more a "management capitalism" than the "banker capitalism" it was in the days of John Pierpont Morgan, is as firmly entrenched in the American social system as ever, even if it has been partially covered by the New Deal to add to its real strength through a "big-gun" wielding with organized labor.

Add the din of the current "higgling on the labor market," no less noisy although far more integrated than in the days of the Webbs, is still far from ranking with colonial music. Yet the old would-be tyrannies have been found to learn better manners and to lend a more attentive ear to the public's wishes. All of which is decidedly to the good, but scarcely a basic deviation from old objectives, old compromises and old programs.



Win Camp Co. Raises; Siems on the Job as New Southwest Director

Chi Signs Kay-Martin

The S. H. Camp Co. of Jackson, Mich., manufacturer of surgical garments, has signed a new three-year contract with ILGWU Local 488, reports Vice Pres. Morris Bias, Midwest regional director.

The new agreement, covering 185 workers, calls for wage increases in time worked of 4 per cent, effective on Sept. 3, 1937, plus another 4 per cent based on Jan. 1, 1938. Piece workers received a 5-cent hike in their base rate, as of Sept. 3, with provision for another 5-cent rise on Jan. 1, 1938.

Other gains include further wage increases ranging from 1 to 11 cents an hour for time workers to adjust inequities; minimum salary of \$1.18 an hour and improvements in holiday and vacation pay.

Negotiators for the union were William E. Davis, ILGWU Michigan state representative, and a committee of workers, including Catherine Howar, Joseph Sprague, Aylene Hayes, Thelma Marsh and Vera Brown.

First Kay-Martin Pact

In Chicago, Kay-Martin, Inc., leading Devon Ave. alteration shop, has signed its first contract with Ladies' Tailors' Local 204.

The agreement, to run for three years with a reopening of the wage clause at the end of each year, calls for an immediate increase of 5 cents an hour, plus another 5 cents after six months.

Organization of Kay-Martin was under the direction of Norbert Cindl, assisted by organizers Leon Street and Seymour Margolis. The Kay-Martin victory was the ILGWU's fourth in rapid order in its Devon Ave. drive. Shops recently

N'East Mobile Unit Rolls in Pittsfield

Continuing its policy of meeting the health needs of members in outlying areas, the Northeast Department has put one of its Mobile Health Clinics into service in Pittsfield, Mass. Department Director David Gligod reports that 190 workers at Campus Club, Inc., have already been given diagnostic examination.

Next on schedule will be about 400 more workers, including the shops of Ken Whitman and Stratton Coal Co.

Up to now, members from Pittsfield have had to travel a long distance to the Boston Health Center. Local newspapers headlined the new service as an important area event.

ly notified on the avenue by ILGWU organizers include L. Star, Seymour Peikin and LeVine.

Up for renewal Dec. 31 is the master agreement between the Chicago Board and the city's Cloth Manufacturers' Association. Joint board officials are negotiating on the proposals to be placed before the employers at the forthcoming contract-renewal conference.

MARK FOUR DECADES OF CLOAK EXAMINERS AND FLOOR WORKERS

A large turnout of New York City cloak examiners and floor workers, marking the 40th anniversary of Local 82 at Hotel Diplomat on Oct. 2, held a "David Dubinsky" banquet that, though the city's size was small, its contributions to the growth of the ILGWU had been

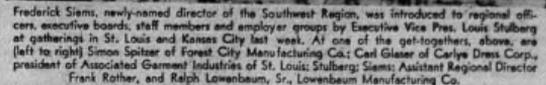
The ILGWU president was joined by a number of union notables in celebrating the achievements of Local 82 during its four-decade history. Others included Vice Pres. Isidore Nagler, general manager of the New York Cloth Joint Board; Vice Pres. Benjamin Kaplan, manager of Cloak Operators Local 117; Harry Fisher, manager of Cloak Finishers' Local 8, and Morris Goldsworthy, chairman of the United Hebrew Trades.

Referring also to the local's membership stands at 1,300 today, in contrast to the low mark of 17 in 1894, Manager Joshua Fogel who was introduced by Chairman Max Schwartz, recounted the many hardships that had to be overcome before the cloak examiners and floor workers could establish their organization on a firm basis.

Recalling that the local had been set up several months after the bitter lockout and strike of the cloak makers in 1916, he traced its constant fight for recognition, a status which the jobbers in the industry did not grant until 1923. Even then, it was only the examiners; those workers were included in 1941.

Barrages of Communist "rule of ruin" tactics during the Twenties, followed by the disastrous economic depression, reduced the local to its lowest ebb, Fogel asserted.

Then, in 1934, Charles Bernstein, who later became manager, sparked a vigorous organizing drive which resulted in the local's renaissance and paved the way for the great strides it has made since.



Fred Siems, newly-named director of the Southwest Region, was introduced to regional officers, executive board, staff members and employer groups by Executive Vice Pres. Louis Stulberg at gatherings in St. Louis and Kansas City last week. At one of the get-togethers, above, are (left to right) Simon Spitzer of Forest City Manufacturing Co.; Carl Glaser of Carlyle Dress Corp., president of Associated Garment Industries of St. Louis; Stulberg; Assistant Regional Director Frank Rother, and Ralph Lowenbaum, Sr., Lowenbaum Manufacturing Co.

