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31st ILGWU Convention

31st ILGWU convention meets in Atlantic City May 23 to May 31 . . . Reelects Dubinsky president, Louis Stulberg, general secretary-treasurer and Luigi Antonini, first vice president . . . Hears Labor Secretary Goldberg and AFL-CIO Pres. Meany in shorter work week "debate" . . . Vice President Johnson and UAW Pres. Reuther talk on national and world problems . . . President Kennedy hails ILGWU . . . Convention hits Landrum-Griffin, union-in-union, anti-trust suit aimed at ILGWU . . . Sets course for political, educational, organizing programs . . . Declares policy on international situation, civil rights, health care, housing . . . Dubinsky keynote address surveys membership turnover, imports, large firm, automation . . . Appleton, Breslow elected new vice presidents . . . Delegates discuss ILGWU label, merging retirement funds.

STICK &
OVERSIZE

In Convention Keynote

DUBINSKY SIFTS CHANGING PROBLEMS

Main portions of keynote address by Pres. David Dubinsky at opening session of 31st ILGWU convention in Atlantic City, N.J.

I LOOK BACK ALONG THE YEARS TO THAT convention almost 30 years ago when, for the first time, I brought this crowd down for such an opening and I realize that for the tenth time in these three decades I do so with the warning that we meet in a very troubled time.

There were the early conventions at which our problems were how to build our union and how to stabilize our industry; there were the conventions at which we struggled with the problems of division and reunion in the labor movement; there were our great wartime conventions through which we joined with the rest of organized labor in seeking every possible way in which to help our country meet the challenge of the dictators. Through the years, the problems have changed. We have given our attention to the problems of our union, our industry, our country. Now, we are confronted with international problems.

In the three years since we last met in convention, we have moved closer and closer to the problem.

We, with our freedoms, our democratic ways, our hopes for complete tolerance, our faith in the individual—we face a challenge to our way of life by a rival that denies our values, despises the rules we live by, does not hesitate to use any means to achieve its end.

In coming days, in the sessions in this hall, we shall seek answers to many problems. We will make progress on resolutions that range from welfare funds to water power, day centers to civil rights.

THIS CONVENTION IS MET TO LAY DOWN those guiding principles and policies which during the next three years will continue to strengthen our union so that we can make our contribution to the spiritual and material progress of our nation in this time when it needs decisions of our survival. We do not wish to run away from this responsibility.

Between the last convention and the present, a great change has taken place in the American scene. It was a change that we helped to bring about. It was a change that has given a new energy, a new drive, and a new hope to the American people. I refer to the election of John F. Kennedy as President of the United States.

At our last convention, we sounded the call for a change in our national administration. In my keynote address three years ago, I spoke of the many ways in which President Eisenhower had used his great power to veto one piece of social legislation after another. It was then our conclusion that it was the duty of the American people, in the 1960 election to "veto the veto" by the election of a liberal-minded President.

At the same convention we had a guest: a young Senator from Massachusetts, who had established a record in both the House of Representatives and in the U.S. Senate as a champion of liberal and labor causes. In introducing him, I said, "no matter whatever post in American life to which you will aspire, we will always be with you."

A year after that convention, we were called upon to redeem our pledge. We kept our word. We redeemed our pledge with our votes, with our contributions, with our rallies, day-by-day and door-to-door work to restore liberalism to the White House.

WHAT ARE THE FRONTS ALONG WHICH WE have moved forward in the last three years?

At the last convention we called for eliminating the bottleneck created by the House Rules Committee which held back practically all progressive legislation. By a narrow vote, President Kennedy won a partial victory. The decision was so close that we would have lost if 3 votes had gone the other way.

Once this fight was completed, the administration moved to pass a higher minimum wage law. This subject we know only too well. We fought for the original bill that went into effect in 1955 which provided a 25-cent minimum for the country. We fought subsequently for the 75-cent minimum. We fought thereafter to raise it to the face of the unwillingness of President Eisenhower to above 90 cents an hour. He even threatened a veto. We did not win the \$1.25 at that

time, but we did succeed in getting a \$1 minimum.

It was not until after John F. Kennedy became President that we managed to get the \$1.25 minimum in two steps—the \$1.10 which became effective last year and is to rise next year to \$1.25. There was an important difference in this fight. The President was not fighting us. With him in the White House and with the people of the United States throughout the land backing



Pres. David Dubinsky

the measure, we won the higher wage standard and succeeded in extending the coverage of the law to more than 3½ million workers who had never been covered before. This was a great victory for us.

Many other measures occupied our attention in the past two years—housing, federal aid to education and the proposed department of urban affairs. But the greatest issue before Congress is the extension of our social security system to provide hospital care for our senior citizens.

THE GREAT DECISION ON MEDICAL CARE will be made in the Congress of the United States. We don't have to worry about the President; he is for it. We don't have to worry about the American people; they are for it. A recent survey says that three out of every four Americans favor medical care for the aged under social security.

But we do have to worry about the Congress of the United States, especially the House of Representatives. At our last convention, we said that we had to make the House of Representatives more representative. We meant that we ought to try to elect more liberal-minded Congressmen.

The Supreme Court, in a recent historic-making decision, opened the door for the people

in the cities and industrial areas to get fair and equal representation in state legislatures and to Congress.

We trust the judgment of the American people in their desire to move forward to new frontiers. But judgment does not win elections. Votes do. Our big job in November will be to get out a big vote.

While we are, in some parts of the country, urging our members to avail themselves of the right to vote, there are other parts of the nation where people are denied the right to vote. It was our hope that when we met in convention we would be able to vote that every American had an equal right to vote regardless of race or creed or color.

Our hopes rested on proposed legislation that would establish a uniform basis for literacy tests in our states so that no state would use the literacy test as an excuse to deprive any individual of the right to vote. We believe that an equal right to vote is a basic right in a democracy; we also believe that people who have the right to vote will ultimately learn to use the ballot to establish and improve their economic and social rights.

It is with great regret that we must report that the literacy bill was talked to death in the Senate. Those who did so may have won a battle but we believe that they will lose the war. They have shown only too clearly the danger to a democracy when a clear minority is given the power to block the will of the majority.

When the next Senate convenes, it is clear that there will be a move to bring majority rule to that body, where a first step has been needed for a long time to establish full civil rights in America.

AS TRADE UNIONISTS, WE ARE, OF COURSE, concerned with the state of world affairs. Since our last convention, the international situation has become more critical. The threat of war still hangs over Berlin because the Kremlin will not permit the reunification of Germany through free elections. The Wall of Shame separating East from West Berlin is another in the long list of Soviet Russia's outrages against mankind. The free world knows that Moscow's aim is to take over Berlin, then Germany, and—after that—the world, if they can.

We are greatly heartened by the fact that we have a national administration today that is fully conscious of this threat, that does not fear to negotiate but does not negotiate from fear.

Needless to say, we are anxious and concerned about nuclear fallout resulting from weapons testing. As the entire world knows, Soviet Russia broke the moratorium on testing even while its representatives were meeting with ours to work out an agreement to control nuclear armament. Yet, Khrushchev had pledged that his government would never be the first to resume test ing!

We applaud the Kennedy administration for offering to conduct no further tests—notwithstanding the Soviet's resumption tests—if agreed. (Continued on Page 15)



Benjamin Kaplan administers oath of office to incoming General Executive Board.



View of the convention as it was addressed by Judge Simon Rifkind, one of a number of guest speakers who also included Vice President Lyndon B. Johnson, Labor Secretary Arthur J. Goldberg, AFL-CIO Pres. George Meany, UAW Pres. Walter P. Reuther.

31st ILG Convention Sets Course On Union, Trade, National Affairs

New ILG 'Veeps'



New vice presidents elected by 31st convention were Shelley Appleton (left), manager of Local 23, and Israel Breslow, manager of Local 22.

Elect Appleton, Breslow As New Vice Presidents

Two new vice presidents—Shelley Appleton and Israel Breslow—were elected to the ILGWU General Executive Board by the convention, taking the places of veteran board members Benjamin Kaplan and Julia Hochman, since 1956 director of the ILGWU Label Department who has retired.

Appleton, who at 43 is the youngest member of the GEB, has been the manager of New York Shirt and Sportswear Local 23 since January 1959. He also recently was designated as administrator of the union's two major national units, with Double Brooks (77 plants in 12 states) and M-J Specialty (12 plants in 6 states).

The new board member, who has a law degree from New York University, joined the ILGWU staff in 1946; during 1941-2 he was an organizer for the Northeast Department in Upstate New York. After three years' service with the U.S. Air Force in England during World War II, he returned

to the ILGWU as a business agent with Office and Distribution Local 99, becoming the local's assistant manager in 1950 and manager in 1953. He remained in that post until his election as the head of Local 23 in 1956.

Appleton, who is also vice chairman of the New York County Liberal Party, is active in a number of other organizations, including the James Weldon Johnson Community Center in East Harlem, and was drive chairman for the Morris Hillman memorial chair at Brandeis University.

He is married to the former Jenn Dubinsky; they have a daughter, Rina. Breslow, who is 56, has been manager of New York Dressmakers' Local 21 since August (Continued on Page 17)

In the sixth decade of its history the ILGWU has achieved record resources of public esteem, financial strength and organizational stability despite legislated obstacles to organizing and harassing challenges from outside and inside the union. This was the main theme of eight days of debate and deliberation by 962 elected delegates who attended

the 31st ILGWU convention which started the session in Atlantic City on May 23.

The convention opened with a concert in the morning which featured Shirley Verrell-Carter, William Walker and a symphony orchestra conducted by Lasse Halas. Delegates were greeted by Vice Pres. William Ross as temporary chairman and a group of notables that included New Jersey Governor Richard J. Hughes.

Highlights of the first day was the keynote address by Pres. David Dubinsky in which the ILGWU chief executive surveyed the record of the ILGWU since the 1939 convention. In selected detail he traced political developments, economic trends, changes in the ILGWU welfare program, the organizational and constitutional picture as well as the record of the union label and the impact of imports.

In the afternoon of the first day the convention settled down to the business of accrediting its delegates and naming its committees. The official report indicated 962 delegates in attendance representing 471 local unions and 46 joint boards, joint councils, districts, councils and regional departments. Cutting across geographical units,

(Continued on Page 17)

Kennedy Greets Convention; ILG Says: 'Happy Birthday!'

Message from President John F. Kennedy brought to the ILGWU convention by Labor Secretary Goldberg:

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

President Dubinsky and my many friends of the ILGWU: I have asked Secretary of Labor Goldberg to extend to you my warm personal greetings and good wishes.

The history of the ILGWU is a source of great pride and satisfaction for all who believe in a progressive America and its strong, free institutions. The national interest is truly served when organizations like yours exercise their power and example to create a better life, provide equality of opportunity, and win a measure of security for working men and women.

I welcomed and appreciated your support in the past. I welcome and appreciate it now as the nation starts moving again toward the completion of its unfinished business at home, and its historical responsibilities abroad. A healthy and growing economy, full employment, a stable price level and full capacity production are goals worthy of our best efforts. They must be won and achieved, and we are determined—with the help of organizations like your own—to achieve them.

We must move forward as well against the great social needs in housing, in education, and in health care for the aged. I know that you share the goals of my administration in this effort, and know from your own history that those who build well for the welfare of the individual build for our entire society.

My best wishes for a successful and rewarding convention.
JOHN F. KENNEDY

At its session on May 29, the convention, through Pres. Dubinsky and Gen'l Sec'y Treas Stulberg, sent the following message to President Kennedy on the occasion of his 45th birthday:

The first business of our session this morning was a rousing approval of a happy birthday greeting to you today on behalf of the thousand delegates assembled here in our 31st convention and the 445,000 members whom they represent. We wish you good health and happiness together with your wonderful family for many years to come. At the same time, we wish for ourselves your continued service and leadership as one in whom we recognize our own aspirations for a better America and a world of peace in freedom. Your message to our convention stirred us deeply. We greet you with all the warmth in our hearts.



New Jersey Governor Hughes.

On Guard for Human Rights



Murray Gross (left), manager of New York Local 66, was sworn in last week by Mayor Robert F. Wagner as member of City Commission on Human Rights.

NAME MURRAY GROSS TO N.Y. RIGHTS GROUP; RE-ELECTED AYC HEAD

Murray Gross, manager of Local 66, has been appointed by Mayor Wagner to the New York City Commission on Human Rights. He will be especially concerned with discrimination in apprenticeship training.

At a swearing-in ceremony at City Hall on June 8, Mayor Wagner said: "Our city requires the maximum degree of cooperation from citizens in all walks of life to meet and resolve its broad and urgent challenges. . . . The field of labor law, of course, has a bulwark in supplying this leadership as vital to the effective operation of our city. . . . In which all of our people, coming to us from all parts of the world, shall enjoy equal opportunities in housing, in education, in employment—and in every other field." In addition to this honor, Gross was re-elected by acclamation as national chairman of the American Veterans Committee on June 3 at the group's recent annual convention in Atlantic City.

European women workers now receive 80 to 95 percent of the pay rate of men doing equal work under several Common Market agreements. Their goal is 100 percent parity.

Summer's near . . . and so is

UNITY HOUSE

The ILGWU's summer resort in the beautiful, cool Poconos of Pennsylvania . . . where the rule is the tops of everything in the way of accommodations, food, recreation, sports, swimming, entertainment—short, anything that's needed for that perfect vacation.

It's not too early to register NOW for choice accommodations. Do it at the new Unity House office.

275 - 7th Ave. (Phone OR 5-5700)

Delegates Unanimously Back ILG on 'Union Within Union'

Following a discussion in which 15 speakers from the floor participated, the convention delegates at their session on May 30 unanimously upheld the position of Pres. Dubinsky and the General Executive Board on the question of "a union within a union."

The action came in approving the report of the Committee on Officers' Report, which labeled the problem as one "which is unprecedented in the history of our union."

After reviewing the group's "disruptive activities" as detailed in the GEB Report to the convention—including going outside the normal channels of the union, carrying on of a smear campaign against Pres. Dubinsky and the ILGWU, and soliciting of funds from employers in violation of the union constitution—the committee declared that the GEB "saw in this ominous development not merely an attempt to voice grievances but the beginnings of a movement to gain power within the union leading inevitably to the creation of a political faction in our ranks."

Back GEB Stand

The committee voiced its concurrence with the substance of a number of resolutions introduced by various affiliates expressing

"full endorsement in all respects of the decisions and actions already taken by the GEB and further recommends that the GEB be empowered to continue to take all available means to oppose this union within a union."

It concluded that, "in view of the fact that the union within a union has challenged GEB decisions outside the regular channels of the ILGWU, the GEB is specifically authorized, if necessary, to defend the ILGWU position on this matter not only before administrative bodies such as the National Labor Relations Board, but if necessary, in the courts."

