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# JUSTICE

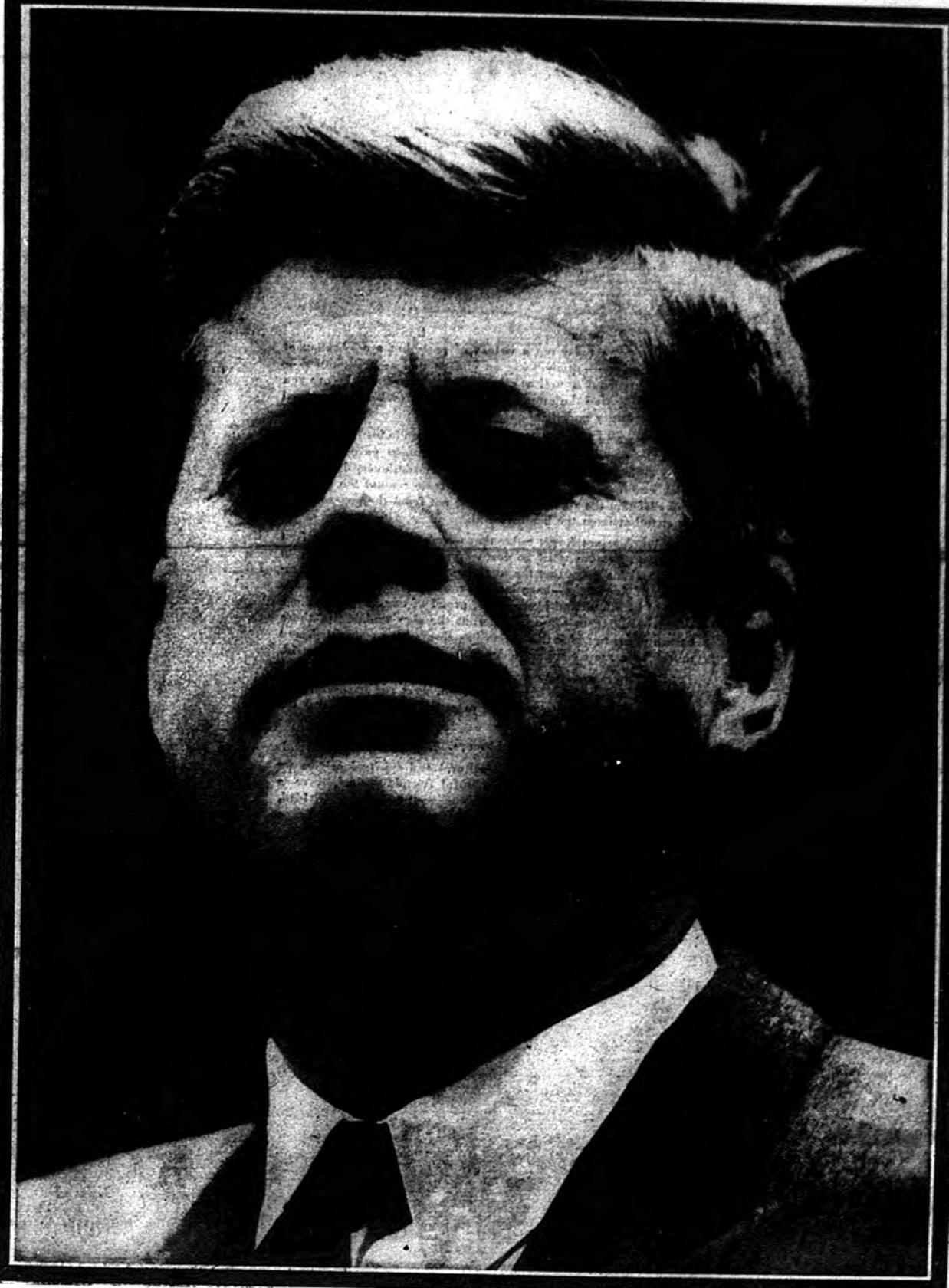
INTERNATIONAL LADIES' GARMENT WORKERS' UNION

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*Inaugural Address of President  
John Fitzgerald Kennedy, Wash-  
ington, D.C., January 20, 1961.*

**W**E observe today not a victory of party but a celebration of freedom—symbolizing an end as well as a beginning—signifying renewal as well as change. For I have sworn before you and Almighty God the same solemn oath our forebears prescribed nearly a century and three-quarters ago.

