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JUSTICE

INTERNATIONAL LADIES' GARMENT WORKERS' UNION

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STYLING
OVERSIZING
SILK 3
OVERSIZE

House Unit Votes \$1.75 Floor, Adds 6 Million to Coverage

A House Labor subcommittee has reported out a bill to increase the minimum wage to \$1.75 an hour and extend coverage to 6.1 million more workers. The measure, which would raise the wage floor for presently covered workers over a three-year period and for newly covered workers over a five-year span, does not include provisions for increasing the overtime rate to double time or for reducing the workweek.

The administration had called for extension of coverage to 4.6 million workers, double time pay after 48 hours with a gradual reduction to 45 hours, and further study of the shorter workweek. The President did not recommend a definite increase in the minimum wage, but told Congress in his message that "the question is not whether the minimum wage should be increased but when and by how much."

The AFL-CIO, the ILGWU and other labor organizations, in testimony before the subcommittee headed by Rep. James

Roosevelt (D-Calif.) had called for a \$2 an hour minimum wage, coverage for 5.4 million workers, double time pay after 40 hours and a reduction in the workweek to 35 hours.

The subcommittee bill would extend coverage to 700,000 farm workers but would restrict the wage to a top of \$1.25 after three years. The AFL-CIO has testified for Fair Labor Standards Act coverage of farm workers on the same basis as for other newly covered workers.

The vote in the subcommittee was reported at 8 to 1 in favor of the measure. On August 12, the full House

Education and Labor Committee approved the extension of minimum wage coverage as recommended by the subcommittee, and intended to act during the following week on the proposed increase in the minimum wage.

The bill contains the following provisions: —Minimum wages: For those already covered by the FLSA an increase to \$1.40 on July 1, 1966; \$1.60 on July 1, 1967; \$1.75 on July 1, 1968. For those who would be newly covered \$1 on January 1, 1966; \$1.15 on July 1, 1966; \$1.25 on July 1, 1967; \$1.40 on July 1, 1968; \$1.60 on July 1, 1969; \$1.75 on

July 1, 1970.

The 700,000 farm workers that would be included under the bill would get \$1.15 on July 1, 1966 and \$1.25 on July 1, 1968. The cutoff point for coverage is farms employing more than 300 members of farm labor a quarter other than temporary employees, who are defined as working no more than 12 consecutive weeks a year.

—Coverage: 6.1 million workers presently not protected by the act would be covered, including 2.5 million retail workers; 890,000 hospital workers; 700,000 farm workers; 600,000 workers for auto and farm equipment dealers; 275,000 hotel workers; 250,000 laundry and dry cleaning workers; 100,000 food service workers; 87,000 loggers; 75,000 theater workers; 50,000 other types of employees.

Coverage would extend to all businesses with gross sales of \$500,000 a year until the end of 1968. After that it would be \$250,000. Units of chains doing less than \$1 million in gross sales would have a test of \$150,000. If the chain did more than \$1 million all units would be automatically covered.

—Overtime: For newly covered workers the time and one-half provisions would take effect at 44 hours on July 1, 1967; 42 hours on July 1, 1968; 40 hours on July 1, 1969. Overtime exemptions include resort hotels and amusement and recreational establishments, small newspapers, mechanics employed by auto dealers, bus drivers, conductors etc. employed by transportation companies doing less than \$1 million business a year.

Push for Federal Standard Updating Jobless Benefits

The administration has urged Congress to revamp the 30-year-old unemployment insurance system to provide higher benefits for more workers over a longer period of joblessness.

Labor Secretary W. Willard Wirtz, the leadoff witness at House Ways and Means Committee hearings, said new federal standards are needed because states have been reluctant to improve jobless benefits for fear of losing industry to states with lower tax rates.

Today's unemployment problems are different than those of the depression era, Wirtz told the committee. "This generation," he stressed, can no longer rest "on the magnificent, but now 30-year-old, achievements of the New Deal."

The Ways and Means Committee has scheduled three weeks of hearings on the labor-supported administration bill, introduced by Committee Chairman Wilbur D. Mills (D-Ark.) and by Senator Eugene J. McCarthy (D-Minn.). The bill includes these key provisions:

—State benefit standards based on 50 percent of lost wages, subject to a ceiling which would rise automatically as average wages in the state increased. Initially the ceiling would be 50 percent of the average state wage, but it would move up in steps to two-thirds of the average state wage by July 1, 1971.

—A new federal extended benefit program for workers who have exhausted their state benefits and are still unemployed. Such workers would be entitled to an additional 26 weeks of benefits, financed partly by a small increase in the federal contributions from general revenues.

—Extension of coverage of five million workers now excluded under state laws. These are mainly workers in small firms, in non-profit organizations, and on large farms.

—Limits on disqualification penalties. A worker who voluntarily quit his job, was discharged for misconduct, or who refused suitable work or training would be entitled to benefits after a six-week disqualification period. A state could not reduce benefits to unemployed workers who leave the state in search of employment.



Seaman for Agenda News Service

—Financing would be strengthened by raising the taxable wage base from \$3,000 to \$5,600 and in 1971 to \$6,600. There would also be a small increase in the employer's tax rate.

"Fear that costs of an adequate program may result in employers being attracted to other states—which do not meet their responsibilities—has been a significant impediment to additional improvements in state laws," Wirtz said. "Just as federal action was required to bring the system into being, it is required now to stimulate necessary improvements."

Swift U.S. Action For Implementing Vote Rights Law

Swiftly implementing the new Voting Rights Act, federal examiners began registering Negroes in Selma, Ala., and nine other "hardcore" counties seats. In a parallel move, the Justice Department challenges to the constitutionality of poll taxes imposed by four states.

Local officials in many other southern counties, including strikers Americus, Ga., acted voluntarily to register long lines of Negro applicants under the new voting law, dropping the pattern of harassment and discriminatory tests.

The machinery of government began turning just hours after President Johnson went to the Capitol to sign the legislation and tell the nation, in a televised address, of its significance. He termed enactment of the voting bill a triumph for freedom as huge as any victory that's ever been won on any battlefield."

The President recalled the bondage of the Negroes brought to America, "in chains" and their long exclusion from the democracy which exists in the United States. "Today," the President said, "we strike away the last major shackle of those fierce and ancient bonds."

Johnson praised the speed with which "this good Congress" acted on the legislation, proposed last March, adding: "And I intend to act with equal dispatch in enforcing 'this act.'"

Broad Alliance

The President spoke in the Rotunda of the Capitol, Guest at the historic ceremony included in addition to leading members of Congress, representatives of the civil rights, labor and religious groups which worked together for enactment of the legislation—the same broad alliance that helped win passage of the 1964 Civil Rights Act.

The day after the legislation was signed, Attorney General Katzenbach asked a three-judge federal court to invalidate Mississippi's poll tax as a condition for voting in state and local elections. Poll taxes are go-

hibited under the 24th Amendment to the Constitution for elections to federal office. Similar suits have since been filed in Alabama, Texas and Virginia—the other poll tax states.

Before the day was over, 1,144 Negroes had been registered in the nine hard-core counties—a 65 percent increase over the number previously on the voting lists. The symbolic climax came in Selma, Ala., where the demonstrations for the right to vote aroused the nation's conscience, and where more than 3,000 civil rights demonstrators were arrested.

This time, Selma Negroes lined up at the federal building to register. And this time there were four federal voting examiners—two white and two Negro—to enter their names on the polling lists.

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DAVID DUBINSKY, President
LOUIS STULBERG, Gen'l. Sec'y-Treas.
LEON STEIN, Editor
MEYER MILLER, Mng. Editor

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Add 61 Firms to Dress AFL-CIO Labor Day TV Show Organizing Scoreboard Features ILG Housing, Health

The New York Dress Joint Board organized a total of 61 firms during the first seven months of 1968, reports Vice Pres. Charles S. Zimmerman, general manager.

Most of these were new jobbers and manufacturers and new departments and subsidiaries of old firms, he said. In a half-dozen instances, the firms signed with the union after brief strikes, but the others were organized and brought under the industry-wide union agreement through negotiation.

Sol Greene, assistant general manager of the joint board, handled the bulk of the negotiations.

Herbert Gershon, director of the joint board organization department, said that the organization of the jobbers and manufacturers had resulted in the signing of a number of contractors who had previously resisted unionization.

As the fall season picks up, there will be "a real intensification of our organization work," Gershon said. "We now have strikes going against 21 jobbers, and we plan to go after them as hard as we can during the coming weeks."

Zimmerman said that the union will use every technique available to it to bring these firms under a union contract. "We don't intend to let these strikes drag on and on," he emphasized. "We are determined to track down this struck work wherever it is being made, and to stop it."

He declared that there would be close cooperation by the joint board and the Eastern Region and Northeast Department and every other section of the union to put an end to efforts to operate unscathed as the New York metropolitan dress market.

Unions Win 64% Of NLRB Polling

Unions won 64 percent of all the collective bargaining elections conducted by the National Labor Relations Board in the first quarter of 1968, up from 59 percent in the preceding quarter.

Also up, the NLRB reported, was the AFL-CIO's share of election successes. Out of 1,162 elections in which an affiliated union won the bulk, the affiliates won 690 or 60 percent, compared with 55 percent in the last quarter of 1964.

During the January-March quarter the board conducted 1,670 elections asked for by employers and individuals. Unions won majority designation in 1,066.

