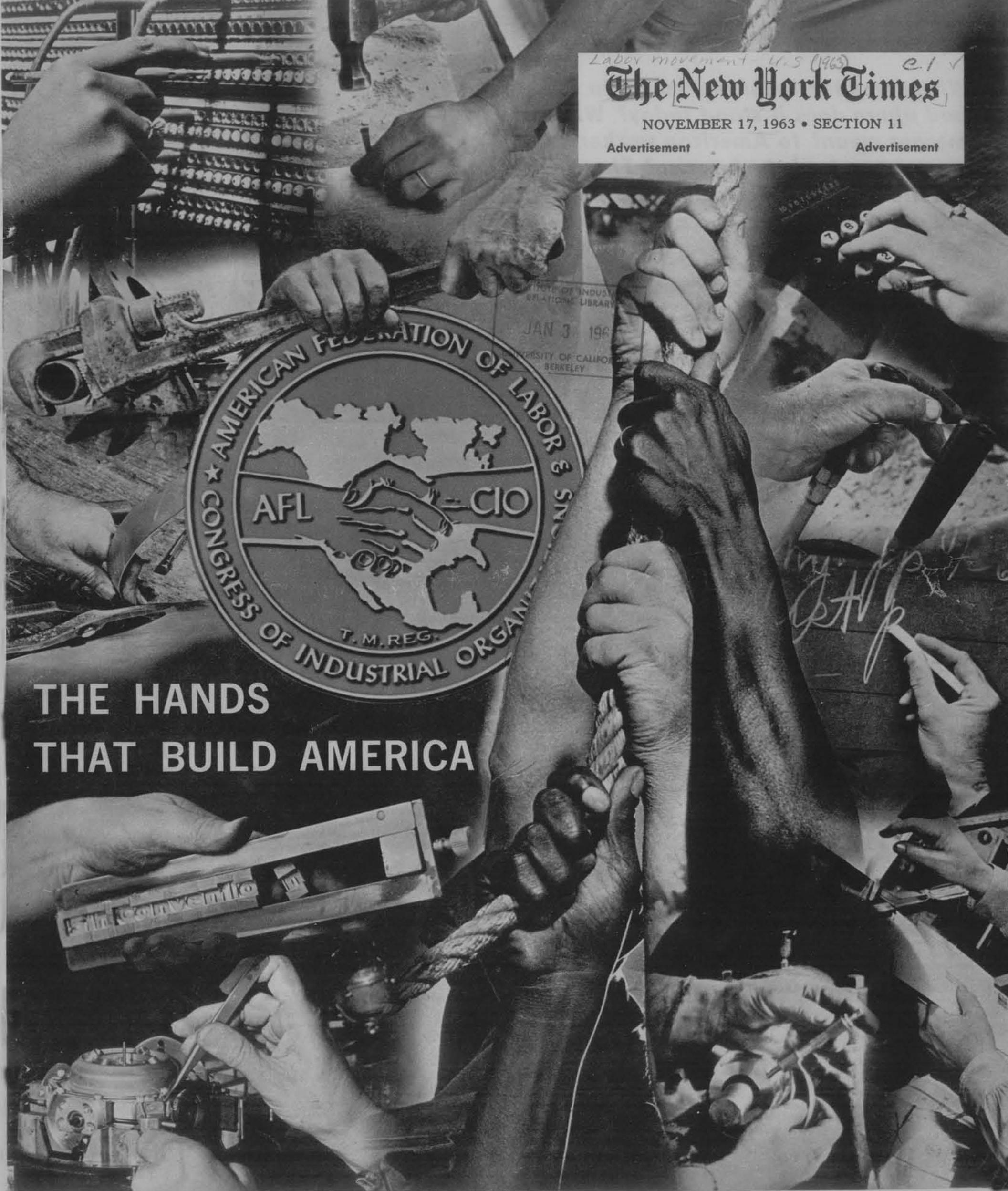


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**THE HANDS  
THAT BUILD AMERICA**



**Where was the labor movement in 1955 and where does it stand today? What has merger meant to American workers, and more important, to America? These questions matter; to them these pages are devoted.**

**A**T 9:30 A. M. on Monday, December 5, 1955, George Meany and Walter P. Reuther jointly smote the lectern at the 71st Regiment Armory in New York City with a huge gavel—specially fabricated for the occasion—and thus united, after 20 years, the once-warring wings of the American labor movement. It was a memorable and historic occasion, now rightly marked as the AFL-CIO convention returns for the first time to the city where unity was born.

Yet in the broadest sense what happened here eight years ago was an echo, magnified by time and circumstances, of a gavel stroke by Lyman A. Brant in Turner Hall, Pittsburgh, at 2 P. M. on Tuesday, November 15, 1881. Brant, a Detroit printer, called to order what became the Federation of Organized Trades and Labor Unions of the United States and Canada—and which, five years later, evolved into the American Federation of Labor.

The AFL was not the first national labor organization in America. But it was the first whose structure provided enough flexibility to contain the incessant diversities of American trade unionism, much as the United States Constitution has done for the nation as a whole.

That a division did take place, after 69 years, was not the fault of the structure, but rather of many other factors which historians of the next generation may be able to evaluate with greater unanimity. It should be noted that the structure of the CIO was similar to that of its parent, and that the AFL-CIO is in the same pattern.

**T**HE merger has not fulfilled the hopes of those on the periphery who expected it to be a new elixir that would immediately transform the labor movement into something infinitely greater than the sum of its parts. The men who created the merger had no such illusions. They brought about unity at the top, leaving to later days the resolution of the divisions which at that time were everywhere to be found. They knew there would be trouble; but they were sure that with good faith and good will on both sides, conflicts could more effectively be resolved within a single organization.

They were right. The fact of unity, and in most cases the spirit as well, has flowed down through the AFL-CIO structure. In all 50 states and in all the hundreds of cities and counties where separate AFL and CIO central bodies once faced each other with varying degrees of hostility, merger has been achieved. Thus at the community level, where it counts the most, labor now speaks with one voice. To a remarkable degree in so short a time, structural unity of the central bodies—completed in 1961—has become true amalgamation.

With respect to the national and international unions with conflicting or overlapping jurisdictions, there is a different story. Merger of these organizations was a stated purpose in the original AFL-CIO constitution. A considerable segment of the general public expected it to happen. By and large, it hasn't happened. Yet, in ways not contemplated eight years ago, working unity (and the elimination of inter-union strife) has come about without it.

**T**HE progress summarized in the preceding paragraphs was not as smooth as it might appear in the telling. During its eight years the AFL-CIO has faced serious problems, both internal and external. At times, the collapse of the merger was freely—and by some, wishfully—predicted. The obituaries were set in type and quite a few of them were printed, but the patient has refused to cooperate.

One of these problems, paradoxically, helped to forge the bonds of unity to a new strength. It involved corruption within the labor movement.

The concept of ethical practices—the obligation of every affiliated union to keep itself free from crooks, communists or fascists—was written into the AFL-CIO constitution. A Committee on Ethical Practices was created to implement that concept. At the very start the AFL-CIO assumed the obligation of safeguarding the American labor movement's traditional dedication to free, honest and democratic trade unionism.

Directly after the 1955 convention the ethical practices committee began drafting what later became the Ethical Practices Codes of the AFL-CIO. But within six months it had more urgent

**SPECIAL GAVEL** was a symbol of unity at the merger convention; George Meany and Walter Reuther hold it aloft.



work. It received from the AFL-CIO Executive Council charges against three affiliated unions. A fourth followed shortly. And before the year was out, Senator McClellan's hearings were in full swing.

There is no need to recite here the revelations that ensued. They involved six unions—six out of more than 130—and four of these were under AFL-CIO charges before the Senatorial investigation began. Still, the AFL-CIO acknowledged from the start that Congress has powers of investigation far greater than those of any private organization. Therefore in some instances the AFL-CIO acted upon information brought out at the hearings in calling to account the unions being probed.

Three of the six affiliated unions against which charges were made moved quickly, under AFL-CIO guidance, to straighten out their own affairs. Three others remained unregenerate and defiant. Reluctantly but firmly, the AFL-CIO Executive Council called upon the 1957 convention to invoke the federation's weapon of last resort—expulsion.

**S**INCE one of the three, the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, was the nation's largest union, and one whose cooperation had been important to many others, this was a sobering proposal. Yet after extensive debate, including full participation by a Teamster spokesman, expulsion was voted, 10,458,598 to 2,266,497. (The figures correspond to the number of members represented.) Two smaller unions, the Bakery and Confectionery Workers and the Laundry Workers, were later ousted by even larger margins.

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This advertising supplement was sponsored and prepared by the AFL-CIO to mark its fifth convention and to foster a fuller public understanding of the labor movement.

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**IT ALL STARTED** in Pittsburgh in 1881. No photographer was on hand to record the occasion.



# What the Unions Really Want

It's still a 'better life,' but the goals have broadened to embrace the nation and the world

**T**HE labor movement's basic purpose is to achieve a better life for its members. A union that fails in this purpose has failed utterly. This is as true in 1963 as it was in 1792, when the nation's first local union set up for collective bargaining was formed by the Philadelphia shoemakers.

But the scope of this basic purpose, and the avenues for achieving it, are vastly different today. Unions are no longer scattered and beleaguered little bands, struggling for survival and subsistence wages against the combined hostility of employers and the courts. Nor, as was the case as recently as a quarter-century ago, is the battle for bargaining rights and for basic contract terms so desperate as to be all-consuming. Labor's goals have broadened, and so, therefore, has its approach to them.

Today's union member is keenly aware that he and his union cannot make progress at the expense of the community, or even when the rest of the community is standing still. "What's good for America is good for the AFL-CIO" is not just an expression of labor's patriotism. Rather it is a statement of the practical realities.

This realization was not born with the AFL-CIO merger. It had been the prevailing attitude of both AFL and CIO, and of nearly all their affiliated unions, for the previous decade.

**T**ODAY the overwhelming preponderance of AFL-CIO policy statements—the expression of labor's objectives—have to do with the general good, in which union members will share only as a part of the American people as a whole. And a like proportion of the AFL-CIO's legislative and political efforts are devoted to those causes.

On some matters, such as international affairs, the broad view has a far longer history. To cite only a few examples:

As early as 1896 the AFL convention adopted a resolution, submitted by Samuel Gompers and 10 others, expressing "heartly sympathy . . . to the men of Cuba" and calling upon the United States to "recognize the belligerent rights of the Cuban revolutionists."

In 1914, directly after the start of the war in Europe, a Gompers resolution authorized the AFL Executive Council to call an international trade union conference at the same time and place as the "general Peace Congress which will no doubt be held at the end of the war." This was done and from it emerged the International Labor Organization, the sole League of Nations agency which still survives as part of the United Nations.

Some 20 years later, even while engrossed in the great organizing drives of the period, the AFL (and shortly thereafter, the CIO as well) worked diligently to assist the refugees from Nazi terror. As the war ended, AFL and CIO experts followed close on the heels of the armed forces to locate the surviving trade unionists—most of them in concentration camps—and help rebuild free labor movements from

their shattered remnants. Except for the Marshall Plan itself, no other single activity was more important in averting a Communist takeover from Norway to Italy.

Merger has unified and strengthened the labor movement's role in helping to create free societies throughout the world. Yet these overseas programs, which claim nearly 25 per cent of the AFL-CIO's income, bring no direct return to union members, but indirectly benefit workers here and everywhere by advancing the cause of human liberty.

Perhaps the closest parallel on the domestic scene has been the continuing effort first to adopt and then to improve and broaden the Fair Labor Standards Act, which sets minimum wages and maximum hours for workers covered by its terms. To the uninformed this might seem to be a self-serving endeavor by an organization of workers. On the contrary, only a tiny fraction of the 13½ million members of AFL-CIO unions are at or even near the legal wage floor, now \$1.25 an hour.

Labor fights for a higher minimum wage, and for the inclusion of all wage-earners under its protection, for two fundamental reasons. The first is compassion; no American should do honest toil for wages too low to provide subsistence. The second is social and economic; if large numbers of American workers, although employed, earn less than subsistence wages, their buying-power is inadequate and the nation suffers in many ways. Neither reason involves a direct return to unions or union members.

Civil rights presents another parallel. In some parts of the country a union might gain a distinct organizing and bargaining advantage by following a "white only" policy in a biased community. Admittedly, in earlier years a few union leaders succumbed to the temptation. Considering the way in which employers have used racial issues to fight unions, the wonder is that the great majority resisted. Today, the public interest, the cause of social justice, is prevailing locally as it has long prevailed nationally in the labor movement.

And over all this time, even when local shortcomings were more frequent, AFL and CIO leaders constantly pressed Congress for civil rights legislation—in particular, a fair employment practices law that would apply equally to unions and employers. Meanwhile, at the collective bargaining table, unions called upon employers to write equal opportunity clauses into negotiated contracts. Here again, the issue was—and is—citizenship, not selfish gain. The AFL-CIO proudly stands in the forefront of the struggle for equal rights on every front.