The world is very different now. For man holds in his mortal hands the power to abolish all forms of human poverty and all forms of human life. And yet the same revolutionary beliefs for which our forebears fought are still at issue around the globe—the belief that the rights of man come not from the generosity of the state but from the hand of God.

We dare not forget today that we are the heirs of that first revolution. Let the word go forth from this time and place, to friend and foe alike, that the torch has been passed to a new generation of Americans—born in this century, tempered by war, disciplined by a hard and bitter peace, proud of our ancient heritage—and unwilling to witness or permit the slow undoing of those human rights to which this nation has always been committed, and to which we are committed today at home and around the world.

Let every nation know, whether it wishes us well or ill, that we shall pay any price, bear any burden, meet any hardship, support any friend, oppose any foe to assure the survival and the success of liberty.

This much we pledge—and more.

To those old allies whose cultural and spiritual origins we share, we pledge the loyalty of faithful friends. United, there is little we cannot do in a host of new cooperative ventures. Divided, there is little we can do—for we dare not meet a powerful challenge at odds and split asunder.

To those new states whom we welcome to the ranks of the free, we pledge our word that one form of colonial control shall not have passed away merely to be replaced by a far more iron tyranny. We shall not always expect to find them supporting our view. But we shall always hope to find them strongly supporting their own freedom—and to remember that, in the past, those who foolishly sought power by riding the back of the tiger ended up inside.

To those peoples in the huts and villages of half the globe struggling to break the bonds of mass misery, we pledge our best efforts to help them help themselves, for whatever period is required—not because the Communists may be doing it, not because we seek their votes, but because it is right. If a free society cannot help the many who are poor, it cannot save the few who are rich.

To our sister republics south of the border, we offer a special pledge—to convert our good words into good deeds—in a new alliance for progress—to assist free men and free governments in casting off the chains of poverty. But this peaceful revolution of hope cannot become the prey of hostile powers. Let all our neighbors know that we shall join them to oppose aggression or subversion anywhere in the Americas. And let every other power know that this hemisphere intends to remain the master of its own house.

To that world assembly of sovereign states, the United Nations—our last best hope in an age where the instruments of war have far outpaced the instruments of peace, we renew our pledge of support—to prevent it from becoming merely a forum for invective—to strengthen its shield of the new and the weak—and to enlarge the area in which its writ may run.

Finally, to those nations who would make themselves our adversary, we offer not a pledge but a request: that both sides begin anew the quest for peace, before the dark powers of destruction unleashed by science engulf all humanity in planned or accidental self-destruction.

We dare not tempt them with weakness. For only when our arms are sufficient beyond doubt can we be certain beyond doubt that they will never be employed.

But neither can two great and powerful groups of nations take comfort from our present course—both sides overburdened by the cost of modern weapons, both rightly alarmed by the steady spread of the deadly atom, yet both racing to alter that uncertain balance of terror that stays the hand of mankind's final war.

So let us begin anew—remembering on both sides that civility is not a sign of weakness, and sincerity is always subject to proof. Let us never negotiate out of fear. But let us never fear to negotiate.

Let both sides explore what problems unite us instead of hectoring those problems which divide us.

Let both sides, for the first time, formulate serious and precise proposals for the inspection and control of arms—and bring the absolute power to destroy other nations under the absolute control of all nations.