More than 108,000 employees were eligible to vote in these elections. More than 90 percent of them cast valid ballots, with 58 percent of the ballots marked for union representation.

The Post Office reports that a record number of 49,488 workers are now working in Post Offices throughout the United States. Of these 378 are letter carriers, while there were 13,005 lady postmen of whom a high ranking one in Pasadena, Cal. draws a \$14,200 salary.

ILGWU mobile health facilities and union-sponsored housing programs will be among the features in a special half-hour documentary being re-released for showing on television during the Labor Day holiday.

"When the Day's Work is Done" is produced by the AFL-CIO and honors unions and union members who devote time to programs of community bet-

terment. At the time of its premiere, the film was hailed by critics as a realistic presentation of the worthwhile use union members make of their after-work hours. The documentary also relates the cultural and humanitarian achievements realized from the millions of dollars union members have contributed to united fund and community chest campaigns.

AFL-CIO camera crews visited New York for film sequences showing the community betterment which has come from modern, low-cost, spacious housing for New York working families. They also visited Shannock, Pa., where one of the ILGWU mobile health units provides twice-year medical examinations to garment workers.

Mobile clinics are utilized, notes narrator Dave Garraway, because some Pennsylvania garment plants are far removed from regular health centers, so the clinic comes to them. "This is labor citizenship," states Garraway in the film.

Other union-sponsored activities in the film are Boy Scout troops, construction of community health facilities, recreation youth programs, senior citizen and health programs, urban renewal and, in times of disaster, aid in rebuilding stricken areas.

Also featured in the film are AFL-CIO Pres. George Meany and Vice Pres. Joseph Beirne who tell why labor is active when the day's work is done" in programs of community service.



OUT TO WIN—AND THEY DID! Pickets at Lea Sportswear in Allentown, Pa. Recent 4-day strike proved clincher in getting firm to reach agreement on contract renewal. From left, strikers are Anna Sampson, Ruth Samuel, Dolores Young, Dawn Wagner, Betty Serfass, Shirley Meyer, Stephanie Dächer, chairlady Vera Dunn. Across-the-board pay hike of 5 percent topped Northeast pact gains.

'Primitive' Marlene Attitude Turns Workers Towards ILG

"They time you every time you go to the bathroom," said a worker employed in one of the seven plants operated by Mariens Industries in Alabama, South Carolina and Tennessee. "I've seen the supervisor clock women out when they went to the bathroom."

"If you turn in over-production, in two or three days they'll have it right up where you can't make it," said another worker. "They raise it right away."

These and other comments indicate why the ILGWU is making steady progress in its campaign to organize the approximately 3,000 workers employed by the big blouse and sportswear company which pays only the federal minimum even to its skilled workers. "We'd sure like to make 10 cents an hour more," said one of them.

A clerk in a store near one of the Marlene plants said, "I resent the way that Northern companies come down here where the people never made much money and don't know any better, and pay their workers miserable wages. I'd be damned if I'd work in a factory for that kind of money."

"It's our impression that sentiment is changing in the communities where Marlene plants are located," Martin J. Morand, director of the ILGWU's Southeast Region, said last week. "It isn't only that Marlene workers are breaking loose from the atmosphere of fear built up by the company. A good many people in these communities who have nothing to do with Marlene but who at first were with the company against the union seem to be changing their minds."

The fact is that the mobs organized by Marlene in its unsuccessful attempts to frighten off union representatives and to intimidate its workers have irritated a good many people. At Hartsville, Tennessee, after a camera had been snatched from the hands of an ILGWU representative,

someone in the mob said to a police officer, "You'd better watch out or someone will take your gun the way they took the camera." The officer replied, "I'll shoot the first one who tries it."

In another community, a storekeeper showed up at a union meeting and told the Marlene workers that they shouldn't feel that all the local merchants are lined up against them. He said that he, personally, carried a union card for 20 years and that he was "damned proud of it."

Meanwhile, the union won another legal battle in the Marlene campaign when a federal judge, in Alabama's Southern District, declared unconstitutional four anti-leafletting ordinances in Prisco City, Alabama. Earlier, Prisco City had repealed one anti-leafletting ordinance under union pressure, but then it had promptly enacted a number of others.

On another front, the National Labor Relations Board is now investigating ILGWU charges that Marlene has fired workers for union activity, that it has threatened to kill union organizers, that it has driven them out of town, and that it has been guilty of a number of other illegal anti-labor practices. It is expected that the investigation, which began early in August, will be completed within the next two weeks.

In its campaign to organize Marlene, the union is now expanding its efforts to reach Marlene workers and the communities in which they live through local radio and newspaper announcements, and it is increasing house visits and other activities. Twenty-five staff members are working on the Marlene campaign. "The attitude of the company toward its workers is absolutely primitive," said Morand. "And we have every reason to believe that the workers are becoming pretty sick of the company's bullying and the inferior conditions under which they work."

Immigration Bill Given Go Ahead By House Group

The assimilation reform bill, strongly supported by organized labor, because it would lift existing racial quotas out of immigration law, has taken a big step forward with approval of a bill by the 1st House Judiciary Committee.

The bill, which would base immigration on present law, and such things as family relationships and the skills of intended immigrants without raising total immigration appreciably, is being pushed by President Johnson as part of the nation's social legislation which Congress has enacted with unprecedented vigor.

The bill, as reported out by the House Judiciary Committee, sets a ceiling of 158,000 immigrants under the quota system as compared with about the same number under the present law.

Under the newly proposed system, however, immigration quotas would no longer be based on the pattern of early immigration into the United States which greatly favored such countries as Great Britain, which rarely filled its quota, and handicapping such countries as Italy which has a huge backlog of hopeful immigrants. A ceiling of 20,000 immigrants from such country per year would be imposed.

After preference visas for the families of American citizens and persons of needed skills, visas would be issued on a first-come first-served basis.

Costello Tours N.Y. Boros In Liberal-Fusion Campaign

While campaigning in New York City's mayoral race slowed somewhat in the August heat, Timothy Costello, Liberal-fusion candidate for city council president, stamped the five boroughs vigorously.

Speaking before a capacity audience of faculty and students at City College,

Costello called for the establishment of a New York Urban Corps.

The Urban Corps proposed by Costello would channel sorely-needed talent into the city government by: providing paid internships for college students in city agencies; employing college instructors as resident members of city departments instead of retaining prominent professors on a temporary and costly consultancy basis; and enlisting the services of many non-college youngsters who possess vital technical skills.

Keeping to his pledge to take his campaign directly to the people, Costello greeted voters on walking tours that included the Rego Park section of Queens and the Lower East Side of Manhattan.

Hit Power Monopoly

In a speech delivered in Rockaway, Costello indicated the Public Service Commission for permitting Con Edison to raise electric power rates three times in the last six years, a major factor in the flight of industry from New York to other cities where power costs are as much as one-third cheaper.

Costello insisted that we "no longer allow a monopoly company to dictate one of the major costs of doing business in New York City."

The September 4, the Liberal-Fusion team of John V. Lindsay,

mayor nominee; Costello; and Milton Mollen, candidate for controller, will meet with vacationing garment workers and other guests at the ILGWU's Unity House, where they will detail their plans for progressive city government.

ILGers have already extended their intensive campaign for a Liberal-Fusion victory in November by rallying full support for the Liberal Party drive to reintroduce the "proportional representation" system for electing members of the city council.

In order for the P. R. system to be readopted, it must be approved by voters in a referendum, and ILGWU political committees are currently circulating petitions throughout the garment center in an effort to mass

enough signatures to insure that this vital question will be placed before the electorate in the November election.

As the mobile voter registration program moved into its fifth week, ILGers continued to distribute leaflets with information on the mobile units' function and locations at every subway entrance in the garment district during the evening rush hour as a part of their many activities to reach a maximum number of potential voters.

For the week of August 16-21, mobile registration trucks will be located in Brooklyn at 245 Kingston Ave. and Hill Place off Flatbush Ave., and in Manhattan at 79 St. & Broadway, 137 St. & Broadway, and 98 St. & Columbus Ave.

Weigh Midwest Case Against Dan Howard

The general counsel of the National Labor Relations Board, sustaining ILGWU charges of unfair labor practices hurled at Dan Howard Manufacturing Co. of Chicago, recommended that the result of be ruled invalid and that the union be certified as bargaining agent.

Testimony into the charges was heard by an NLRB trial examiner last month and a decision

on the case is expected soon, reports Vice Pres. Morris Bialis, director of the Midwest Region.

The story of the union's battle with Dan Howard, which manufactures men's dress shirts, sportswear and lingerie, goes back to November 1964. At that time, following an organized drive, the union requested recognition as bargaining agent based on the fact that a majority of the firm's workers had signed authorization



GLAD HAND FOR TIM: Campaigning actively for Liberal-fusion ticket in New York is Timothy Costello, nominee for city council president. During walking tour at 72nd Street and Broadway in Manhattan, he was greeted by many well-wishers along the way.

cards. The firm refused to grant recognition and turned down the union's later offer to arbitrate in a card check.

Then it embarked on a calculated campaign to destroy the union's majority status by means of intimidation, coercion and harassment.

It compounded this series of illegal acts by having company spokesmen hold "captive audience" speeches less than 24 hours before the election. As a result of

these pressure tactics by the firm, the union lost the election by a vote of 23 to 26.