LOCAL 62 ORGANIZES REMBRANDT LINGERIE AFTER LONG HOLIDAY

Organization of Rembrandt Lingerie by Local 62, New York Undergarment and Negligee Workers, marks the capitulation of a non-union holdout.

Several times during the last four years, the employer had sought to deal with groups which they had no jurisdiction, among garment workers, in attempts to avoid legitimate unionization.

Local Manager Matthew Schenwald announced the signing of a contract with the Rembrandt employees by the firm and embodies strike. Organizing activities of the firm were under the direction of Business Agent Julius Ramirez.

"During the strike another union, not in the garment field, made a last-ditch attempt to assume jurisdiction over the shop. This time, however, the workers were determined to be denied the benefits of a sale unionism."

The firm, located at 28 East 24th St., employs 14 workers in the manufacture of nightgowns, but as the shop makes extensive use of computers, its activities embrace many more than its inside workers.

The agreement with Local 62 provides for the use of union contracts by the firm and embodies standard union terms and benefits for workers, including reduction of the work week to 35 hours, with no reduction in wage, besides employer-financed benefits.

meetings of ILGWU affiliates. In addressing the staff members, Siems pledged a continuing vigorous program of organization and administrative work. In both cities, he outlined for the staff members the course which he expected this work to take, and pointed out that the primary concern would be the extension of unionization in the field and the pending of the best possible service in the shops where workers have already been organized.

HOW TO BUY

Call aspirin "Bayer's" and you'll pay 22 cents for a bottle of 100. Call it "Rigibin's" and you'll pay 70 cents for 200. Buy it as plain aspirin U.S.P. from a reliable drugist, department store, medical cooperative or union-sponsored pharmacy, and you'll pay as little as 12 to 20 cents for 100.

It's Aspirin by Any Name; Don't Overpay for Brand

That's just the start. Suppose instead of plain aspirin you want the new buffered aspirin which has an antacid added to help the relatively few people whose stomachs are upset by plain aspirin. Call it "Bufferin" and you pay \$1.25 for 100. Call it "Ibuprofen" and you can buy it for 85 cents from large private-brand retailers as Macy's and Sears. Or you can buy buffered aspirin for as little as 29 to 35 cents from some union health centers and various group plans.

Or suppose you want a combination of aspirin with phenacetin and caffeine, as doctors sometimes suggest. These are known in the trade as APC pills. You can buy APC pills under the name of Empirin and pay \$1.25 per 100. Or you can ask for APC tablets under the name of Anacin and pay 85 cents. Or you can ask for just plain APC tablets from your drugist and pay only 70 to 85 cents. If you have access to one of the group plans you can buy APC tablets for 35 cents, and sometimes as little as 25.

The peculiar thing is, most people buy the costlier versions of aspirin even when lower-priced brands are available. The biggest success of recent years has been made by Bufferin, which ponds at the public steady with television commercials showing diagrams of your interior plumbing. The price of \$1.25 is the highest for any type of aspirin. Pharmacists report it's become a little safer despite its high price, and despite the fact that most people don't get upset stomachs from ordinary aspirin and so don't need the additional antacid ingredients.

Pots Versus Kettles

Now, Bayer, which previously had the dubious but profitable distinction of charging the highest price for what is basically just aspirin, has gotten indignant about Bufferin's success. Bayer has been publishing ads asking the public: "Are you paying twice the price of Bayer Aspirin for pain relievers that are nothing more than aspirin in disguise? Such is the case with Bufferin, which attempts to bottle aspirin—give you as pain reliever, and add ingredients for your extra money... Ingredients which do not relieve pain, but aluminum compounds, magnesium carbonate and baking soda."

This is certainly a case of the pot calling the kettle black. For Bayer's Aspirin has been charging you twice and even three times the price of Bufferin for many years. Bayer's advertisement is based on the fact that the same method as Bufferin now is under successful advertising, high-powered advertising so that when you think of aspirin, you think of Bayer's.

Similarly with Anacin. Now the television commercials say very quickly that your doctor recommends the ingredients in Anacin. This is true enough, but some people may get the impression "your doctor" means much Anacin. Your doctor, really recommend it. If you recommend this combination of Bayer's Aspirin, is APC tablets.

In all, the public spends over \$50 million a year for aspirin. How much are you chipping in?

Indonesian Labor Visits Balto ILG

Five Indonesian labor leaders, who have been touring the country under the auspices of the ILGWU, visited Baltimore the week of Sept. 23. Their week began with a visit to a local union meeting in Ravenscroft, Md. This was followed by a tour through a large dress factory in Baltimore and a visit with the executive secretary of the Baltimore Federation of Labor.

The following day they were taken on a cruise through the harbor of Baltimore. Some of the other highlights were a visit to Baltimore's Equal Employment Opportunities Commission, where Mayor Thomas D'Alesandro presented them with the key to the city, a visit to the unemployment insurance office and attendance at an educational program conducted by the Streetcar Union.



New York Cloth Examines' Local 82 celebrated its 40th anniversary this month of Hotel Diplomat. Here, Manager Joshua Fogel is greeted by Pres. David Dubinsky (center) and Vice Pres. Isidore Nagler, Cloth Joint Board general manager (second from right), at Benjamin Kaplan, manager of Local 117 (right), look on.

World Garment Unions Launch Organizing Drive

Representatives of 1,300,000 unorganized garment workers throughout the world, who concluded the triennial congress of the International Garment Workers Federation in Vienna last month, mandated the IGWF to start a vigorous organizing campaign among work-

ers. Launching of the organizing crusade was one of the highlights of the congress, according to ILOUW Vice Pres. Charles Kreindler, manager of Bloemendaal's Local 23, who returned from the continent this month.