Let both sides seek to invoke the wonders of science instead of its terrors. Together let us explore the stars, conquer the deserts, eradicate disease, tap the ocean depths and encourage the arts and commerce.

Let both sides unite to heed in all corners of the earth the command of Isaiah—to “undo the heavy burdens . . . [and] let the oppressed go free.”

And if a beach-head of cooperation may push back the jungle of suspicion, let both sides join in creating a new endeavor—not a new balance of power, but a new world of law, where the strong are just and the weak secure and the peace preserved.

All this will not be finished in the first 100 days. Nor will it be finished in the first 1,000 days, nor in the life of this administration, nor even perhaps in our lifetime on this planet. But let us begin.

In your hands, my fellow citizens, more than mine, will rest the final success or failure of our course. Since this country was founded, each generation of Americans has been summoned to give testimony to its national loyalty. The graves of young Americans who answered the call to service surround the globe.

Now the trumpet summons us again—not as a call to bear arms, though arms we need—not as a call to battle, though embattled we are—but a call to bear the burden of a long twilight struggle year in and year out, “rejoicing in hope, patient in tribulation”—a struggle against the common enemies of man: tyranny, poverty, disease and war itself.

Can we forge against these enemies a grand and global alliance, north and south, east and west, that can assure a more fruitful life for all mankind? Will you join in that historic effort?

In the long history of the world, only a few generations have been granted the role of defending freedom in its hour of maximum danger. I do not shrink from this responsibility—I welcome it. I do not believe that any of us would exchange places with any other people or any other generation. The energy, the faith, the devotion which we bring to this endeavor will light our country and all who serve it—and the glow from that fire can truly light the world.

And so, my fellow Americans! ask not what your country can do for you—ask what you can do for your country.

My fellow citizens of the world: ask not what America will do for you, but what together we can do for the freedom of man.

Finally, whether you are citizens of America or citizens of the world, ask of us here the same high standards of strength and sacrifice which we ask of you. With a good conscience our only sure reward, with history the final judge of our deeds, let us go forth to lead the land we love, asking His blessing and His help, but knowing that here on earth God's work must truly be our own.



Address of President John F. Kennedy before Convention of the American Federation of Labor-Congress of Industrial Organizations, New York City, November 15, 1963.

**THE OTHER DAY I READ IN A NEWSPAPER** where Senator Goldwater asked for labor's support before 2,000 cheering Illinois businessmen.

I have come here to ask labor's support for a program for the United States.

I am glad to come to this convention and I think the AFL-CIO at this convention, and looking back over the years, over this century, can take pride in the actions it has taken, pride in the stands it has made, pride in the things it has done not only for the labor movement but for the United States as a whole.

I think that those who oppose what we are trying to do today should recall the comparative history of the years between World War I and II and the years since World War II. A 20-year period from 1919 to 1939 was marked by an 11-year depression, a 2-year depression, 8 years of stagnation in the Twenties on the farms of America and all of the efforts which were made in the Thirties against almost comparable opposition to what we are doing today.

**ALL OF THE EFFORTS WHICH WERE MADE** in the Thirties and later carried out in the administration of President Truman have made it possible for us to have a far different history from 1945 through 1963.

Those years from 1945 through 1963 tell the story of the progress which Franklin Roosevelt made in the Thirties and on which we now live and benefit in the 1960's.

It is no accident that this country staggered through 20 years after 1919. And it is no accident that this country has steadily increased in wealth and strength in the years from 1945 on.

It is because of the steps that were taken in the Thirties to lay the foundation for progress in the Forties and Fifties and Sixties that make it possible for us to meet in these circumstances.

And our obligation in the 1960's is to do those things in the Congress of the United States and in the various states which will make it possible for others in the 1970's and 1980's to continue to live in prosperity.

**THREE YEARS AGO AND ONE WEEK BY A** "landslide" the people of the United States elected me to the Presidency of this country. It is possible that you had something to do with that majority of 112,000 votes. I think it therefore appropriate to say something about what we've done and even more appropriate, to say something about what we must do.