**P**UBLIC education has been a primary concern of unions from the days of the Philadelphia shoemakers, cited earlier. But at the turn of the 19th Century, wage-earners wanted free public schools because they offered the only chance for the "children of the poor"—their own children—to learn to

read and write. That first aim was long ago achieved, yet labor's fight for better education is waged as vigorously as ever.

The AFL-CIO is still concerned with the "children of the poor." Although relatively few sons and daughters of union members can be so described, there are still all too many "children of the poor" in America. The AFL-CIO wants better schools for these children and for all children. It wants full educational opportunities for all—opportunities with no ceiling except the ability of the student. The AFL-CIO wants a broader educational system, too, covering those of all aptitudes, so that every youngster has a full and fair chance to prepare himself for the years ahead.

Social security—the whole area of public responsibility toward the aged, the disabled, the unemployed—is another instance. True, most of the sufferers were once wage-earners and many were and are union members. But thanks to their union contracts, union members generally have protections against disaster, ranging from pensions to extra jobless benefits, not available to others. Even so, the AFL-CIO has fought successfully for broad improvements in the safeguards cover-

ing all citizens, union or non-union, rich or poor.

The point is this:

The labor movement for many years past, AFL and CIO alike, before and since merger, has by inclination and by circumstance become in fact the "people's lobby"—not a special pleader for 13½ million Americans, but rather a voice for the 80 or 100 million who have no other, and beyond that, a voice for the advancement of America and of democracy everywhere.

**T**HE AFL-CIO claims no credit and seeks no kudos for filling that role. It is rather a matter of enlightened self-interest, undertaken in the certain knowledge that the well-being of union members depends upon the well-being of America and the survival of freedom in the world.

Thus the articles on these pages do not invite applause from their readers. Rather they hope to increase public understanding of what the labor movement has done, how it works and what it wants.

In other words, what appears here is not the labor movement as it is so often described in the press and on the air, but the labor movement as it really is.

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR & CIO  
CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS

What we, the citizens of today, do will shape the world our children will inherit tomorrow.♦♦♦♦

If they are to be free and secure and enjoy happiness, we must lay the groundwork.♦♦♦♦ It is to building this better world that the AFL-CIO is dedicated—to the ultimate good of all mankind.♦♦

# This Is the AFL-CIO

**W**HAT is the AFL-CIO? A vast number of Americans don't know the answer to this direct question, including many who think they do.

Articles in this supplement deal with the history, the objectives, the principles and the practical operation of the AFL-CIO in many of its phases. They tell what the AFL-CIO does and what it hopes to do; where it came from, how it functions and what it wants.

Here is an account of what it is.

The AFL-CIO is not a union. It is a union of unions—131 national and international organizations, covering occupations and industries as diversified as America itself.

Each of these 131 affiliated unions conducts its own affairs in the manner determined by its own members. Each has its own headquarters, officers and staff. Each decides its own economic policies, carries on its own collective bargaining, sets its own dues and provides its own membership services.

These 131 autonomous unions are voluntary affiliates of the AFL-CIO. They are free to withdraw at any time. But as affiliates, they take part in establishing overall policies for the American labor movement, which in turn advance the interests of every union.

The AFL-CIO serves its constituent unions by:

- Speaking for the whole labor movement before Congress and other branches of government.

- Representing American labor in world affairs, through the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions and other democratic union centers, and in the International Labor Organization.

- Helping to organize the unorganized workers in the United States.

- Coordinating a whole range of activities, such as community services, to avoid duplication and waste motion.

**B**UT the AFL-CIO, as noted above, does not control its affiliated unions. Each is free to follow its own path except in matters of broad, general principle, in which the unions have voluntarily ceded a degree of authority to the AFL-CIO. These include:

1. Ethical practices. Every affiliated union must comply with the AFL-CIO Ethical Practices Codes, which establish basic standards of union democracy and financial integrity.

2. Totalitarian domination. No union controlled by Communists, fascists or other totalitarians can remain in AFL-CIO.

3. Internal disputes. Each union has agreed to submit disputes with any other union to the judicial processes of the AFL-CIO.

4. Civil rights. Charges of discrimination are subject to review and final determination according to a procedure established by the AFL-CIO.

The broad, general policies of the AFL-CIO are established at biennial conventions, at which each affiliated union is represented in proportion to its membership. Between conventions, these policies are supplemented and kept up to date by an Executive Council, which comprises the president, the secretary-treasurer and 27 vice presidents, elected by the convention.

**T**HERE is also a General Board, made up of the Executive Council and the chief executive officer of each of the 131 affiliated unions. In the event the chief officer is an Executive Council member, the second-ranking officer serves. The General Board meets annually to discuss matters referred to it by the officers and Executive Council. It is also the body which decides whether AFL-CIO endorsement shall be given to candidates for president and vice president.

The 131 affiliated unions of the AFL-CIO include some 60,000 local unions, through which day-to-day relationships with several hundred thousand employers are conducted. They, too, are brought into the same concept of a union of unions through more than 800 state and local central bodies, which carry on legislative, political and community services activities in their areas.

In addition, there are seven trade and industrial groupings for unions with strong common interests, through which more than 900 local department councils function.

But primarily, what this structure consists of is people—13½ million men and women who work for wages and salaries in an endless variety of occupations. They, and others like them in past generations, created the AFL-CIO. Through the democratic processes within their unions, they control the AFL-CIO. In fact, they *are* the AFL-CIO.

Why have these workers joined a union? Other articles in these pages suggest the answer, but a summary may be appropriate here.

First and foremost, of course, these workers want to improve their lot and the lot of working people generally.

**M**ORE than that, they want a better America—better in every way, for everyone; equal opportunity and full opportunity for all, in employment, education, housing and every other facet of American life.

And finally, they want a better world, a world of peace and freedom, in which all mankind can work together for the ultimate perfection of human society.



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President



**William F. Schnitzler**  
Secretary-Treasurer



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# The State of the Unions Today

Infinite variety is the only constant factor when 60,000 locals bargain with the boss

**F**OR the more than 17 million Americans who carry union cards—13½ million of whom are members of AFL-CIO unions—the indispensability of the union is broadly recognized. For them, the benefits are generally visible and directly felt.

Most other Americans acknowledge that unions are now an important part of our national life; but how they function, how they bargain with management and how they advance the general welfare—economically, socially and politically—is only vaguely sensed.

Organized labor's successes in improving wages, salaries and working conditions through collective bargaining—the primary and continuous objective of all unions—are not victories only for the workers who carry cards. The rising standards won by unions ultimately advance the well-being of everyone.

Although it is union initiative that brings about higher wages and salaries, new and better pension plans, holidays and vacations with pay, health and welfare plans, shorter hours and safer conditions of work, these benefits soon spread. Union men and women lead the way, sacrifice time and dues dollars, sometimes walk picket lines to achieve their goals. Yet millions who give no allegiance to the labor movement—who, in fact, may even deride it—share in its progress.

**M**OREOVER, this progress helps the entire economy and is essential to its stability. The ever-rising tide of goods and services American ingenuity can produce will not be sold if consumer demand is lagging. Mass production must be underpinned by mass purchasing power. The higher take-home pay and fairer income-sharing that unions seek are indispensable to the sustained growth of production, sales, profits and job opportunities.

What is more, trade unions have created an opportunity for millions of working people to participate demo-

cratically in the decisions that shape their working lives.

In thousands of union halls and workplaces across the country unionism raises the status and the dignity of those who work. This may be an intangible benefit; yet it is vitally important to the individual, to harmonious and constructive industrial relations and therefore to the welfare of the nation.

The trade union movement also increases the opportunity for working people to participate effectively as citizens in local, state and national affairs. AFL-CIO central bodies in the cities, in each state and in Washington give union members a voice in shaping the laws that increasingly affect their daily lives. Labor participation in political decisions not only makes our democratic way of life more meaningful; it encourages greater attention to the needs of millions of moderate and low-income families when public decisions are being made.

**T**HESE non-material aspects of trade unionism, seldom grasped by outsiders, may be at this point in history the most important of all, for they profoundly influence the nature of American society.

Although the labor movement long has been a vital part of the American scene—some unions have existed continuously for over 100 years—it still must seek to survive and grow in an environment which is often hostile. Powerful opposition to the right of workers to organize, to bargain collectively and to participate in public affairs still exists, although these rights are established by law.

Those who most loudly berate unions often reveal a lack of knowledge about the structure of the labor movement and about how collective bargaining is actually conducted in the United States today.

Those who do not know, or deliberately seek to distort the true nature of collective bargaining often talk glibly



FIRST LABOR DAY parade circled Union Square in 1882. In 81 years the labor movement has changed more than the square itself.

about the "monopoly power" of the labor movement, particularly since the merger of the AFL and the CIO.

Actually, while the AFL-CIO is the world's largest free labor federation, it is not a collective bargaining agency at all; it is a voluntary partnership of self-governing and autonomous national unions. The AFL-CIO issues no wage demands; it has no voice at any bargaining table; it is involved in no strikes. These matters are wholly the responsibility of the 131 national unions (sometimes called "internationals" when Canadians are also members) and the 60,000 local unions which comprise them. It was so when the AFL and the CIO were separate federations; and so it remains today.

Responsibility for the conduct of collective bargaining is not only widely diffused within the labor movement, the bargaining itself is vast in scope.

According to the Department of Labor some 150,000 separate collective bargaining agreements are now in force at workplaces in practically every community in the nation. Scores of thousands of union representatives, most of them unpaid volunteers, take part in negotiating these agreements and in their day-to-day implementation.

**T**HE vast sweep of collective bargaining and the wide diffusion of power among the many who engage in it are a unique quality of industrial relations in the United States. More-

over, there is no fixed pattern or uniform way in which bargaining is conducted. The one common element, typical of all aspects of American life, is diversity.

Although all unions seek to change the economic environment in which their members work, the way they bargain inevitably must reflect the varying structures, market problems and other peculiarities of the industries, trade or occupations of which their

(Continued on Page 38)



THIS IS THE PICTURE of unions in many American minds. Strikes do take place, but not nearly on the scale the public believes. As Secretary of Labor Wirtz has noted, "more potential manhours of production were lost in 1962 as the result of involuntary unemployment than have been lost from all strikes in the last 35 years."

More than 150,000 collective bargaining contracts are in force between employers or groups of employers and the affiliated unions of the AFL-CIO. Ninety-eight per cent of them, according to Department of Labor statistics, run their course without a strike or other interruption of work.

These contracts cover 13½ million members of 60,000 local unions in 131 national and international unions which make up the AFL-CIO. Their terms cover rates of pay, hours of work, overtime, hospitalization, medical-surgical benefits, vacations, holidays, seniority, the handling of grievances, pensions and much else. As a result the employees are happier and more secure in their jobs, more expansive as consumers and better protected against illness and old age. Without these 150,000 contracts America would be a poorer, weaker and less confident nation.



FIRST AIFLD CLASS heard President Kennedy, in the White House Rose Garden, assert that a free labor movement is vital to a free society.

## Aiding Latin Democracy

Leadership training and social projects of unique institute have sweeping effects below the border

**B**UILDING democracy on the spot is the special goal of a unique AFL-CIO undertaking, the American Institute for Free Labor Development.

Opened in June 1962, the Institute—often called AIFLD, in conformance with the great American initial habit—is basically a training school for young trade union leaders from Latin America and the Caribbean lands. They learn trade union techniques, basic economics and the practical application of democracy. The Institute also helps unions in the Latin American nations to develop housing projects, credit unions, workers' clinics and other institutions needed for the effective operation of a democratic society.

The need for this kind of help proved so demanding that the Institute expanded beyond all expectations in its first year of operation. It trained some 150 young labor leaders in its Central Washington school, and established six schools in Latin America where an additional 1,250 men and women received instruction.

In the next 12 months the organization expects to train over 1,500 people in Latin America. About 100 of them will then be sent to Washington for further study.

AIFLD's first housing project was dedicated in La Lima, Honduras, on August 24, and ground for a 3,000-unit project in Mexico City was broken in September.

**F**ROM its inception AIFLD won strong backing from both the federal government and American industry, which have joined the AFL-CIO and affiliated unions in providing its financial support.

The basis for this broad backing can be found in the Institute's original statement of "Aims and Objectives":

"The Institute's social and economic program aims to strengthen unions and other free institutions in Latin America by working towards the achievement of Alliance for Progress objectives.

"It is a conscious attempt to demonstrate that the pluralistic, democratic society has the best means of carrying forward the powerful changes sweeping through the southern half of the world—means which are vitally superior to those of totalitarianism."

The Institute's education program centers around the Washington school, where some 30 to 40 trade unionists

arrive every four months to attend a three-month course. Their teachers are experts from the AFL-CIO and affiliated unions, university professors and other guest lecturers.

Morning lectures are followed by round-table discussions in the afternoon. Two field trips per course allow the participants an opportunity to get a glimpse of the United States, its industry and labor.

**T**HE graduates then return to their homelands where, supported by a nine-month AIFLD internship, they devote their full-time efforts to organizing and education.

Many of the Washington school graduates subsequently work for the AIFLD training centers in their own countries.