At the start of the discussion, Pres. Dubinsky particularly asked to hear from someone defending a union within a union, but none did so. Later Pres. Dubinsky indicated there had been no request from any member of the union within a union to address the convention; in any event, he emphasized,

only delegates or invited guests could do so.)

Of the speakers from the floor, a number stated they had been members of the union within a union in the early stages, but left the group after its true purposes became clear.

In his summary remarks, prior to the vote on the committee's report, Pres. Dubinsky stressed that "neither I, nor Duberg, nor any vice president, nor any manager, nor any assistant manager is an 'employee'."

"We don't want anyone serving the cause of our union unless they become part of us," he declared. "When they go to speak to workers, to adjust complaints, we want the workers to feel they are not dealing with hired help."

Recalling the damage that factional strife had done to the union during the Twenties, Pres. Dubinsky vowed that the organization would again be subjected to such disruption, particularly when inspired by outside influence as was the case with the union within a union.

Alex Rose Lauds ILG Decisive Role

The convention of the ILGWU has a special meaning to me and my entire organization. For 25 years our union has fought together on vital issues of this day, always faithful to the great traditions of the labor movement and always loyal to the historic needs of our liberal democracy. The leadership and the rank and file of both our unions are linked together in daily action for our common objectives.

In all these struggles it was my good fortune to work alongside my good friend, David Dubinsky, and with so many dedicated men and women of your splendid organization. Your contribution to the historic achievements of 1950 and 1961 elections are still fresh in the minds of everyone.

Once again you are on the eve of important decisions for the election year of 1962 and again you are destined to play an important and decisive role. No wonder the ILGWU is universally regarded as a great fortress of American democracy and your president, David Dubinsky, has reached new heights of public esteem. It is because of this that your convention and your deliberations are watched with high hopes and great expectations.

UNITED HATTERS, CAP & MILLINERY WORKERS INTERNATIONAL UNION
Alex Rose, President

L.A. Holdouts 'See the Light,' Ink Pact Gains Covering 300

After extensive negotiations, four holdout firms which refused to accept the terms of an industrywide agreement reached in December 1961 finally saw the "union light" and signed standard contracts with the Los Angeles Dyos and Sportswear Joint Board covering some 125 workers, reports Vice Pres. Samuel Otto, Pacific Coast director.

The new pacts were signed by Jobbers-G & O Sportswear, Volges of Hollywood and Hollywood Casuals—and affected workers at these firms' contractors, and by one manufacturer, Russett Dress Co.

Another agreement signing development recently reached between the Los Angeles Cloak Joint Board and Little California Coats extends the union's present contract with this firm for a two-year period.

In another action, the ILGWU

Schwartz, director of the Pacific Coast organizing department and organizer Ralph Smith.

Also, as a further example of trade union solidarity, anti-Judy Ford resolutions were passed by all California Federation of Labor groups, calling on union members and the general public not to buy the products of the runaway blouse manufacturer while it is being struck by the ILGWU.



Delegates enjoy morning stroll on famed Atlantic City boardwalk on way to Convention Hall.

Medical Care for Apples... Why Not for You?

If you were an apple you wouldn't have to worry. Senator Harry Byrd, political boss of Virginia, is the nation's largest apple grower. Apples get sick when his apples need medical care, they get it.

The Senator says: No government help for old folks when they get sick. His say he will oppose President Kennedy's plan to provide health benefits for the aged under the social security system. That, the Senator insists, would be socialism.

The federal government provides federal government apple doctors for apple trees at no cost to apple grow-

ers—not even Ross Byrd. The U.S. Agricultural Research Service carries on continuous research to see that apples and apple trees like Ross Byrd's apples and apple trees do not get sick and to treat them if they do. This is called medical care for apples and apple trees. It costs taxpayers millions, but it is for apples. It's not socialism.

The Senator from Virginia has never complained about health care for apples and apple trees although this is paid for straight from the treasury. Other politicians who are against a federal program of care for sick old

people appear federal care for sick animals, sick rivers, sick land.

The Anderson-King Bill would have the federal government do for old folk what it already does for sick apples—and on a share-the-cost basis through the social security system. The bill (S. 4222) is now in the hands of the House and Senate.

It has to be moved to the House of Representatives. You can move it by writing immediately to your Congressman telling him you want the Anderson-King bill passed.

NO! THE SHORTER

From address by Secretary of Labor
Arthur J. Goldberg at the convention.

I WANT TO SAY TO YOU, NOT ONLY AS AN old friend, but as Secretary of Labor, and for our administration, that we are proud of the ILGWU. We are proud of it not primarily because of its great past, but because of what it is doing now in the interest of the people it represents, the trade union movement as a whole, the nation and the world. We are also proud of it because of the part it is going to play in the future development of our country. We all talk about the need for bringing our people out of the slums and into the light of decent housing. You could have rested on your laurels and said you had a housing project in the East Side. But the other day, the President of the United States proudly participated in the dedication of a housing project on the West Side of New York that demonstrates new vitality, new vigor, and a new contribution to the public interest.

We have just finished an economic conference in Washington. What we are trying to accomplish is something that you have achieved in the last 40 years, and that is to get employers and union people to sit around the table and talk to each other.

The root cause of the 116-day steel strike in 1939 was the inability of management and labor to sit down and frankly talk to each other about common problems. Last year I addressed your National Coal and Salt Recovery Board—and that body is an example of what we are attempting to do in the country at large. One of the important persons contributing in that effort is your distinguished president, who acts as a member of the President's Advisory Committee on Labor-Management Policy.

THERE ARE CYNICS AND SKEPTICS, SOME with good motives, some with not so good motives, who are very free to criticize conditions in the garment industry.

There are those who say that the wages earned in the garment industry are not as high as they ought to be. People who say that are talking through their shirt sleeves. I have the facts on the contracts negotiated in this industry by your union, and I can say advisedly, there are no "sweetheart" contracts in this industry. A "sweetheart contract" is not to be judged by the amount of money stated in the wage section of the agreement because in a country as broadly diverse as our country, a wage in one industry will necessarily differ from the wage in another industry. The real test is whether the union vigilantly protects the interests of the workers of that industry. The second test is that of contracts responsibly negotiated which take into consideration all elements, the competitive position, the needs of the workers.

THE LADIES' GARMENT INDUSTRY, WE ALL know, is a highly competitive industry. Employers do not make a lot of money in the industry. There has been a squeeze in profits in this

industry for a long time, and the profit ratios are not high in comparison with other industries. These are the facts of life which any responsible trade union leader has the obligation of calling to your attention. But I would say based again upon a careful study of the contracts in your industry, they are the best that can be negotiated, considering the circumstances of the industry.

No contract is to be judged by wages alone. Frankly, do you know what the most important



Labor Secretary Arthur J. Goldberg

provision in your agreement is? It is the provision that establishes the shop chairman, and that ultimately calls for the impartial chairman to review what is being done, because this means that social justice and equity is being done to the worker in the shop, and that no longer is a unilateral decision by an employer the determinant of your destiny. That is much more important than the question of whether you get another penny, or a nickel, or a dime in the wage scale of the contract.

I HAVE READ SOME ACCOUNTS IN THE press about the garment unions of the country with reference to whether all elements are given appropriate consideration. It has been one of the earmarks of this organization that it is a great democratic union which, from the day it was established, insisted that union membership does not rest upon race, creed or color. Everybody has a place in this union. People have to earn a place in leadership by their dedication, by their honesty, by their devotion, by their ability. These are the tests which ought to be applied to everyone, and these are the tests that are being applied in this union.

35 Hours: More Jobs

In reply to Labor Secretary Goldberg's arguments against a nominal 35-hour week, Pres. Roosevelt made the following comments:

We know what automation means. We know what its effect on the working force of the country will be. There are still a million unemployed, not counting the 2 1/2 million that work part-time and not considering the natural surplus that we are going to get annually as a result of automation and as a result of the new working force.

A 35-hour week is bound to create employment for millions of people. Economy in the products of millions of people are bound to create purchasing power and give additional work to many others.

Of course, the logic, the reasons, and the economics of the Secretary of Labor and the others may be good and even better than mine. But I judge by experience. The 35-hour week in our industry carried us from creating an army of unemployed. The 40-hour week reached 24 years ago did enormous good for the country.

As a progressive and a New Frontiersman, like the President, you as well as I know that a lot of things have happened in the 24 years automation, efficiency, greater productivity, new products, new new new developments. Maybe it is time now to consider shorter hours for the benefit of the entire nation. And when wage increases are obtained, part of the increase should be used to offset the reduction of hours, thereby not creating inflation. And I think with good judgment and leadership, this could be accomplished.

There is more to a union than negotiating a collective bargaining agreement. A union must be conscious of what is going on in the world because we are not an island to ourselves anymore. And one of the outstanding qualities of this union is that it was aware of the threat to our democracy from Fascism and Communism, long before many other elements in our society.

There is another test of a union and that is whether or not it accepts the idea that it has an obligation to other workers. One of the greatest contributions made by this union and the other needle trade unions, as I well remember as former general counsel of the Steelworkers Union, is that when that great industry was unorganized, and when the pay in that industry was less than what it was in the needle trades, and when the needle trades unions did not have much in the treasury themselves because it was the depression years, they gave assistance to help organize these great industrial unions which have contributed so much to American life.

Of course, we have substandard conditions in certain shops, in certain plants, in certain retail establishments, in certain offices, and in certain segments of American industry, and those have to be attacked because in a country as rich and affluent as ours, we ought to get rid of substandard conditions. Our administration, with your help, has been waging an attack upon that problem.

Last year, we won a great victory in Congress when we were able to increase the minimum wage and at the same time extend its coverage. When the question arose as to whether it would be possible to get more people covered who were never covered before, who were getting 50 cents and 75 cents an hour, as against the question of whether the minimum could be increased for those already covered, the leadership of your union and other needle trade unions said that "while we need an increase in the minimum wage, if we have to sacrifice those not covered in order to get it, we do not want that increase."

That was an act of very high moral principle, and, fortunately, when you act on a moral principle, sometimes you are able, as in that situation, to achieve both results to the great benefit of the American people.

HAVING FRAISED YOU DESERVEDLY, I now have to disagree with you. However, I do that very openly, very candidly because that is a part of our great democracy too and I think the one thing you expect of our administration of President-Kennedy, or me as Labor Secretary, is that we frankly discuss with you our views.

(Continued on Page 16)



Discussions from the floor featured organizing and political problems.

WORK WEEK

Yes!

From address by AFL-CIO Pres. George Meany at the ILGWU convention.

SOME PEOPLE ARE WORRYING ABOUT THE future of the American trade union movement, complaining that we don't have the same seal, the same drive that we had in the early days.

Well, things have changed since those early days. We are, perhaps, more business-like, and maybe we do not get as excited. We had a two-day meeting in Washington early this week of labor and management representatives at the invitation of the President to discuss the economic problems of the country, especially as they relate to the relations between labor and management.

That meeting demonstrated to the business community of this country that the American trade union movement is not dying of dry rot and is not suffering from hardening of the arteries. It is very much awake and very much alive.

I WOULD LIKE TO TALK TO YOU ABOUT the problems facing the American people and the trade union movement. These problems are social, economic and political. All these domestic problems are overshadowed by the greatest issue of all: the problem of our nation's security and democratic way of life.

To meet this challenge, America must be ready to defend and deter aggression in the Far East, in Latin America, and other parts of the globe. This we are doing under the leadership of the very courageous young man who sits in the White House.

This competition is not alone in military and political fields. It is also on the economic side. World trade has become a weapon in the cold war. So America's economic health is not only important to us as trade unionists, but also as citizens because it is a definite factor in the cold war we are waging for the survival of the free way of life. It affects not only us as workers but all the people of this country.

Therefore, it is well to take a look at our economic situation. We have had a growth rate of about 2½ percent a year for the last 10 years. This is the lowest growth rate of any industrial nation in the free world. Compare this with France's 5 percent growth rate which they expect to maintain every year until 1975 at least. This means that we are falling to keep pace with the rest of the world, and we are failing to build our own economy and expand it, as we must to take care of our increasing population.

All economists agree that we must have at least 4½ to 4½ percent growth rate to maintain our dynamic economy, in order to provide the purchasing power that will keep it going. The best customer of American business is the American wage-earner: 96 percent of everything we produce is sold in this country.

WHAT HAS THIS 2½ PERCENT GROWTH rate since 1950 meant to us? It has meant four recessions. The first started with 1.9 percent of the work force unemployed. When it ended, we did not get down to that unemployment figure. The next recession started at 3 percent and right up through 1950 each recession started from a higher unemployment base. The last one started at about 5½ percent.

What does this mean? The 2½ percent growth rate means that we are slipping back; we are not moving forward. What could it mean if we allow recession after recession to come, if we get to the point when 8, 10, and 12 percent of the work force is unemployed? This is the problem we face.

During the 1950's we had a need for 820,000 new jobs a year to take care of our increasing

work force. We were not able to do that because we kept slipping back. Now, with the increased birth rate, when people reach the age of 18 and 19 in this country they are looking for work and become part of the labor market.

For the 1960's, we need not 820,000 new jobs a year but 1,350,000 new jobs a year, just to keep pace, not to advance. In addition, there is another figure you must add to these 1,350,000—another 200,000 who are displaced by industrial automation and technological improvements.



George Meany

When I say displaced, I mean permanently displaced. We have people now in the automobile industry who are never going to work in that industry again, some of them with 20 years' seniority, because of technological changes.

This occurs not because of less production, but because in that industry and in many others, they are making and producing more and more with less and less human labor. There is no use saying that we have 150 million tons of steel capacity in this country; what does 150 million tons capacity mean, if it only operates 54 percent of the time? It means our capacity might just as well be 80 million tons. We cannot keep ahead on the present basis of our productive capacity. But we can keep it on the basis of what we can furnish to those able and willing to work.

NOW, WHAT IS THE ANSWER TO ALL THIS? Whose responsibility is it to find the answer? It is not labor's responsibility alone; it is also a government and business responsibility. In fact, it is the responsibility of the entire community. If we have an economic collapse, it has its impact on the international political situation. It has its impact on our leadership in the free world. It presents the possibility of having a big im-

pact on the maintenance of the American way of life. If that happens, it affects not only labor but the interests of all the people of this country. We should all be partners in this effort to build up the economic health of the nation.

Surely, the answer is not to sit tight and do nothing, and wait for this problem to somehow go away. Is the answer to wait for another recession from a still higher base of unemployment? Is the answer a balanced budget? Is that our secret weapon? If we balance the budget, is Moscow going to surrender? Is the answer to go back to the last century and follow the philosophy of Barry Goldwater and Senator Byrd?