After the IGWF congress, where he chaired meetings of the bureau and presided at the conclave's closing session, Kreindler went to Copenhagen, where he brought fraternal greetings from the IGWF and ILOUW Pres. David Dulinsky to the convention of the Danish garment workers' union.

Vice Pres. Kreindler was accompanied on his trip by his wife, Hannah Stried.

Kreindler, as well as other leading delegates at the IGWF congress, strongly underscored the importance of bringing into the free trade union movement a growing number of garment workers in the various "fringes" of "Ohana," "Kenya" and "other

African areas; in the newly emerging nations of Asia, and in unorganized pockets remaining in some European countries. A European area in point, Krein-

der pointed, in France, with 350,000 garment workers, of whom only 30,000 belong to the unions. And of these, less than 8,000 are members of the IGWF's Paris Ouvriere affiliate.



International Garment Workers' Federation leaders shown above at IGWF congress in Vienna are (left in right) ILOUW Vice Pres. Charles Kreindler; Paul Wersner, 'Book of Textiles' and 'Chadling' Workers' Union of Germany; and John Newton, IGWF secretary.

At the same time, the congress also focused on stepped-up efforts to bring the work week, prevailing at 48 hours in most countries, down to at least 40.

Another problem to be attacked vigorously by IGWF affiliates is the abolition of home-work—a plight still widespread in a number of countries.

The ability of garment workers to achieve these objectives may be enhanced by the IGWF congress action in moving toward unification with the international textile workers' organization. With the IGWF now on record as favoring amalgamation, merger may be accomplished if the textile workers agree favorably at its congress next year.

Since its last congress, the IGWF has gained 100,000 members, Kreindler related. Unions in the apparel industries of 13 countries are affiliated with it.

In a major address to the Danish union, Kreindler emphasized that "neither the Danish, nor the American, nor the Japanese, nor the government, but the free and inde-

pendent organizations of workers, are serving the needs and interests of the membership, and are free of totalitarianism and control."

"In the main, the American trade union movement placed its emphasis on its own economic strength, on its ability to win better working conditions for its membership. From the government, trade unions asked and did get legal recognition of the basic right to bargain collectively.

"I do not wish to leave the impression that American workers generally, or garment workers in particular, did not look to the government for specific legislative reforms. Of course we did.

"We sought, however, to secure legislative intervention to certain specific areas—to the promulgation of a general nationwide minimum wage floor, to the provision of unemployment insurance and of old-age insurance, to the requirement that the sick be covered by insurance to compensate workers when they are hurt through accident or occupational sickness."

N. Y. Dress Renewing Medical Care for 50,000 Invoke Wage Reopeners

The New York Dress Joint Board is nearing the conclusion of negotiations for multi-million dollar contracts continuing the comprehensive medical care program available to some 50,000 members of Locals 10, 22 and 89. General Manager Julius Hochman reports. Local 10 has its own program.

Hochman said that the union is in the process of negotiating a renewal of its contract with Blue Cross, which provides hospitalization for all eligible members of Locals 10, 22 and 89. The union is also negotiating a renewal with Health Insurance Plan of Greater New York (HIP), one of the two agencies through which joint board members have been receiving medical and surgical benefits.

However, the second of these agencies, Group Health Insurance, is being replaced by Blue Shield. Hochman announced that the change, which will become effective Nov. 1, has been approved by the local managers, the Dress Joint Board's Board of Directors and the industry's Health and Welfare Council.

Under the new set-up, all members who have been receiving their medical and surgical benefits through GHI will begin getting them through Blue Shield as of Nov. 1. The policy being negotiated with Blue Shield, which is the largest agency of its kind in New York City, will provide approximately the same benefits provided through GHI.

Wide Coverage

It will cover members for doctors' home and office visits, surgery in the doctor's office, medical care and surgery in the hospital, diagnostic X-ray and laboratory procedures, dental consultations, physiotherapy, treatment for allergies and other benefits.

In some important respects, the Blue Shield policy is an improvement over the GHI policy.

Blue Shield functions in the same way that GHI functions, and it is not expected that any problems will arise in the shift from GHI to Blue Shield.

Blue Shield claim forms will be

Honor 3 Members of '147' For Services to U. S. S. ORT

Three members of New York Neckwear Local 147 received awards of merit last month from the American ORT Federation for serving without charge as cutting-edge business laborers in a trade school for refugees. Honored ILOUWers were Jack Liebson, Alfred Reis and Harold Shachtal.

prehensive medical care continues to have Blue Cross hospitalization, and they will have a choice between Blue Shield and HIP for their medical and surgical care.

In other words, all members will have either Blue Shield and Blue Cross or HIP and Blue Cross.

Arrangements are being made to have a Blue Shield representative at Dress Joint Board headquarters beginning Nov. 1 to answer any questions that may arise.

Round-the-Clock Picket Lines By N'East Strikers at Vogue

Workers at Vogue Lingerie, manning a round-the-clock picket line at the firm's Williamsport, Pa., plant for the past several weeks, are now also picketing the Vogue showrooms at Madison Ave. and 33rd St. in New York City, actively assisted by members of New York Undergar-

ment Local 62. Heartened by ILOUW victories last year at both Selma Blagos and Jersey Shore-Sylvania in the unionizing Williamsport area, the striking lingerie workers at Vogue have gone into battle determined to settle for nothing less than a standard ILOUW contract, reports Vice Pres. Davi' Ginegold, Northeast regional director.