AIFLD already has well-established programs in Colombia, Ecuador, Peru, Venezuela, Bolivia and Brazil. A center in Uruguay has just opened. It will be followed shortly by others in Argentina, Chile and the Central American and Caribbean areas. Education in these schools ranges from lengthy resident courses in the established centers to two-week seminars organized in populous areas by traveling teams of teachers.

Many free Latin American unions have turned to AIFLD's social projects department for help on community development. To date, the department has received 80 requests for aid, most of them involving housing. The department has sent architects, engineers and financial experts to some 20 countries to assist in setting up projects initiated by more than 50 unions, with a membership of 15 million workers.

Besides the Honduran and Mexican housing projects, the department has helped establish workers' savings programs in Argentina, Chile, Peru, Uruguay, Bolivia, Colombia and El Salvador with the same end in view.

**W**HEN all the 80 projects now under study are completed the Latin American workers will have created innumerable facilities for a better life while creating assets worth \$900 million.

AIFLD has also been instrumental in organizing "Democratic Trade Union Alliances" in Peru, Colombia, El Salvador and British Guiana which are serving to unite free, anti-Communist unions in their struggle for a better life as conceived in the Alliance for Progress Charter of Punta del Este.

# AFL-CIO Work

**A**PPROACHING the persisting international crisis as patriotic citizens and free trade unionists, the AFL-CIO realizes that its existence as a free trade union movement depends, first of all, on the determination and the strength of the American people to insure their national survival and protect their free way of life. The AFL-CIO considers it a duty to help the United States meet its heavy world responsibilities at this critical juncture of history when the Communist threat to democracy is so acute.

Labor's interest in foreign policy is dynamic rather than academic. No group of American citizens is more actively concerned with the problems confronting the United States and the rest of the free world. The AFL-CIO has been devoting more than 20 per cent of its income to a varied international program, conducted mainly in cooperation with the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU). The AFL-CIO has participated actively in the affairs of the International Labor Organization. In addition, various AFL-CIO affiliates carry on overseas undertakings jointly with their respective international trade secretariats, and provide generous assistance to them.

The interest, initiative and activities of the AFL-CIO in foreign relations and in strengthening the international free trade union movement were dramatized by a Conference on World Affairs, held in New York City on April 19-20, 1960. This conference, the first of its kind held by American labor, was addressed by outstanding authorities on various areas of international tension. Its principal proceedings were published as a pamphlet and in a special Sunday supplement of *The New York Times* national and international editions (May 8, 1960). Half a million additional copies of the supplement were distributed. The various addresses were also recorded on tapes, nearly 2,000 of which were sent free, on request, to schools and colleges. Hundreds are still used in classrooms. The deliberations of this conference aroused world-wide attention and marked the turning point in Moscow's attitude towards the Paris Summit Conference which Khrushchev subsequently wrecked.

**T**HE AFL-CIO has repeatedly reminded Congress that America's responsibilities include not only a firm and effective military defense against Communist subversion and aggression, but also a program of positive measures for social and economic betterment of the free world. Congressional realization of labor's strong interest in a continuing foreign aid program contributed, on several occasions, to saving it from disastrous mutilation. Through policy declarations, through specific proposals to our government, through radio, television and press appeals and through testimony by AFL-CIO President George Meany before the appropriate Congressional committees, American labor has urged assistance to the developing nations. Special stress has been laid on administering foreign aid programs to insure that the fruits of economic development be widely shared. The AFL-CIO has urged that democratic institutions, particularly trade unions and co-operatives, be encouraged so

that the people of the developing countries can have a greater stake in freedom and national well-being.

Throughout the years, American labor has actively supported the right of people everywhere—in Europe as well as Africa, in Latin America as well as Asia—to freedom and self-determination. Realizing the overwhelming importance which Soviet imperialism, throughout its history, has attached to the Communist conquest of all Germany, the AFL-CIO has paid the closest attention to the German problem. American labor has consistently emphasized that West Berlin is the first target in the Kremlin's drive to extend Communist despotism in Europe.

**I**N this realization, American labor has adhered firmly to the position that neither the freedom of West Berlin nor the freedom of the more than 50 million people of West Germany can be objects of international bargaining. The AFL-CIO has repeatedly urged that America and its allies must, at whatever cost, thwart Moscow's expansionist aims against Berlin and insist that the right of self-determination be accorded to the entire German people, so that they may attain national unity in freedom. President Meany's stirring message to the historic 1962 Berlin May Day rally was delivered and the ICFTU "Remember Berlin Day" manifestation was carried out in this spirit.

Every newly-independent nation and all peoples still struggling for freedom can attest to the energetic AFL-CIO support of their fight for national sovereignty. Fully aware that victory over foreign oppression does not end the quest for freedom and social justice, the AFL-CIO has spared neither effort nor resources to aid trade unions in the developing countries. Hence the AFL-CIO Executive Council, in August 1957, launched the American Trade Union Scholarship Program for Africa, after a special representative of the AFL-CIO made an extensive tour of the continent. Seven thousand miles from Seventh Avenue, in the East African city of Nairobi (Kenya), the AFL-CIO Department of International Affairs supervised the Kenya Institute of Tailoring and Cutting which was established as a result of a grant from the Philadelphia Joint Board of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union.



BERLIN WALL is

# Is World Wide

The February 1960 Executive Council policy declaration on "National Freedom and Free Labor in Africa" (see box in column 5) and the February 1963 statement. "There Is No Substitute for Freedom," aroused considerable interest, especially among the emerging trade unions in the developing countries, which have been front-line fighters for national independence. AFL-CIO policy has always rejected unconditionally any attempt to impose on these young unions any particular pattern of European or American organization structure. At the same time, the AFL-CIO has been distressed that some of the new African governments have sought to destroy the independence of the trade union organizations by turning them into mere agencies of the new state apparatus.

In British Guiana, the AFL-CIO has rendered generous aid to the free trade unions resisting the attempt of the pro-Communist Jagan regime to destroy their independence.

In June 1957, the AFL-CIO inaugurated a leadership training program for Latin American unionists. Today, American labor is active in advancing the Alliance for Progress Program through direct cooperation with the Latin American free trade union organizations. Oil workers from Aden, Jordan and Lebanon have attended training courses at the University of Southern California under auspices of the International Petroleum Workers trade secretariat.

**T**HE AFL-CIO has been giving careful consideration to the Soviet economic challenge as an important phase of Moscow's drive against the free world. In this connection, *Trud*, the central organ of the Soviet "trade union" federation, issued a special supplement, on the occasion of the 30th anniversary of the First Five Year Plan, to refute the evaluation and conclusions reached by President Meany in his pamphlet, *United States and*

## Soviet Economy—Contrast and Comparison.

At no time was the AFL-CIO's realistic approach to the Soviet threat blurred by diplomatic niceties or jovial smiles by the post-Stalin leadership. In view of Khrushchev's savage suppression of the democratic Hungarian revolution, his Berlin ultimatum and Wall of Shame, his bitter opposition to self-determination for the German people, his maneuvers to paralyze the effectiveness of the United Nations and his aggressive and reckless adventurism in placing missiles in Cuba, the AFL-CIO has underscored the urgency of the free world having sufficient strength to meet and defeat Soviet imperialism.

**T**HE AFL-CIO has repeatedly urged the building of NATO into an ever-closer partnership of the free peoples—a partnership strong enough to deter, and if need be, to defeat aggression, a partnership geared to ever-greater economic and political cooperation in advancing human well-being and freedom and preserving world peace. With this objective in mind, American labor has brought to bear its influence at home and abroad for broadening and strengthening the European Economic Community as an indispensable stage towards full Atlantic unity.

American labor pioneered the campaign for adoption of the United Nations Convention against slave labor. Time and again, the AFL-CIO has offered positive proposals for enhancing the authority of the UN and transforming it into a truly effective instrument for maintaining world peace and promoting human rights. In this spirit and toward these goals, American labor has made specific proposals for UN action in the Middle East and Congo, in the struggle against Apartheid, in the advancement of self-determination and human rights.

The AFL-CIO has been unstinting in its efforts to build the ICFTU into a more effective



SUPPORT for United Nations programs, such as the cure of yaws in Indonesia, is a strong AFL-CIO policy.

organization and to strengthen particularly its Inter-American Regional Organization. Since the merger convention, notable progress has been achieved in inducing more AFL-CIO affiliates to join their appropriate international trade secretariats. Eleven of the 19 trade secretariats now have regional offices in Latin America.

The AFL-CIO Department of International Affairs is in continuing contact with the embassies of foreign governments through their labor attaches, in order to promote an understanding of the American labor movement and its foreign and domestic policies. Liaison is also maintained with the appropriate sections of the State Department, Department of Labor and AID. In all these relations the AFL-CIO emphasizes the independent role of the American labor movement, with full recognition not only of its rights but also of its responsibilities. Popularization and support of AFL-CIO policies have been furthered through publications in various languages, conferences, orientation of foreign visitors, correspondence with free trade unionists all over the world, trade union missions and delegations overseas, proposals for government action and active cooperation with the ICFTU.

**A** monthly publication, *AFL-CIO Free Trade Union News*, appears in English, French, German and Italian editions. Scores of thousands of trade unionists throughout the world receive this magazine on international affairs directly in their homes. They are thus acquainted with the AFL-CIO position on vital world problems.

The expanding international activities and contributions by the AFL-CIO to the development of an effective American democratic foreign policy have not gone unnoticed. President Eisenhower recognized the role of the AFL-CIO in "the decision-making process in our

country" (July 15, 1959). He designated AFL-CIO President Meany to serve twice and Vice President George M. Harrison once as members of the U. S. delegation to the United Nations. More recently, President Kennedy accorded the nation's recognition to American labor by designating George Meany as a member of the Committee to Strengthen the Security of the Free World and by award-



AFRICAN STUDENTS in America—nearly 300 of them—are placed in summer jobs by AFL-CIO unions. One, Sebastian Mazu of Nigeria, at typewriter, did research on this supplement.



AFRO-ASIAN Labor Institute in Tel Aviv, Israel, financed in part by AFL-CIO, has a varied student body.

ing him the National Freedom Medal.

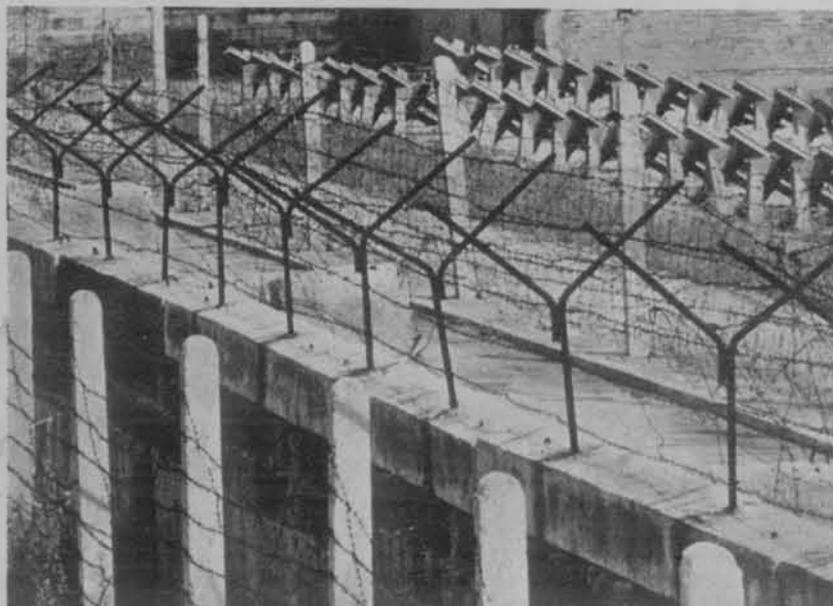
**T**HE realism characteristic of the trade unions as a living movement, democratic and responsible, is reflected in the international policies and activities of the AFL-CIO. If labor's approach to world affairs can be summarized, it might be in these words: Never lose hope, but never have illusions. In order to have an international climate favorable to the maintenance of world peace, the reasons for suspicion, distrust and tension among nations must first be removed in accordance with the principles proclaimed in the UN Charter. The AFL-CIO wants peace, but not peace at any price. The world peace which American labor wants is the lasting peace which will enable nations of every race, color and creed to work together for a world free from dictatorship and poverty.

Following are excerpts from a 1960 statement of the AFL-CIO Executive Council:

Realizing that workers in the colonial countries of Africa cannot fight with their full strength for social and economic justice until the problem of national independence has been solved, American labor has welcomed the emerging trade unions being in the forefront of the struggle for their countries' national and human freedom.

As the trade unions of Africa grow . . . they are bound to develop forms of organization most suitable to their own specific conditions. Just as economic developments . . . in the underdeveloped countries will not proceed in the tempo of the 19th century, so is it unlikely that the trade union movement . . . will go through the organic, step-by-step development of the European or American labor movements.

Through influence on our government's foreign policy, through active participation in expanded international trade secretariat activities, through greater education of our membership and utilization of our organizational strength and facilities, we of the AFL-CIO will strive to help the cause of national independence, democracy, free trade unionism, economic development and better conditions of work and life for every country in Africa.



a world symbol of Soviet tyranny.