Labor does not pretend to know all the answers, but we have had some suggestions, and we have continued to make suggestions to meet this problem. We propose a vast public works program to do more about housing, schools, hospitals and roads. And what are these? Do they represent spending or do they represent investment? Are we giving something away when we spend for peace a small proportion of what we are prepared to spend for war to defend this nation?

These public works would be an investment for peace. They would act as a stimulant to the economy. In the final analysis, the revenue derived from them would more than justify any government expenditures.

THEN, WE HAVE MADE A SUGGESTION which I am very happy to tell you the Secretary of the Treasury indicated the other day that he now agrees with us. We made this suggestion more than two years ago: That the President of the United States be given the power to make an across-the-board tax cut when unemployment continues at a severe rate for a period of 6 months or more.

Unemployment keeps climbing. Automation keeps on reducing the need for human labor. I do not like to disagree with Secretary Goldberg any more than Pres. Dubinsky does. I think he is a dedicated public servant who has made a tremendous contribution to the building up of the free trade union movement. But I am of the opinion that a reduction of the work week, with the same take-home pay, would have a tremendous impact.

Therefore, I am of the opinion that the AFL-CIO is going to very seriously consider the inauguration of a nationwide campaign to bring the standard work week down from 40 to 35 hours.

NOW, WHAT OF OUR FRIENDS ON THE industrial side? What are their proposals to meet this problem? What is the proposal of the NAM?

Well, it was spelled out very definitely the other day by the executive secretary of NAM. Their proposal is to amend the tax laws so that business will get greater profits, and to curb the power of labor unions.

For the last 62 years, every advance in the American way of life, every piece of legislation designed to help the ordinary citizen of this

(Continued on Page 18)



Speakers dealt with ILGWU institutions and welfare progress.

For National 35-Hour Week

Resolution on a national 35-hour work week adopted by the convention:

RESOLVED that this convention urge the Congress to enact a 35-hour work week, that ILGWU delegates to the next AFL-CIO convention introduce a resolution in support of such legislation, and that the incoming GSS and General Office work out a nation-wide campaign in support of it.

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS:

Cracks in the Communist Monolith

SINCE WE LAST MET, THE international situation has been marked by profound changes on both sides of the Iron Curtain. These changes reflect deterioration and determination.

The deterioration of relations between the free world and the world of Communist despotism is plain in the increasing world tension, the deepening estrife over the fate of Berlin and the future of Germany, and the stepped-up Communist imperialist drive to grab Laos as the entering wedge for taking over all of Southeast Asia.

The Wall of Shame in Berlin, the Soviet-Castro dictatorship, the Khrushchev maneuver to turn the United Nations into an instrument of Soviet imperialism by reorganizing it on the so-called tracks principle, Moscow's attempt to subvert the young Republic of Guinea and other new African nations, the Khrushchev's insidious maneuver to cause chaos and conflict in the Middle East are all phases of the drive to conquer the entire world and remold it on the Soviet totalitarian pattern.

In Asia, Moscow's disgruntled junior partner, the Peking dictatorship, is pursuing its own strategy to advance the triumph of Communist slavery. Mao-Tse-tung's seizure of Indian territory, enslavement of Tibet, continuous pressure against Nepal and Burma, and ceaseless guerrilla warfare against Vietnam are but phases of the Chinese Communist campaign to annihilate the rest of the continent of Asia.

THE COMMUNIST RULERS ARE relying on three main weapons in achieving their goal of world domination. These are:

1) At enormous human and material cost, they have been building a gigantic military machine, equipped with the most modern nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction, and geared to world conquest.

2) They have expended substantially their use of economic weapons — so-called technical and financial assistance schemes to the developing countries. These economic moves are used not so much for aiding the new countries as for penetrating and subverting them with a view of putting them under Communist yoke, as was done with 10 nations in Central and Eastern Europe. Cuba is a blatant example of what so-called Soviet economic help really is.

3) Perhaps the most dangerous weapon of Soviet imperialism is its ideological and political campaign for subverting the institutions of democracy—the trade unions, the cultural and political life of all free peoples. Here the Communist strategy is to use democratic



Convention committee held open meeting to pass on resolutions and prepare reports to full convention.

rights for the purpose of destroying democracy. In these subversive efforts, the Communists hypocritically exploit specific issues and grievances for misleading non-Communists into supporting Soviet imperialist aims.

Fortunately for humanity, there is an increasing awareness of the real aims of the Soviet so-called peaceful co-existence strategy. This awareness is reflected in the mounting determination of the free world to deter and defeat Soviet aggression. Since our last convention, the free world, under the leadership of the United States, has greatly strengthened its capacity for military defense.

THE COMMUNIST EMPIRE CON-stitutes a very grave menace to human freedom, world peace and social progress. However, it has very serious weaknesses within its body politic and entire socio-economic system. Communist despotism, like all other despotisms, has within itself the seeds of its destruction.

The much-raucous Communist empire has, since our last convention, been exposed as suffering from deep-rooted shortcomings and weaknesses. Even the so-called Soviet Russian paradise, which has the most highly developed economy behind the Iron Curtain and which ex-

ports all its satellites, suffers from a very serious shortage of capital and costly errors in planning. The great bulk of its goods is shoddy. Its housing is miserable and inadequate. Its agriculture is the Achilles heel of the economy.

The plight of Communist economy has taken its most tragic turn on the Chinese mainland. Instead of "leaping forward" with his much vaunted communism, Mao Tse-tung has led his country into massive starvation. Here the whole world can see the terrible bankruptcy and human tragedy of an economy based on brute force. The sufferings caused by natural calamities, drought and floods, have added into insignificance alongside of the Communist man-made sufferings, dramatized by the human food of thousands of Chinese starving for food and freedom and pouring into Hong Kong.

We welcome the humanitarian action of the Kennedy administration for its decision to admit several thousand Chinese refugees to our country.

The terrible plight of these refugees is the most damning indictment of Communism as a system. Here is a challenge to the humanitarian instincts of all of us and to the United Nations for its inaction.

OUR COUNTRY CAN PROVIDE THE leadership to enable the free world to meet the Communist challenge and defeat the Soviet threat.

First of all, we must make our country an ever-better place to live, work and enjoy the blessings of freedom and modern technology. We must make our country ever-stronger and better—stronger economically, culturally, politically and socially. We must speed up the elimination of such dangerous weaknesses in our system as race discrimination and unemployment. We must hasten the end of all depressed and economically backward areas with their pockets of poverty, misery, wretched housing and inadequate medical care for millions of Americans. We must improve our school system. We must strengthen all our democratic institutions, including the free trade unions. Yes, we must maintain a defense establishment second to none.

Our democratic alliances, particularly NATO, should be strengthened through expanded political, economic and technological cooperation as well as through constantly enhanced capacities for military defense.

Our aid to the developing countries should be combined with the consistent aim of promoting democracy and human well-being.

The UN should be improved so that it can function with increasing effectiveness as an instrument for preserving peace and promoting human freedom.

Every effort should be made to hasten the elimination of every vestige of colonialism in the free world.

Last, but not least, the bonds of international free labor solidarity should be strengthened by making the ICTU an ever-better instrument of free trade unionism, especially in the developing countries.

WE OF THE FREE LABOR MOVEMENT have always rejected the policy of our government's association with the Franco dictatorship. As free trade unionists, we are opposed to every form of dictatorship—Nazi, Fascist, Palangist or Communist. Free labor everywhere should rally to the support of the heroic Spanish workers in their strikes for better conditions. Our union, which set the pace in aiding the Spanish people in their struggle for freedom during the war, will again respond generously. We must do everything in our power to have the Franco dictatorship replaced by a democratic form of government.

CIVIL RIGHTS:

Democracy's Unfinished Job

THE BATTLE FOR FULL AND EQUAL opportunity in America is long and continuing. Hardly a year has passed without some form of progress on this front. And yet hardly a year passes without new needs and new challenges.

At present, the sharpest focus is on the full right to vote. The history of civil rights in America is the story of how one group after another, having won and then learned to organize the vote, then went on to win new and greater rights in our society.

By the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments to the Constitution, the right to equal standing before the law—including the right to vote—is guaranteed to every American citizen.

WHILE RECOGNIZED IN PRINCIPLE, this right is denied in many areas of the United States.

Qualified voters are denied the right to vote by the illegal practices of election

registrars, by the discriminatory application of literacy tests, by intimidation and terror.

To establish this right in reality will require the combined efforts of the executive, the judicial and the legislative branches of our government, at both state and federal level.

The action of the Attorney General of the United States in bringing local registrars to trial for refusal to register eligible voters is a landmark in the use of the executive power to establish equal voting privileges. Although this case is still pending, the action indicates the readiness of the U.S. government to intervene actively to protect the constitutional rights of citizens as voters in a state.

The proposed legislation of the administration before the present Congress to eliminate discrimination in literacy tests is another landmark effort to use the legislative power to establish voting equality. (A sixth-grade education would

give a citizen the right to vote). Although this bill was ended by the filibuster, this very act has prepared the moment when the American people must end the filibuster.

FULL CIVIL RIGHTS GO BEYOND voting, to include an end to discrimination in education, housing, travel, recreation. Civil rights also means industrial democracy with fair hiring practices and equal pay for equal work.

While all these advances, constituting the unfinished work of our democracy, require measures of governmental action, we must prepare the way for and give meaningful support to such acts by a constant campaign of enlightenment and education.

THIS CONVENTION HEREWIT

resolves:

1. To urge legislation to establish a system of non-discriminatory tests for voting qualifications;
2. To repeal the present Rule 22 in the Senate and replace it with a rule that will leave the majority to prevail after debate and full debate in the Senate;
3. To empower and obligate the federal government to protect the voting rights of all citizens through direct action against any individual or local governmental agencies that interfere with the free and unhindered use of the suffrage;
4. To support action by the legislative and executive branches of the govern-



From the floor.

Much of the convention's work was accomplished through the deliberations of its committees, covering a wide range of union, national and world problems presented through more than 300 resolutions submitted by the delegates. On these pages are major portions of preambles to a number of the committee recommendations. Additional material on convention actions will appear in the following issue of Justice.

ment to outlaw and abolish discrimination in jobs, housing, education, travel, recreation—or any other part of American life;

5. To speed executive action to back the decisions of the Supreme Court against discrimination;

6. To conduct programs of union and public education directed at minimizing inter-group friction in order to make this truly a nation "indivisible with freedom and justice for all."

POLITICAL ACTION:

Toward Realignment for Liberalism

THE ELECTIONS WE ASK ABOUT to take are in no way less important than the election of 1960 when our organized strength helped put John F. Kennedy in the White House. In 1962, we must back him by putting a liberal Congress on Capitol Hill.

At our last convention, we said that it was our job to make the House of Representatives more representative. In his opening address, Fred Dubinsky once more repeated this call.

In our last convention report, we pointed out the unrepresentative character of the Congress through the manipulation of Congressional district lines to deprive elements in metropolitan areas, cities, industrial centers of their proper representation in Congress. This is done by making some districts too large in population; some districts too small in population; and still other districts so turned and twisted as to guarantee the election of one party or another.

The result of all this manipulation is that the great game of Congressional politics is played with the cards stacked against the working people of America. The cards are so shuffled as to water down the liberal vote and exaggerate the conservative vote.

WE ARE NOW IN A PERIOD when we can, in a practical way, get fair representation so that one vote shall equal one vote no matter where it is cast.

We can now act because of one of the most revolutionary decisions ever made by the U.S. Supreme Court. This is the decision in *Baker vs. Carr*, when the Supreme Court decided that the Tennessee legislature, that has not been changed in half a century, must bring itself up to date so that every citizen in the state of Tennessee shall have an equal voice on Election Day.

As a result of this decision, there are now court appeals and citizen actions in almost half our states to win fair representation. This movement will spread. We base this judgment on our experience in the long fight for the equal vote.

The ILGWU has played a major pioneering role in the campaign to democratize the legislative bodies of America. We believe that we have made a significant contribution to the movement that

has resulted in the great decision of the Supreme Court.

But we will not stop here. Now that the Supreme Court has opened the door to democratize our legislatures, we must join with all other liberal, labor and civic-minded groups to make this principle a living reality, to make sure that every American—in the language of the 14th Amendment—shall enjoy "the equal protection of the laws" and an equal voice in the writing of the laws.

While we apply ourselves to effecting this basic change in our legislatures, we have a more immediate and pressing job this November. Within the present framework, we must get the most liberal Congress we can—by the maximum use of our votes.

WE HAVE A HIDDEN ENEMY in an off-year election such as 1962. It is not reaction but inaction. Millions of people who voted in 1960 will, out of bad habit, not vote in 1962. They do not understand the power of Congress for good or for evil. This stay-at-home vote can be disastrous for the cause of labor and liberals. Whatever progress labor, liberalism, and the administration have been able to make with the present Congress has been accomplished with frighteningly narrow margins. The loss of even a few liberal seats in Congress this year can mean a halt to all liberal legislation in the next two years and can produce a do-nothing Congress whose record can only be a milestone around the neck of the administration.

We have a model for overcoming apathy that his voters in the next term years. In 1934, the American voters, still angry with great depression and filled with zeal for President Franklin Roosevelt, came out to give the New Deal a ringing vote of confidence. The huge turnout increased the size of the liberal delegation in Congress. In spite of the fact that this was a mid-term election.

We must make 1962 another 1934. We must give the program of the New Frontier the same kind of backing that our earlier generation gave to the New Deal. We must not be defeated by the historic division of mid-term apathy. We must go back to our shops, home towns and neighborhoods to register voters, turn

out the vote and raise the needed funds. We must make history. We did it before. We can do it again!

WE KNOW HOW TO DO IT. We have the tools in the great issues before the nation.

The single most dramatic question is medical care under social security for our senior citizens. Congress is the obstacle.



Political Director Gus Tyler

At the present time, this bill is locked up in the House Ways and Means Committee. We must make our voices heard at this convention and back home so that the noise is loud enough to blast this bill out of that committee and on to the floor of Congress.

When this bill comes before the full House, we must let them know where we stand. We have gathered hundreds of thousands of names on petition. Let's make them millions of names.

While doing all this, we must let every citizen know that a name on a petition is twice as powerful when it is backed up by a name on the registration book. It is three times as powerful when it is backed up by a campaign contribution to the ILGWU campaign fund. And it is four times as powerful when backed up by a vote for a liberal minded candidate for office.

IN OUR POLITICAL CAMPAIGN this year, we must judge candidates not by their party label but by the program to which they are pledged. This warning is necessitated by the biased character of both major political parties.

Within the Republican Party, there is a minority of liberals who earn the support of labor. Within the Democratic Party there is a minority of conservatives who have earned the opposition of labor. The role of the labor movement is to study the record of these candidates and to separate friend from foe in elections.

In the long run, American labor should look forward to the time when this process of separation is completed and we can see in the United States a great national party, all of whose spokesmen are pledged in a disciplined way to a program of liberalism.