The union lost as there is filing an objection to the election result on the grounds that the firm had resorted to numerous unfair labor practices in its campaign to thwart organization.

After careful investigation of the union's charges, the NLRB general counsel issued the complaint against the firm and handed down his recommendations.

N'East Strike Swings Gains In Allentown Schneider Pact

A four-day strike at one firm and just the threat of a walkout at another brought contract renewals setting significant gains for more than 300 garment workers in Allentown, Pa. last month, reports Vice Pres. David Ginegall, director of the Northeast Dept.

At Accosetter Manufacturing Co., negotiations over a new agreement dragged on

starting June 1, 1966 for four weeks. Missions will be calculated on a daily basis.

Also, the new pact provides for a half-day holiday pay for Election Day and an increase to 10 percent in employer contributions to the union's health and welfare, retirement and severance funds.

Leo Strike

The Leo Sportswear renewal, clinched by the 4-day strike, is a 2 1/2-year contract, retroactive to July 1, 1965, and covers some 35 workers. It provides for an across-the-board pay boost of 5 percent.

Also, craft hourly minimums were raised, with an immediate hike of 10 cents and another 5 cents starting January 1, 1966 for operators. 7 cents now and an additional 3 cents beginning January 1, 1966 for sewer workers, and 10 cents for pressers. Other gains include an increase in employees contributions to 10 percent toward the union's welfare funds.

Handling the protracted negotiations for the union at both firms was Allentown District Manager Ike Gordon. At Schneider, he was assisted by Business Agent Al Baldwin and a shop workers' committee consisting of Violet Schall, Peggy Heist, Shirley Lenzl, Margaret McFelderidge, Anna Callora, Esther Morgan, Erna Wukish, Betty Molchan and Thomas Spitch.

At Leo Sportswear, he was aided by Assistant District Manager Al Huber and a shop workers' committee composed of Stephanie Delcher, Vera Durr, Lorraine Schwendenhammer and Catherine Miller.

ILGWU GUIDE

ON AGREEMENT PROVISIONS, STANDARDS AND ENFORCEMENT

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appeared in the

July 1, 1965 issue

of Justice.



OUR UNION—IN ANY LANGUAGE: Chinese-speaking members of New York Local 23-25 in class session of recently instituted program of informing them about the ILGWU in their own language.

KNOW YOUR UNION:

In English, Spanish—Chinese!

New York Local 23-25, which has long been conducting its educational program in English and Spanish, is now speaking to its members in a third language, Chinese.

"We have about 1,200 Chinese members," says Vice Pres. Shelley Appleton, manager of the local, "and we want to make sure that they fully understand their rights and benefits. We can best get the cooperation of members in contract enforcement when they know what is involved. And we would like to see more of our Chinese members taking an active part in the affairs of our local."

One Chinese member, Yook Che Hom, is one of the local's executive board, the serves as interpreter at special classes for new and old Chinese members where the feature is a film strip with a Chinese narration. Yook Che Hom helps in answering questions after the film strip.

The classes, which are run twice a week at the Local 23-25 office, "are a great success," says Appleton. "Our Chinese members appreciate the fact that we want them to know everything there is to know about their union. And they obviously enjoy being spoken to in their own language."

"We're not surprised. We had the same reaction from our Spanish-speaking members when we began using Spanish some years ago."

In addition to the Chinese film strip, the local has issued Chinese-language folders on shop conditions and health and welfare benefits, and it has distributed a Chinese poster on minimums to the shops.

"As far as we know," says

'13' Manager Wallach Is Feted On Retirement

Isidore Wallach was honored last month at 2 affairs given by officers and staffers of the Cloak Out-of-Town Department and local executive board members upon his retirement as manager of Local 133 in Union City, New Jersey.

Wallach joined New York Cloak Finishers' Local 9 in 1913. He rose through the ranks to become an officer of the local and subsequently of the cloak joint board. Later he became Local 133 manager, re-elected to this post many times.

Appleton, "we're the only union in the country that speaks to its members in English, Spanish and Chinese. We find that it's very much worth the effort. It helps to explain the fact that we always have very wide participation in our activities. It also helps to explain why our members are so at

home in this local."

In Local 23-25, the process of talking to members in their own language begins as soon as they join. Chinese members, for example, receive a letter inviting them to the new members class, and explaining that the union wants them "to get the most of their union membership."

Price-Settle Speedup On N.Y. Cloak Target

Recent efforts to improve the price settlement procedure and the collection of welfare funds in the New York cloak industry were among the main topics discussed by Vice Pres. Henoch Mendelsund, general manager of the New York Cloak Joint Board, at a recent meeting of the unit's board of directors.

Mendelsund noted that energies are being directed at speeding up the price settlement process, so that workers will receive the settlements as early as possible. Attention is being focused on section work shops where disposition of earnings may more readily occur because of trial lots, surplus work and other factors.

In the tailoring-piece work shops, the possibility of loss in workers' earnings due to late settlements is slight, due in great measure to the active interest of veteran cloakmakers. Nevertheless, attempts will be made to accelerate price settlements in these shops also, he pointed out.

Hardie Roadblocks

After a review of the administrative procedures involved, Mendelsund stated that steps are now being taken to hardie clerical and technical roadblocks. The program is receiving the wholehearted cooperation of the National Coat and Suit Board which is putting on extra personnel when needed to expedite matters. Meetings have been held with the departments involved, with managers of cloak locals and with the associations. In most instances, he said, agreements on steps to be taken have been reached and it is hoped that the entire problem will soon be solved.

Reporting on the collections of welfare funds which total some \$15 million annually, Mendelsund noted that the union bears a heavy responsibility in seeing

to it that no leakage occurs. Although the record of collections is good, there are still certain firms that fall behind.

To correct this condition, he sent the following letter to some 90 firms who are habitually late in submitting reports and sending in monies due to the welfare funds:

"An examination of our records reveals that your firm is continuously behind in its obligations to the retirement, health and welfare, and supplementary unemployment-severance benefit funds. You fail to send your reports on time and to make regular payments as required under the terms of our agreement. "We find this situation most disheartening. Our industry has built an enviable record in the establishment of exemplary welfare funds through enlightened labor-management relations. The funds collected are used exclusively for benefits to the workers employed in our industry. It is the obligation of both management and labor to see to it that the funds due are paid on time and that the workers receive the maximum benefits to which they are entitled."

"We are taking this means of calling your attention to the fact that your firm is habitually late in its obligations. We hope that you will immediately take the necessary steps to improve the record, that you will begin sending in your reports and payments on time as called for in our agreement."

"We trust that it will not be necessary to take any additional action."

ILGWU: • Social Unionism in Action

— A Brief History —

In his address in New York City on June 6, 1964 marking the 50th anniversary of the ILGWU Union Health Center, President Lyndon B. Johnson declared: "Your union stood resolute in the thin ranks of those who carried on the struggle for security for the helpless, who fought the battle for a better life for every citizen. The great cause of compassion suffered many setbacks. But like an irresistible ocean tide, each time it returned with greater force and further reach than before. And that concern of your union, 50 years ago, is today embedded in the conscience of our country, the laws of our land, and the highest hopes of our people."

Welfare unionism has been the pathfinder for the nation. Today's medicare was foretold in the early battles of the ILGWU and other unions for medical benefits and centers. When government didn't care, it was unions that fought for retirement benefits and unemployment insurance.

This is the first part of a series that will tell the story of the ILGWU's pioneer role in social unionism.

Later on the afternoon of December 17, 1964, Pres. Dubinsky came out of the room in a mid-Manhattan hotel where he had been meeting all afternoon with 60 employer and union representatives and declared: "This has been one of the most important days in my life and in the life of the union."

He had just adjourned the meeting at which a decade-long effort to merge more than two score separate ILGWU retirement funds had ended with formal approval. The keystone had been placed into the welfare structure garment workers began to build when they formed their first unions.

Today, ILGWU welfare functions and institutions include a national benefit fund, health and welfare funds, a national supplementary unemployment-severance benefit fund, a national retirement fund, paid vacation benefit, 13 ILGWU health centers with six mobile health units and other supplementary services, a summer resort—Unity House—started almost half a century ago and a number of other severance funds and retirement funds.

During experiments of one era become the commonplaces of the next. Today, some of the major results ILGWU campaigns are embodied in the law of the land. Across decades, earlier generations of garment workers fought bitter battles to stabilize employment and to put a floor under earnings. They tested the mechanics of unemployment insurance and minimum wages long before these became public policy. Today, ILGWU wage and hour contract provisions improve on those provided by the Fair Labor Standards Act.

In the primitive phase of garment industry history the ILGWU fought against the sweatshop and for the life of the garment worker. Its primary targets were decent wages and hours. But in seeking an end to the sweating system in which tuberculosis flourished and life expectancy was cut, it also looked beyond the immediate targets and set up cooperative efforts for self-help. In those, it revitalized ethical traditions which thousands of immigrants brought along with their meager possessions to the Golden Land.

A major source of mutual aid practices were the ghettos and small-town communities into which Jews in Europe had been exiled for centuries. Sacrifices only tolerated but often pressed by municipal governments, Jewish communities implemented biblical injunctions of justice and righteousness and created self-help organizations called kehilas.

These maintained orphans, cared for the aged, set up schools, provided free loans and burial, collected dowries for impoverished brides and attended the sick. Aid was received as a right, given as a blessing.