With your concern, we have worked to try to improve the lot of the people of the United States.

In the last 3 years we have doubled the number of nuclear weapons in our strategic alert forces; in the 3 years we have increased by 45 percent the number of combat-ready Army divisions.

We have increased by 600 percent the number of our counter-insurgency forces, increased by 175 percent our procurement of airlift aircraft and doubled our Polaris and Minuteman programs. The United States is stronger today than ever before in our history. And with that strength we work for peace.

**AND HERE IN THE UNITED STATES, WE HAVE** encouraged the peaceful desegregation of schools in 238 districts, theaters in 144 cities, restaurants in 129 cities and lunch counters in 100 cities, while at the same time taking executive action to open doors to our citizens in transportation terminals and polling places and public and private employment.

And finally we have been working to strengthen the economy of the United States through the Area Redevelopment Act of '61, through the Public Works Acceleration Act of '62, through the Manpower Development and Training Act of '62.

We have increased industry's ability and desire to hire men through the most extensive and promising trade expansion act in our history, through the most comprehensive housing and urban renewal act of all times, through liberalized depreciation guidelines and through over a billion dollar loan to small businessmen.

We have boosted the purchasing power and relieved the distress of some of those least able to

take care of themselves—by increasing the minimum wage to \$1.25, which is still much too low, and expanding its coverage by 3½ millions, which is still too little—by increasing social security benefits to men and women who can retire at the age of 62—by granting for the first time in the history of the United States public assistance to several hundred thousand children of unemployed fathers—and by extending the benefits of nearly 3 million jobless workers.

**BY DOING THESE THINGS AND OTHERS WE** have attempted to work for the benefit of our people. And I can assure you that if we could obtain—and I see no good reason why we should not—the prompt passage of the pending \$11 billion tax reduction bill we will be sailing by next April on the winds of the longest and strongest peacetime expansion in the history of the United States.

Our national output 3 years ago was \$500 billion. In January 3 years later it will be \$600 billion, a record rise of \$100 billion in 36 months. For the first time in history we have 70 million men and women at work. For the first time in history, factory earnings have exceeded \$100 a week. And even the stock market has broken all records—though we only get credit when it goes down.

The average factory worker takes home \$10 a week more than he did 3 years ago and 2½ million people more are at work. In fact, if the economy during the last 2½ years had grown at the same lagging pace which it did in the last 2½ years of the Fifties, unemployment today would be 8 percent. In short, we have made progress, but all of us know that more progress must be made.

**I AM HERE TODAY TO TALK ABOUT** the right to work—the right to have a job in this country in a time of prosperity in the United States. That's the real right-to-work issue of 1963.

In spite of this progress, this country must move so fast to even stand still.

Even with this astonishing economic progress, which in the last 18 months has meant that the United States has grown faster economically than France and Germany than any country in Europe but 2, even with this extraordinary economic progress in the 18 months, we still have an unemployment rate of 5½ percent with 4 million people out of work. Productivity goes up so fast, so many millions come into the labor market that unless we have the most extraordinary economic progress in the history of our country we cannot possibly make a dent in the 5½ percent figure. Ten million more jobs are needed in the next 2½ years.

So while we take some satisfaction in what we have done and tried to do, this group more than any knows how much we still have left to do and I hope the day will never come, nor do I predict it, when the AFL-CIO will be satisfied with anything less than the best.

Four million people are out of work. All of the people who opposed the efforts we are making to try to improve the economic climate of the United States, who talked to us so long about socialism and deficits and all the rest should look at that figure. And judging from last summer's statistics, 3 times that many have experienced some unemployment.

And that hanging over the labor market makes it more difficult for those of you who speak for labor at the bargaining table to speak with force. When there are so many people out of work it affects the whole economic climate. That is why I think that this issue of economic security, of jobs, is the basic issue facing the United States in 1963 and I wish we could get everybody talking about it.