They are receiving, according to Pennsylvania organizing chief Ray Shere, not only the wholehearted support of their own union, but also considerable help from unions of various

Invoke Wage Reopeners In Ohio, Kentucky Areas

Wage-reopener clauses in numerous contracts throughout the Ohio-Kentucky Region are being invoked in a concerted effort to boost wage and work standards of area ILOUWers, reports Vice Pres. Nicholas Kirtzman, regional director.

Acting to obtain adjustments by wage scales to offset ever-rising living costs, the union is sending reopener notifications to major concerns and employer associations well in advance of deadline dates.

Requests for pay raises were adjustments have been forwarded to employers under contract with the Cleveland Joint Board, firms in the city's knitgoods industry. Atlas Underwear plants in Piqua, Ohio, and Richmond, Ind., and shops employing garment workers in Bucyrus, Ashland, Toledo, Canton, Mansfield and Akron, Ohio.

Notifications have gone, among others, to the Prinitzer firm in Cleveland and to the Handseamer Co., which has shops in Glasgow and Lebanon, Ky.

Sparking efforts to win pay adjustments for area workers, besides Kirtzman, are Acting Manager Meyer Berkman of the Cleveland Joint Board, and Manager Bernadine McOrder of the Cleveland Knitgoods Council.

Pension Applications

Applications are being accepted at the office of the Cleveland Region and its eligible members who wish to retire. The firm's board of directors is scheduled to meet soon to consider the applications.

Newest addition to the Ohio-Kentucky staff is John Hoover, formerly a business agent with the Northwest Department. He replaces organizer Henry Glasser, now with the Upper South Department.

In addition to serving as business agent for a number of Cleveland and outlying shops, Hoover will participate in organizing activities in Ohio.

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Wagner to Speak At '17' on Oct. 23

Mayor Robert F. Wagner and Ben Davidson, director of the New York Labor Party, will be guest speakers at the next membership meeting of Cooks Operators' Local 17, Manager Benjamin Kaplan announced. The meeting will take place after work on Wednesday, Oct. 23, at Manhattan Center, 36th St. and Eighth Ave.

Striking employees, Vogue Lingerie, Williamsport, Pa., are picketing firm's New York City showrooms as well as their own plant.



Last-minute EOT Pact Averts Bedford Strike

A last-minute agreement on major gains for a renewed contract embodying the mandates of the last ILGWU convention, averted a strike at Bedford Undergarment Co. in Lyndhurst, N. J., reports the Eastern Out-of-Town Department.

Negotiations had been deadlocked for many weeks, and on the last day of the expiring contract, agreement had not yet been reached. Workers determined on "no contract-no work," a stoppage several months.

However, union negotiators agreed to a one-day extension, and intensive parleys resulted in the signing of a new pact 24 hours after the deadline.

Topping the gains was a general wage increase for week workers, ranging from 4 to 10 cents an hour, with the percentage above weekly earnings for the piece workers boosted to 15 per cent.

In addition, piece workers, for the first time, will be paid for three holidays; week workers will continue to receive six and one-half paid holidays; and the basic minimum was set at \$1.15 an hour, with the previous figure, since the legal floor be raised, the contract minimum will be set at least 15 per cent above the new rate.

"Fringes" Up

Also, "fringe" benefits were further improved by an increase in employer's contributions to retirement fund from 1 to 2 per cent of payroll. Starting the 15th day of the contract, and beginning July 1, 1954, the firm will pay the full cost of providing disability benefits, with no deductions from workers' wages.

Hours and overtime standards are identical with those prevailing in the New York underwear industry under terms of the collective agreement with Local 62.

The union's negotiating team consisted of Edward Kramer, EOT assistant general manager, Peter DeLores, manager of Newark Local 166, and Morris Kitzner, business agent of Local 166. Throughout the negotiations, local officers consulted constantly with the chairlady and the shop committee.

Richmond EOT, Liberals At Fete for Lena Arancio

Lena Arancio, business agent for EOT Local 154, Staten Island, N. Y., and leading figure in the Richmond County Liberal Party for many years, was honored this month by a dinner jointly sponsored by her local and the county Liberal Party organization. More than 125 ILGWUers turned out for the occasion. Speakers included Timothy Costello, Liberal Party county chairman; Dr. Natalie Cohen, Staten Island Liberal-GOP candidate for the New York City Council; Rose O'Rourke, president of Local 154's executive board; and David Weis, assistant director of the ILGWU Political Department.

Charter Officers

Newly-elected officers of just-chartered Local 586 at Federal Colton Co., Douglas, Georgia, are (above, left to right) Fran Louise Coleman, Vice Pres. Ruby Lott, Sec'y-Treas. Lounie Kliland, Shop Chairlady Vera Mae Hurray and Chaplain Ida Carver.

COT COUNCIL CONFAB SLATES FULL REPORT ON PAY HIKE DEMAND

Delegates representing the 12 Clink Out-of-Town Department locals will tackle a roster of significant items at the quarterly meeting of the COT Joint Council on Nov. 2 at Lakewood, N. J.

Topping the agenda will be a report by Vice Pres. Rubin, COT general manager, on the cost-of-living wage increase demanded by the Clink Joint Board, and a detailed exchange of information by the delegates on current conditions in their shops.