A second source was the early Socialist movement in Russia and other European countries. The ladies' garment workers of Mohilev organized themselves in 1864. At about the same time merchants' clerks set up mutual aid societies in Warsaw and later in Odessa. Toward the end of the 1870's a number of banks, sick benefit funds, were set up, for example. In the face of the hardships caused by industrialization, they provided a means for survival.

A third source which permeate immigrant unions soon discovered was native to the New World. Mutual aid societies had sprung up in the Colonies. Before the start of the 19th century, important trades in the major cities had organized self-help organizations that stressed philanthropy rather than strikes. These mechanics' and tradesmen's associations, guiding masters as well as journeymen among their members, provided sick and death benefits. The trade unions which developed, in time, from these associations retained sick benefits and burial costs as powerful bonds for holding membership together in trying times.

The January 30, 1888 issue of the Jewish labor paper, Volkstzeitung, combined all three traditions in an "Address to the Tailor." In this and subsequent articles Israel Barski, a garment worker, deplored the conditions of the garment trade and the decline of its unions which he blamed on their readiness to call strikes. He proclaimed his plan for unioning 45,000 tailors into an organization for mutual aid.

Barski believed that workers who would hesitate to pay 5 cents a week to a union they were certain wouldn't survive, would gladly pay \$5 or \$6 every quarter of a year into a benefit society. At a meeting in Pyszharg Hall in April, he presented his plans so persuasively that 244 in the audience, enticed with the idea of getting something for nothing from the union, signed up. Within four months his society went out of existence.

(Continued In Next Issue)

SUPPLEMENTARY UNEMPLOYMENT AND SEVERANCE BENEFITS

When garment shops go out of business workers pay the heavy price in unemployment and the end of earnings. They may have given years of loyal service; their skills may have helped to build the business and its profits. Yet, when that business ends and through no fault of their own they are left without jobs, all of the long years and the precious skills have meant nothing.

By October 1960, responsible employers in the garment industry had joined with the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union in recognizing that the problem of what happens to workers when their shops closed permanently was one of special importance to the continued welfare of the garment industry and its workers. The National Supplementary Unemployment-Severance Benefit Fund was then established and is now embodied in the agreements between the union and the employers.

For eligible workers left unemployed through the permanent closing of their shops, it provides two kinds of benefits: one is a lump sum benefit for the worker severed from his job by the closing; the other is a weekly unemployment benefit which is paid in addition to the unemployment insurance benefit received from the government. Those who meet the eligibility requirements may receive either a lump-sum severance benefit or the supplementary unemployment benefit or both and in amounts depending on average weekly earnings and length of employment by the firm going out of business. Here are the highlights of this benefit plan. A complete set of the rules and regulations of the fund is available at your local union severance department.

HOW TO APPLY FOR BENEFITS

1. If your shop permanently goes out of business get in touch with your local union severance department. The department will arrange for you to fill out the application necessary to determine if you are eligible to receive the benefit.
2. Then, when you are told to report to the local union severance department, bring with you your union book.
3. Also, bring your unemployment insurance book or card if you are receiving unemployment insurance benefits, or bring your last unemployment insurance record and the application card that was issued to you by the state employment office when you registered there for work.
4. Also, bring all decisions and rulings issued by the state employment office relating to your claim and referring to eligibility, disqualification, suspension, etc.
5. Also, bring any information that would show you were employed by the employer at the time he terminated his business: for example—payroll envelopes or W2 (withholding tax) forms.

VERIFICATION

In order to make sure that you receive the correct amount of benefit if you are eligible, information is gathered from federal and state government agencies and other sources. This often takes a long time so that even if you are found to be eligible to receive the benefits you may have to wait several months after the closing of the shop for your first check.

DECISION AND APPEAL

Your application will be reviewed by a local benefits committee and its recommendations will then be forwarded to the administrator of the fund by your local union severance department. His decision is final and binding unless it is appealed. A worker may file such an appeal with the appeals committee of the fund. The appeal must be made in writing within 15 days after the written notice of the administrator's decision is mailed to the applicant. Your local union severance department will help you prepare the appeal.

You May Receive a Lump-Sum Severance Benefit If—

1. Your employer made contributions to the fund for at least 3 quarters, and,
2. Your employer has been declared terminated according to the rules and regulations of the fund by the board of trustees of the fund; and
3. You were in the permanent employ of the terminated employer at the time of termination, and
4. You have received wages from the terminated employer for at least 2 quarters before the termination quarter.

You May Receive BOTH a Lump-Sum Severance Benefit and Weekly Supplementary Unemployment Benefits If—

1. You are eligible to receive the lump-sum severance benefit, and
2. You are out of work, and
3. You have received a state unemployment benefit for a full week of unemployment—or you were ineligible to receive such benefit because:
 - a) Such a week is a waiting week under the state system, or
 - b) You did not have sufficient employment or earnings required for eligibility under the state system, or
 - c) You had exhausted your state system unemployment benefits, or
 - d) You were eligible for and claiming benefits under a state disability benefits law, or under a disability benefits plan established under the terms of a union agreement, and
4. You registered with and reported to a state employment office.
5. But you may NOT be eligible if
 - a) You failed or refused to accept employment deemed suitable, or
 - b) You received retirement benefits from the ILGWU National Retirement Fund.

You May Receive ONLY Weekly Supplementary Unemployment Benefits If—

You were out of work because your employer terminated but—

1. You then return and continue to work at the same premises with a different firm but where any of the previous owners or management personnel of your previous employer are connected with the different firm; or
2. You then return and continue to work at the same premises with a different firm but on the same or similar product, or
3. You then return and continue to work at different premises with a different firm but where any of the owners or management personnel of your previous employer are connected with the different firm and where you continue to work on the same or similar product.
4. Where in conjunction with the termination of your employer the union has arranged for your unemployment at an establishment related to the firm of your original employer.

How Much Severance Benefit?

The amount of your severance benefit is related to your average weekly wage and the number of consecutive years you were employed by the terminated employer.

An employee who has completed the following consecutive years of continuous employment with a terminated employer

shall be entitled to receive the following severance benefit if his average weekly wage is:

	under \$55.00	\$55.00 to \$64.99	\$65.00 to \$74.99	\$75.00 to \$84.99	\$85.00 to \$94.99	\$95.00 and over
1/2 year but less than 2 years	\$ 12.50	\$ 15.00	\$ 17.50	\$ 20.00	\$ 22.50	\$ 25.00
2 years	25.00	30.00	35.00	40.00	45.00	50.00
2 1/2 years	29.17	35.00	40.83	46.67	52.50	58.33
3 years	33.34	40.00	46.66	52.50	58.33	64.16
3 1/2 years	37.50	45.00	52.50	60.00	67.50	75.00
4 years	41.66	50.00	58.33	66.67	75.00	83.33
4 1/2 years	45.84	55.00	64.16	73.34	82.50	91.66
5 years	50.00	60.00	70.00	80.00	90.00	100.00
5 1/2 years	54.17	65.00	75.83	86.67	97.50	108.33
6 years	58.34	70.00	81.66	93.34	105.00	116.66
6 1/2 years	62.50	75.00	87.50	100.00	112.50	125.00
7 years	66.67	80.00	93.33	106.67	120.00	133.33
7 1/2 years	70.84	85.00	99.16	113.34	127.50	141.66
8 years	75.00	90.00	105.00	120.00	135.00	150.00
8 1/2 years	79.17	95.00	110.83	126.67	142.50	158.33
9 years	83.34	100.00	116.66	133.34	150.00	166.66
9 1/2 years	87.50	105.00	122.50	140.00	157.50	175.00
10 years	91.66	110.00	128.33	146.67	165.00	183.33
10 1/2 years	95.84	115.00	134.16	153.34	172.50	191.66
11 years	100.00	120.00	140.00	160.00	180.00	200.00
11 1/2 years	104.17	125.00	145.83	166.67	187.50	208.33
12 years	108.34	130.00	151.66	173.34	195.00	216.66
12 1/2 years	112.50	135.00	157.50	180.00	202.50	225.00
13 years	116.67	140.00	163.33	186.67	210.00	233.33
13 1/2 years	120.84	145.00	169.16	193.34	217.50	241.66
14 years	125.00	150.00	175.00	200.00	225.00	250.00
14 1/2 years	129.17	155.00	180.83	206.67	232.50	258.33
15 years	133.34	160.00	186.66	213.34	240.00	266.66
15 1/2 years	137.50	165.00	192.50	220.00	247.50	275.00
16 years	141.66	170.00	198.33	226.67	255.00	283.33
16 1/2 years	145.84	175.00	204.16	233.34	262.50	291.66
17 years	150.00	180.00	210.00	240.00	270.00	300.00
17 1/2 years	154.17	185.00	215.83	246.67	277.50	308.33
18 years	158.34	190.00	221.66	253.34	285.00	316.66
18 1/2 years	162.50	195.00	227.50	260.00	292.50	325.00
19 years	166.67	200.00	233.33	266.67	300.00	333.33
19 1/2 years	170.84	205.00	239.16	273.34	307.50	341.66
20 years	175.00	210.00	245.00	280.00	315.00	350.00
20 1/2 years	179.17	215.00	250.83	286.67	322.50	358.33
21 years	183.34	220.00	256.66	293.34	330.00	366.66
21 1/2 years	187.50	225.00	262.50	300.00	337.50	375.00
22 years	191.66	230.00	268.33	306.67	345.00	383.33
22 1/2 years	195.84	235.00	274.16	313.34	352.50	391.66
23 years	200.00	240.00	280.00	320.00	360.00	400.00

How Much Supplementary Unemployment Benefit?