# Revolution

rate averaged 5.8 per cent of the labor force in the first half of this year.

In most key parts of the economy, employment dropped or merely remained the same between 1953 and 1962.

*Factory production and maintenance jobs declined 1.6 million.*

*Farm employment fell 1.4 million.*

*Railroad jobs dropped 500,000.*

*Mining employment fell over 200,000.*

While 3.7 million jobs disappeared in those major activities, there was an insufficient increase of employment in other parts of the economy for a growing labor force.

Employment in the federal government and in telephone, gas and electric utilities was about the same in 1962 as in 1953.

Jobs in the service industries rose 1.9 million and there was a 1.3 million increase of employment in retail and wholesale trade. But much of this rise was in part-time work at low wages.

There was a rise of 840,000 non-production jobs in manufacturing companies — professional and technical, executives, supervisors, clerical and sales—which offered few alternative job opportunities for displaced factory workers, farmers, miners and railroad workers.

**I**N finance, insurance and real estate, employment increased 650,000—mostly clerical and sales jobs that require some degree of specialized education or training.

The sharpest increase was in state and local government employment, which rose 2½ million—much of it in teaching and technical occupations.

There was also a rise in the number of household workers and self-employed people—such as doctors, lawyers and shopkeepers. But these occupations can provide only a small part

of the new, gainful job opportunities needed by a growing labor force.

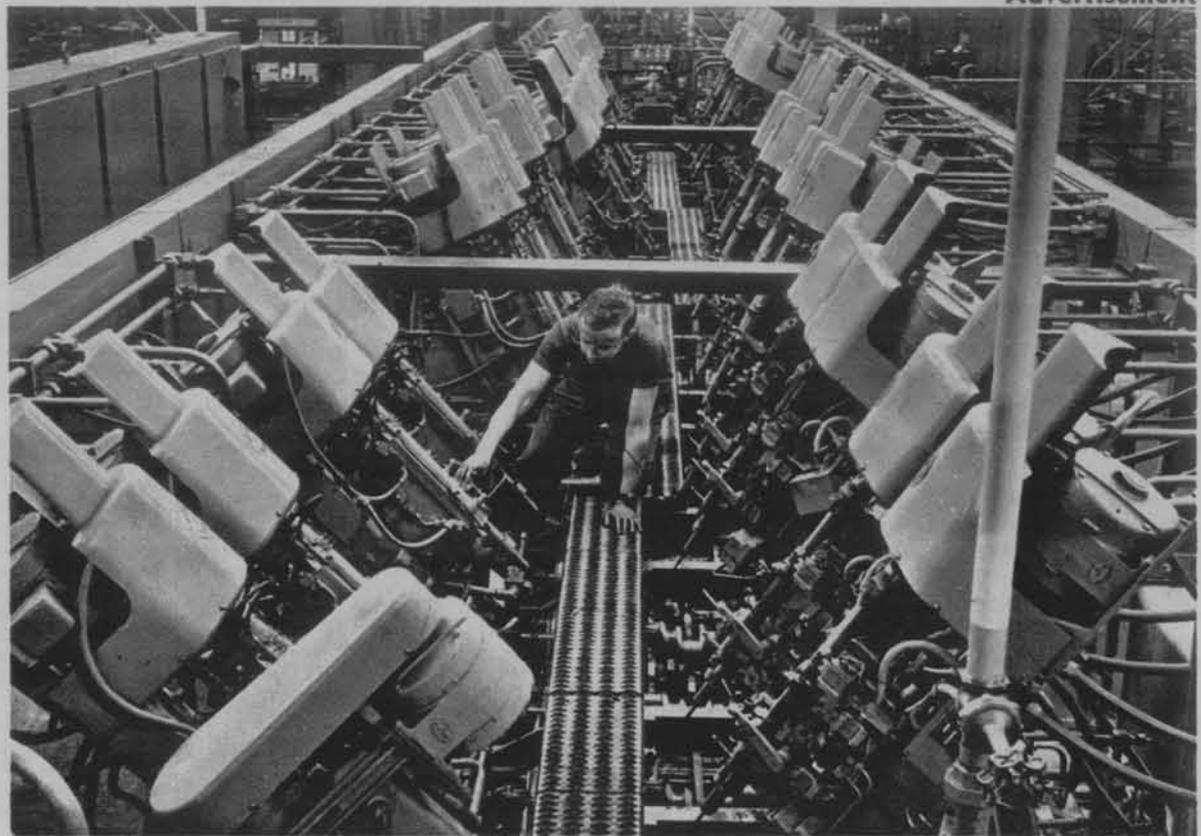
On balance, unemployment has risen considerably in the last 10 years, and most of the increase in jobs has been part-time. The rise of full-time employment has been mostly in state and local government. There has been very little increase of full-time employment in private industry.

**T**HE technological revolution, in a slowly growing economy, has also meant the decline of key industries in many of the older industrial centers, without the offsetting development of new, job-creating industries. Shutdowns of older textile plants, coal mines, railroad yards and steel operations have left some communities and their inhabitants stranded.

The growth of the labor force is now accelerating, as a result of the increase in the birth-rate after the end of World War II. Between 1963 and 1970, the labor force is expected to expand almost 1.4 million a year—about 50 per cent faster than in the previous 10 years.

Automation is also continuing to spread. In industries where it already has a foothold, the new technology is fanning out from one company to another, from one to another type of operation. It is moving into other kinds of economic activities as well — into office work, warehousing, large retail stores and even construction.

If the economy continues to perform as it has in the last decade, unemployment will mount. Between 1953 and 1962, employment was provided for only 73 per cent of the increase in the labor force. Should the economy continue to provide jobs for only 73 per cent of the more rapidly growing labor force in the coming years, about three million additional people will be added to the ranks of the unemployed by 1970. And joblessness will rise to 9 per cent of the labor force — with



MAINTENANCE CHORE puts a man in this picture; the machines operate by remote control.

millions compelled to work part-time because full-time jobs are not available.

**F**ROM its very birth, in the winter of 1955, the AFL-CIO has sought to focus national attention on this growing problem. Organized labor has insisted that federal government policies to achieve full employment are essential to establish the necessary environment for an orderly technological revolution, with a minimum of disruption and dislocation.

The top-priority need is job opportunities for the unemployed and the millions of new entrants into the labor market, as well as for the additional millions who may be displaced by the technological revolution. Over four million job opportunities are needed each year, through 1970 — about 80,000 each week—to achieve and maintain full employment.

The major job-creating tool is federal fiscal policy—the federal government's taxing, spending and investing. Since early 1958, the AFL-CIO has urged

the government to adopt a substantial tax reduction, concentrated among low and moderate-income taxpayers.

Such a tax cut can quickly boost consumer income and sales. As the tax-savings are spent and move through the economy, they will increase production, profits and business investment — adding to jobs all along the line.

**B**UT a tax cut in itself will not be enough to maintain full employment in the face of the technological revolution and accelerating growth of the labor force. Increasing government investment is needed for such job-creating public-service programs as school construction, urban renewal, the development of urban mass transit systems, the building of health facilities, the conservation and development of natural resources.

By moving rapidly to meet the nation's public-service needs — through federal leadership and financial assistance—additional jobs can be created and business conditions improved. Few expenditures of equal size can create as many jobs as the construction of public works and very few can provide as much employment for unskilled and semi-skilled workers.

Together with an expansionary fiscal policy, America requires an expansionary monetary policy. The Federal Reserve System should maintain an adequate growth of the money supply and relatively low interest rates, in order to encourage business, as well as state and local governments, to expand investment.

If pursued boldly enough, the federal government's taxing, investment and money policies can bring sales and production closer into line with the economy's rapidly increasing ability to produce. But in a time of tech-

nological revolution, some people will inevitably be displaced and some workers will have difficulty in finding decent jobs, in their skills and in their communities.

**T**HE skills and mobility of the labor force should be improved, for example, by a strengthened national retraining program and by federal financial assistance to help unemployed workers move to areas of job opportunities. The federal area redevelopment program should also be strengthened.

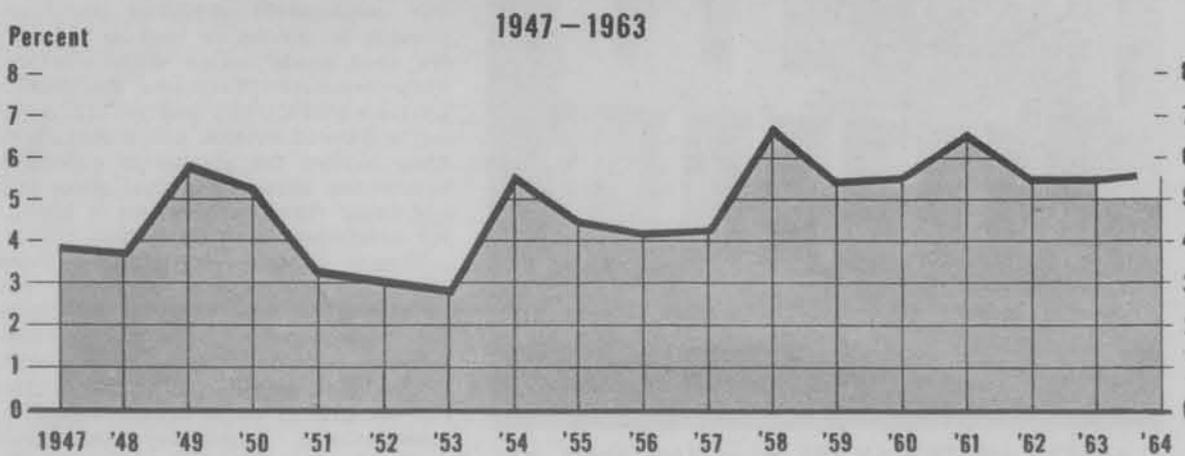
America's educational system—including vocational education and technical training—requires upgrading.

Adequate federal standards are needed to increase the benefits and to extend the payment-period of the federal-state unemployment compensation system.

Such federal measures, however, require private supplementation, through labor-management cooperation and collective bargaining, in terms of the specific problems and needs of each industry. Collective bargaining can provide various types of protections and cushions for the work-force in this period of difficult transition to an automated economy. Thousands of agreements between unions and companies, negotiated in recent years, clearly indicate the vast potential benefits to the work-force that can be derived from the cooperative efforts of labor and management in developing adjustments to the technological revolution.

The longer America delays comprehensive efforts to solve the problem of rising unemployment and part-time work, the more difficult the problem will become. A continuing postponement can threaten the fabric of our free society.

## UNEMPLOYMENT RATE \*



Source: Council of Economic Advisers

\* Adjusted for seasonal factors

JOBLESS RATE has been 5 per cent or more for nearly six years.

# What Pushes Prices?

**Contrary to popular legend, wages have been lagging behind both prices and manhour productivity**

**T**HE charge is often heard that union "monopoly power" has pushed workers' earnings too high and that is what caused inflation. This claim is widely spread by business spokesmen to explain away price increases. But it just isn't true.

On the contrary, much of the time since World War II unions have been hard-pressed to keep workers' earnings at least abreast of rising living costs brought about by other factors.

About two-thirds of the entire post-war cost-of-living rise occurred during four years when the supply of goods of all kinds was lagging drastically behind skyrocketing demand. The period from 1946 through 1948, when there no longer was an O.P.A. to restrain prices and profiteering, accounted for over half the increase. The first year of the Korean War, when this demand-supply imbalance occurred all over again, accounted for another 15 per cent. Neither workers nor their unions were responsible for this two-thirds of the total postwar price inflation; in fact, they were victims of it.

What is more, across the whole span of years since World War II, real wages in the private sector of the economy have hardly kept pace with the average three per cent annual rise in productivity—output per manhour. In recent years, as technological changes have radically boosted efficiency, real

wages have been lagging behind the productivity rise.

It should be noted that when productivity is rising as fast or faster than wage rates—as has been happening generally—the wage cost of producing each unit of output does not rise at all; it may well go down. Other factors that affect unit costs may be going up, such as outlays for material, advertising, management remuneration, plant and machinery depreciation, research and development. However, price increases due to a rise in these non-labor costs or to an increase in unit profit margins cannot be fairly charged against the worker or his union.

Outcries about the supposed "monopoly power" of labor have been particularly loud since 1953. Yet over the last 10 years the unit cost of wage and fringe benefits received by factory production and maintenance workers has actually gone down about 4 per cent.

**I**T should be further noted that direct employment costs in manufacturing—which include all costs affecting wage and salary earners—are less than 28 per cent of the price at which factory output is being sold. Setting prices is wholly a management prerogative, and the leaders of many vital industries increasingly seem to be able to raise prices at will.

Employers, concerned primarily with the affairs of their own enterprises, look upon wage and salary outlays essentially as a burdensome cost. For the economy as a whole, however, wage and salary payments provide most of the purchasing power on which the well-being of all business and of the nation must ultimately depend.

A system of mass production cannot exist without mass consumption. What is more, as the abundance of goods and services America can produce rises dramatically each year, this system must also generate the increase in family personal income required to buy and to enjoy this abundance.