The development of such a responsible national party, resting on a base of principles, organized to enact its program into law, cannot be an overnight matter. It will require the continued development of labor as an independent political force in politics. It will require closer alliance between labor and other progressive elements. It will require a sharper delineation between the liberals and conservatives in both parties. But out of such development a regrouping of forces can appear to provide the basis, not for a divisive sect, but for a great national party of American liberalism.

Our most immediate task is to resolve that when we return home, we will register, contribute and vote to multiply our power fourfold in the battle for a liberal Congress.

With this in view, we reiterate the resolve of our previous convention: To continue working with the Liberal Party of New York, with the AFL-CIO Committee for Political Education, and other progressive forces in order to prepare the programmatic sentiment and the organizational machinery necessary to the realignment of political energies in the United States to create a nation-wide party of consistent liberalism, dedicated to transferring the responsibility of government on Election Day into future liberal legislation.

SOCIAL LABOR LEGISLATION:

Medicare and Other 'Musts'

IN LITTLE MORE THAN A QUARTER of a century, we have seen social and labor legislation transform our nation into one in which people enjoy a degree of economic security, well-being and dignity unequalled anywhere in the world.

We are proud of our part in achieving this better life for millions of our people. But we are also aware of how much more remains to be done.

We believe that, in the report of this committee, four proposals deserve special emphasis.

emphasis.

THE FIRST HAS TO DO WITH THE Landrum-Griffin law. This law, ostensibly aimed against the anti-social practices of a few unions, has badly hampered legitimate unions in the pursuit of legitimate union objectives. It has become a barrier standing off millions of American workers from the benefits of unionism. In our view it must be amended.

A second proposal we wish to emphasize.

size is the one calling for federal legislation to provide a 35-hour week. The Secretary of Labor said on Thursday that he disagreed with Pres. Dubinsky's advocacy of such a law.

The record will show that the members of our union, despite their high regard for the Secretary of Labor, stand with Pres. Dubinsky in this matter.

We believe, as the resolutions will show, that a federal 35-hour week law is essential if we are to absorb in our economy the millions of workers now being displaced by automation and the general introduction of labor-saving machinery. We note that in our own industry such a law would have highly beneficial results. It would help to reduce the depressing influence exerted by non-union shops now operating on a 40-hour week. It would set the stage for new advances in our union shops.

A third proposal that we consider worthy of special mention is one for a federal FEPC. Further progress is needed in every aspect of civil rights, but nowhere more than in the area of economic opportunity. We support the kind of legislation that would help significantly to provide this opportunity.

FINALLY, WE WISH TO UNDER- score our support for Medicare. We believe that no aspect of our national life more urgently requires federal action. Millions of our senior citizens are finding their final years turned into a nightmare of insecurity and indignities by the costs of major medical care. The King-Anderson bill, which we are supporting, will not solve the whole problem. But it is a long step forward in that direction.

Convention Committees

The convention committee, which prepared the report for action by the delegates, were headed up by the following:

- Rules:** Morris Halls, chairman; Douglas Levin, secretary.
- Officers' Report:** Israel Breslow, chairman; Joseph Schwartz, secretary.
- Resolutions:** Julius Hochman, chairman; Murray Gross, secretary.
- Work Standards:** Nicholas Kirsman, chairman; Benjamin Kaplan, secretary.
- Label:** Henech Mendelund, chairman; Sol C. Chalkin, secretary.
- International Affairs:** Charles Kreindler, chairman; Esther Appleton, secretary.
- Law:** E. Howard Molthan, chairman; William Horowitz, secretary.
- Social and Labor Legislation:** Charles S. Zimmerman, chairman; Angela Bamnoch, secretary.
- Institutions, Health and Welfare:** Harry Greenberg, chairman; Matthew Schoenwald, secretary.
- Organization:** Louis Nelson, chairman; E. T. Kohn, secretary.
- Education:** Edward Kramer, chairman; Bob Greene, secretary.
- Intelligence:** Samuel O'ia, chairman; George Rubin, secretary.
- Appeals:** Frederick R. Sierra, chairman; Philip Krass, secretary.
- Finance:** Bernard Shuchman; Morris Kovler, secretary.

Working with these committees was the following group of staff members and specialists: James Lipis, Lazare Teper, Gus Tyler, Louis Rabin, Jay Lomax, Harry Haskel, David Nelson, Morris P. Chalkin.

Delegates viewed mock-long ILGWU union label exhibit in Convention Hall.

THIRTY-FIRST ILG



Nine hundred and sixty-two delegates, assembling for the opening session of the 31st convention in Atlantic City's Convention Auditorium on May 23, found the huge hall decorated with an embankment of flowers and the battle-scarred banners of ILGWU affiliates from all parts of the United States and Canada. Two huge banners at the front of the auditorium displayed the ILGWU union label.

Starting with the first day, delegates registered for each day's sessions. In the large areaway outside the hall, they saw many interesting displays, the most spectacular of these

being a city-block-long display in pictures and posters of ILGWU union label drives and activities.

Committee meetings, basic to the machinery of getting convention decisions, were held after the adjournment of sessions either in the corners of the vast hall or in the score of smaller meeting rooms that line the corridors around the auditorium.

Many of the regional and market delegations held their own reunions at their headquarters hotels, some in the Ambassador Hotel which was designated as the convention hotel.

ILGWU CONVENTION



In addition, two social events brought the throng of delegates and official visitors back to the large auditorium for evenings of relaxation from the work sessions.

On Saturday evening, May 26, the delegates danced at the official Convention Ball. A musical feature of the evening was the playing of selections from "Pins and Needles."

All delegates received the new Columbia Records recording of "Pins and Needles" as the convention souvenir. Columbia has issued the new recording of Harold Rome's 1937 "hit" in a beautifully illustrated album, carrying the ILGWU union

label as well as a message from Pres. David Dubinsky on the 25th anniversary of the ILGWU production of this musical revue. The recording is now available at all music and record shops.

On Tuesday evening, May 29, delegates were again back in the ball for the traditional Convention Banquet.

Sessions of the convention were held every day, including Saturday and Memorial Day. Among the several hundred guests were invited groups of employer association officials, overseas visitors and government officials.

Sambark Settlers



It took only a half-day's strike by workers of newly organized Sambark Manufacturing Co. in Garmentville, New York to convince employer, longtime holdout, to sign union agreement with COT.

Half-Day Strike Nails COT Pact At Sambark Co.

Despite the recent ILGWU victory in an NLRB election at the Sambark Manufacturing Co. of Garmentville, New York, it required a half-day strike to nail down a union contract covering some 80 workers at this longtime holdout firm, reports Vice Pres. George Rubin, general manager of the Cloak Out-of-Town Department.

As a result of this latest union win, this contracting firm as well as its jobber, Capt. Janiro, became parties to the collective agreement presently in force between the employers' association and the New York Cloak Joint Board and the COT Department. The workers immediately walked out on May 21 when the firm began refusing to accept the terms of the collective agreement and attempted to persuade its employees to accept lower conditions than those offered by the union.

Faced with this solid demonstration by its workers, the firm soon realized the errors of its ways and signed up with the association, thus accepting the union's terms. Soon thereafter, the workers approved the settlement at a shop meeting.

Union negotiations were led by Murray Edelstein, COT assistant general manager, joined by Local 145 Manager Irving Astrow, COT Organization Director Harry Loewin and Max Horowitz, manager of the Cloak Joint Board Organization Department.

Kennedy Names Bambace To Women's Status Unit

WASHINGTON (PAI)—President Kennedy's Commission on the Status of Women has established a subcommittee to review the civil and political rights of American women to make recommendations to assure them "full partnership in our society." Labor members are Pres. James B. Carey of the International Union of Electrical Workers and Angela Bambace, ILGWU vice president and manager of the Upper South Department.

Jubilant in Puerto Rico



Happy workers at newly-organized Wayne Industries shop in Puerto Rico, celebrate victory in recent NLRB election that capped six-month drive which ousted three other shops into union fold.

Uphold Eastern Region In Watertown Dispute

The National Labor Relations Board has upheld the findings of a trial examiner that the Watertown Undergarment Corp. of Watertown, Conn., committed unfair labor practices by refusing to bargain in good faith during negotiations for a renewal agreement with ILGWU Local 22.

The board has issued an order affecting the company to bargain in good faith with Local 22 as exclusive agent of the workers in the appropriate unit, upon request of the union, and to cease its illegal activities, according to Vice Pres. Edward Krumer, general manager of the Eastern Region. Watertown Undergarment Corp. was first organized in 1884, with subsequent agreements covering some 260 workers carrying through

December 1939, when the current negotiations began.

Although contractual terms were agreed to in existing talks between the firm's representatives and ILGWU officers including Vice Pres. Krumer, Assistant General Manager Sam Jahn, Connecticut Manager Bert Cooper, the company later balked over a security issue which would have required work for the Watertown ILGWU.

Even this dispute was ultimately resolved, but the firm still refused to sign the post. Company representatives repudiated agreements reached in bargaining sessions, threatened workers with reprisals, made excessive demands, and unilaterally changed working conditions, and threatened to close the plant.

The NLRB has upheld the union on all charges, and a "cease and desist" order has been posted on company premises to remain there for 30 days.

Four delegates of the ILGWU Local Department assisted during the NLRB proceedings.

Meet 'Father' of ILG Counselling



Henry Fruchter, left, with Anna Fomic and her family whom he aided in obtaining U.S. citizenship.

"I CONSIDER MYSELF A GREAT SUCCESS," says Henry Fruchter, a small man with a deeply lined face and a humorous twinkle in his soft, dark eyes. "I've spent my whole life doing the one thing I enjoy most—helping people."

As head of the Social Service Department of the New York Dress Joint Council, Fruchter has plenty of opportunity to work at his favorite job. Every week the department handles about 200 cases, covering the entire range of human misfortune. But in nearly every instance, Fruchter manages to help. Forty years of experience have made him an outstanding expert in quizzing every variety of assistance out of government and social agencies.

A thick and steadily growing file of "thank you" letters in his office reflects his success.

"PEOPLE COME THROUGH MY DOOR with all kinds of problems, some of them tragic," Fruchter says. For example, there was a woman Fruchter refers to simply as Sarah. (You can bet that her name is almost anything else, all cases are dealt with in strictest confidence.)

Anway, Sarah, an elderly woman, was living under the most horrible squalid conditions. She was slated for an apartment in a city housing project. But citizenship is a requirement for an apartment in such projects, and she wasn't a citizen. What's more, she couldn't read or write and she had forgotten all the details of her arrival in the United States.

Fruchter went patiently to work on this seemingly impossible situation. He established the approximate date of Sarah's arrival in this country. He taught her the answers to questions of civics and history a citizenship application requires. He got police affidavits showing that Sarah was of good character. He handed an appeal to a judge. There were dozens of other details. But Sarah is now living in a city housing project.

ANOTHER CASE INVOLVED A MEMBER we'll call Mary. Suffering from arthritis, heart trouble and a cancerous spine, she applied for social security benefits under the disability clause. But the agency ruled that she wasn't completely and permanently disabled within the meaning of the law. "It was like a death sentence," Fruchter says. "We appealed the case twice. We filed copies of 28 different documents. But finally we won. 'Mary still has arthritis, heart trouble and a cancerous spine. But at least she has the means of subsistence.'"

PROOF OF AGE IS EXTREMELY IMPOSSIBLE.

tant in applying for citizenship and social security benefits. "A great many women make trouble for themselves," Fruchter says, "by misrepresenting their age at one time or another, usually when they enter the country, if they are immigrants, or when they get married."

He has worked out an elaborate system for proving age. It involves a careful check of marriage certificates, census reports, birth certificates, naturalization documents and immigration records.

Sometimes there are special problems. A few years ago a half-blind man came in. He needed proof of his age to qualify for social security benefits. "I had told him to gather up all the papers he could find in his house and put them into his pocket," Fruchter says. "I went through his pockets and found papers proving that he was 72 years old. This enabled him to collect \$1,800 in social security benefits. I think he would have died without it."

FRUCHTER GOT INTO SOCIAL SERVICE work before many members of the ILGWU were born. Back in 1922, Meyer London and Morris Hillquit, both of them outstanding lawyers who associated themselves with the cause of immigrant workers and who were counsels for the ILGWU, asked him to take over an organization called the Naturalization Aid Bureau. New York's lower East Side was then jammed with tens of thousands of immigrants whose desire for citizenship was being exploited by unscrupulous lawyers.

London and Hillquit wanted, through the Naturalization Aid Bureau, to help immigrants become citizens without charge. "It seemed like an exciting and useful thing to do," Fruchter says. "I agreed to take the job for six months. I stayed for 22 years." Subsequently, he became social service director for Dressmakers' Local 22. When Vice Pres. Charles S. Zimmerman left Local 22 to become general manager of the Dress Joint Council two years ago, he took Fruchter with him. Fruchter is now also in charge of a citizenship clinic sponsored by Skirt and Sportswear Workers' Local 21.

Fruchter is the father of the ILGWU's whole counselling program. "I guess I started it when I was in Local 22, with Charles Zimmerman," he says, "but never really set out to be an example to anyone, but actually, we've opened up a whole new area of service for our members. We're providing the kind of help that often makes the difference between misery and happiness, sometimes between life and death. How do I feel about it? I've devoted my whole life to it. I guess that's answer enough."

Behind the Scenes

Much of the machinery that makes a convention move is not on the convention platform. At left, top to bottom, Pres. Dubinsky with Secretary Hannah Haskel in office between sessions. Toward the end, sergeant-at-arms (center) gets tired of standing. Bottom, Harry Croce, in charge of press room, listens to Joel Seidm of Herald-Tribune, talks on phone to wire service reporter, helps John Harry of AFT-CIO News. Pool of convention secretaries registered delegates (at right, top) every morning. Joe Gladstone and Bob Bregman, convention veterans, operated efficient stock room (right). Santo J. Oliva (far right) one of corps of accountants who checked credentials, tickets, etc. Convention editorial staff shown working on daily proceedings consisted of Meyer Miller, Mario Labruno, Gertrude Crystal. Also shown are Gurion Berlinky, ILOWU staff photographer, and ILOWU Editor Leon Stein, all of Justice. Work was done on transcript provided by convention stenographers Molly Danah and Carrie Proctor (bottom, right). In charge of the complicated convention telephone and message operation was the ILOWU's chief telephone operator (below) Helen Rooney.



VICE PRESIDENT JOHNSON:

Equality—The Dynamic Ideal of Our Time

Excerpts from address by Vice President Lyndon B. Johnson to the ILGWU convention.

THE AMERICAN DREAM IS NOT A COLLECTION of one-act plays—one for businessmen, one for farmers, and one for labor. Neither is that dream a drama played in dialect—north or south, east or west, white or colored, native-born or foreign-born.