The amount of your supplementary benefit is related to your average weekly wage.

An employee who has completed the following consecutive years of continuous employment with a terminated employer shall be entitled to receive a weekly supplementary unemployment benefit up to a maximum of:

An employee whose average weekly wage was:	shall be entitled to receive a weekly supplementary unemployment benefit of:
under \$55.00	\$12.50
from \$55.00 to \$64.99	15.00
from \$65.00 to \$74.99	17.50
from \$75.00 to \$84.99	20.00
from \$85.00 to \$94.99	22.50
\$95.00 and over	25.00

6 1/2 years	25 weeks
6 3/4 years	26 weeks
6 1/2 years	27 weeks
6 3/4 years	28 weeks
6 1/2 years	29 weeks
6 3/4 years	30 weeks
6 1/2 years	31 weeks
6 3/4 years	32 weeks
6 1/2 years	33 weeks
6 3/4 years	34 weeks
6 1/2 years	35 weeks
6 3/4 years	36 weeks
6 1/2 years	37 weeks
6 3/4 years	38 weeks
6 1/2 years	39 weeks
6 3/4 years	40 weeks
6 1/2 years	41 weeks
6 3/4 years	42 weeks
6 1/2 years	43 weeks
6 3/4 years	44 weeks
6 1/2 years	45 weeks
6 3/4 years	46 weeks
6 1/2 years	47 weeks
6 3/4 years	48 weeks
6 1/2 years	49 weeks
6 3/4 years	50 weeks

How Long Are Benefits Paid?

Benefits are paid for weeks of unemployment during the 52 weeks following the date of shop termination. The maximum number of weeks for which you may receive supplementary benefits is determined as follows:

An employee who has completed the following consecutive years of continuous employment with a terminated employer shall be entitled to receive a weekly supplementary unemployment benefit up to a maximum of:

1/2 year but less than 2 years	4 weeks
2 years	6 weeks
2 1/2 years	7 weeks
3 years	8 weeks
3 1/2 years	9 weeks
4 years	10 weeks
4 1/2 years	11 weeks
5 years	12 weeks
5 1/2 years	13 weeks
6 years	14 weeks
6 1/2 years	15 weeks
7 years	16 weeks
7 1/2 years	17 weeks
8 years	18 weeks
8 1/2 years	19 weeks
9 years	20 weeks
9 1/2 years	21 weeks
10 years	22 weeks
10 1/2 years	23 weeks
11 years	24 weeks

Benefits for Extended Unemployment

If your employer terminated on or after May 1, 1965, and you had been credited with at least nine (9) years of continuous employment then:

- (a) For each benefit payment after the 26th week you are eligible to receive an "extended" benefit of 50% of your regular supplementary unemployment benefit until your eligibility is exhausted, and in addition:
- (b) If you were continuously unemployed for one (1) year following the date the shop was terminated, you are eligible to receive an amount equivalent to the severance benefit previously authorized.



It took labor unions, liberals, and the dauntless efforts of the aged themselves to do it, but a medicare bill finally has been enacted by Congress and signed by the President.

Far from being a timid bill, it goes beyond what the Johnson administration asked and all but puts the country's 20 million aged, 65 or over, under a system of social security insurance that will protect them from the worst of the economic blows of illness.

Senior citizens are warned against premature cancellation of their private health insurance, since the medicare program will not become effective until July 1, 1966. Until then, retired persons over 65 must continue to provide their own health protection.

Here are major highlights as they affect those 65 or over:

Hospitalization

Eligibility: All persons 65 and over who are now covered by social security will be covered automatically by the new medicare bill. Some 2 million or more, not eligible for social security, also will be covered through direct government payments.

Benefits: 90 days of hospitalization with the patient paying \$40 for the first 60 days and \$10 a day for the remaining 30 days for each illness. Payments will cover the cost of room and board in semi-private accommodations, ordinary nursing services, and drugs and supplies furnished by the hospital.

GET ALL THE FACTS

The Social Security Administration of the U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare has just issued two short, clearly written pamphlets about the new medicare and social security benefits. They are yours free if you fill out the coupon below and mail to Justice-ILGWU, 1710 Broadway, New York 19, N.Y.

Justice-ILGWU
1710 Broadway
New York 19, N.Y.

Please send me free a copy of "Health Insurance for the Aged" and "Social Security Amendments 1965."

Name _____

Address _____

City and State _____

Medicare: The Highlights

A period of 90 days must elapse between "each illness."

180 days of post-hospital care in nursing homes with no charge to the patient for the first 30 days and just a \$5 payment for each day above 20 up to the 100-day limit.

100 home visits by a nurse, therapist or health aide after a hospital stay of at least three days. Visits by a doctor are not covered.

150 days of psychiatric care during a life time.

Outpatient diagnostic services with the beneficiary paying the first \$20 and 20 per cent of the ensuing costs up to 20 days.

Effective Date: July 1, 1966.

Cost: \$2.5 billion a year with \$290 million borne by general revenue funds and the rest by increased social security payments into a special trust fund by em-

ployees and employers, the rate increasing over the years.

ance plan under which they contribute \$3 a month and the government another \$3. This is an important extension of the original medicare plan since it provides for the payment of doctors' bills. Time limits have been set for enrollment in this insurance plan to prevent people from enrolling only after their health begins to deteriorate.

Benefits: A wide variety of payments are provided. They include:

Payment of doctors' and surgeons' fees at hospitals, home or office. Chiropractors and podiatrists are excluded.

100 home health visits a year in addition to those permitted under the basic plan, and without any prior hospitalization required.

Diagnostic X-ray and laboratory tests of various kinds plus X-ray, radium and other types of therapy.

Ambulance services.



With Harry S. Truman, who as President first proposed federal enactment of a national health insurance program for all Americans, at his side, President Johnson completes the historic signing of Medicare into law at Truman Library in Independence, Mo. Looking on, from left, are Lady Bird Johnson, Vice President Hubert Humphrey, and former First Lady Bess Truman.

players and employees, the rate increasing over the years.

Illness Insurance

Eligibility: All persons 65 or over who sign up for a voluntary insur-

Surgical dressings and devices such as iron lungs and oxygen tents.

Costs: Besides the \$3 a month premium, beneficiaries must pay the first \$50 expenses during any one year and 20 percent of the total bills above that amount.

Social Security Changes

Benefits: All benefits go up 7 percent retroactive to January 1, 1965 with those now receiving the minimum of \$40 a month getting a 10 percent boost to \$44. Monthly benefits for those who retire at 65 or over will range from \$44 to \$135.90 a month.

Future benefits, after January 1, 1966 can go as high as \$168 a month for individual retirement,

and \$252 for a retired couple both 65 because of an increase in the wage base from \$4,800 to \$6,600. Family benefits may go as high as \$368 a month.

Beginning January 1, 1966, an retiree may earn up to \$1,560 a year without losing benefits. The present limit is \$1,260.

Widows will now have an option to draw reduced benefits at 69 years of age and full widows' benefits at age 62.

Children who receive dependents benefits will now continue to receive them through age 22 if they are full-time students and unmarried. The previous maximum age was 18.

Liberalized pension provisions will increase coverage to nearly 67,000 more disabled workers and their dependents and add 355,000 retired workers and widows to the benefit rolls by reducing the coverage requirements for persons in their 70's from a minimum of six quarters to a new minimum of only three.

Cost: About \$2.32 billion a year, more than half of it due to the 7 percent increase in benefits.

Other Provisions

Kerr-Mills federal-state program for the indigent aged will be liberalized under federal standards with an increase in federal matching funds. Public assistance families will receive more liberal aid.

Children in impoverished families will benefit from a new health program establishing grants totaling \$185 million for the first five years. Aid has also been increased for maternal services and care of crippled children. In all, federal costs will increase about \$540 million a year.

How And When You Enroll

An explanation of the new insurance will be mailed by the Social Security Administration to people over 65 already receiving social security. Included will be a description of the voluntary insurance program and an application form. Those persons desiring to have subscribe to the program will have the \$3 monthly fee deducted from their benefit checks.

Anyone who has filed a claim for social security but is not currently getting checks will also be mailed information and an application form by the government.

All others over 65 should get in touch with their nearest social security office immediately.

All persons who will be 65 or older before January 1, 1966, must enroll for the voluntary insurance plan between September 1, 1965 and March 31, 1966 in order for the insurance to cover them when it goes into effect on July 1, 1966.

The New York Times.

The 'Revolution' Having Arrived, Garment Workers Now Eat Filet Mignon in Their Palace in the Poconos



Scene on terrace of administration building as guests get out of rain. The dining hall of Unity House is filled to near-capacity with members of the union at breakfast time.

FELLOWSHIP, FUN AND FOOD AT UNITY

I.L.G.W.U. Members Relax in Luxury Like the Bosses'

By DAMON STETSON
Special to the New York Times.
UNITY HOUSE, Pa., Aug. 10.—Old-timers in the International Ladies Garment Workers Union remember a favorite promise during the sweatshop days.