It is the paychecks of 70 million wage and salary earners and the social security benefits of the disabled, the aged and the unemployed on which the country primarily must depend to underpin consumption. When income from these sources lags behind America's ever-rising capacity to produce, sales, production, profits and jobs are all in jeopardy.

The American labor movement performs an indispensable role as it constantly seeks to raise the purchasing power of millions. Its success is reflected in the fact that between 1947 and 1962 the real income of the average American family—after taking account of higher living costs—has gone up 32 per cent. This surely would not have been accomplished without the efforts of trade unions to raise wages and salaries through collective bargaining, and to increase social security and other benefits through legislation.

But the income of the nation's families as a whole is still not enough to spur the growth of production, sales and jobs needed for full employment. That is why the AFL-CIO is pressing for varied and vigorous government action on America's No. 1 domestic problem—jobs.

# Equality

**E**QUAL rights for all Americans in "every field of life" has been a major objective of the AFL-CIO from the day of merger, as it was of both AFL and CIO for many years before.

A reader of convention proceedings will find no lack of comprehensive resolutions, supported by eloquent oratory and adopted by unanimous vote, all testifying to labor's deep interest in fair employment practices, open public accommodations, unrestricted voting rights, unsegregated schools and the revision of Senate Rule 22.

Many another organization might rest on such a record and not regularly examine the facts to see whether its performance matched the words. This is not, cannot and should not be so with the labor movement. For unions are by nature action groups. They do not set goals for others to reach but goals they expect to reach themselves.

Thus in the field of civil rights the AFL-CIO certainly has achieved as much and probably has been criticized as much as any major segment of American society. The labor movement's commitment has been firm and unwavering; its internal machinery for adhering to the commitment steadily strengthened; its progress more intense each year; yet so has the tone of labor's critics.

**T**HIS has been painful at times but it is understandable. For it is true that the labor movement ought to be better than others—more honest, more democratic and firmer in principle—and thus expects to be called to account more severely.

However, even by these standards the record of the labor movement in general and the AFL-CIO in particular needs no apology. Unions have been far ahead of the government in the campaign for equal rights and equal opportunity. As for employers and their organizations—those who do the hiring—they have with a handful of exceptions been silent or hostile.

It is well to remember that prior to 1954, the "separate but equal" doctrine enunciated by the Supreme Court in the 19th Century was as much the "law of the land" as its welcome reversal. Unions in the south, for instance, could sincerely maintain that separate white and Negro units were legal as long as they enjoyed equal conditions on the job and in the organization.

**Y**ET unions—AFL and CIO alike—were not content to rest on such an argument. They led the fight for state fair employment practices laws, applicable to unions as well as employers, that would outlaw discrimination. They supported President Roosevelt's wartime FEPC order and are still seeking to have it written into federal law. They battled for clauses in collective bargaining agreements that gave full and equal rights to Negroes in hiring, job assignment and promotion.

Merger greatly strengthened these efforts. The founding convention listed among its constitutional principles the encouragement of "all workers without regard to race, creed, color or national origin to share in the full benefits of union organization." A constitutional committee on Civil Rights was established to assist the Executive Council "to bring about at the earliest possible date the effective implementation of the principle stated

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**RICHARD F. WALSH**  
International President

**HARLAND HOLMDEN**  
General Secretary-Treasurer



AFL-CIO HEADQUARTERS is on 16th Street in Washington, across Lafayette Park from the White House. The officers, the trade and industrial departments and the professional staff operate from here.

# Is Won by Deeds

The AFL-CIO's long battle for equal rights 'in every field of life' goes far beyond words

in this constitution of non-discrimination. . . . A staff Department of Civil Rights was promptly set up to carry out AFL-CIO policy.

The Civil Rights Committee set up compliance machinery to deal with complaints of discrimination within unions. Affiliated national and international unions were encouraged to set up civil rights committees of their own. Many state and local central bodies have also adopted civil rights programs.

Coordination of these efforts was begun with a National Trade Union Conference on Civil Rights in Washington in May 1957. This has since been followed by periodic meetings of civil rights staff representatives of affiliates, and by the formation of such bodies as the AFL-CIO Southern Advisory Committee on Civil Rights.

During all this time and right up to the present the AFL-CIO continued its efforts on the legislative and administrative fronts. Whether the immediate issue was housing, hospital facilities, voting rights, apprentice training or any other, AFL-CIO spokesmen were on hand to insist upon an end to racial barriers. In both the Eisenhower and Kennedy regimes, AFL-CIO took active part in Presidential committees directed to end discrimination in work performed under federal contract.

Yet all of this, for understandable reasons, did not seem enough to the

Negro community, in and out of the labor movement, as the dramatic surge toward the fulfillment of American principles gathered force. Negro workers complained, not about the policies of the AFL-CIO, but about the practices in some of its parts. The 1961 convention faced up to this problem. After a long and constructive debate, the delegates agreed upon a vastly stronger civil rights operation, armed with new powers and backed by the judicial processes of the AFL-CIO.

**O**BVIOUSLY no convention directive, however worthy, can solve every local problem. But substantial progress has been made and is being made.

- In scores of industrial plants throughout the south, once-separate Negro and white local unions have merged and seniority lists consolidated.

- Virtually every craft union has written into its national agreements a ban on discrimination in employment or apprenticeship. Countless local and area agreements have been revised in accordance with these standards.

- Every subordinate organization of the AFL-CIO (such as the state and local central bodies) has been ordered to hold no conventions or other functions except in wholly desegregated facilities without regard to local custom. This one directive has led to the



UNION RALLY, above, builds support for union results, as in photo at right.



desegregation of public places in many southern communities.

- These same organizations have been instructed to set up biracial state or community committees to work out civil rights problems.

- A special AFL-CIO task-force committee has been named to initiate and carry out anti-discrimination programs in major metropolitan areas. The committee is working closely with non-labor civil rights organizations, with which both AFL and CIO had strong cooperative ties long before

merger; with Negro leaders in and out of the labor movement, and with public officials.

These are results—sound results. But they are not enough, for this is a battle that will not end until discrimination and segregation are abolished everywhere for all time.



## EMBLEM OF SERVICE

*Proud* men wear this emblem of service and heroism. They are the men of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen.

For 90 years these men and their organization have given unselfishly—some even their lives—in the service of a great nation and a great industry.

Today, the 78,000 men of the BLF&E dedicate this same high measure of service and heroism to provide this nation with safe, efficient railroad transportation.

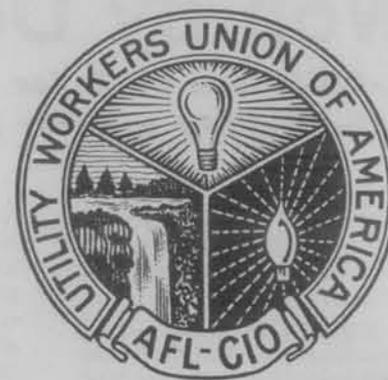
**BROTHERHOOD OF LOCOMOTIVE FIREMEN AND ENGINEMEN**

H. E. GILBERT, President

AFL-CIO

ELECTRIC — GAS — WATER — STEAM

# A SOUND UNION BUILDS A SOUND INDUSTRY



Electricity, gas, water and steam are utilities that are vital forces in America's tremendous technological development. They provide the power for the production of the goods and services of our country. They produce heat; they cool and light the homes, offices, factories and farms of our nation.

Power . . . and the delivery of it, at the instant required, is the distinctive feature of the electric, gas and water systems. Today the consumer merely flicks a switch, flips a knob or turns on a tap to obtain all he needs.

A wide variety of skilled workers have made these utilities readily available to all people of our great country. This availability has resulted in lower rates. Electricity is cheaper per kilowatt hour today than it was in 1930. The average cost per kilowatt hour to the residential consumer has declined from 6.03c in 1930 to 2.44c in 1962.

The advent of natural gas has lowered gas rates also. Consumers were previously served by manufactured gas systems. Today practically all gas systems have been converted to natural gas resulting in better gas service. Natural gas has nearly twice the heat content of manufactured gas; it is a much cleaner fuel, and has a dependable gas supply that is unlimited in the present era.

To meet the peak consumer demands, at any time of day or night, a veritable army of skilled workers is needed to provide and maintain these utility services. Power plant operators to generate electrical energy; substation operators where the voltage is increased or decreased as needed; linemen who install and keep in repair the huge network of transmission and distribution lines that cover the whole country; mechanical, electrical, garage mechanics that keep the plant and machinery in operation on a twenty-four hour basis. Workers such as servicemen, gas operators, repairmen, meter readers, oilers, fitter operators, meter testers and dozens of types of skills are responsible for the safe and efficient distribution of gas, water and steam systems. There is also a substantial percentage of workers in the administrative, clerical, engineering and technical phases of these industries.

Electricity, more than any other physical force, has changed the face of America. It has reshaped our cities and our homes; it has added to the enjoyment of our increased leisure time and it has sparked our country's industrial machine to heights of productive power that is the envy of the world today. This great achievement and growth was made possible by the efforts of loyal, devoted

and skilled workers of the utility industries.

Because of labor's contribution to this industry and the financial sound-

ness and the growth of these utilities, it is the belief of the Utility Workers Union of America, affiliated with the AFL-CIO, that the workers employed

in this industry should enjoy top working conditions benefits and wages that are equal to any worker group in America.

## AN OPEN LETTER TO THE ELECTRIC, GAS, STEAM AND WATER INDUSTRIES

The workers in your industry are the best of the available manpower in this great country of ours. By working together, management and labor in these industries have developed systems that have brought untold benefits to mankind. The great industrial progress our nation has made, as well as the wonderful home comforts the people of our nation enjoy, could not have been attained without the use of these products which our members make possible through their dedicated, loyal and skilled services. And further, the survival of our free nation could not be achieved without the life-giving products which the workers of our industries deliver to the homes, the offices, the farms, the defense installations and the factories of America. Our industries are the most important in America—the workers in these industries should enjoy the ultimate in protection, working conditions, pension and other benefits and their wages as a group should be among the highest in America.

The Utility Workers Union is an honored and trusted affiliate of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations and strives to help all our members to attain a better standard of living and to become better citizens. In cooperating with the trade union program of the AFL-CIO, we strive for better job security, better job conditions, equal rights for all citizens, improved wages and benefits; this whole program is designed to help the underprivileged people of the United States and of the whole world.

Most people of this world go hungry most of their lives and die long before attaining a reasonable old age. The Labor Movement exemplified by the AFL-CIO is in the vanguard of this fight against hunger, poverty, disease, racial injustice and communism which feeds on all these afflictions of the human race. A trade unionist's dues are used not only to carry on the day-to-day business of collective bargaining, a portion of these dues goes to CARE, Cancer, Heart, Red Cross, United Givers and other campaigns against poverty and disease.

We believe that in this day and age trade unions such as ours are a bulwark against Communism and a necessary part of our economic life. Our system of private enterprise, in which the Utility Workers Union believes deeply, could not survive if trade unions were eliminated from the economic scene. Unions are necessary to preserve the communication that is required between our great corporations and their employees.

Every President from Abraham Lincoln to John F. Kennedy has stated that labor is the backbone of our country and that its rights must be preserved if our nation is to flourish and remain free. Spokesmen for all major faiths have stated time and time again that labor unions are good, are necessary and it is the obligation of every working man and woman to band together in unified action through unions to attain what is best and what is just for the worker and his family.

Our Union, while making solid gains for our members in wages, working conditions and benefits knows that our industries have done well financially over the years and we intend to continue to seek a fair share of the goodness of these ever-expanding industries for the members we represent.

We offer our hand in cooperation and friendship to the companies in our industries that we represent and to those companies in our industries that do not have union representation. Our Union endeavors as a partner in a joint venture to raise the stature of the companies it represents and at the same time attain for our members, through collective bargaining, those things that are attainable through just and fair negotiations. Our bargaining efforts will bring added joy to the life of our members in these industries and it is our continued hope that through enlightened collective bargaining in these preferred industries both the companies and the workers will substantially benefit.

On behalf of my fellow officers, Executive Board Members and the members we are privileged to represent, I ask your cooperation in attaining these worthy goals for the industry and its workers.

Sincerely yours,

William J. Pachler,  
National President

## UTILITY WORKERS UNION OF AMERICA, AFL-CIO

1725 K Street, Northwest, Washington 6, D. C.

	WILLIAM J. PACHLER <i>President</i>	ANDREW J. McMAHON <i>Secretary-Treasurer</i>	HAROLD J. STRAUB <i>Vice President</i>	WILLIAM R. MUNGER <i>Vice President</i>
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	EDWARD SHEDLOCK	HAROLD RIGLEY	ROBERT REYNOLDS	DANIEL MADDEN



ORGANIZING was labor's goal when Samuel Gompers spoke as Cooper Union (above) in 1905; it is still the goal today. And leaflets (right) remain a basic means of communication in an organizing campaign.



## Organizing Is Up-Hill Work

**Unions have recruited two million new members since merger, but the job decline in basic industries has taken nearly as many away**

**S**AMUEL GOMPERS, first president of the American Federation of Labor, for years ended every major speech to a trade union audience with the call, "Organize! Organize! Organize!"