I am proud to come to you today from a national administration dedicated to making real the concept of one nation—undivided and indivisible. I do not need to tell you that this administration wishes success to all responsible purposes of the labor movement. You know you have a friend in the man who sits in the White House as our President, John Fitzgerald Kennedy.

But I would emphasize to you that the fact your President is your friend does not mean that he is foe to any other responsible element of our united America. On the contrary, this administration rejects the expediency of playing class against class, group against group, region against region.

WE HAVE ENACTED THE MANPOWER DEVELOPMENT and Training Act to educate and retrain long idle workers so they can re-enter the mainstream of our economy. We have passed an Area Redevelopment Act to reinvigorate depressed areas and bring them back into the mainstream of our economy.

In addition, we have expanded and improved existing programs in housing, minimum wages, and temporary unemployment compensation. And we have launched a massive program to bring about realization of the American dream—equal opportunity without regard to race, creed, color or national origin. And we are now dedicated to a fight-to-the-finish to have a medical care bill under social security.

Beyond the domestic front, we move forward on the world front as well. We are committed to policies designed not just to preserve freedom but to advance progress for all mankind. We propose a national trade program to enable the United States to meet the needs of the present and anticipate the problems of the future. We plan to expand and improve our programs of technical aid to underdeveloped nations, to turn Point Four into an Alliance for Progress.

We plan to open our schools, our factories, our meetings of workers and farmers to those from abroad who want to learn. In this field, high praise should go to the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions for bringing the advantages of the shops in this state to the working people of Africa and Asia.

WE MUST COMPLETE ABROAD MAINTAIN A GOOD balance of payments, and defend the gold reserve with sound dollars and enlarged opportunities in world markets for American goods, which result in American jobs.

GOVERNOR HUGHES:

Only the People Can Move America Forward

From address to the ILGWU convention by Governor Richard J. Hughes of New Jersey.

I UNDERSTAND THAT AT ONE TIME in the history of your organization New Jersey was considered to be a "out-of-town." New Jersey was not at first friendly territory to your organization and was made friendly only through the hard work of many of the pioneers of your union whose time and effort enabled the ILGWU to bring decent standards to the shops in this state.

But this work is never done. You still have the runaway shop in the North as well as the South. You still are faced with the competition of those who employ workers at substandard wages with substandard working conditions. And, as you must continue the fight to raise and protect your standards by organizing the unorganized so we, those of us who consider ourselves the friends of the working people, must join with you in an effort to improve on the legislation of another generation. I refuse to see this country and all of us shrink from these struggles which are our responsibilities in our time.

IN HIS ADDRESS TO THE NATION LAST SUNDAY, President Kennedy challenged a new generation of Americans when he said: "All the great revolutionary movements of the Franklin Roosevelt administration in the Thirties we take for granted. But I refuse to see as live on the accomplishments of another generation. I refuse to see this country and all of us shrink from these struggles which are our responsibilities in our time."

Many of you, I am sure, heard this call to action. It was a clear and direct appeal to the social conscience of the American people to support his program of medical care for the aged—a program which does not re-



Vice President Lyndon B. Johnson.

And we must meet these goals without sacrificing the freedom that labor and management enjoy. I believe we are moving toward these goals and one of the basic dispositions of this administration is to consider not only performance but potential; not only what has been done but what ought to be done.

Our goal and our opportunity is to work together so that we and all our fellow men can raise the standard of living for the present and for the many generations to come.

It is not power we seek, not national power, not group power, not political power. No, we seek fulfillment of the promise of a better life than we have known for our children and all children—regardless of race, region or religion.

Our goals are worthy. Our capacity is great. Our faith in our cause is infinite.

Today, the dynamic ideal of our time is in equality. People are on the march, fighting the ancient enemies of mankind: poverty, disease, ignorance, poor health—all of those things this substantial and this dependable leadership, this responsible union of yours is fighting and has fought throughout the years.

In your continued fight against these ancient enemies of humanity, at home and abroad, you will have the support of this administration.

sure that our citizens cash in their self-respect in order to obtain decent medical care. Medicare is but a wise extension of social security, supported by the same logic and conscience but fought by the same enemies. People are on the march. Remember the first minimum pay bill in March 1961 there was only a one-vote margin, 185 to 185.

TO DO THIS WE MUST OVERCOME THE POLITICAL pattern of mid-term elections which results in a loss of Congressional seats for the party in the White House, and this has been so, according to my memory, since 1924. This unwritten rule of American politics need not prevail if we do the job of registering the unregistered and of educating the registered—of arousing a usually apathetic electorate and getting it out to vote.

And I would remind you of another pattern in American politics. The people who want to stand pat, who want to fight social security and talk about "creeping socialism" have a better record of voting in mid-term elections than liberals who are thinking about the people. Thus, in a recent special election in Michigan's 14th District, only 20 percent of the electorate voted and a liberal Congressman came close to being defeated. Let's not lose by default. Remember the first minimum pay bill in March 1961 there was only a one-vote margin, 185 to 185.

I believe that we can reverse the historical trend this year. We can give President Kennedy a liberal Congress, a Congress which does not have to squeeze the heart and soul out of a bill in order to get it approved by those who have set themselves firmly in the path of the people's progress. There is in my judgment a clean prospect of victory this year for a greater America, a more secure free world. It depends on you—the people—to move America forward.

Free Unionists Of Other Lands Get Confab

Through messengers and in person, trade unionists from other countries greeted the ILGWU convention.

Among those who addressed the delegates were Claude Jodoin, president of the Canadian Labor Congress, who formerly was manager of the Dress-makers' Union in Montreal; Abdelnour Ali-Yahia, general secretary of the General Union of Algerian Workers (UGTA); and Dr. Silvio Constantini, director of the School for Trade Unionists in Italy operated by CISL, the free labor federation.

In view of the forthcoming parliamentary elections in Canada, Jodoin described the political situation in Canada, especially organized labor's support for the recently established New Democratic Party which encompasses trade union and liberal forces. Jodoin also described the anti-labor atmosphere produced in sections of Canada by provincial legislatures which, like some state houses in the U.S., had enacted union-busting laws in recent years, especially in British Columbia and Newfoundland.

Ali-Yahia, who headed the ILGWU for his fight against "colonialism, Fascism and racism" and for his help to Algerians, was anxious to free himself from colonial tyranny; detailed current conditions in his country, where the terrorist OAS was sabotaging efforts at peace between the French and Algerians.

He emphasized that, despite 7½ years of war, the UGTA, "free to its principles, has always stated clearly in unmistakable terms that the minorities in Algeria, both Jewish and European, were welcome to stay and to contribute to the rebuilding of an independent Algeria in which they would have the same rights as all the other Algerians."

Dr. Constantini, who is in the U.S. on a survey, pointed out that he has the assistance of leading Italian trade union leaders of the Italian trade union movement. After seeing the ILGWU in session, he said, "I am sure that you will be a tremendous help to the humanity and for the future of the workers."

Fire Official Praises ILG Safety Drive

The ILGWU's pioneering efforts for fire safety, especially his initiation of a fire warden program in garment shops, were dramatized at the convention's session on May 23 with the appearance of the Fire Department official.

The Fire Department official was escorted to the platform by Justice Editor Leonard J. Sussman, ILGWU's major role in spurring the safety program.

After reviewing the functioning of the fire warden program, Aaronson stated that "the benefits you enjoy today will mean nothing if fire strikes—and it can strike. Your benefits will avail you nothing should fire destroy your shop or your own life."

"One of the great moments of my life," he said, "was when I spoke at the memorial for the late and great of the Triangle fire, at the Evergreen Cemetery. Even as a professional fire fighter, I could not resist contributing to a tragedy that should have been prevented."

He paid tribute to the ILGWU for "carrying out every effort to eliminate preventable fires in the factory and in the shop."

The author of the book, "The Triangle Fire," presented a copy to Aaronson and said, "If we have been able to save this number of lives, it is a small life, spare one family a tragic loss, the effort has been worthwhile."

At the same time, the convention approved a number of resolutions calling for incorporating provisions into union contracts for inspections, drills and training. Constantini, who is a commanding officer for his activities in this sphere.

Dress, Cloak Arbiters Hail Union Record

In what has become a tradition at ILGWU conventions, the impartial arbitrators of the New York dress and cloak industries respectively — Harry Uviller and Sol Rosenblatt — addressed some of the sessions.

Stating that "I came here just as some people go to a religious revival — to feel the spirit of a model union," Uviller said that "At one time, several decades back, your problem was to convince the unorganized to join the union in order to raise standards. Today, your problem may be to convince the unorganized from cutting into your standards."

He summarized the delegates to "renew the spirit that existed 50, 40 and 30

WALTER REUTHER:

America Needs List of National Priorities

Excerpts from address to the ILGWU convention by Walter F. Reuther, president of the United Automobile Workers.

THERE IS MUCH UNFINISHED WORK IN AMERICA. We need a greater sense of national purpose. We need to work out a list of national priorities in which we put first things first, and then commit ourselves and our resources to their practical fulfillment.

We in the labor movement have never said that every worker as a matter of right is entitled to economic security for himself and his family. What we do say is that every American is entitled as a matter of right to a job — to earn his economic security. And when there are forces beyond his control that deny him the right to work, then it is the responsibility of society, using the instruments of government, to provide the opportunity of employment for every able man and woman who wishes a job.

WE MUST GEAR ABUNDANCE TO THE PEOPLE their basic needs. Franklin Roosevelt understood that. He said that the measure of sound government policy is not what does it do for the few who have enough and are trying to get more, but what does it do for the many who have too little who are trying to get enough.

The struggle for shorter hours must be waged. Some workers work excessive overtime, while other workers are unemployed. We need to raise time and a half to double time. It is wrong to work overtime while another worker has no job. We must raise the minimum wage to \$1.50.

American industry must recognize that the central problem in America is not to inflate profits but to expand purchasing power, so that the great mass of the American people will have the purchasing power to buy what we can turn out with the tools of economic abundance.

We have to recognize that we cannot achieve full production in a complex industrial society by sole reliance upon the blind forces of the marketplace. We need to learn from Europe, where they have full employment and a labor shortage in almost every country. Why? Because they have been doing some rational democratic economic planning. The whole of our democratic society has to begin to do some democratic planning for the welfare of all people.

AMERICA MUST TAKE AFFIRMATIVE ACTION to bridge the moral gap between democracy's noble promises and its ugly practices in the field of civil rights.

I share the view that unless American democracy practices what it preaches, we will be unequal and unworthy of leading the free world in the struggle against Communism.

Finally, the labor movement this year must assume



Walter F. Reuther

a heavy responsibility in electing a liberal Congress to help President Kennedy's education, medical and civil rights, and in many other fields. We must help the President get a Congress that will enact this legislative program.

It is a great tragedy that when people are giving their lives in the struggle to realize the right of democratic franchise, 37 million Americans have to vote in 1960. What we need is to do so as a registration among the people who live in the slums, and have low incomes, and make it seem as though there is a direct relationship between the bread-box and the ballot-box.

OUR SYSTEM OF FREEDOM IS EQUAL yet Communist challenge I have unlimited faith in the capacity of free men — if we try. Our trouble is we are not trying, and not until we harness the great abundance of the basic needs of America, will we be equal to this challenge.

If the whole labor movement were making an effort comparable to that of the ILGWU on the economic, political, the legislative fronts, then we would be in a stronger position to do the job.

Let us face the future and build that brave new tomorrow in the image of peace, freedom, social justice, and human brotherhood.

Harry Uviller

years ago, and you will be doing the job that confronted the union when it first began to organize."

Rosenblatt pointed out that "You have been fighting since the old NRA labelers to have a union label in every one of the garments produced by the ILGWU. But in the coat and suit industry you never had to fight because immediately after the NRA vote days, the National Coat and Suit Industry Recovery Board label was affixed to every garment sold in union shops by the ILGWU."

In the coat and suit industry, you have a label today which is most unusual because it includes not only the symbol of the Recovery Board, itself representing management and labor, but also bears the imprint of the ILGWU.

Jewish Labor Role in Aiding ILG Recalled

Appearances at the convention by Nathan Chaslin, general secretary of the Workers' Circle and the Jewish Labor Committee, were occasions for recalling the close relationship between the ILGWU and these organizations, as well as with the Jewish Daily Forward.

At Mrs. Dubinsky and the others underlined, the ILGWU, the Forward and the Workers' Circle all were founded at generally the same time, about six decades ago, based largely on immigrant workers.

The ILGWU chief stressed how the Forward, a labor daily, contributed both morally and materially to the growth of the garment workers' organization during the early days, and how vital the aid was during the fight with the Communists during the Twenties.

Tubelski, speaking on behalf of JLC Chairman Adolph Held, who was ill, used the theme of "with these hands" to dramatize the ILGWU's many humanitarian efforts to aid the victims of war and totalitarianism, its fight for civil rights, its actions to improve the lot of the workers.

He recalled that "In the strikes and struggles of the cloakmakers and the dressmakers throughout the last 62 years, the Workers' Circle has stood by your side and offered assistance, set up strike kitchens, fed hungry strikers and their families and bolstered their spirits, until the strike was won."

JUDGE RIFKIND:

Free Union Movement—Glory of Democracy

Excerpts from address to the ILGWU convention by Judge Simon Rifkind, attorney for the union in the blouse "trust" case.

AT THE 1939 CONVENTION IN MIAMI, I REPORTED to you concerning the indictment which the Department of Justice had caused to be filed and that was filed by that indictment against Local 25 and its manager, Victor Pres. Kreindler, some associations of contractors and jobbers, and a racketeer, of a conspiracy to violate the anti-trust laws.

At that time, I explained why, in my judgment, the government should never have instituted that lawsuit. I pointed out that the agreements which exist between the ILGWU and its locals, on the one side, and the associations of employers, on the other side, were public documents, in print and readily available. I asked why it was necessary to take this matter into a criminal court where the issue would be decided, not by a judge who knows about anti-trust laws, but by a jury? The answer was that it was politically inspired and had public utility. And for those reasons, we had to have our names bracketed with some hoodlum who I have never heard of and who never had any contact with the ILGWU.

DURING THE MORE THAN THREE YEARS that have elapsed since this proceeding was started, we have had many skirmishes between the counsel for the union and the counsel for the government. After we got a new Attorney General in Washington, our position prevailed. Instead of proceeding with a criminal case, the new Attorney General has agreed with us, and has begun a civil action in the U.S. District Court. We asked that that civil proceeding be instituted, and the

Attorney General acquiesced in our request.

But there is this extraordinary difference between the criminal complaint and the civil complaint. You will search every line and every paragraph, and you do not find the name of that hoodlum who was mentioned in the criminal case. What happened to him? Has he already served his purpose and, having served his purpose, has been swept back into the crack in the wall from which he was extracted to make him a part of this criminal indictment?