"Come the revolution," it went, "we'll eat strawberries and cream."
Ben Fortgang, a Social 44-year-old cutter from Local 10 in New York, recalled that promise of the young radicals as he ate strawberries yesterday at the union's \$10 million vacation palace in the Poconos. The cream on his berries was sour cream.

"I spent two hours in the Health Club this morning," he said. "I feel wonderful. This afternoon I think I'll row a little, take a swim and then just sit in the sun. How do you like my report?"

Mr. Fortgang reflected the pride of I.L.G.W.U. members as their 1,600-acre grounds of towering oaks, manicured lawns, six petunia beds, a private lake and other luxuries.

Enticing Menus
For a long time now members of the union coming here, and other patrons of Unity House, have been eating not only strawberries and cream, but also such delectable dishes as filet mignon, Maine lobster, grilled Colorado rainbow trout, and a tantalizing array of Italian dishes prepared especially for the many guests of Italian descent.

A member of the union can vacation here for as little as \$10 a week in a dormitory building, including meals that, some say, would be "almost too good" for the bosses. For those who want more plush accommodations

than the parent union has a private bath, the rate is \$14 a week. It now has 78 buildings, including a million-dollar theater, a giant administration building and dining room seating 1,300 guests, a health club, tennis courts and a beach on the sparkling, mile-long lake.

In the nineteen-twenties escape from the gloomy slums and sweatshops of the city was a paramount objective of garment workers. At Unity House there was the sun, swimming, swimming and noted lecturers' debates and discussion of the class struggle went on far into the night. Jazz was tolerated, but the classical concerts drew the crowd.

But modernization of the resort, the improved economic status of workers and the influx of new members into the union have brought changes.

Talking over old times occupies spare moments of some



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made a down payment in 1919. Jewish and Italian members of the I.L.G.W.U. still make up most of the guests at Unity House, but Puerto Rican and Negro members, and members of other unions are vacationing here in increasing numbers.

About 70 per cent of the guests belong to the garment workers' union and about 12 per cent to other unions. The rest are unaffiliated.

Easy on the 'Culture'
Personal relationships are democratic and cordial, but the earlier emphasis on class struggle has been muted. Today, some of the old timers say, Debates and discussion of the class struggle went on far into the night. Jazz was tolerated, but the classical concerts drew the crowd.

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"There used to be more intellectual discussion and lectures," he said. "I would come up with six big friends every summer and we paid \$19 a week. Now you wouldn't come unless you had a private bath, and the activities are different—dancing, movies, Broadway entertainers."

"Teen-agers are getting a new lift at a gaily decorated hideaway beneath the stage of the theater."

Saul R. Gold, managing director of Unity House with a staff of 225, emphasizes that not only the finest in accommodations and food.

"They want steak and roast beef," he said, "and we give it to them. Mostly we have a football in a white, ban-lack chair yesterday on the state-theater patio of the Philadelphia Build-

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The Other News

Question of the Day

—A great newspaper reports on the ILGWU's non-profit summer resort.

Senate Slams Door on Dirksen's Anti-Equal Vote Scheme

The Senate slammed the door shut on a proposed constitutional amendment sponsored by Minority Leader Everett McKinley Dirksen of Illinois which would allow state legislatures to evade the Supreme Court's "one man-one vote" ruling.

The vote was 57 for the amendment and 39 against it. Thus the amendment failed of approval by seven votes, since an amendment to the Constitution requires a two-thirds vote of each house of Congress and ratification by three-fourths of the state legislatures. With 96 Senators present and voting, 64 votes were needed for adoption.

Labor and civil rights groups played a major role in what at the start of the session had seemed an uphill battle to block the amendment. The outcome was a triumph for a group of liberals who had fought under the leadership of Democratic Senator Paul H. Douglas of Illinois to protect from legislative encroachment the high court's "one man-one vote" ruling of June 15, 1964.

The top court had held that the districts in which legislators were elected to a house of a state legislature must be "substantially equal" in population and that both houses of a bicameral legislature must be apportioned solely on the basis of population.

Dirksen several times modified his proposal in an effort to halt the erosion of support. Its final version would have permitted one house of a legislature to be apportioned on factors other than population, subject to referendum approval after every census—with voters having a choice of alternate plans.

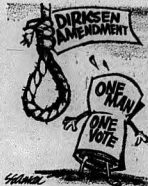
A turning point in the battle came when Dirksen was unable to muster a majority of votes in the Senate Judiciary Committee, thus failing to bring the amendment to the floor under normal procedure. Abandoning the committee route, Dirksen then moved on the Senate floor to substitute his amendment for a minor unrelated bill proclaiming National

American League Baseball Week.

The showdown came August 4. First there was a vote on a substitute amendment proposed by New York Republican Senator Jacob K. Javits, an original co-sponsor of the Dirksen amendment who subsequently withdrew his support. Javits wanted to make any reapportionment not based on population subject to court review as to its "reasonableness." The Javits proposal was rejected by an 85 to 12 vote.

Only a majority vote was needed to substitute the Dirksen amendment for the baseball bill and that was done. But the 39 votes against the substitution foreshadowed the resolution's doom of final passage.

Dirksen earlier had served notice that he didn't plan to give up the fight even if he lost on this round. He might, he said, try to attach his amendment to other legislation such as the bill to repeal Section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Act.



However, most observers thought that the 57 votes for the amendment represented the high point of his support.

'One Man-One Vote'—Key to Revitalized Local Government

THE CAMPAIGN FOR A "ONE MAN: ONE VOTE" legislature goes back many, many decades. One of the first to plead for a "one man: one vote" legislature was Thomas Jefferson, who insisted, in 1819, that "equal representation is so fundamental a principle that no prejudice can justify its violation."

The U.S. Supreme Court in *Baker v. Carr*, has set forth the constitutional basis for "one man-one vote" legislatures. But in addition there are socio-economic reasons that are equally compelling.

The century in which we live calls for creative and dynamic government, but because the basis of our political forms—the legislatures—is artificial, whereas our political needs and the forces they generate are grounded in realities, we find an ever-wider divergence between the problems lived with by the majority of our people and the ability of our legislatures to deal effectively with those problems.

Because the political forms have not yet adjusted to the political realities, the typical state suffers acutely from minority control—which is undemocratic per se, and which is also perilous to the future of our governmental structure itself in that it denies a realistic voice to that two-thirds and more of our population which is most directly exposed to the growingly-critical problems of our metropolitan, 20th century civilization.

The constantly changing quality of our society derives from the dynamic quality of the industrial and urban civilization that marks this century. Agricultural societies move slowly; their habits tend to be rooted in the past; their practices tend to be repetitive. Perhaps the past to which they are attached is a better way of life. But it is a thing of the past, brushed aside, whether we want it or not, by the onrush of an industrial civilization.

THE IMPORTANCE OF THE SUPREME COURT decision, in some of us, does not lie simply in the fact that it reinstitutes the democratic principle of majority rule. Of equal importance for the viability of our civilization is the fact that it allows an updating of our political thinking and acting by liberating our state legislatures from the dead hand of the past.

Before the "one man: one vote" decision, it appeared that the underpopulated areas of the nation—the exception to the metropolitan character of America—could have continued being the governing majority in our state legislatures for decades to come—if not forever. This was undemocratic; it was also downright dangerous to give decision-making powers—that is the primary power in our legislatures—to the spokesmen for the underpopulated areas of the nation is to enshrine the respected, yet outdated, policies of a previous century over the popular voices of this century.

Control of state legislatures by the underpopulated areas has, in the first two-thirds of our century, led to legislative paralysis. State government itself fell increas-

Main portion of statement presented by Assistant Prof. Gus Tyler, director of IGLWU Political Department, before House Judiciary Committee on August 4, opposing constitutional amendments seeking to circumvent U.S. Supreme Court's "one man: one vote" vote apportionment rulings. Also present, as consultants, were Evelyn Dubrow, IGLWU legislative representative, and David Wells, department assistant director.

ingly into disuse and decay. The industrial, urban, metropolitan and, more recently, suburban areas have come more and more frequently to by-pass state government and to turn to Washington to solve their problems.

If *Baker v. Carr* can break the grip of the outdated minority in state legislatures, America may experience a rebirth and revitalization of state government. There is no future for state legislatures and consequently, for state government so long as they are run by an unrepresentative minority—and I mean unrepresentative, both politically and socio-economically. The decision to make our state legislatures fully and accurately representative is a gateway to a revitalization of local government.

IT IS IN THIS LIGHT, WITH ALL DUE REGARD for the good motives of those who propose to amend the Constitution to allow representation based on factors other than population, that any such amendment would reverse the direction of the Supreme Court decision. The result would be a blow to the democratic idea; it would inhibit state government from recovering its rightful role in American life; it would dangerously slow down our capacity as a nation to make dynamic response to the dynamic challenges of our times.

The proposals now before you would allow a state to establish one house on an unrepresentative (and, I would suggest, undemocratic) basis, with the power to veto all efforts on the part of a representative other house and a democratically elected governor to respond to the dynamic needs of the state.

One house says "No!" and forward movement halts. One house can perpetuate the status quo forever, no matter how compelling the need for change, reform, progress, or just plain common-sense response to impending crises.

The veto of this one house is absolute—far more powerful than the veto of a governor or of the President of the United States. The vetoes of our executives can be overridden by our legislatures, but the veto by one house of a bicameral state legislature cannot be overridden, even by the combined effort of the other house and the executive. To compose one house on factors other than population is to create an unrepresentative and undemocratic instrument with absolute and irreversible veto power over all legislation.