In 1961, delegates to the AFL-CIO convention unanimously adopted a resolution that described organizing the unorganized as "the major unfinished task of the American labor movement."

Thus organizing has been and still remains at the heart of the trade union program. It might even be said that to some degree, the AFL and CIO abandoned their separate identities in order better to organize. Leaders of both federations realized that the obstacles to union growth were too formidable to be overcome by a divided labor movement.

As the merger convention's resolution on organizing put it, "in recent years there have been some notable gains in union organization and we properly hail them. But frankness compels the conclusion that unionization of new areas or new industries during the past decade has not kept pace. . . . The trade union movement's objective in the years immediately ahead . . . is indeed a tremendous challenge, but through our combined efforts, we can and will help these unorganized workers achieve unionization."

**I**N light of that resolution's recognition of the challenge and the determination of the delegates to get the job done, how successful has AFL-CIO been in carrying it out?

Since merger, through participation in over 26,000 NLRB collective bargaining elections, many state-conducted representation elections and Railway Mediation Board elections, and through voluntary recognition

and other forms of expansion, AFL-CIO unions have brought an estimated two million additional persons into their collective bargaining framework.

Despite this substantial showing, the net growth to AFL-CIO has been less than 50,000, employment losses in highly-organized fields offsetting organizing gains. And the percentage of union membership in the union-eligible national work force has decreased over the last decade from 40 per cent to an estimated 38 per cent. This apparent contradiction is attributable largely to the growth of the national work force.

**W**ITH all its organizing emphasis, the labor movement is not quite keeping up with its growing non-organized potential, now estimated to be 29 to 30 million persons. There are many reasons for the lag — many elements helping account for an organizing record that however good it may be, has not been good enough.

From the very beginning of its existence, the merged labor movement has been confronted with an atmosphere generally unfavorable to organizing.

There was a time when many employers recognized that collective bargaining elections are designed to determine whether employees desire union representation. Today, it is a rare employer who refrains from interfering in such elections.

So pervasive is the hostility to unions fostered by organized business groups that even if an employer keeps hands off during an organizing campaign, a local chamber of commerce or other community business association may take up the anti-union cudgels spontaneously.

The resistance to union organization has even developed a profession of its own. There is a small army of expert "labor

consultants" whose primary service is defeating workers in their desire for unions. Every section of the country has a well-known law firm (or more than one) specializing in the same field. The lawyers have the further role of avoiding successful contract negotiations if the union happens to win the election.

**T**HE combination of such professional union-busters and hostile employers has to a considerable extent made a mockery of the national labor-management relations legislation, whose intent was to protect workers in the exercise of their right to choose whether to be represented for collective bargaining purposes. This has been furthered by the Taft-Hartley Act, which granted great latitude to employers in opposing unionization. Under the guise of "free speech," employers can hold captive audience meetings, send anti-union literature to workers' homes and in a multitude of ways wage a vigorous anti-union battle.

The energy with which this anti-union program is pursued is indicated by statistics of the National Labor Relations Board, which for several years has reported new records established and promptly broken in the number of unfair labor practice charges filed during collective bargaining election campaigns. And these are violations of a law which, in labor's view, already gives too great an advantage to employers.

Another set of NLRB statistics offers eloquent evidence of the Taft-Hartley law's effects. Prior to its passage (1947) unions were winning, on an annual average, over 80 per cent of the collective bargaining elections in which they engaged. Since Taft-Hartley, and particularly in a period when admin-

istration of NLRB was in what labor regarded as hostile hands, the percentage of union victories has fallen sharply. Over the last three years the rate has averaged 56 per cent.

The Landrum-Griffin Act (1959), ostensibly intended to correct corrupt practices in labor-management relations and provide protection to union members against improper union activity, not only hampered the legitimate functions of established unions but also interfered drastically with organizing practices.

Similarly, the so-called "right-to-work" laws, now in effect in 20 states, in addition to sapping collective bargaining strength, have had a deterrent effect upon organizing.

Changes in the nature of the work force also added to the organizing problem. The growth in the nation's working force has been primarily in job areas where unions have traditionally been weakest—the technical, office, professional and other white-collar occupations. Even in manufacturing, the white-collar segment has grown proportionately larger.

**U**NION growth among white collar workers has been slower and more difficult than among other groups. This is due in part to the emphasis employers have sought to place upon the individual status of the white-collar worker, causing him to identify himself with management (even though his wages may be low); in part to heavier resistance to unionization by employers of white-collar workers, and in part to the failure of unions to address themselves to the task.

Basically, workers will organize — leaving aside the fears and falsehoods inculcated by all-out employer opposition — when they decide that for them union membership is desirable or necessary. Workers organize

themselves; union organizers can only assist them with knowledge and experience. What the union offers is the key ingredient in the workers' decision.

The 1961 AFL-CIO convention established a constitutional standing committee on organization, made up of members of the Executive Council, and charged with responsibility for developing programs and policies, in consultation with the executive officers and the director of organization, to assure more effective pursuit of labor's organizing mission.

As its first move the committee ordered a pilot organizing program in the Los Angeles metropolitan area, where three quarters of a million unorganized workers are employed in fields of particular concern to AFL-CIO. Now in operation for some eight months, this pilot project is directed and coordinated by AFL-CIO organizing personnel, staffed and financed by more than 50 AFL-CIO national and international unions.

**T**HE Los Angeles drive has demonstrated the feasibility of coordinated organizing programs. Basic to its success is a simple formula for resolving organizational conflicts of interest — conflicts that have helped to blunt the organizing thrust of the labor movement in recent years.

The same concept is now being brought to the east coast. A similar coordinated drive, similarly directed, financed and staffed, was begun this month in the Baltimore-Washington area.

These two organizing projects, being imitated on a smaller scale in several other localities and tailored to meet local circumstances may well point the way to more successful organizing in the future.

# Community Services: Broad as America

**Blood banks to buying guides, little is left out of AFL-CIO's activities**

**S**INCE a union exists to better a worker's conditions on his job and improve his pay, it is obviously just as concerned with the value he receives for that pay and with the betterment of his life in the community.

After his day's work, when the union member drives down Main Street past the boy's club, the blood bank, the schools, hospitals and through the center of town under the Community Chest banner—everywhere he sees evidence of community service activities strongly supported and aided by the AFL-CIO. While no union is under a collective bargaining obligation to go into the community in behalf of a member, the labor movement is firmly committed to these activities through which citizens join forces to help the general welfare of the community itself.

This participation is carried out full-time and part-time by thousands of AFL-CIO members and through millions of dollars raised from union members.

In 1962, one-third of the \$520 million raised by Community Chests and United Appeals was donated by AFL-CIO members who also gave generously to scores of independent charities. In the eight years since AFL-CIO merger, over \$1 billion has been donated by union members.

But it's not just the money.

When Hurricane Audrey left thousands homeless in Cameron, Louisiana, in 1957, AFL-CIO representatives worked side by side with the American Red Cross to relieve the suffering. But when the drama of the emergency was over, labor didn't go home. Then hundreds of union building tradesmen—on their own time and at their own

expense—began reconstructing the shattered homes.

Sharon, Pennsylvania, recently faced another type of disaster. Hundreds of youngsters were dropping out of school or finishing their schooling without training of any type. The AFL-CIO stepped in with the first Citizenship Apprentice Program in the junior high school, which now provides trades and crafts for these youngsters. Instead of becoming future liabilities, these youngsters will be a vital resource to their city. This program has now been extended to other states.

**C**OOORDINATING and planning these activities is the AFL-CIO Community Services Activities department, which works with regional, state and local unions and community organizations to fulfill what the AFL-CIO Executive Council calls "a practical application of the first class citizenship and human dignity which organized labor has won for its members around the bargaining tables and in the legislative halls."

In the late '30's, while many unions were in their infancy and struggling to obtain their first contracts, the labor movement was already at work with service programs to aid victims of Nazi and Fascist tyranny in Europe. And during the war years organized labor worked with community and government agencies. But it was in the post-war years that full attention was turned to a program of participation in community services and agencies and initiating programs where the need arose.

This function of a union is not new. In earliest America, long before there



**DISASTER AID** is a frequent area of AFL-CIO and Red Cross collaboration. Here unpaid building trades volunteers rebuild a hurricane-flattened home.

were written contracts for wages and hours, craftsmen banded together in burial societies to provide funerals and assistance to the widow and her brood. The basic concept remains the same today.

Recently, in Ecorse, Michigan, an elderly couple, without children or relatives, faced loss of their home for a \$694 debt. Their only income was an \$82-a-month disability check. Hearing of their plight, the AFL-CIO raised money from its local members and arranged an out-of-court settlement of foreclosure action.

Loss of a home or a homeland, the individual's problems are similar. When 30,000 Hungarian Freedom Fighters arrived in 1956 and tens of thousands of Cuban refugees arrived in 1962, the AFL-CIO worked with government and voluntary agencies to provide emergency shelter and aid. Well beyond this reception period, the AFL-CIO continued to provide aid—and jobs—toward their assimilation into the American community.

In recent years, natural disasters have struck California, Kansas, Louisiana, Texas, Alabama, Missouri, Nevada, Michigan and other states where AFL-CIO-donated mobile canteens have been kept busy throughout each emergency.

But all community service is not in the wake of disasters. Most of it is to build a better community.

The biggest single victory against disease in recent years was development of Salk polio vaccine. But it was mass mobilization efforts by unions throughout the country, through central bodies, local unions, neighborhood civic associations and PTA's which brought immunity to millions of adults and children.

**I**N one area—and this was not an isolated instance—plans for a polio clinic were at a standstill because the county medical society opposed participation by its doctor members. The unions broke the log-jam by obtaining the services of a doctor from a union-sponsored medical service in another county. The three-day clinic immunized 10,000 persons.

Because unions have served so well and are closest to the workers they

represent, their help is regularly sought by community agencies. At present there are 128 men and women in 91 cities who are full-time representatives of the AFL-CIO Community Services Activities acting as liaison between unions and the community's social work agencies. In addition, there are thousands of union representatives performing voluntary work in countless service agencies.

But these services require trained personnel. The questions need answers: Where can I go for help? How can we build a blood bank? Where can I get care for my old and ill mother? How can I get out of debt? Problems like these arise daily, and are as vital to the affected member, and to his union, as the collective bargaining contract.

In order to provide training facilities, the AFL-CIO has established institutes and training programs on local and regional levels for unions throughout the nation. As a long range solution, the AFL-CIO proposes that one percent of all funds raised for community service work be set aside for scholarships in health, welfare, recreation and related fields.

**T**HE complexity of counseling alone can be appreciated by a recent disclosure that in one state there are now 1,750 registered charitable trusts with \$4 billion in available funds. One of the funds, local unions learned, had \$7 million for a home for the elderly that had never been built.

A major AFL-CIO aim is a reduction—or hopefully, elimination—of the multiplicity of funds and fund appeals. The AFL-CIO has proposed establishment of a National Health Fund, a federation of national voluntary health agencies similar to the United Fund and Community Chest drives of many American cities. Among the benefits of a national "one for all" appeal would be the greatest possible degree of coordination in basic medical research and public education. Savings in administration and duplication alone would be sufficient to provide considerably more funds to the services themselves.

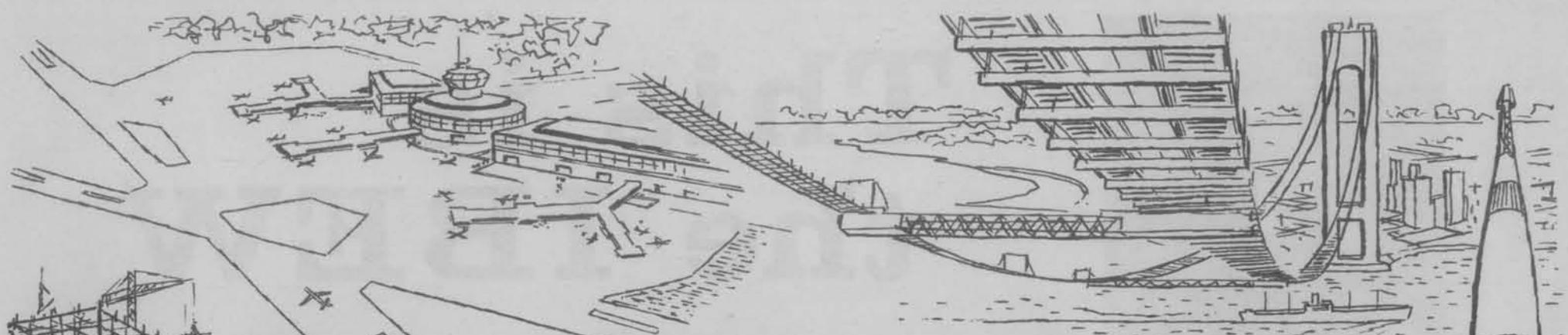
What are the fields of AFL-CIO interest? They are as many as mankind: Aiding senior citizens, curbing juvenile delinquency, helping mentally ill, supporting fluoridation and a hundred more.