**A QUARTER OF THE PEOPLE WE ARE TALK-**ing about are out of work 15 weeks or longer and their families feel it. This is a year of prosperity, of record prosperity, and 1954 was a year of recession, and yet our unemployment rate is as high today as it was in 1954.

Last year's loss of man hours in terms of those willing but unable to find fulltime work was a staggering one billion work-days lost, equivalent to shutting down the entire country for 3 weeks with no pay. That is an intolerable waste for this rich country of ours.

And that is why I say that economic security is the No. 1 issue today. It is not so recognized by everyone. There are those who oppose the tax

but the youth employment bill, who oppose more money for depressed areas and job retraining and other public needs.

And they are powerful and articulate. They are campaigning on a platform of so-called individual initiative. They talk loudly of deficits and socialism. But they do not have a single constructive job-creating program of their own and they oppose the efforts that we are making. And I do not believe that selling TVA is a program to put people to work.

There are those who support our efforts for jobs but say it is not the No. 1 issue. Some may say that civil rights is the No. 1 issue. This nation needs the passage of our bill if we are to fulfill our constitutional obligations. But no one gains from a fair employment practice bill if there is no employment to be had. No one gains by being admitted to a lunch counter if he has no money to spend.

No one gains from attending a better school if he does not have a job after graduation. No one thinks much of the right to own a good home, or to sleep in a good hotel, or go to the theatre, if he has no work and no money. Civil rights legislation is important. But to make that legislation effective, we need jobs in the United States.

**AND SOME MAY SAY THAT THE NO. 1 domestic issue is education—and this nation must improve its education. What concerns me almost more than anything is the statistic that there will be 8 million young boys and girls coming into the labor market in the Sixties who have not graduated from high school.**

Where are they going to find jobs? Which of your unions is going to be able to put them to work? The best schools, the best teachers and the best books—all these are of no avail if there are no jobs. The out-of-work college graduate is just as much out of work as the school dropout. The family beset by unemployment cannot send a child to college. It may even encourage him to drop out of high school to find a job which he will not keep.

Education is a key to the growth of this country. We must educate our children as our most valuable resource. We must make it possible for those who have talent to go to college but only if those who are educated can find a job.

**IF JOBS ARE THE MOST IMPORTANT DOMESTIC issue that this country faces, then clearly no single step can now be more important in sustaining the economy of the United States than the passage of our tax bill. For this will help consumer markets, build investment demand, build business incentive and therefore provide jobs for a total addition to the economy of the United States in the next months of nearly \$30 billion.**

We dare not wait for this tax cut until it is too late, as perhaps some would have. On the average this nation's period of peacetime expansion before the downturn comes leading to a recession has lasted 28 months since 1920 and 32 months since the end of the Second World War.

Today we are already in our 33rd month of economic expansion and we urgently need that tax cut as insurance against a recession next year. And we need that cut where it will do the most good. And the benefits mostly will go to those 2 or 3 million people who will out of that bill find new jobs.

But tax cuts are not enough, and jobs are not enough, and higher earnings and greater growth and record prosperity are not enough—unless that prosperity is used to sustain a better society. We can take real pride in a \$600 billion economy and 70 million jobs only when they are underwriting to the fullest extent possible to improve our schools, to rebuild our cities, to counsel our youth, to assure our health and to care for our aged and infirm.

And next Monday the House Ways and Means Committee will open its hearings on a bill too long delayed to provide hospital insurance for our older citizens. These hearings are desirable, but the facts are known.

**OUR OLDER AND RETIRED WORKERS ARE sick more often and for longer periods than the rest of the population. Their income is only half of that of our younger citizens. They cannot afford either the rising cost of hospital care or the rising cost of hospital insurance. Their children cannot afford to pay hospital bills for 3 generations—for their children, for themselves, and for their parents. I have no doubt that most children are**

willing to try to do it, but they cannot, and I think that the United States should heed its responsibilities as a proud and resourceful country.