COT Assistant General Manager Murray Rosenblum will make his first appearance before the council in his new capacity.

Other recent COT personnel changes include the return of Morris Mazon as COT education director, and appointment of Phillip Milone, council president, as a business agent assigned to the Passaic area. A new joint council head will be named to replace Milone, as union rules bar staff members from holding elective posts.

Delegates from the tri-state locals will be guests of Monmouth County Local 136's Civil Aid Fund at its 10th annual dinner-dance. According to Manager Sam Feuerstein, all proceeds of the event will go to Deborah Sanitorium.

Cortland Corset Shops Surge to N'East Ranks

Responding to months of persevering organizational efforts by the Northeast Department, steadily growing numbers among the more than 1,000 workers of corset plants in Cortland, N. Y., are turning to the ILGWU, reports Vice Pres. David Gingold, department director.

Confronted by an entrenched group of non-union employers in nine undergarment plants and three children's wear shops, Northeast organizers are making substantial headway in their efforts to bring the benefits of unionism to these workers.

For years, the employers have managed to ward off unionization, primarily by playing on the insecurity fears of a large number of elderly workers. In addition, to threats of mass unemployment, the holdout employers have denied their workers the right to settle prices or

Theology Students Visit ILGWU



ILGWU General Office often plays host to many groups wishing to observe trade unionism in action. Among recent visitors to union's headquarters was a group from Union Theological Seminary's first year class. Here, they listen to introductory talk by Mark Starr, ILGWU educational director.

N'East Meet Sifts Progress, Tasks

HITS AND MRS.

by Jane Goodall

Eight hundred and fifty Northeast Department delegates and staff members, from nine states, met at Unity House last month for a week-long general conference on garment industry problems in Northeastern areas.

Keynote speaker at the parley was Vice Pres. David Gingold, department director, who presented a comprehensive summary of the union's work in the region. Following Gingold's report, officers from all areas presented important data regarding their own territories' problems and achievements.

This conference, the eighth of its kind arranged by the Northeast Department, was chaired jointly by Assistant Directors Jack Halpern and Sol Greene.

I looked at a magazine devoted to the fashion scene. The fashion scene was wild and weird. And creepier than I had feared. I gazed at gowns that looked like alps. At waistlines down around the hips. At clothes that fit like BVD's. And gripped like vices at the knee.

I did not like "The Easy Fit" One style, solitary hit. A sacque, though spelt with Gothic or is still a sack, and a sad one, too. I swore I'd sooner eat my hat. Than wear a goofy dress like THAT!

Why on earth should I spend money just to make myself look funny? Clothes are meant to gladden the eye. Not to make the lily silly. But, even as I swore, I knew just exactly what I'd do: Some future day, alas, a sack, I would buy myself a sack?

Do you wonder how I know? Why, just because it's always so. I always swear I won't, and I. Knuckle under by and by.

Though I blow a fuse at first, And class the newest styles the worst That anyone has thought of yet, And ask how awful can it get? Why gradually, by hook or crook, I learn to like the latest look.

However awful it may be, It's somehow sort of grown on me. Why first, I looked upon a gash and I moaned and raged and gnashed my teeth, And swore that I would eat my hat. Before I'd wear a dress like THAT!

But in a month or maybe two, What did I care and do? I went shopping for a dress, Old I buy a sheath? Well, yes.

And though, right now, I firmly swear That I will never, never wear A scootin' or any other dress as shapeless. Will I? Yes, I guess so.



Education Center Salutes U.N. Oct. 24

United Nations Day will be observed by the ILGWU Education-Recreation Center during its session on Thursday, Oct. 24. Pamela Cohen, Education Department secretary, announces.

On the same program, Dr. Bernard Stern of Brooklyn College will lead a second discussion on "Education of Good Books." Place: Room 904, Tuxedo High School, West 24th St. between 8th and 9th Aves. Time: 4:15 P.M. Reception and folk dancing will follow.

On Thursday, Nov. 7 (same place and time) a noted expert in memorabilia will discuss "Your Memory How to Improve It." Other interesting topics will be discussed at succeeding Thursdays.

11 a.m., Nov. 22, at 1:45 P.M.: The subject, "Fascinating Human Nature," will be discussed by an outstanding psychologist. Place: Room 1165, Hunter College, 69th St. entrance near Park Ave.

CLOAKERS' DEMAND

Cutters Eye Pay-Hike Drives In Cloaks, Children's Dresses

"It is all right for cloak employers to ask us to be industrial-minded, but we also have to be union-minded," Vice Pres. Moe Falkman, manager of Local 10, told cutters at a membership meeting on Sept. 30 at Manhattan Center.

Pointing out that the cost of living had risen by 6 per cent since 1953, when the current cloak agreement took its effect, he declared the union, through the Cloak Joint Board, had no choice but to insist on an upward adjustment in earnings to compensate workers for the shortage in the purchasing power of the wage dollar.

He expressed the hope that the decision to demand the union's demand for a 10 per cent increase to cover not merely past losses in purchasing power, but the continuing increase in living costs. Meantime, cloak cutters have had a satisfactory season, Falkman noted, though this has been less true of the other crafts. One reason is the additional work provided by synthetic pile fabric coats on which several hundred cutters are employed. Another is the multiplicity of small lots that are cut as manufacturers are cautious about getting over-stocked.