What happens, for example, when there is no place for citizens to turn

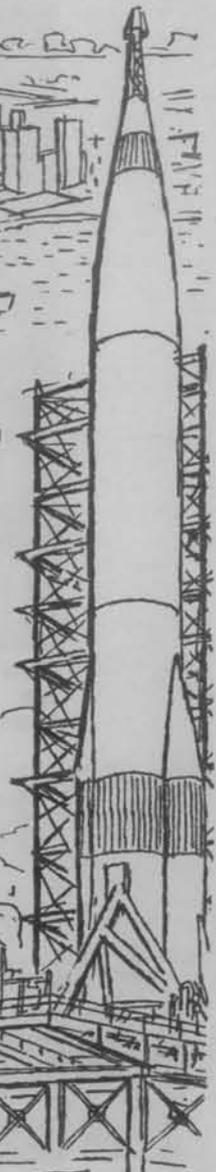
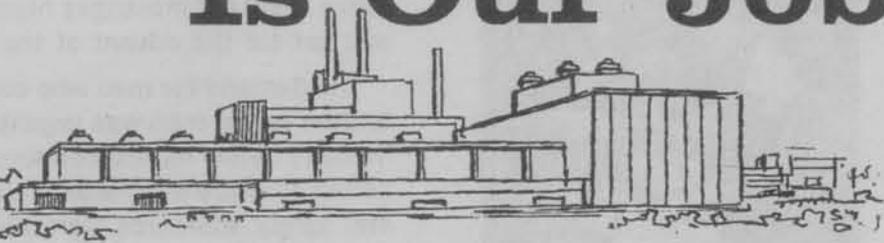
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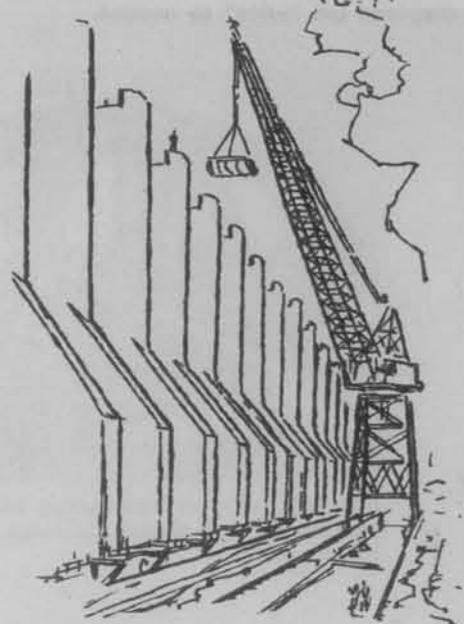
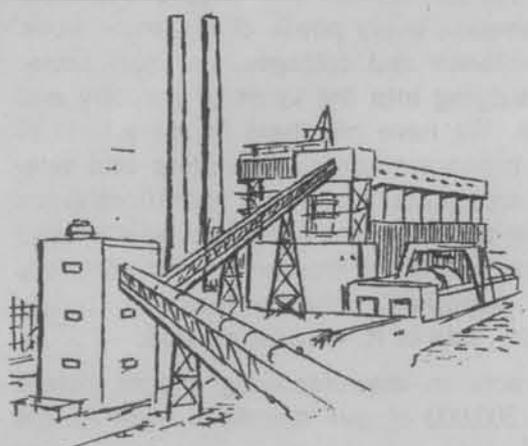
**FLU SHOTS** at \$1 each immunized 40,000 Phoenix citizens in a program sponsored by the local AFL-CIO.



# BUILDING AMERICA Is Our Job



*Skyscrapers, factories, power plants, refineries...  
Highways, bridges, tunnels, airports...  
Apartments, homes, residential developments...  
Power dams, TVA's, community facilities...  
Missile and space bases, our national defense structure...*



**Building America is our job.  
A job that is being done superlatively  
By our 3,500,000 members,  
Upstanding American citizens,  
Of all races and creeds,  
Loyal to the American way of life,  
And devoted to the trade union movement.**

The national and international unions affiliated with this Department are:

International Association of Heat and Frost Insulators and Asbestos Workers  
International Brotherhood of Boilermakers, Iron Ship Builders, Blacksmiths, Forgers and Helpers  
Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers' International Union  
United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America  
International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers

International Union of Elevator Constructors  
International Union of Operating Engineers  
Granite Cutters International Association  
International Association of Bridge, Structural and Ornamental Iron Workers  
International Hod Carriers, Building and Common Laborers Union of America

Wood, Wire and Metal Lathers' International Union  
International Association of Marble, Stone & Slate Polishers, Rubbers and Sawyers, Tile and Marble Setters Helpers, and Terrazzo Helpers  
Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America  
Operative Plasterers and Cement Masons International Association

United Slate, Tile and Composition Roofers, Damp and Waterproof Workers  
Sheet Metal Workers International Association  
Journeyman Stone Cutters Association of North America  
United Association of Journeymen and Apprentices of the Plumbing and Pipe Fitting Industry of the United States and Canada

**BUILDING AND CONSTRUCTION TRADES DEPARTMENT (AFL-CIO)**

C. J. HAGGERTY, President



FRANK BONADIO, Secretary-Treasurer

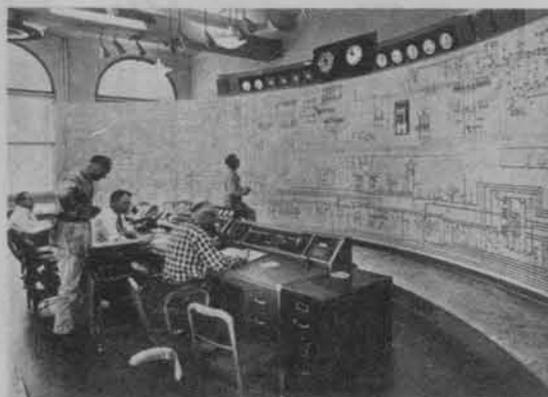


IBEW is an integral part of the missile age. Our members help make them, launch them, control and track them.

# This is the IBEW



The "hello" girls have been members of IBEW since 1895. First woman labor organizer in U.S. was an IBEW Telephone Operator.



At control center of power plants, IBEW operators dispense the "juice" as needed.



Projects, small, or tremendous like this Control Center for a Missile Complex, are part of IBEW's work.



Appliances and Electrical Products of all kinds roll off IBEW assembly lines.

Less than 100 years ago a young genius named Edison invented the incandescent lamp and night was turned into day. Shortly before, another genius named Morse successfully conquered time and space and sent messages humming over telegraph wires. The stage was set for the advent of the electrical industry.

The demand for men who could bring the advantages of electricity to their fellow men was urgent. Thousands answered the call of this industry with its tremendous future. Many followed their new career to disaster. The work was hard, the hours long, the pay small and safety standards were unknown. The death rate for electrical workers at the turn of the century was twice the national average.

And so, the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, born out of the needs and fears of the time, is as old as the commercial use of electricity. Ten men met in an upper room over an old dance hall in St. Louis, Missouri and on November 28, 1891, they founded this union. They set forth their aims in their first Constitution—"To organize all workers in the entire electrical industry . . . to assist each other in sickness or distress . . . to reduce the hours of daily labor . . . to seek adequate pay for our work . . . to seek security for the individual."

One month after its founding the IBEW was granted a charter by the American Federation of Labor with a sweeping jurisdiction over Electrical Workers in every branch of the trade and industry.

This is our history.

Today our union stands 800,000 strong—the largest electrical union in the world. We encompass every phase of electrical work. We wire skyscrapers and factories and cottages; we man power plants and send electricity surging into the veins of industry and into the lamps of the nation. We have members in every field of communications—radio, TV broadcasting and recording and telephone—operators have been an integral part of our operations since 1895. We have electricians in transportation—on land and air and sea and under the sea. Our Electrical Workers in maintenance operations stand watch, in hospitals, schools, factories, public buildings—wherever electricity, lots of it, may be needed.

We started to sign contracts in manufacturing plants before 1900, and today more than 300,000 of our members work in the manufacturing field.

This is our present.

What of the future? We of the IBEW are fortunate to belong to a growing, changing industry whose future shines brighter as the years go on. However, we believe the future belongs to those who prepare for it. And so we train our members to meet the challenges of the future—in electronics, in nuclear energy, in the space age. Fifty thousand of our journeymen have gone back to school. We seek training, a shorter work week and security measures for all our members, especially those in manufacturing.

We look for a future for our members as bright as that of the electrical industry itself. The electrical industry and its workers, our members, have done more than any other single factor to create the famed "American Way of Life." It is the aim of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers to preserve it, further it and enjoy it.

**INTERNATIONAL BROTHERHOOD OF ELECTRICAL WORKERS**  
(AFL-CIO and CLC)



# Meeting the Hazards of the Wage System

Protection against job injuries, unemployment and other disasters is weaker now than it was a generation ago as frozen benefits face rising costs

FROM the first day when one man went to work for another — from the very dawning of the "wage system" — the one pervading fear of wage-earners has been that some blow of fate would rob them of their earning power. It might be illness; it might be a crippling accident, on or off the job; it might be the mysterious workings of economic forces, which suddenly cut off the market for a worker's skills.

The unfortunate impact of these disasters was recognized at least a century ago, not only by the labor movement but by many other thoughtful citizens who were concerned with both the humane and the dollars-and-cents aspects. It is fair to say that this broader public support played a considerable part in the first legislative steps toward the protection of earnings against forces beyond a worker's control.

From the beginning the labor movement has stressed social insurance as a basic safeguard. That is, trade unions have felt and still feel that a system of benefits should be established, on the basis of insurance principles, which are paid as a matter of right rather than charity. Only in this way, in labor's view, can the dignity as well as economic well-being of workers be preserved.

Two major categories of these "natural disasters" — on-the-job injury and unemployment — are now covered, though inadequately, by insurance programs in every state. A third, illness and injury outside the work-place, mostly remains untouched. The status and needs in each category are summarized below.

## Workmen's Compensation

Labor was in the forefront of the battle that secured, half a century ago, the passage of workmen's compensation laws — America's first social insurance. Prior to workmen's compensation legislation, the employee had the right only to bring a suit against the em-

ployer to obtain damage for his injury. To win such a suit, the employee had to prove that he was not responsible for the accident, that no fellow worker or "fellow servant," as the law put it, was responsible, and that the accident was not a normal risk of the industry. As a result, only a small proportion of injured workers were ever compensated and the consequent social effects were serious.

WORKMEN'S compensation was devised to alleviate this social injustice by assuring injured workers and their families prompt benefits regardless of fault and with a minimum of litigation. In return for these gains, injured workers relinquished their right to sue.

Workmen's compensation is almost entirely a state program. Federal legislation exists only in certain special categories such as federal employees and longshoremen. Unfortunately, legislative progress has been uneven and too slow. Most state laws still retain many of the defects that existed at their inception — technical loopholes, inadequate benefits, poor administration, excessive litigation and inadequate medical care and rehabilitation. In many cases, profits for the insurance carriers came before benefits for injured workers.

The result is that the laws have become less effective. In 1940 only 10 states had maximum benefits for temporary total disability that were less than two-thirds of the state's average weekly wage; only four of these were less than 60 per cent and none less than 50 per cent. Today a majority of the states have maximum benefits of less than 50 per cent of the state's average weekly wage.

Similarly, workmen's compensation laws have usually ignored the rehabilitation of injured workers. It is both inhumane and wasteful to leave a disabled person to drag out his years in helpless dependency when he can be restored to use-

ful independence. No compensation award can possibly replace the loss of the capacity to earn a decent living in dignity and independence.

Rehabilitation programs, by restoring individuals to productive employment, in the end are far less expensive to labor, industry, insurance carriers and the community as a whole.

Workmen's compensation was society's first major legislative response to the human and social consequences of industrial and technological change. The first laws had obvious deficiencies, but in the exuberance of social advance further progress was taken for granted. After 50 years, the results are disappointing. Technological and industrial progress has proceeded at breakneck speed, but the states have largely ignored the changes needed in workmen's compensation. For this reason, the AFL-CIO advocates enactment of a Federal Workmen's Compensation Act, or failing this, federal legislation fixing minimum standards of workmen's compensation. The chart (below at right) demonstrates the absurd variations that now prevail.

## Unemployment Insurance

Not until the 1930's was a workable plan developed for insuring wages against temporary unemployment. The federal government, using its general taxing powers, imposed a tax on payroll; then if a state adopted an unemployment insurance system, the employer could subtract from the federal tax the sums he paid into the state system. Shortly thereafter all states adopted unemployment insurance programs.

Since its origin, jobless pay has changed in many respects. The number of weeks of allowable benefits has been increased, but weekly benefits are a far smaller proportion of wage loss than they once were. Disqualification and penalty provisions are much stricter than originally conceived.

Perhaps most serious of all is that the program is suffering from starvation of funds through the device of "experience rating."

IN recent years the persistence of long-term unemployment, due to fundamental technological and economic changes, has caused 30 to 40 per cent of jobless pay beneficiaries to exhaust their benefits before they are able to find another job.