Since this new proceeding has begun, we have had very extensive discussions. In fact, they are still in progress. It has been our job to get the government lawyers to understand the unique characteristics of the garment industry. In the law schools they do not teach lawyers how to make blouses. Perhaps if they did, they would understand this business a little better.

The dream that was America would have turned into a nightmare were it not for the rise and growth of trade unionism. It was the fact that men and women joined hands to prevent the erosion of their living standards, that prevented the American promise from turning into a tragedy.

The road to progress and improvement does not lie in the direction of the repeal of labor's freedom from the anti-trust laws. That way lies chaos, poverty, and retrogression. A free trade union movement, unthwarted and unopposed, is one of the glories of our democracy and one of the glories of our civilization.

Before we have concluded our litigation with the government, I hope that the Attorney General and his assistants will share that faith with me, and with you, and that we shall make a democratic society with progress all that has been achieved through your arduous efforts and free us for progress in the future.

GOLDBERG: Reduction in Work Week No Cure to Problems

(Continued from Page 8)

points, and I have no hesitancy in doing so. I do believe that because I am going to frankly discuss my viewpoint with you, we are going to be any less friends.

In his keynote to this convention, Pres. Dubinsky called for a national 35-hour week. It is worthy to be applied to would have to amend our Fair Labor Standards Act to bring down the work week from its present 40 hours to 35 hours. This is the way that a national 35-hour week could be established as the norm for American industry.

I want to state my deep conviction that a reduction from our present general 40-hour week will not be a cure to our economic problems in general, or to our unemployment problem in particular. Why do I say that? Because it is my considered view that the effect of a general reduction in the work week at the present time would be to impair adversely our present stable price structure by adding increased costs that industry as a whole cannot bear.

If we were to go this route, the result would be that our goods would be higher priced, would be less competitive and available at home, would be less competitive abroad. And the result would be more unemployment instead of less unemployment. That is the issue. The way I see it, the overriding need of the present hour is to put our unemployed people back to work at 40 hours, at decent pay, and to see to it that our great industrial enterprises are operating at full capacity; and that the fruits of this capacity are shared between shareholders, workers and consumers.

I am not talking about the legitimate sharing of the work week as has been practiced in many industries, where workers have failed. I am talking about a reduction of the work week without loss in pay, which has the inevitable consequence of increasing costs beyond gains made by productivity. I am aware that Pres. Dubinsky did not sketch this out as something to be done today or tomorrow, and that he thoughtfully recognized the relationship between productivity and this goal.

But the impression arises in the country, particularly among unemployed people, that the solution of their problem is a general reduction

in the work week, with full pay maintained. It seems to me that the cure for unemployment is not a sharing of under-employment, but a full-employment economy. And a full-employment economy is an economy that affords everybody who wants to work, and is capable of working, a job that he is capable of performing.

We have made many gains in the last year. The country is in a lot better shape than it was when we took office a year ago. Everybody knows that. When we took office, 14 1/2 million were unemployed; now fewer than 4 million are unemployed. That is a substantial gain. The rate of unemployment, which had gone up from 6.9 to 7 percent, is now down to 5.5 percent. Much, better, but not good enough; we are not satisfied. We welcome the progress that has been made, but we intend to do better.

WE ARE IN AN AUTOMATION AGE. WE ALL recognize that human beings have to be taken care of when you automate. You cannot get rid of people like you get rid of machinery. You have to find a sensible method of adjusting to the progress we want to make, and have to make, when we have automation and technological change. We must automate because otherwise we cannot produce the goods that our people need. We can automate, and could figure out sensible ways to see to it that the human element is protected.

You learned a long time ago—and your union has never protested it—that restrictive practices that try to bar progress, hurt the worker rather than help, just as we learned in international trade that restrictive trade policies hurt employment in the United States.

I have made a study and I have found out that 4 million Americans—\$1,000,000 in our export trade, and \$900,000 in imports are directly affected by our international trade policies. Those are a lot of jobs. And we have to continue to expand our export trade to afford jobs. Our trade bill is designed to open the opportunities in this area.

Now, there will be problems because trade is a two-way street. But problems can be worked out. The benefit of your help working out a problem in the textile industry.

We also have learned that we cannot squeeze

business, because we know that only a prosperous employer can pay prosperity wages. Therefore, it is necessary to have a vital, profitable business enterprise, and our objectives are to achieve that.

In general, we want an economy moving better than it has been, and we want it moving in the interests of all the people. We want a humane government that responds to human need and does not measure that need against the dollar sign, but provides for it in a growing economy that produces what we need. In all of these objectives, your organization has helped, and can continue to help.

WE STILL HAVE SOME UNFINISHED BUSINESS in the minimum wage area, and we all have the moral obligation to struggle for unemployment compensation benefits for people who are out of work a long time. When we struggle to help our young people, a million of whom are out of school and out of work, when we struggle to get rid of the pockets of illiteracy and poverty in our country, when we appeal to the trade union movement to help in a growing economy in the general range of productivity if we are not to have inflation; when we say it is important that some of the higher-paid unions ought to take less, and some of the lower paid industries ought to get more so that they can all within this general formula; when we ask for a public works bill so that the unemployed can be put back to work; when we ask for the restoration of the Youth Conservation Corps that served us so well in the Thirties when we painfully had to pay the taxes that we need to protect the security of the free world to make sure that we can live in peace and in freedom—we need the help and support of the trade union movement because we represent the people.

Trade unionism is not an end in itself. It is a great and noble means of uplifting the individual, of making a contribution to our great country. And our great country cannot escape the obligations of leadership, of making a contribution to better the world. You have never failed us in the past, and I am confident that under your young and vigorous leadership, you will not fail us in the future.

MEANS: Shorter Work Week Would Have Tremendous Impact

(Continued from Page 7)

country, every single progressive thing that we have was opposed 100 percent by the NAM.

Go into a factory and see sanitary rest-rooms of the type and number demanded by the factory laws of a particular state. They are there not because of the NAM, but despite the opposition of the NAM.

Go into a factory where they are using abrasive materials, where harmful dust will be flying in the air, and you will see a suction device over the machine and, perhaps, one in the wall. They are there because of a law that was put on the statute books in practically every state throughout the United States because of the efforts of the trade union movement and its friends and, without exception in every case, over the complete opposition of the NAM.

Industry in this country today would not get rid of workmen's compensation which provides that industry shall, at least, pay a portion of the burden that comes when a worker is injured on the job, or the economic burden placed on his family in case of death. These laws are on the statute books in every state of the union.

The record shows that the organized trade union movement fought for these bills. In Ohio, one of the first states to pass such a law, a man by the name of William Green introduced a bill that passed the Ohio State Legislature way back in 1909 or 1910, and that man later became president of the AFL. He was at that time a member of the Ohio State Legislature.

In the State of New York, the bill was passed in 1910 and was promptly challenged in the court by the State Manufacturers Association, and it was declared unconstitutional. A referendum was held the following year changing the constitution, giving the legislature the right to give this burden to the workers—and that was signed into law in 1911—this, again, despite the 100 percent opposition of the NAM.

Unemployment insurance, which was advocated by a great many of the progressive unions for many years, and finally adopted as a program by the AFL in 1937, was opposed all the way down

the line by the NAM. I have my own experience with this because I was president of the New York State Federation of Labor in 1935 when we placed it on the statute books of the State of New York, and I can assure you that it had 100 percent opposition of the State Manufacturers Association, which represents the NAM.

So we go right down the line. The NAM opposed social security and all other improvements in the American way of life, and now they tell us that the way out of this problem of unemployment is greater profits for business and to reduce the economic power of trade unions.

NOW, A FEW WORDS ABOUT THIS ARGUMENT that trade unions have too much power, and that we constantly hear. Of course, I am for powerful trade unions because they will always use that power for good—and there is nothing wrong with power for good.

What power are they talking about? What power do trade unions have in the final analysis? They have the ultimate right to stop work. That's the ultimate power of the individual worker—to refuse to work for somebody else for any reason that is unsatisfactory to that individual worker. And what do the trade unions do? They use that power collectively. So, when somebody says that our power should be curbed, do they mean the right of the individual to stop work? No, I guess they don't go that far, but they do mean the right of the individual worker to join others who likewise want to stop work.

This anti-labor philosophy would bring us back to the time when it was considered a conspiracy against society for two men to agree to simultaneously stop work. This is the power they are trying to crush.

Let's get a little quote from one of the real big boys in American industry, Henry Ford. Yesterday, in speaking about the economic problems of the nation, he said that he advocates "measures to remedy the unreasonable accumulation of economic power permitted to labor unions." Well, the only thing he can mean is that in some way he wants to restrict the workers'

power to cease working. Continuing the talk to his stockholders, he said: "For the rest, let business serve society as it has done so well for so many years, by pursuing its own self-interest, subject to market forces and effective limitations. That's reason, the law, and common decency imposed."

I do not know what these qualifications mean, but I know what is meant by the words—"serve society by pursuing its own self-interest."

WE SHALL CONTINUE TO FIGHT OUT THE traditional program of the trade union movement. We are going to continue to attempt to raise the standards, not of those who already have too much, but of those who do not have enough.

In the final analysis, on all of these matters we employ the measuring rod of human values, because that is really the source of all wealth. People came before money. Some years ago, Samuel Gompers said, in a discourse about capital and labor: "Capital is what a man has; labor is what a man is."

And this, I think, is a good philosophy and approach to the problems that we face. We are going to continue this work. We are going to continue to try to build up the economic health of the nation. And the way you build it up is by building up the economic standards and the general welfare of those who work for wages.

We are going to try to help workers in other parts of the world, as we are doing through the ICFPU in Africa, Asia and other parts of the globe, because we feel that there is a common bond between workers no matter where they live, and they all have the same basic problems. We believe that freedom of freedom, especially the freedom to establish and maintain a trade union, no matter where it may happen, is a threat and a menace to established freedom here in the United States.

We are going to follow along in that tradition. I can assure you our organization is in good shape and quite alive. I am also sure, as we travel that road, we will have, as always, the wholehearted support of Pres. Dubinsky and the ELGW.

ILGWU Confab Sets Union Course

(Continued From Page 3)
357 delegates representing silk and cotton dress units, 191 from cloak and suit units, and 337 from children's units were in attendance. The delegates were in attendance for the convention, blouse, coat, and brassiere and knits units.

The convention elected two new vice presidents—Shelley Appleton and Marcel Brodsky—taking posts on the General Executive Board formerly held by veterans Julius Hochman and Benjamin Kaplan.

Mokey-Goldberg Debate
Highlights of the convention was an exchange between Secretary of Labor Arthur J. Goldberg and AFL-CIO Pres. George Meany on the shorter work week for America.

The talks were a day apart on the second and third days of the convention. It was a face-to-face exchange, they constituted an important debate which through widespread coverage in the press contributed to the public dialogue on this important issue. In the course of his address, Pres. Meany announced that at the next meeting of the AFL-CIO Executive Council he would make a drive for the shorter work week.

Vice President Landon Johnson was given an enthusiastic reception when he addressed the convention on the afternoon of the first day. On the following Monday, May 28, United Automobile Workers' Pres. Walter Reuther stirred the convention with an address on the major problems confronting the nation.

There were numerous other speakers, but the apex of the convention was the address by speakers from the floor—legates from all parts of the country, from Puerto Rico and even Canada—who rose to participate in the discussion of resolutions and committee reports.

The business of the con-

vention was consideration of the report of the General Executive Board which each delegate received upon registering and of the more than 300 resolutions received by the convention.

Major Discussions
This was done through the action of thirteen convention committees. The committees met throughout the convention period, discussed and analyzed assigned portions of the GEB report and pertinent resolutions and reported back to the convention. (A detailed schedule of actions on resolutions will appear in the next issue of Justice).

Major discussions developed on a variety of subjects. These included political and educational activities, Landon-Goldman, civil rights, the union within the union, international affairs, the shorter work week, ILGWU death benefit fund.

Pres. Dubinsky was chairman of the convention session. Secretary was made on the May 28 session when, for the first time in more than thirty years, an ILGWU convention listened to a financial report for the past period presented by someone other than David Dubinsky. A careful presentation of the union's financial status, covering general funds and special funds for the general office as well as affiliates, was made by General Secretary-Treasurer Louis Blomberg, who was elected to that post by the 1959 convention.

The convention also heard a first-time report on the national severance fund. Pres. Dubinsky pointed out that experience with this fund on a national scale had, along with other factors, eased the way to working for a merger of ILGWU retirement funds.

Election Session
The convention ended with the nominating and election session.

Colorful and noisy demonstrations marked the end of nomination and seconding speeches.

Pres. Dubinsky was placed in nomination for reelection by Charles S. Zimmerman and the nomination was seconded by Moshe Palikman, Benoch Mendelsohn and Harry Greenberg.

After he had been reelected, Pres. Dubinsky told the delegates that there had been two motives that made him accept the nomination:

"First, where else can I get so much satisfaction for my soul than I could being the head of this union? In what field can I be more useful and more able to do things for people than I could as the president of this union? Then, the job is just done. There is more yet to be done. I am one of those who believes that there is no determining factor whether a man shall continue in the service of the union. Some people are old in their younger days; others are young even in their older days. The test is the ability to give service and to make a contribution and not how old the person is."

"As a child, every Saturday I looked forward to laudely young people, like riding a bicycle, or doing other things. But my father, on the other hand, every Saturday read from the Book of Rabbis, where it said that a good name is better than good gold. In the old days, richness was not measured by gold, or property, or mansions. Oil was the symbol of richness. This Book of Rabbis said that a good name is even better than good oil. When he came to that part, my father always made sure was listening. He hoped that would sink into me. And I want to confess it did. He said it so often that it became a part of me."

"When we saw the labor movement imperiled because of lack of ethics, I realized a good name

is better than all the finance and all the riches, and all the efforts to which one could aspire."

"We are strong but we do not abuse our strength. With our strength we have to have responsibility. Industry can only give what it has to give; and it cannot give what it does not have. If we take from it because of our power what it cannot give, we will do damage to the industry, and by doing damage to the industry, we do damage to our own workers."

But that does not mean that we should be neglected and miss an opportunity to win new benefits when we can, and that we should compromise where such compromise is not necessary, and not be alert and not be militant, and to fight and get what we are entitled to.

"That is why I want to leave this thought with you: The strength of a union is its consciousness, its idealism, its loyalty and its unity. These are the most essential resources of a union."

"We enjoy a reputation of honesty, of constructive idealism in our union. That is why we hate to see, whether from one source or another, the attempt to destroy that image. When the Communists try it, that is their line; they have a purpose. We charged them with that image. When the Communists try to capture the union, the same thing happened recently when a group of people thought they could destroy the image of our union and destroy Dubinsky."