I cannot tell whether we are going to get this legislation before Christmas, but I can say that I believe that this Congress will not go home next summer to the people of the United States without passing this bill. I think we should stay here till we do.

Abraham Lincoln said 100 years ago "All that serves labor serves the nation." And I want to express my appreciation for the actions which this organization has taken under the leadership of George Meany both at home and abroad to strengthen the United States, to support assistance to those who are trying to be free, to make it possible in this Hemisphere for labor organizations to be organized so that wealth can be more fairly distributed.

I saw a reference to \$10 million which the AFL-CIO is putting into a housing project in Mexico. This hemisphere is our home and I cannot understand as I read the debates of the Senate, and as I said yesterday, why it is possible for the Soviet Union with one-half the wealth of the United States to put as much resources and money and assistance into the single island of Cuba with 8 million people as this rich country does in its own backyard for all of the countries of Latin America. Can somebody explain that to me?

**STRENGTH ABROAD AND STRENGTH AT home; and at home in the final analysis depends upon the vitality of the economy of the United States. If we move from recession to recession, if we are unable to master our economic problems and permit them to master us, if we move into a recession in '64 and demonstrate that the cycle which has been traditional is still with us, if we end up that recession with 8 or 9 million people out of work, what then is going to be said about the leader of the West?**

What we are attempting to do affects not only your members but all of the people of this country and all those who around the world depend upon us. The United States is the keystone in the arch of freedom. However disappointing life may be around the world, the forces of freedom are still in the majority and they are in the majority after 18 years because the United States has been willing to bear the burden.

There are one million Americans serving the United States outside its borders. No country in the history of the world has a comparable record. No country has ever sent so many of its sons and daughters around the globe, not to oppress but to help people be free.

But we can maintain them, we can maintain our commitments, we can strengthen the cause of freedom, we can provide equality of opportunity for our people only in the final analysis if we provide for a growing and buoyant and progressive economy here in the United States, and that is what we are attempting to do.

And I come here today and express my appreciation to the AFL-CIO, which in the 1960's is attempting to do what its fathers did in the 1930's in supporting a program of progress for this country of ours.

So we ask your help, not next year—but now. Marshal Lyautey, the great French marshal, went out to his gardener and asked him to plant a tree. The gardener said, "Why plant it? It won't flower for 100 years." "In that case," the Marshal said, "plant it this afternoon."

That is what we have to do.



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INTERNATIONAL LADIES' GARMENT WORKERS' UNION

Vol. XLV, No. 23

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Price 18 Cents



**PRESIDENT LYNDON BAINES JOHNSON**

On November 23, 1963  
ILOWU Pres. David Dubinsky  
sent the following message  
to Lyndon Baines Johnson,  
36th President of the  
United States of America:

NEW YORK, N.Y.

PRESIDENT LYNDON B. JOHNSON  
WHITE HOUSE, WASHINGTON, D.C.

WHILE YET GRIEF IS HEAVY IN OUR HEARTS WE SEND YOU OUR FIRM PLEDGE OF SUPPORT AS YOU TAKE UP THE TREMENDOUS BURDENS OF THE PRESIDENCY. MAY YOU BRING WISDOM AND COURAGE TO THE CAUSE OF FREEDOM FOR ALL. YOU KNOW PERSONALLY WITH WHAT AFFECTION THE LADIES' GARMENT WORKERS OF THIS NATION REGARD YOU. FOR THEM AND FOR MYSELF I EXTEND WARMEST WISHES FOR YOUR CONTINUING GOOD HEALTH GOOD LUCK TO YOU AND MRS. JOHNSON.

DAVID DUBINSKY, PRESIDENT  
INTERNATIONAL LADIES' GARMENT  
WORKERS' UNION