A MAJOR ARGUMENT MADE IN FAVOR OF the proposed amendments holds that a democracy should

guarantee the rights of the minority as well as the rule of the majority. Surely, this is a principle we dare not forget on pain of converting majority rule into a demagogic dictatorship. The individual and the minority must enjoy their inalienable rights.

But, may I add that to allow a minority to rule is to violate the rights of the majority and deny equal rights to other minorities.

It is argued that the "one man: one vote" rule would localize decision-making power in most of our states in that point of view issuing from the urban and suburban areas. The rural areas would be in a minority, living under the dictates of the urban-suburban majority. Hence, to protect the rural minority, factors other than population should be used in apportioning one house, thereby giving this minority a counter-balancing voice.

Should we accept this concept, the very next question that will arise is this: Why should rural America alone be the privileged minority? Perhaps today there are those who would give rural America a weighted vote to make this minority a weighted majority in one house. But what is to prevent other minorities from demanding like protective privilege tomorrow?

There are states where Negroes are in a minority, demanding protection of their rights. Shall we then weight one house of the legislature in these states to guarantee control or an exaggerated vote to Negroes? In other states, there are Catholic minorities and Protestant minorities. And in all states, there are Jewish minorities. In some states, trade unionists are in a minority and in other states Republicans and Socialists are in a minority.

To grant protective privilege to one minority is to authorize the same for all others—or, by denying it to all others, to admit that the favored minority is the product of personal preference or prejudice. To allow a legislature to weight districts by factors other than population is to allow a privileged minority to express its own preference or to extend its own privilege—at the expense of all other minorities.

ANOTHER MAJOR ARGUMENT EMPLOYED by the proponents of these amendments seeks to justify by analogy with the federal legislature. At first glance, this analogy seems reasonable, but even the briefest examination reveals it to be fallacious, for the relationship between counties and state governments is neither historically nor functionally analogous to that between the states and the national government.

The original states existed as sovereign units before the federal government came into being. They voluntarily limited their sovereignty when they agreed to form the federal union. Counties never had any sovereignty to limit. Equal representation of all the states in one house of the national legislature was the most important prior condition insisted upon by the smaller states before they consented to enter the federal union. Counties, on the other hand, are simply administrative units created by the states.

CUTTERS COLUMN

Raises for 200 in Rainwear; To Sign-Up 'Cut-Up' Workers

A wage increase and other improvements for 200 rainwear cutters and a drive to enroll workers in cut-up shops in Local 10 were the major developments affecting members of the cutters' union during the past two weeks.

A well-attended meeting of rainwear cutters on August 5 unanimously approved a contract giving them a 56 weekly wage increase effective next January with a wage reopening clause after the second year. The weekly minimum for cutters was increased from \$83.50 to \$100. For the first time, graders are covered by the agreement.

Other gains included a second week's vacation paid directly by the employer (in addition to the regular annual welfare payment); an additional half day for Election Day making it a full holiday with all seven holidays fully guaranteed; and an additional 1/2 percent to be paid by employers to the health and welfare fund which will help to liberalize benefit payments to workers.

Vice Pres. Falkman, manager of Local 10, and Harry Shapiro, secretary of the executive board, who outlined the terms of the new contract, emphasized the substantial nature of the improvements that had been obtained. It was noted that conferences with the employers had reached a deadlock which was broken only by the intervention of Pres. Dubinsky.

Cut-Up Drive

With work conditions for the cutters in recent months favoring such an effort, many cutters were employed and job

Next Regular Membership Meeting
Monday, September 20

opportunities opened up. Local 10 decided to launch a drive to get workers in cut-up shops to join the union.

Thousands of leaflets were distributed in the market headed "Why Work Under Inferior Conditions?" and citing the superior conditions of members of Local 10—weekly wages at least \$20 or more above that paid in cut-up shops; job security; a 35-hour week instead of the 40-hour week usual in cut-up establishments; overtime after 35 instead of 40 hours; seven guaranteed legal holidays; and health and welfare benefits including Blue Cross and Blue Shield coverage; vacation pay; severance and retirement benefits paid for by the employers.

The leaflet told the workers in the cut-up shops they now had "a golden opportunity" to improve their situation and urged them to come to the office of Local 10. A number of them did and many are expected to do this in the near future as they realize it does not make sense to work under lower wages and working conditions when there are jobs available with far better conditions.

'98 Trio-Organizing Win Includes Longtime Evader

New York Rubberized Plastic Workers' Local 98 scored a triple triumph when it succeeded in signing first-time pacts with three shops, netting gains for some 120 workers, reports Manager Herbert Pokodner.

Corralled in the local's organizing drive were Capitol Plastics, a longtime holdout, Howe Plastics, and the new firm of Sani Acqua.

The agreement with Capitol, which was struck two years ago during a previous unionizing campaign, is for one year and provides for an 8-cent general increase in hourly pay, two weeks' paid vacations, and guaranteed paid holidays. It also calls for a shortening of the work week from 40 to 37 1/2 hours.

Standard industry contracts were signed by Howe and Sani Acqua.

The organizing victories were achieved through the efforts of Local 98 staffers. Manager Pokodner also voiced appreciation to General Secretary-Treasurer Louis Stulberg for his assistance in the success of these drives.

In another development, Pokodner announced that Local 98 has expanded its health and welfare benefit program. Payments have been increased for sick benefits, from \$25 to \$45 a week, not to exceed 26 weeks; for hospitalization, from \$10 a day for 21 days to \$15 a day for a maximum of 30 days; for surgery, from \$100 to \$200 maximum; for maternity, from \$50 to \$75;

and eyeglasses to \$7.50.

In addition, new benefits have been added. These include payment for ambulance service, anesthesia, and 50 percent of cost of medicines obtained from pharmacy at Union Health Center.

Sen. Williams Lauds 'Compassionate' Edit On 14(b) in Justice

New York's Senator Harrison A. Williams Jr. on July 15, read into the Congressional Record the editorial entitled "Rights and 'Rights'" that appeared in the June 15 issue of Justice. In doing so, he declared himself proud to

"In the past few months literally thousands of articles have appeared in the press in this country on the controversial issue of repeal of section 14(b) of the National Labor Relations Act. I fear that the vast majority of them have generated more heat than light and merely added to the bonfire of emotion.

"Recently I came across an editorial which struck me as particularly cogent . . . an editorial from Justice, the official newspaper of the International Ladies'



PROCLAIMING PROMOTION: In heart of New York's garment center, two pretty boosters distribute handbills announcing forthcoming national coat and suit festival in October. In background is huge banner unfurled across street proclaiming the event.

Fall Festival Promotes Cloaks

The National Board of the Coat and Suit Industry opened its national fall promotion campaign early this month by unfurling a huge banner across Seventh Avenue and 37th Street, in the heart of New York's garment center, proclaiming the American Coat and Suit Festival for October.

The board represents the ILGWU and some 1,600 manufacturers in all the leading coat production centers in the nation. It has obtained the cooperation of governors in more than half of the states which are proclaiming the month as one that should salute American fashion creativity and be devoted to better dress.

As part of its campaign to publicize the forthcoming month-long festival, the board is sending promotion kits to every major store in the country. These include maps, counter cards, window display ideas and fashion show tips all designed to increase retail sales of coats and suits, this fall.

Garment Workers' Union. I think it gives what are, in the final analysis, the most compelling and compassionate arguments for repeal of 14(b)."

The editorial dealt with the hypocrisy of arguing against the repeal of section 14(b) on the grounds that the so-called right-to-work laws protect the freedom of the individual worker. It recounts historically how little freedom workers had when they stood alone at the mercy of the employer and how profoundly the welfare of the individual workers is neglected in states having so-called right-to-work laws made possible by section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley law.

The announcement of the October event has received wide and prominent mention in the nation's press, including articles in *The New York Times*, *The New York Herald Tribune*, and in the trade publication, *Women's Wear Daily*.

Mourn N. Chanin, Jewish Laborite

Nathan Chanin, a vice chairman of the Liberal Party and a longtime friend of the ILGWU, died on August 8 at the age of 78.

In mourning the passing of Chanin, the ILGWU recalled that "in the face of totalitarian challenges, he fought steadfastly to preserve the democratic spirit in the labor movement."

Chanin had emigrated to the U.S. in 1912 where he labored in the sweatshops on the lower East Side and was a vice president of the Capmakers Union from 1916 to 1921. During World War I, Chanin helped found the People's Relief, which directed the shipment of food and clothing to labor organizations in Eastern Europe. He also helped establish the Jewish-Labor Committee and was chairman of its administrative committee.

A frequent contributor to the *Jewish Daily Forward* and author of several notable books, Chanin was closely identified with the Workmen's Circle, serving as education director for many years, and then as general secretary from 1952 until his retirement in 1961. He also was instrumental in creating the Jewish Socialist Verband in 1921.

Recently, his friends and associates set up the Nathan Chanin Cultural Foundation to help perpetuate the values of the Jewish labor movement.

Distribute Health Guide In N'East Mobile Plan

An educational and instructive guide to some of the common health problems for use by members participating in the mobile health survey, has been published by the Health and Welfare Fund of the Northeast Department.