"Little do our opponents know that they cannot undermine our union, whether it is led by Dubinsky or anyone else in the future. Our union is strong because the foundation is solid. It is built on the traditions of 60 years."

I want to assure you it is a great joy and a great pride to know that

you can be of service to mankind, even though you have your difficulties, your difficulties, and not everything can be solved; to know that hundreds of thousands of people who were exploited and abused and hopeless, are happier today than they were. It is a great privilege for us to participate in improving the lives of people. We can, united, make a contribution for economic improvement, social justice, and for peace throughout the world. God bless you."

New 'Veeps'

(Continued From Page 3)
1959, succeeding Vice Pres. Charles S. Zimmerman after he was named general manager of the Dress Joint Board and Joint Council. Prior to that, he had been the local assistant manager.

At trade union since 1927, when he was 16 years old, Breslow joined the Annapolis Clothing Workers in 1930. He remained a member of the ACWA until 1956, when he went to work as an operator in a New York dress shop and joined Local 22.

He became a member of the Executive Board in 1943 and chairman of the local in 1944, a position he held until 1946, when he was elected a business agent. (He had been appointed to that post two years earlier.)

Active in many labor and liberal organizations, Breslow was president of the Workers' Alliance from the 1958-62 term. He is also a leading participant in the Liberal Forward Association, among others.

His wife, Rose, also has been a member of Local 22 since 1936. She is completing his first year at Columbia High School,

WORK STANDARDS:

To Build Further Advances

OUR UNION HAS DONE A LOT TO improve the welfare of the garment workers by its unswerving activity. We worked on all fronts to attain this result. Our membership and our officers worked long and hard to secure the passage of minimum wage legislation. It was needed not only to improve the standards of unorganized workers but also minimize unemployment in terms of wages and to provide new points of departure which to build further advances for our membership. At the same time we worked steadily and the collective bargaining table, seeking at all times to get the best possible terms for the garment worker.

A perusal of the report of the GEB reveals what has been accomplished in the way of improving working standards in the last three years. We have progressed on many fronts. The 35-hour week is virtually universal in shops under contract with our union throughout the United States. A number of agreements signed in Canada show that there too we are succeeding gradually in shortening hours and coming closer to the achievement of our goal.

WAGE INCREASES WERE WON IN the different markets and trades. We have continued our policy of negotiating higher minimum wage rates than those provided by law and preserving the same relationship between average earnings and the new minimum as previously. We have signed important company-wide agreements covering two of the major "plant" firms in the industry. We have improved the payments for holidays to both piece workers and time workers in more and more of our agreements. We have extended the safeguards offered by our health and welfare and

retirement funds. We have provided national severance and supplementary unemployment benefits for ILGWU members left jobless by firms going out of business.

As in the past, we will continue in the future to seek new opportunities to serve the cause of garment workers and to improve their working standards. This is a never ending road.

The development of future policies on work standards is an important task. We are sure that the incoming GEB and the leadership of our affiliates will continue to explore all the ways and means to further gains.

For Claude Jadin, head of Canadian labor movement.

ORGANIZING:

Union's Ever-Present Task

TODAY, MORE THAN EVER BEFORE, especially because of the anti-labor legislation enacted by Congress, we will have to intensify our organizing work, but not to keep on making "progress."

Organizational work is the cornerstone of trade union activity. Unless it is constantly pressed forward, our union would lose membership, influence, and strength. The reason for this is obvious. In the course of each year, roughly 17 percent of all firms in the industry go out of business or else change hands. At the same time, new establishments replace

those that disappear. Their workers must be organized and the firms must be shaped up. Organization is thus an ever present task.

OUR MEMBERSHIP AS OF JANUARY 1962 totaled 443,132. That is a slight increase of 231 workers over our membership of three years ago. But even though this is a slight gain, to attain it we had to undergo a massive organizing task. In the last three years, nearly 200,000 workers left the union mainly because of business transfers, mergers and childbirth. To maintain our strength we had to organize another 200,000 workers. This task was made difficult by fears of business transfers, mergers and childbirth. To maintain our strength we had to organize another 200,000 workers. This task was made difficult by fears of business transfers, mergers and childbirth. To maintain our strength we had to organize another 200,000 workers. This task was made difficult by fears of business transfers, mergers and childbirth.

WHILE THESE LAWS NEED TO BE CHANGED. The National Labor Relations Board also must change its policies. All too frequently labor laws are interpreted by the board are similar to those of an agent of the employer or a servant of the National Association of Manufacturers.

In the face of these odds, completed by the vagaries of the economic situation in our industry, our ability to maintain and even slightly improve the size of our membership is an achievement. We are grateful to our officers and organizers for their work.



Northeast Report Revue.

ILG Chief Scans Critical World Situation

(Continued from Page 2)

ment would be reached on a test ban with adequate inspection to insure its full observance on all sides. But the Kremlin leaders declined to enter into such an agreement, we believe President Kennedy showed sound judgment and real leadership when he ordered resumption of testing in the interest of the security of our nation and the security of the free world.

This action of our President served the cause of peace, for if the Kremlin knows we are strong to defend ourselves there is little danger of war. And those who conduct parade protests and demonstrations against our country's action in meeting the challenge posed by the Soviet's renewal of nuclear tests are—consciously or unconsciously—serving the interests of the Kremlin.

Experience shows that firm and timely action checks aggression and strengthens the chances for peace whereas appeasement surely and inevitably leads to war. This was true with Hitler; it is just as true in dealing with Khrushchev.

THE FIGHT AGAINST COMMUNIST IMPERIALISM is not merely a matter of involving military strategy and weapons for defense against physical aggression. It is also an ideological struggle in a world in which millions live in poverty, who are easy prey for Communist propaganda.

Our country is committed to aiding impoverished peoples to develop their own economies and to promote their social and economic welfare. The Alliance for Progress, launched by the present administration, is a great step forward in that direction. It is an imaginative and dynamic program to help the countries of Latin America, our neighbors in the Western Hemisphere, to help themselves. We support our President's launching of this program as an expression of our nation's humanitarianism. But it is obviously also an important means of bolstering the defenses of freedom.

It is also gratifying that in carrying out this great program, our government has adopted the policy that those nations which participate in this program shall themselves make their contribution by carrying out necessary and, in some instances, long overdue reforms, such as land distribution and just taxation. This program will tribute the rich richer and the poor poorer; it not make the rich richer and the poor poorer; it will improve the lot of the masses who yearn for a decent life with the blessings of freedom.

MEMORIES ARE SOMETIMES SHORT. BUT even in the course of my presidency, when our union was weak and when the bulk of the industry was unorganized, government authorities were shocked by what existed in our industry. The Pennsylvania Department of Labor and Industry reported a weekly wage of \$3 for 51 hours. Fall River, Massachusetts, wages ranged from \$5 to 15 cents an hour. Even in the comparatively highly paid silk dress industry, operators making dresses wholesaling for \$3.75 and below, averaged only 33 cents an hour while 24 cents was paid in New Jersey and Connecticut, and 21 cents an hour in Philadelphia.

We are proud of what we have accomplished. We have won a 35-hour week, with overtime payments after 7 hours a day. We have established funds which disburse health and welfare, retirement and severance and supplementary unemployment benefits to our members. We have improved the standard of living and security of the garment worker.

Even though there continues to be plenty of room for further improvement in the wage standards of the garment worker, we have raised wages in the decent level. For example, the average wage in the dress industry in New York City is \$2.57 an hour; for the country as a whole it is \$1.93. Of course, this means that in a number of areas the wages are lower. In the garment sector of the industry, such as is found down South, the averages may run slightly higher than the legal minimum wage.

How sound were we when we fought for higher minimums under the federal wage and hour law? As a result of our fight for a higher minimum, many thousands of non-union workers have benefited and are now enjoying a better life. At the same time we have narrowed the competition between the union and non-union workers and brought about greater protection for union standards.

BUT WE CANNOT REST ON OUR LAURELS. Despite the many difficulties, despite the fact that our industry earns but 1 percent on its sales dollar, despite other barriers, we will continue

our fight for human decency and a fair break for every garment worker and every American.

Years ago, when we fought the sweatshops and chieftain employers, one of the major weapons used by our union was organizational picketing. In this manner, we brought the plight of the garment worker to the attention of the communities in which these substandard shops existed as well as to the attention of the public at large.

We have been able to focus the spotlight of public disapproval on the employers who disregarded human values and who exploited the defenseless worker for their own selfish gains.

The public opinion which we mobilized in this fashion helped a great deal. But now, since the passage of the Landrum-Griffin Act, we are powerless. Even though special provisions were made in this statute with regard to the jobber-contractor situation found in the industry, the limitations on organizational picketing provide



Demonstration touched off by nomination of Pres. Dubinsky for reelection.

immunity for the chieftain employer and interfere with our long-appointed task of seeking social justice.

The chieftain hides behind Taft-Hartley. He hides behind the Landrum-Griffin Act. He uses state anti-labor laws as a shield in his fight to keep earnings low, hours long and profits high. In chieftain's hands, these laws are used not to clean unions but to kill them.

We call for the abolition of state open-shop laws and for the substantial amendment of the Taft-Hartley and the Landrum-Griffin Acts.

IN OUR FIGHT AGAINST THE OPEN-SHOPS, bargain hunters, racketeer shops and runaway employers, we have used our union label drive to enlist the support of the entire labor movement and the sympathy of the consumer and public-spirited citizens. In our industry, once famous as the haven of the sweatshop, our ILOUW label is recognized as the symbol of decency as the mark of an American standard of living.

We have been able to use our label to educate the public to the damage done, not only to garment workers but to the general community as a whole, when garments without labels are purchased. Our belief in the willingness of women consumers to honor our label on this basis has been proven recently in a study made for us by a prominent research organization. This showed that the appeal to preserve decent work standards was the strongest appeal made by the union label.

The fight to spread union organization is the fight for a better America. We intend to carry on that fight on the picket line, in the legislatures and through the steady and vigorous promotion of our union label.

AT THE LATEST COUNT, WE STILL HAVE nearly 4 million unemployed. In addition, nearly 2½ million persons are working part time because they cannot find full time jobs.

The lack of sufficient economic growth coupled with the displacement of workers by automation and other technological improvements account for the fact that after every postwar recession, the number of the unemployed steadily rose.

If things are left to themselves, we cannot hope that unemployment will be sharply curtailed in the foreseeable future. The task is magnified by the fact that jobs must be provided not only for those workers who are currently out of work, but for those who will be displaced by future technological improvements as well as for the younger people who are entering the labor force in much larger numbers than a decade ago—at a rate about 40 percent greater than before.

This is why, in my considered judgment, we have reached a point in our national history when the length of the work week must be cut. The 35-hour week, which we have won in our industries, must become the current standard for the entire nation.

We are glad to learn that the Amalgamated Clothing Workers at their recent convention decided to seek, both through collective bargaining and legislation, the 35-hour week for their industry. I am sure they will win it, and this will be a help to them and to us as well.

To benefit the low-paid workers, we must seek a realistic national minimum wage. We have fought for higher minimums over the years. The results justify our efforts. Higher minimum wages helped to strengthen the economic base for a healthier America. But they did not bring in their wake any inflationary pressures. They merely helped a lot of poor people to have a better life.

A realistic policy for today is to amend the wage-hour law at the earliest possible moment to provide a minimum wage of \$1.50 an hour and, simultaneously, establish a 35-hour week for the nation's wage earners. By doing this we would help those in the lower brackets to increasingly enjoy the fruits of our economic system and at the same time assure continuous economic progress.

IN RECENT YEARS, MERGERS BEGAN to affect our industry, just as they spread throughout the American economy. At the same time, public flotations of stock increased. This is an accelerating trend. In 1950, stocks of only 18 companies in our industry were sold to the public. In the next 9 years, only 10 additional firms went public. But in the last 2 years, an additional 35 companies went public.

The emergence of large companies which operate in various parts of the economy and which produce diverse products created a special problem. We have explored the mechanism of concluding company-wide agreements with two key firms. These agreements provide a general method for negotiating specific local pacts which take into account the regional needs and backgrounds. The administration of these agreements, we expect, will provide us with experience for the development of our future policies in this regard.

During the past decade, our industry was faced with a rising tide of imports. Some of it was fostered by tariff reduction. To a larger measure it was fostered by domestic bargain hunters who shifted production to foreign shores to get competitive advantages in our domestic markets.

Jointly, with other garment unions, we sought to formulate a program to cope with this situation. It was not until President Kennedy advanced a program to provide relief to the textile and apparel industries last May, that things began to happen. During the past years, first a one-year and then a longer term international agreement was negotiated. It was designed to provide an internationally accepted approach to the orderly marketing of cotton apparel and textiles. A separate pact was also concluded with Japan.

These international agreements are not perfect and leave much to be desired. Yet, they offer the needed relief from the flooding of domestic markets with foreign goods. As such they are a step forward, and, certainly, the enforcement of these agreements shows that they are taken seriously.

We appreciate the moves taken by President Kennedy and his administration in negotiating and administering these new agreements, and for his intention to further implement the program with regard to textiles and garments made of wool, man-made fibers and silk. This will safeguard jobs.

THE HISTORIC GENERAL STRIKE IN THE dress industry in 1958 provided the needed impetus for the wide acceptance of an important measure designed to protect our industry against the hazard of unemployment caused by liquidation of their employers' shops.

(Continued on Page 19)

Dubinsky Charts Tasks and Goals Ahead

(Continued from Page 12)

The idea of a severance fund was first proposed at our 1950 convention. We felt that it was wrong for our members to bear the full cost of unemployment in our industry. If firms liquidated, then workers had to be provided with some supplementary income to enable them to weather the period of readjustment.

As a result it was a fact that it was our first employer-financed fund that operates today on a nationwide basis. The merger was consummated in October 1960, at a union-management meeting which worked out the rules of the fund and elected its board of trustees—35 labor and 25 management representatives. Now it is this fund that pays to eligible workers lump sum benefits and, in addition, weekly benefits.

The operations of the national severance fund taught us a lot about our industry. We have learned that when a firm decides to quit, it matters not how long its workers gave of their energy and will. Almost half of the shops which went out of business operated for more than 20 years. Almost 40 percent of the severed workers were 55 years of age or older.

We have also learned a lot from the national severance fund about the operation of a nationwide fund. These lessons can well be applied to the merger of our retirement funds. We have long considered such a merger to be a good thing—because our retirement funds would make for greater financial stability, more efficient operation and more liberal benefits.

A number of smaller mergers of retirement funds have already been accomplished. In the case of the Eastern Region Retirement Fund, which took place 10 years ago, in 1952, we have succeeded to pool together scores of scattered funds and today 100,000 of our members are protected by it.