At a demand for a 37 that wage increase for cutters is being made in the current negotiations for renewal of the children's dress agreement and at the end of the year, Falkman reported. The union is also asking for a 1 per cent increase in employer contributions to the retirement fund, a union label and respect pay.

Dress Renewal

The forthcoming negotiations for renewal of the dress agreement ending next Jan. 31, Falkman said, provide the opportunity to carry out a sweeping program to bring the metropolitan dress market. While 80 per cent of the dresses manufactured in the entire area are made in New York City, he stated, a considerable percentage is now being sewn and finished in outlying areas such as New Jersey and Pennsylvania.

This trend the over-present possibility, he warned, that the cutting operation may in time follow the same trend. In the dress market he brought under uniform standards and control. He expressed confidence that the Dress Joint Board would utilize the occasion to assure the uniformity of the work and standards of the crafts as well as those in other crafts.

Rumor-Mongers Hit

In presenting a detailed financial report on the operations of Local 10 for 1956, last details of which appeared in the last issue of JUSTICE, Falkman declared that the net profit of \$46,000 in operating funds for the year and the rise of the general funds supported by dues payments to \$721,000 were solid evidence of the sound financial position of the organization.

He took pride in the fact that Local 10 and the ILGWU generally have been maintaining their financial operations for years. They are an open book not only for members but for the public, he stated.

In view of the local's long record of honest, honest administration, he voiced regret that the resignation of one business agent, Irving Kaplan, last July, had taken a flurry of rumors, some mongering by irresponsible individuals. He pointed out that when evidence of neglect came to the attention of the union, and appropriate steps were taken which finally resulted in the withdrawal of the officer from the union.

The trend of being applauded for such forthright action, Falkman

LOCAL 10 MEMBERS

REGULAR MEETING

MONDAY

Oct. 28

Right after work
MANHATTAN CENTER
34th Street and 8th Avenue

said, the local became the object of insinuations and rumors without the slightest foundation in fact. He denounced the individuals who had participated in this witch-hounding and declared that neither he nor Local 10 owed anybody any apologies.

With thousands of producing units to control and about a score of business agents, it is possible that somewhere and sometimes there may be an instance of neglect or worse and if there is, he added, that the proof be brought to him and he would take firm action without fear or favor against anybody who was not fully living up to the high traditions and the ethical standards of Local 10. He called on the active, loyal members to put a stop to the loose talk in the union and to defend the good and honored name of the local.

These vigorously expressed remarks were punctuated by frequent applause, indicating that the close to 1,800 cutters present were in full sympathy and accord with the sentiments expressed by Manager Falkman.

Hands Across the Shop Table



Retiring Local 89 members (left to right) Josephine Locetta, Cyniride Cavallina and Millie Leone accept farewell handshakes from their employer at shop retirement celebration.

Puerto Rican Police Beat Up ILG Organizer in Lisa Strike

Alberto Sanchez, an ILGWU organizer in Puerto Rico, is currently under medical care, suffering from severe injury to his leg. Sanchez's injuries are the result of brutal treatment at a local Puerto Rican police station, following his illegal arrest during a strike at the Lisa Braeters Co.

A police department investigation of the affair is underway, following a complaint filed by union officials.

Firm's False Promises

The company, a non-union newcomer to the Puerto Rican scene, began operations a few months ago with a crew of workers persuaded to stay out of the union by promises of high wages and good working conditions.

But as work loads became heavier and piece rates were cut down, it soon became obvious to Lisa Brae employees that they had been hoodwinked, and that only a union contract could bring real gains.

A committee of workers then asked ILGWU organizers for help in their efforts to make the boss

promises stick. Shortly thereafter, they, together with the rest of Lisa Brae's workers, joined the ILGWU and went out on strike.

On the first day of the strike, the plant manager tried to browbeat the pickets into surrendering. When organizers Sanchez and Emilia Rodriguez protested, the plant manager returned soon after with a squad of police who arrested the organizers.

ICFTU SEMINAR GROUP AT CANADIAN SESSION HEARS SHANE HIT BIAS

Fifty students of trade union affairs from various parts of the free world including a delegation from Southeast Asia, were told last week that the recent events in Little Rock, Arkansas, do not represent the attitude of either Canadian or American organized labor.

The statement was made by ILGWU Vice Pres. Bernard Shane at a reception for the students, delegates to the annual seminar of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, held this year in the city of Banff, Alberta, on the invitation of the Canadian Labor Congress.

The reception was given by the Jewish Labor Committee, with the cooperation of the ILGWU, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, and the Hatmakers, Cap and Millinery Workers' Union.

Following the seminar, the students, many of them guests in the homes of Canadian workers, were invited to visit trade union centers in Montreal and Toronto. They trip to Canada were sponsored by the local unions, including the ILGWU.

The 20th anniversary of the establishment of the ILGWU in Montreal will be observed this year at the Mount Royal Hotel, Nov. 28.

The ball, an annual affair, is expected to be one of the most successful ever held. Tentative article schedule to perform for the event are two of Canada's leading singers, Claire Gagnier, soprano, and Thelma Grayson, mezzo.

Another "name" guest at the Ball des Middlelines will be Gratien, (HE-CO) Gelinas, leading Canada stage personality, who will act as chairman of the board of judges selecting the new queen of the Middlelines.