COT Survey Preceding Major Organizing Push

In preparation for starting a major organizing campaign in its tri-state area, The Cloak Out-of-Town Department is conducting an intensive survey to pinpoint any vestiges of non-union production of coats, suits and sportswear in New Jersey, Connecticut, Hudson Valley, Long Island and Staten Island.

According to Vice Pres. Herroch Mendelsohn, general manager of the New York Cloak Joint Board and supervisor of the COT, the scrutiny is being made as a joint venture by both organizations. This reflects the fact that, in most instances, jobbers, contractors and manufacturers in both areas are affected by the organizing drive.

The survey is being directed by Mayer Finkel, cloak joint board organization manager, and Harry Lopatin, COT organization director. Already, field investigations are being conducted into non-union contracting firms to determine their production, extent of operations, relationship to jobbers and manufacturers, trucking sources and other data.

This information is being ascertained in order to develop and implement specific techniques which will enhance the success of the organizing push. Organizing methods will be plan-

ned on a shop-by-shop basis and will vary depending on the facts uncovered by the investigation.

Local 32 Expands Welfare Benefits

New York Corset and Brassiere Workers' Local 32 has again expanded its health and welfare benefit program. Manager Max Goldenberg has announced.

The maximum surgical benefit has been raised from \$150 to \$200, the minimum sick benefit from \$23 to \$25 a week, and the supplementary hospital benefit from \$5 a day to \$7.50 a day. The supplementary hospital benefit is in addition to the regular hospital benefit of \$10 a day for a maximum of 30 days in the benefit year.

In addition, the local has added two new benefits. There is now a \$20 benefit for ambulance service and a \$25 benefit for blood transfusions.

JUSTICE

INTERNATIONAL LABIES' GARMENT WORKERS' UNION

EDITORIAL PAGE

CASTING BREAD

PRESIDENT JOHNSON sets the direction. And Congress moves forward, filling the potholes on the road to the Great Society.

The campaign of 1964, in which Mr. Johnson won the Presidency in his own right, seems distant indeed. But we ought to remember now and in the future that it was the intense and earnest participation of millions of Americans, aroused by the campaign issues, that provided the astounding endorsement that has put the power behind his leadership and the spur to Congress.

We are coming to a time when old age will no longer be filled with the terrors of helplessness when areas needing it will get federal aid for education, when those hitherto denied their rights as Americans to participate in civic life will no longer be denied. Out of Congress is coming a housing program with rent subsidies for low-income, a medical care program that includes medical centers, an anti-poverty program that concentrates on the 11 Appalachia states, a higher education program, a farm subsidy program, a new Department of Urban Affairs, the repeal of section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Act.

Only a short time ago some of the legislative actions now hailed as they are taken by the 85th Congress would have been condemned as first steps to national bankruptcy or revolution. That was when administrations were dominated by the idea that the wealth of a nation is in its unspent income, its budgetary surpluses. In a growing society such as ours, those surpluses often were accumulated through steadily ignoring shortcomings of our national life.

But we have come around again to the idea that the true wealth of the nation lies in the well-being of its people. Illness, poor housing, inadequate schools, denial of civic rights—these drain the vitality of American life. The money spent in getting rid of them is our best investment in strengthening our nation.

The continuing strength of our economy has selected even big business. There is no outcry about balancing the budget. Even as we increase spending for improving the nation, business goes better, profits soar higher. We face continued prosperity, not a decline into Communism. The free enterprise system does not falter; it grows stronger.

The special compilation by the First National City Bank shows that corporate earnings during the first six months of this year were 16 percent ahead of a year ago. Most of the improvement has been in manufacturing.

The bank also points out that profits have also continued to hold up well. The average profit margin for its reporting manufacturers was 7.3 cents per sales dollar as compared with 6.9 cents a year earlier.

High earnings and profit margins have made the business community unusually self-satisfied. But the realization has spread that costly as they are, the administration's welfare enactments are crucial to sustaining the prosperity that has meant higher profits.

THE GREATEST SINGLE DANGER in the that prosperity lies in the failure of workers to share equitably in its fruits. Labor costs per unit continue to decline steadily, indicating that a smaller share is going into pay envelopes while the share for profits and dividends rises.

If workers' earnings and corporate earnings are allowed to go further out of balance, the ability of the consumer to buy and the ability of the corporation to sell will also go out of balance.

There is more than enough for everybody in this country and it is available through a proper functioning of our free enterprise system. This means that we must bring economic minorities often coinciding with racial minorities, into full participation in our society—through adequate health care and education, through sufficient schooling and through employment.

The Congress and the President are moving the nation toward that goal.

Fallacies of Appeasement

By
HENRY M. JACKSON

Excerpt from recent lecture at
Boston College by Democratic
Senator from Washington.

WE LIVE IN A DANGEROUS world, where a fresh crisis arises so regularly as the morning paper. We confront complex issues, and understandably many of us hope for simple answers. So it is not surprising that conventional but false assumptions creep into some people's thinking about public issues.

A more and more common fallacy, as a generation comes to maturity that did not experience that 30's and 40's first-hand, is that appeasement is the road to peace and disarmament is the road to war. Once again the so-called "peace movement" is gaining adherents on many campuses. In addition to writing letters to the editor, you aren't really with it these days unless you have advised the President by carrying a placard up and down in front of the White House.

I WONDER SOMETIMES WHETHER the so-called "peace movement" may not

mediate withdrawal of our armed forces from Vietnam should be proper.

The true champion of peace today, as in the 30's, is one who understands that power must be used, with restraint but also with assurance, to keep the peace or to restore it. It did not seem possible 15 years ago that it would come again because necessary to avoid the fallacy of appeasement. But time passes, and another generation is tempted to hope that perhaps the aggressor's appetite is limited. History suggests that what Hitler's appetite was, if possible, Communist ambitions are even more voracious than Hitler's.

ANOTHER FAMILIAR ILLUSION often harbored by people of good will, is that negotiation around a conference table is an alternative to the risk and burden of the cold war. Like many fallacies, this one is comforting for it suggests that the risks and burdens are unnecessary; government, for it seems to offer a plausible alternative, and fails, for it rests on a mistaken notion of the nature of negotiation.

Negotiation is not a substitute for pressure. Pressure is a part of the negotiating process. It is an arm, not a hand. A diplomat cannot be expected to win more of the bargaining table than his side's arms has won—or is clearly positioned to win—the field of battle. I see no reason to dispute the relevance of this principle to Vietnam.

WHETHER AMERICANS UNDERSTAND it or not, the Communists know that the war in Vietnam is part of a negotiation that has been going on for 20 years and will continue as far ahead as anyone can see.

Communism thrives on crises and strives to produce them. One of their goals is to limit our will. They believe, as Hitler did before them, that we do not have the staying power, and that out of fear frustration, we may make the fatal errors that will fulfill their prophecy of a "second for the West."

But we may recognize something. As someone put it, "The first essential of a good negotiator is to know what you and your allies are certainly not."

Maybe Moscow and Peking do not realize this but putting this challenge to us is their use. They give us the historic choice. It gives the determination, strength, and good taste of freedom.



to be related to our American tendency to neglect the study of history. I wish every student could be exposed to a thorough study of that fascinating but shameful decade when Hitler was building the German war machine while the democracies were preaching disarmament and neglecting their military preparedness. Hitler's strength was our weakness, and World War II was not the product of an arms race but of the failure of the West to use its superiority to call a halt before Hitler could do what he said he was going to do.

It is not a pleasant fact to recall but the truth is that the peace movement of the 30's helped to bring on World War II, not to prevent it. And it is a fact that the well-intentioned advocates of im-

THE AMERICAN CITY — DUSTBOWL OF 60'S

By HENRY W. MAIER

From presidential address by the Mayor of Milwaukee at 42nd annual Congress of Cities held in Detroit last month.

TODAY THE CITY PROBLEM HAS BECOME a national problem.

Merely to accommodate our population growth in the next 20 years, we are going to have to rebuild the size and capacity of all American cities to existence since 1940.

This alone will require an investment of one trillion dollars.

But where are cities to get these resources when the state and federal governments present the main sources of tax revenue? In 1962 local governments received 21 percent of public revenues and the federal government 28 percent. By 1962 this situation was reversed and the fed-

eral government was collecting 63 percent; the local governments a mere 15 percent.

THE CITY HAS BECOME THE DUSTBOWL OF THE STATES. Here we find a loss of fiscal support with the night of wealth and talent to the suburbs. Here we find an erosion of human resources, a long drought of tax revenues and the deep galling of poverty.

We spend as much in developing a single space orbit as we do in all federal assistance to urban renewal. Yet in many cases we have not found a way to get a man from the "home to his place of work in less time than it takes an astronaut to orbit the earth.

IT IS ABUNDANTLY CLEAR THAT MORE OF the city's resources must come from a re-alloca-

tion of federal revenues in the form of grants and aids.

And in order for this to be effective we must be allowed the privilege of consulting with the federal government on the handling of its own programs. Just as the city has to consult with citizens groups in the local administration of the poverty and urban renewal programs, so too the federal government should formally consult with representatives from city governments.

It is strange that we really know less about the forces that affect our cities than we know about the forces that hold the atom together. The floor of the ocean has been more thoroughly explored and its urban renewal programs, so too the federal government should formally consult with representatives from city governments.

It is strange that we really know less about the forces that affect our cities than we know about the forces that hold the atom together. The floor of the ocean has been more thoroughly explored and its urban renewal programs, so too the federal government should formally consult with representatives from city governments.