Since the last convention we have given priority to the merger of severance funds. They were comparatively new. That is why it was easier to undertake their consolidation. We are now ready to proceed with our next task—the consolidation of our 37 retirement funds into one.

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF HEALTH AND SICKLE, RETIREMENT AND SEVERANCE AND SUPPLEMENTARY UNEMPLOYMENT BENEFITS FUNDS CREATED PROBLEMS WITH REGARD TO THE HANDLING OF MONIES WHICH ULTIMATELY WILL BE USED TO PAY THE VARIOUS BENEFITS. FOR THEIR PROPER FUNCTIONING AND OPERATION, IT IS NECESSARY TO ACCUMULATE RESERVES—FIRST TO MEET IMMEDIATE LARGE DEMANDS FOR BENEFITS AND, SECONDLY, TO ENABLE THE FUNDS TO MAKE PAYMENT OF BENEFITS FOR THE ENTIRE PERIOD OF OUR RETIREES OR FOR THE ENTIRE PERIOD DURING WHICH SUPPLEMENTARY UNEMPLOYMENT BENEFITS ARE DUE.

This required us to develop a sound investment policy. The monies collected by our employers, until they are paid out, must not lie idle. They must be put to use so that we could earn interest—so that funds themselves would add to the funds. This has to be done with extreme care and caution for the reserves of our funds are held in trust for all our members.

In investing these monies, we needed to achieve two ends: first, to secure safety of our investment with a satisfactory return; and secondly, to protect wherever possible a socially useful purpose.

At first our investments were limited to federal bonds. Later when the government began to guarantee other types of investments, chiefly in the form of government securities, we began to diversify our investments. We began to advance funds for cooperative housing developments, such as are found in New York, into veterans' and workers' homes, and even into mortgages designed to assist small farmers.

By doing this carefully to select, and by following sound fiscal policies, we have a sound investment base. For the larger the income of the funds, the better benefits can we pay to our members.

Only last week, the President of the United States commended favorably on the ELGWU policies while dedicating our latest housing investment to the ELGWU Cooperative Homes—the largest cooperative housing development in the nation. In this document, the President declared that the ELGWU "deserves the heartiest commendation" for its effort in this area.

ON THE EVE OF OUR LAST CONVENTION, THE DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE AND THE ATTORNEY GENERAL OF THE REPUBLICAN ADMINISTRATION HAD ISSUED AN INDICTMENT AGAINST THE ELGWU FOR CONSPIRACY TO MONOPOLIZE THE HOUSE INDUSTRY.

In reporting this indictment to the last convention, I pointed out that in the case of huge corporations such suits were generally aimed at the civil level. Why I asked, was this indictment a criminal indictment?

I could not find the answer in the nature of our industry, one of the most competitive in the economy. No could we find a precedent for such action, for most cases of this kind were civil cases.

It seemed clear to me that the reason was purely political—that different treatment was given by the Republican administration to a progressive union called the ELGWU with the president named Dubinsky than that given to giant corporations. The different treatment was aimed at demoralizing the union by attaching to the action an atmosphere of criminality, missteering and dirt.

That is why, when in January 1962 the present administration undertook a parallel anti-trust action in the house industry as a civil case, we welcomed it. Now, we said, the anti-trust charge could be tested in an atmosphere free of political misdirection and sensationalism, such as had previously been stimulated by the original criminal action.

AFTER 30 YEARS OF OUR UNION'S EXISTENCE, AFTER ALL THE STRUGGLE AND THE EXPERIENCE THAT WE WENT THROUGH, WITH IMPACT AS PRESIDENT FOR 20 YEARS, A GROUP OF YOUNGSTERS FELT THAT WE ARE TOO OLD, THAT THE PRESIDENT AND THE VICE PRESIDENTS LIVE TOO LONG, AND THAT IT TAKES TOO LONG FOR LEAD MANAGERS TO BECOME VICE PRESIDENTS. THEREFORE, "COLLECTIVE BARGAINING" WOULD HELP THE SITUATION. "WE ARE EXPLOITED BY THE ELGWU," THEY CLAIMED, "AND WE WANT YOUR EFFORTS TO BECOME OURS FOR OUR OWN BENEFIT."

I have not become an "employee" and I will not negotiate with my colleague union officers. I will continue to negotiate with those who are in fact employees. But who to the union, who to the members, and who to the traditions of unionism? When officers consider themselves employees, they are no longer union officers. They are political operators within the union, in the hope that they would be able to eventually win the next great organization.

However, they do not know the tradition of our union. They may have heard the tradition of a complaint; they may have read our leaflets. But they evidently have not acquired the full understanding and the spirit of our union. We are a union; we are a union; we are a movement. And these three are not separate. Dubinsky; they serve the members and they cannot be employees.

Their action was unprecedented—an ultimatum to the ELGWU president. They demanded negotiations and a reply within 10 days. Otherwise, they would go "through the channels of government to get action: they as "employees," and the General Executive Board and representatives of the ELGWU, as "employees."

We will not yield to a "bitch" to ultimatum, to law manipulation, and to this totalitarianism that is endangering the very life of our union.

IT IS SEVEN YEARS SINCE A DIVIDED LABOR MOVEMENT WAS REUNITED. AS PREVIOUS CONVENTIONS WE HAVE TRACED THE STAGE BY WHICH THE UNION WAS ACHIEVED. A UNITED LABOR MOVEMENT IS A STRONGER, MORE RESPONSIBLE LABOR MOVEMENT.

Yet with a formal regularity, so-called labor unions and journals foretell the end of that unity with an enthusiasm that indicates wishful thinking. They were recently greatly disappointed when the AFL-CIO convention last December was "split" not a split but with unity strengthened through the creation of machinery for setting internal disputes.

Twenty-five years ago the labor movement split because it was too inflexible to meet the challenge of the armies of unorganized workers in the mass industries. That organization was essential and the split was the price we paid for inflexibility. But today only, not division, is essential to the progress of the labor movement and the welfare of the country. The dispute settlement machinery strengthens that unity.

By historical chance, our union has been the one to militate for the end of the procedure in the consolidation of the United Garment Workers by the AFL-CIO Executive Council for strike-breaking. The DGM had signed an agreement with the union for being struck by our union. It provided that there should be a labor split with an agreement with terms far inferior to ours.

The council made history by permitting our union to conduct an organizing drive for ELGWU conditions at the plant despite the higher contract.

FOR MANY YEARS, WE HAVE WORKED TO IMPROVE THE CONDITIONS OF WORKERS IN PUERTO RICO. IN THIS LAST WE FACED AN INTENSE EMPLOYER OPPOSITION AND PROPAGANDA. IN A NUTSHELL, THEY ARGUED THAT ANY WAGE INCREASE WOULD DRIVE THE INDUSTRY FROM THE ISLAND. THEIR ARGUMENTS WERE SUCCESSFUL IN LIGHTENING OCCASIONALLY THE KEY EXECUTIVES OF THE COMMONWEALTH GOVERNMENT.

These fears proved unfounded. Gradually the standards of the Puerto Rican workers were raised and their lot was improved. Gradually, they too won the rights of industrial citizenship. And in the process, we even convinced the Governor to back an automatic increase in all the minimum wages in Puerto Rico interstate industries—except for hardship cases when Congress raised the statewide minimum last year. The Puerto Rican workers no longer felt like a stepchild when minimum wages were raised by Congress.

Between 1955 and 1961, for example, shipments of newfootwear were up 50 percent or 41 percent. But in the organized footwear industry they increased 70 percent. When we first sought to organize shoemakers workers in 1955, their minimum was 35 cents an hour. The legal minimum now is 59 cents an hour. The union contract, it is higher. Our membership has increased a good deal. Wage increases for the Puerto Rico workers not only helped them but helped the island. They did not cause inflation. They did not bring a de-capitalization of employment or of business. Everyone gained.

IN THE LAST FEW YEARS, WE HAVE OBTAINED WAGE INCREASES FROM 5 TO 8 PERCENT IN MANY PARTS OF THE COUNTRY AND IN VARIOUS TRADES. ALSO, FOR THE FIRST TIME, WE WON PAYMENT FOR LEGAL HOLIDAYS FOR FACTORY WORKERS AS WELL AS LINE WORKERS. DURING THE SAME PERIOD WE WON SOME OF OUR BIGGEST ORGANIZING VICTORIES, SOMETIMES THROUGH LENGTHY STRIKES. THOUGH WE DID NOT ENROLL HUGE NUMBERS, THE RESULTS WERE IMPRESSIVE. IN THE FUTURE, WE ARE PLANNING ADDITIONAL DRIVES IN DIFFERENT AREAS OF THE SOUTH AND THE PACIFIC COAST, AS WELL AS IN NEW YORK, IN SOME INDUSTRIES IN CONJUNCTION WITH BROTHER AFL-CIO CAMPAIGNS.

When I became president in 1953, the membership of the entire ELGWU was 24,000. Today, it is close to 50,000. When I joined in 1910, or 1900, everyone is equal in our union, you all have the same rights. There are no "first-class" and "second-class" citizens. Seventy-five to 80 percent of the delegates here represent the membership that joined the union after 1934. Now we make up for the 36,000 members who have retired by 70 who have joined in 1934, in 1940, etc. It is you who make up for the retirees.

The GEB Report shows that since we established the Staff Retirement Fund, 167 officers were retired. At present, 121 are on the retirement rolls and 44 have died. Most of them are old and pensioners, but many of them are the newer ones that took their place, and that's why we must not forget that we have a manpower problem in our union as far as officers are concerned. And while young officers are very helpful and take a young spirit together with the experience of the older ones, a combination when they want to work together.

We should be proud of what we have done for hundreds and thousands of people, what we have done for the members of the trade union movement at home and abroad. There's nothing to undermine us, degrade us, no matter what their aims, no matter what excuses should be considered as excuses whether they are within or without our movement. They are enemies and traitors to our cause.

We have a glorious history. The pioneers laid a foundation. We were loyal and faithful to the tradition of the pioneers and I hope that spirit, that tradition, will last forever in our organization, even when we go and others take our place. No one can ever take the spirit of the pioneers. It was established with the sweat and it was not for the pioneers of the 1900s and 1910 strikes, and the 1934 strike in Pennsylvania, the fight against the chairmen that took place only two months ago, it was not for the pioneers and their "BNA leaders" who would have lost the spirit of our union. They held this union together. We held the banner high and we will continue to hold it and to protect it. Don't permit it to be stolen.

JUSTICE

INTERNATIONAL LADIES' GARMENT WORKERS' UNION

EDITORIAL PAGE



THE MORE WE CHANGE...

THE FULL EFFECTS of the 31st convention will be felt in our union in the months and years ahead. Close to a thousand delegates deliberated for eight intensive working days, passed on more than 300 resolutions, considered policy statements from a dozen committees and, piece by piece, shaped our union's guide lines—immediate and long range.

As with all previous ILGWU conventions this, too, was a colorful assembly, aware of our history, moved at times by deep emotion, stirred by debates not only on subjects pertaining to the daily life of the garment worker but also those reflecting a world facing critical decisions.

But for newcomer and oldtimer alike these ILGWU parliaments provide unique excitement and inspiration. In one meeting place, for eight challenging days, are gathered veterans of ILGWU battle long ago and youngsters who will grow old in a world whose shape we can only dimly perceive. For a week, all the richly varied heritage of America seems to be assembled in this one hall—Americans of many racial and ethnic origins talking in accents that echo regional differences but all of them bound together by the fact that for them making garments is their way of earning a living.

Here, past and future meet and paradoxes stand revealed. Our delegates, for whom the 35-hour week has long been an established fact, suddenly became the audience for a high level debate on the shorter work week. What was the ILGWU stake in the exchange between Secretary of Labor Goldberg and AFL-CIO Pres. Meany?

It was nothing more than the fact that we in the garment industry can be no more prosperous than the rest of this nation's working population. Without being ourselves directly affected by automation, we become its indirect victims when it hits homemakers for whom our products are made.

We are selfishly concerned with a higher standard of living for others. We are selfishly determined to fight for better homes and schools for others. We have tirelessly and selfishly campaigned for a higher minimum wage for others. We are selfishly resolved to work for those advances in social legislation, community well being, political awareness which were the subjects of scores of resolutions considered by our convention.

WE HAVE PASSED OUT OF THAT PHASE of our history in which our best energies were used to fight primitive battles on the picket lines to lift ourselves a notch above the subsistence level of living. In those battles we

fought bitterly and savagely to rip from the hands of a hostile industry and a hostile society another dollar for our pay envelopes, another hour of daylight out of the shop for ourselves.

We lifted ourselves and dragged a reluctant society upward. Today, for the most part, we have won those elementary battles and unions have achieved prestige, status, power and responsibility. Now we can lift ourselves only by broad social and political pressures exerted within national concepts of welfare and security.

In our industry and in other industries we still face serious organization problems. We must still deal with the runaway bargain hunter. We are hemmed in by restrictive labor laws. Increasingly, we feel the impact on our industry—the nation's most competitive—of other products peddled by high-pressure advertising and imports coming from low-wage countries.

THE FACES AT OUR CONVENTIONS CHANGE. We "turned over" almost 200,000 members between the 30th and the 31st convention. The face of union leadership changes. There are six vice presidents on the General Executive Board today who were not on it in early 1959.

But the more we seem to change in things of the moment the more we are the same in things of the spirit. For the eight days of our assembly, the convention hall in Atlantic City rang with talk from the platform and from the floor taking in the whole world, the entire nation, the problems of the economy and the tribulations of our industry.

So it has always been with us. We garment workers prefer wide horizons. The whole world is our worry. Our own welfare, our own standards, our own ideals, our own hopes are enmeshed with it. Our problems start at the needle's point and end at the new frontiers in space.

Some cynically question, "Where is the idealism of the past? What has happened to the militancy that marched with us on embattled picket lines?"

Those who are prisoners of nostalgia or are impatient with the present or resent the respect and responsibility we have won are blind to the new role organized labor has assumed in our time. The talk, the discussions, the debates and the record of our 31st convention ring with proof of the imagination and idealism that workers are showing in meeting the problems of an age of gigantic encounters, scientific revolutions, social advances and perilous peace.



ILGWU General Executive Board

Elected to the union's General Executive Board by the 31st convention are, left to right, first row: Henoeh Mendelbaum, Angela Bambace, Gail Sec'y-Treas. Lou

Stulberg, Pres. David Dubinsky, First Vice Pres. Luigi Antonio, Charles S. Zimmerman, Morris Blais. Second row: Shelley Appleton, Louis Nelson, Nicholas Kirtman, Edward Kramer, Philip Kramer, Charles Krasindler, Moe Falkman, Bernard Shene, Harry Greenberg. Third row: Samuel Otto, Frederick Siens, George Rubin, E. Howard Molteni, Israel Bresler, David Gindoff, William Ross.