Pertman Inaugurates Series Of Feinberg Memorial Talks

Prof. Selig Pertman of the University of Wisconsin, dean of American labor historians, inaugurated a new series of lectures on human relations in industry, under the auspices of the Israel Feinberg Memorial Fund, on Oct. 8 at the Fashion Institute of Technology.

Dr. Pertman outlined the historical development of the trade union movement and industrial relations from their inception in England in the middle ages. In describing the evolution of collective bargaining, Prof. Pertman emphasized that according to his philosophy of the labor movement, the history of bargaining included all the avenues of social betterment available in the trade union movement.

In describing the evolution of bargaining, he included all the avenues of social betterment available in the trade union movement. He pointed out that this is a concrete example of his theme.

Vice Pres. Isidore Nagel, general manager of the Cloak Joint Board, was chairman. Before introducing Dr. Pertman, he paid tribute to the memory of Israel Feinberg, the late ILGWU vice president, in whose name the lecture series and a course in human relations at the Fashion Institute of Technology was established, by a grant from the Israel Feinberg Memorial Fund. Dr. Lawrence I. Betshel, president of FIT, and Mark Starr, ILGWU education director, who cooperated with Nagel and Vice Pres. Julius Hochman to plan the Israel Feinberg Memorial course and lectures.

150 Shop Leaders At L.A. Institute

One hundred fifty shop chairman and chairladies of the Los Angeles Dress and Sportswear Joint Board will spend the weekend of Oct. 18-20 at Melrose Vista Lodge, Upland, Calif., attending lectures, taking part in discussions and workshops, learning to do their important union job more effectively, report Vice Pres. Samuel Otto, Pacific Coast director, and John Utner, joint board president.

Concentrating on day-in-day activities in the shop, topics covered will include grievance procedure, communicating with workers, piece-rate settlements, engineering department functioning, contract provisions, unions administration, organizational methods.

BOOK FRONT

by Miriam Spischnicker

Assembly Line Tales Portray Work Drudgery

ON THE LINE. By Harvey Swados. Little, Brown and Co. \$2.75.

Despite the fact that millions of human beings spend the largest single part of their days at work, very few books have been written in the way men behave as they labor. The thoughts and feelings of the baker, the structural steel worker, the engraver and other skilled and semi-skilled craftsmen as they contend with the work in



hand should be a fitting subject for the imaginative writer.

Work is done in a specific environment and the company of other workers. Harvey Swados has sought to capture imaginatively, but on the basis of his own experience as an automobile worker, the day-to-day aspects of men's behavior at their work on an assembly line. The vast mechanization that has generally lightened the world's burden of work has not made it any easier for those who must still perform it.

Through organization and collective effort, workers have increased the fruits of their labor. Yet, as Swados shows in these interlocking short stories, the men at the belt wheels not only with the frightful monotony of the repetitive function, but also with the stifling and grinding pace of the communal work.

The stories are done with an artful simplicity. Taken together, they point up the unending dream of the wage earner to cluster-buddy with the dream of finer things.

MEMOIRS OF A REVOLUTIONARY

By Dwight Macdonald. Farrar, Straus and Cudahy. \$3.75.

Mr. Macdonald is a vigorous and forthright commentator on political affairs with a sense of personal integrity that kept him changing positions during the political ferment on the left in the 1930s. His book is a collection of pieces written for his own and other publications during and since that time.

Macdonald has been a revolutionist only in the sense that he has refused to conform to mass political thinking. His independence of thought, on the other hand, has led him in a circuitous route through a series of political splinter positions, from the independence of the skyism to pacifism and on to his present belief that salvation in the world lies with the armed might of the West.

This last treat is something which most of us have believed all along. Nevertheless, it is interesting to see what a difficult case involved road diets. As Dr. Macdonald has argued their way into final agreement.

'22' Institute Sifts Puerto Rican Problems

Spanish-speaking active members of New York Dressmakers' Local 22 attended a local-sponsored weekend institute this month devoted to problems of Puerto Ricans as union members and as New York City residents. The program, planned by Spaky Nebama, director of '22's Puerto Rican activities, included as speakers Joseph Montserrat, Joseph Morales and Local 22 Education Director Jo Maur.

JUSTICE

INTERNATIONAL LADIES' GARMENT WORKERS' UNION

ROCKET'S RED GLARE

BY TOSsing THEIR SATELLITE into outer space and single-handedly starting a new age for mankind, the Russians have pushed us flat on our complacency. Americans of all political followings are asking how could this happen to us. We have been taught to believe that in scientific know-how and in engineered production, we are without peers in the world, while the Russians, poor Kulsaks, are a nation of unlettered peasants still marvelling at the scientific miracle of the gramophone.

Now they have beaten us to a very important punch, whose impact is more than scientific. Smaller nations that must follow the bigger ones in whose power shadow they live, are not impressed solely by the futuristic aspects of the Russian triumph. Like the rest of us, but only more so because of their lack of strength and size, they are hardest hit by the military implications of the satellite.

We may expect coming months to turn into a season for self-questioning. The country wants to know who goofed. This will be a good thing if it will lead us to probe deeply for the reasons why, in this crucial effort, we have come in second best, at best.

EVEN NOW IT IS CLEAR that we have tripped on our over-confidence and our misconceptions. The quality of scientific research is not governed by a flag but by a budget. The pace of scientific research is not speeded up by putting the three branches of our armed forces in competition; it might go faster if they worked together.

Under a business-minded administration, we have allowed the wish for a balanced budget to obscure the larger perspectives of leadership for survival in the world. If the Russians follow through and make the most of their lead, they will soon have a red eye in the sky. No doubt, this too will be handled by the President with the same unperturbed aplomb that marked his assessment of the missile that is still whirling around the earth as a warning that the Russians can now throw more weight further than we can.

In our time, the cliché that knowledge is power has become a burning reality. We denigrate the egghead, yet it is the egghead who mans the laboratories. We neglect our schools, yet it is the schools through which we must train scientific workers. We pile our wealth high, yet the Russians, foregoing the comforts we take for granted, excel us in several branches of scientific endeavor. We may some day have to contend with them. The question is: Will we be able to beat them with our balanced budget?

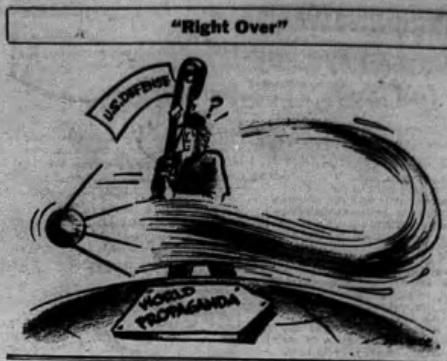
ISRAEL HOROWITZ

A HALF CENTURY AGO, Israel Horowitz was sewing shirtwaists in Brooklyn shops. When the historic revolt against the intolerable conditions in the vest shops erupted in 1909, Horowitz was in the ranks of the strikers, beginning the long record of service to the cause that filled his life to its last days.

That cause was the determination to end the sweatshop and to replace the scabald battle over piece rates that degraded both worker and employer with a more reasonable and less inhuman relationship. As an officer of the I.L.G.W.U., in educating ranks leading from shop chairman to union vice president, Horowitz made major contributions toward the attainment of that goal.

His battle line was the bargaining table. To it he brought a simple, direct and logical approach, an expert knowledge of the daily life in the shop, a command of the minutiae of price settlement procedures, a fine sense of tactical timing and a unique appreciation of the relationship of in-town and out-of-town workers. Thousands of garment workers are the direct beneficiaries of the better working conditions for which he bargained doggedly and expertly and which he leaves as his finest memorial.

"Whither Thou Goest..."



Technological Imperialism

By
John R. Dunning

Statement by the Dean of Columbia University School of Engineering at Combined Plus College Conference in Harrison, N. Y.

IN this age of intercontinental missiles and earth satellites, it has become impossible for our colleges and universities to remain complacent about the need for and the education of scientists and engineers. Indeed, it is a strange thing for our nation to have been complacent about the matter for so long.

We cannot afford to be so any longer. We have a struggle ahead of us which has become much closer and more crucial than we thought it would ever be. It is the struggle of technological development, and where once we had the superior strength that is simply not so today.

For in truth, despite our feelings on Communist ideology and in spite of our hope and belief that its power is on the wane, the technology of the USSR has been gradually but very consistently catching up with our own—and in some areas at least, has passed us by. In the period of only a few short years—and although we have seen it and know it to be coming—the progress of Soviet science and the development of Soviet scientists have come to the point where they can be said to be surpassing our own efforts.

WE have entered the age of technological imperialism. And while the Soviets have already begun their exploitation of it, we have not, because our people, our government, and our schools have not yet grasped its full significance.

It is the challenge of the technology which the Soviets have thrown out to us. It is the threat of a vastly more powerful Russia, and at the moment, the advantage is theirs. With the power to divert the complex of national economy in any desired direction, the USSR has promoted its technology virtually without limits.

With the power to channel human effort along those paths best serving the Communist system, that system has been able to produce scientists and engineers in certainly greater numbers and quite possibly of higher technical proficiency than our own.

WE have seen for some time that the Russians would outnumber us in sheer quantity of technological personnel.

In this country, in our sciences, creativity and scholarship are not separate endeavors; the progress of science and en-

gineering in America is not at the expense of the liberal arts, but goes along hand in hand with them. This is what has been the saving grace of American technology; in the long run it will enable us to win any contest of either force or progress.

Now, however, it has come to the point where the right spirit alone is not enough. The Soviets are challenging us, and a drastically new outlook is going to be necessary to answer that challenge.

Thus far, we have been able to maintain technological supremacy without undue stress or strain on our way of life. Whether this will remain so much longer has become a vital question, and indeed, whether we have done too little too late to answer the bid for technological imperialism on the part of the USSR may become another.

THE most important question, however, is the problem of answering the Soviets on their own terms; of how to divert more of our own national income and effort towards science and engineering and their teaching—without sacrificing human values or the liberal way of thinking, and without lowering that standard of living we have enjoyed so long.

That this is still possible is no longer the certainty it once was. It begins to look as though our people might yet have to choose between the luxury of new automobiles models each year and the kind of technology which will maintain our economic status and insure continued progress in this country.

More than ever before, the development of the sciences, and the encouragement and education of potential engineers and mathematicians—and the teachers to train them—require the support of our entire society.

We need the cooperation of the mass media to convince the nation of the necessity for such development and encouragement; we need the willingness of our schools to take a stern look at their curricula; and we need the assistance of both industrial and government aid to make both of these practical realities.

It is only with this support that we will regain the edge in technology. And it is only if we are successful in countering this "new imperialism" that the effort of free men in a free society, along lines of both technique and spirit, will capture the mind and imagination of man the world over.