It is now estimated that out of every 10 unemployed, five are not getting any benefits. Three of these never worked in covered employment; one has been disqualified or declared ineligible; and one has used up all the benefits to which he is entitled. The remaining five are

receiving benefits that average one-third of their former weekly wage. Taken all together, the upshot is that only 15 to 20 per cent of the total wage and salary loss due to unemployment is compensated by jobless pay. Clearly this does not fulfill the purpose of the original act, nor does it provide the economic stability which was intended.

LABOR wants to modernize the benefit and financing structure in several ways: By broadening the taxable wage base, by setting minimum standards for state weekly benefit amounts and by establishing a supplemental federal program for the long-term unemployed that will take over when the worker has used up six months of benefits from the state funds.

In short, the AFL-CIO wants the unemployment insurance system to be brought up to its original objective of holding wage losses to a minimum, for the benefit of the afflicted workers and of the economy as a whole. This requires changes to meet unforeseen developments — tax competition among the states, which results in "bargain" unemployment compensation levies and intolerable benefit terms; and chronic long-term unemployment, which requires weekly benefits (and collateral programs) over a longer period than was expected 30 years ago.

Only if these new needs are met can it truly be said that the United States protects workers from the most painful effects of unemployment.

## Sickness and Disability

On-the-job injuries, total and permanent disability and involuntary unemployment are all covered, with varying degrees of adequacy, by federal and state programs. One almost-untouched area of disaster for hourly-paid workers is illness and off-job injury. In only four states — California, New Jersey, New York and Rhode Island — have efforts been made to close this gap. These statutes are, in a sense, experimental; each is different, and their good features, as indicated by experience, ought to be incorporated into a model plan.

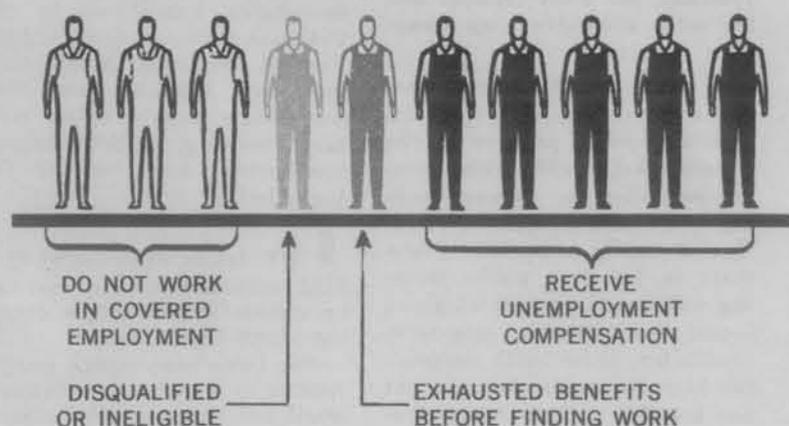
Aside from the four states cited above, a worker who falls victim to a non-occupational ailment — from a head cold to a broken leg to long-term disease — is entitled to no benefits except those which may be provided by union contract. He cannot collect unemployment compensation because he is "not available" for work. He is not eligible for disability payments under social security because he is not permanently stricken.

The AFL-CIO believes that protection against wage loss should be extended to these victims of human disaster, as well as to the others described earlier.

## MAXIMUM AMOUNTS FOR LOSS OF ARM



## HOW THE UNEMPLOYED FARE





In the Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America there are more than 200,000 skilled craftsmen of the painting, decorating, paperhanging and allied crafts, which include sign painters, ship painters, automobile painters, wood finishers, glaziers and glassworkers, carpet and linoleum layers, drywall pointers, tapers and finishers, and paint, varnish and lacquer makers.

Established March 15, 1887, in Baltimore, Maryland, the Brotherhood has achieved an enviable record for mature, responsible collective bargaining which has resulted in a more stable industry, a minimum of work stoppage, and a mutually harmonious and profitable employee-employer relationship. The Brotherhood has won fair hours, wages, and working conditions under safe and healthful environments, health and welfare benefits, pension and retirement benefits and vacations with pay.

One major successful activity is an apprenticeship and training program insuring a steady flow of highly skilled mechanics into the industry and a constant up-grading of skills so workers keep pace with today's rapid changes in materials and methods.

The Brotherhood's policies are formed by its General Executive Board, composed of its General President and its six General Vice-Presidents. General President Lawrence M. Raftery, of St. Louis, Mo., like other Brotherhood General Officers, past and present, learned the trade as an apprentice. After a decade as a journeyman painter and decorator, he was elected business representative and secretary of the St. Louis District Council and later general vice-president, general secretary-treasurer, and, in 1952, general president.

The Brotherhood is affiliated with the AFL-CIO, Building and Construction Trades Department, Metal Trades Department, Maritime Trades Department, and Union Label Trades Department. President Raftery is a member of the Executive Councils of the AFL-CIO and of the Building and Construction Trades Department.

The Brotherhood's six Vice-Presidents are Andrew Westley of Chicago, Ill.; James J. Knoud of Philadelphia, Pa.; Michael DiSilvestro of New York City; O. T. Satre of Santa Barbara, Cal.; G. K. Fritz of Jackson, Miss.; and T. V. Carter of Kansas City, Mo. The General Secty.-Treas. is William H. Rohrberg.

**BROTHERHOOD OF PAINTERS,  
DECORATORS AND  
PAPERHANGERS OF AMERICA**

217-19 North 6th St., Lafayette, Indiana

## Advertisement



**BEST-KNOWN SLUM** in America, thanks to the photo at left, was this one in clear view of the Capitol. It has since given way to new housing, though too many others remain. Union-financed projects, like that at the right, help in many areas, but more federal funds are needed.

# It's Still a Housing Crisis

## Growing families and spreading slums keep pace with the best efforts of government and private builders

**D**ESPITE building activity over the last 15 years that has spilled into the suburbs and beyond with the construction of 22 million non-farm housing units, America faces a housing challenge today as great as at the end of World War II.

Post-war babies are reaching marriage age, the number of persons reaching retirement is increasing sharply and, despite urban renewal programs, slums continue to eat away the hearts of cities across the nation. America's housing needs are far from satisfied.

The AFL-CIO is well aware of this. The labor movement has grappled with America's housing problems since its formative days—and much of the urban development, slum clearance and other legislation which has led to low-cost homes and low-cost mortgages sprang from union-supported proposals.

**B**ECAUSE better homes make better, healthier citizens and a stronger America, the labor movement, then only four million strong, took an active role in bringing about the first public housing 30 years ago as part of the early New Deal emergency program. Four years later, the growing AFL and CIO threw their full support behind the first full-scale slum clearance and low rent housing legislation—the Housing Act of 1937.

Out of this measure also came city housing authorities to provide the tools of self-help for local initiative and responsibility. Until then, a community could zone, could specify the areas where housing, industry and commerce could develop, but the land would remain a pasture or a slum unless a private

developer chose to move in—a choice dictated by profitability rather than need.

From that beginning, with supplementary legislation over the years, and direct participation by labor unions themselves, housing strides have been made, but much more must be done.

**T**HE conservative estimate of experts is that with rising housing demands, a 12-year program of renewal and modernization of our cities would generate an average annual rate of investment of \$100 billion yearly, or about twice the present rate of all defense spending.

The AFL-CIO is conscious, too, of the job aspects. Hundreds of thousands of jobs can be provided in home construction and as many more in utilities, furnishings, fittings, equipment and services to make and keep these dwellings livable. And in addition, of course, are the jobs involved in making and processing the construction materials.

Considerable knowledge as to America's housing needs has been accumulated since World War II. The union-backed legislation and the emergence of trade unions as sponsors of housing and as mortgage investors have helped to meet some of the needs; at least, to keep the nation from going downhill in its dwelling standards.

**I**N 1949, recognizing the importance of freeing low-income families from slums, Congress authorized construction of 810,000 low-rent public housing units to be built over a six-year period. But legislative restrictions and unsympathetic of-

ficials in the Public Housing Administration of that era so hobbled the program that only 200,000 units were completed.

When the AFL and CIO merged in 1955, the two federations had behind them years of close cooperation in the fight to overcome roadblocks to housing and community improvements in Congress, in the federal housing agencies and at the local level. The labor movement had learned that too often, badly-needed and fully-authorized housing programs were thwarted by unnecessary restrictions and red tape imposed by the Federal Housing and Home Finance Agency. Unions have been instrumental in clearing the way for scores of communities to carry out their slum clearance and urban redevelopment programs.

**B**UT all of the AFL-CIO goals haven't been realized. In every Congress the labor movement has pressed for legislation to relieve the housing needs of low and middle-income families. The AFL-CIO has also sought ample funds at reasonable interest rates for veterans, for older citizens and for more extensive slum clearance programs.

A step in this direction—and a big one by Congressional standards—was passage of the Housing Act of 1961. This measure embodies the forward-looking recommendations of President Kennedy to provide a new start in low-rent public housing units—the first in 12 years—and low-interest, long-term credit for those with incomes too high for public housing but too low for private loans. Unfortunately, the funds available are much too limited. There



are 16 million sub-standard housing units in the United States. The current pace of housing construction is a little better than a million units a year. Needed are 2½ million units a year for at least the next decade.

Realizing this need, the labor movement is practicing what it preaches.

Today there are at least 14,000 union-sponsored cooperative housing units in existence, which cost an estimated \$171 million. These are open to union members and the general community on equal terms; they are lower-middle income housing. There are similar projects under way which will add several thousand more units.

In addition, union funds are invested in government-supported mortgages. These mortgages, guaranteed by the Veterans Administration and the Federal Housing Administration, have brought about low-cost single family units, military housing, middle-income apartments and housing for the elderly.

**T**HE latest estimate is that \$193 million has been invested by unions in mortgages covering 15,000 housing units.

The labor movement's participation in housing is relatively small compared to the dimensions of the problem, but it is a significant beginning.

# More for Non-Members

**Organized labor carries on an unending fight for a better wage-hour law, though few duespayers are affected**

**L**AST September 3, several million Americans received a wage increase. It was a modest increase—10 cents at the most, or from \$1.15 to \$1.25 an hour. But at those wage levels, anything extra is important.

On the same date, some 3½ million other workers in retail and service enterprises, in construction and in a few other occupations obtained for the first time the protection of a maximum work-week set by law, requiring payment of time and a half after 44 hours.

These changes resulted from amendments to the Fair Labor Standards Act adopted by Congress in 1961, after a long struggle by the AFL-CIO which was reinforced in that year by the support of the Kennedy Administration. Other changes are yet to come; next September the newly-protected workers will get a further reduction in hours, to 42, and a raise in their minimum wage from the present \$1 an hour to \$1.15. A year later, they will reach the \$1.25 an hour, 40 hours a week standard which applies to others covered by the law.

The workers whose pay and

hours are governed by the Fair Labor Standards Act are among the lowest-paid in the nation. Only those who are still excluded from the law's protection — agricultural workers, hotel and restaurant workers and laundry workers, for example—are worse off. Very few who get direct benefits from changes in the law are union members; yet the labor movement has from the beginning been the leading champion of wage-hour improvements.

**T**HIS was true of both the AFL and CIO, long before merger. In one sense the last previous change in the law—an increase in the wage floor from 75 cents to \$1—was the first achievement of labor unity, even before merger became a fact. For the campaign was conducted in 1954-55 by a committee of unions from both federations, working together.

It has been a long time—almost a generation—since any considerable number of union members stood to gain by a rise in the legal wage minimum. The trade union movement's interest is based on two

other factors. The first is humanitarian; an inherent belief that any person doing useful work should be paid at least a subsistence wage. The second is economic; the knowledge that substandard wages are a drag on the national economy, that they limit consumer buying-power, and thus constrict the job opportunities for all.

(An exception to this general statement is the current AFL-CIO drive to cut the statutory work-week to 35 hours, with penalty pay of double time for overtime. Obviously a fundamental change of this kind would directly affect a majority of union members.)

The efforts of organized labor, merged and unmerged, have been significant and in most instances decisive in the course of the Fair Labor Standards Act since it was passed in 1938. At that time the minimum wage was 25 cents an hour; the standard work-week was 44 hours.

The improvements did not come easily or rapidly. Though the act is intended, in its own words, to eliminate from interstate commerce "labor conditions detrimental to the main-



Two-pants suit

tenance of the minimum standard of living necessary for health, efficiency, and general well-being of workers," the goal has been elusive in practice. One special aim of labor has been to bring within the scope of the act the many millions of wage earners who could and should be covered but who were excluded when the legislation was first adopted.

**T**HE minimum wage itself, pitifully low to start with, has consistently lagged behind changes in living-costs, productivity and average wage levels. Even now, however, the \$1.25 minimum wage is already outmoded, and a major drive by the labor movement to raise it at least to \$1.50 can be expected in the near future.



## We Salute the AFL-CIO on its Fifth Convention!

The AFL-CIO has forged a record of magnificent achievement unmatched by any labor organization in history.

It has lifted the standards of American workers, non-union as well as union, to unprecedented heights.

It has helped to make the American standard of living the inspiration of all the world.

Aside from material advantages, it has given American workers self-respect, dignity and security.

The AFL-CIO has raised its voice and given its strength in support of every worthwhile cause, from free education to social security, which has enriched the American way of life for all citizens.

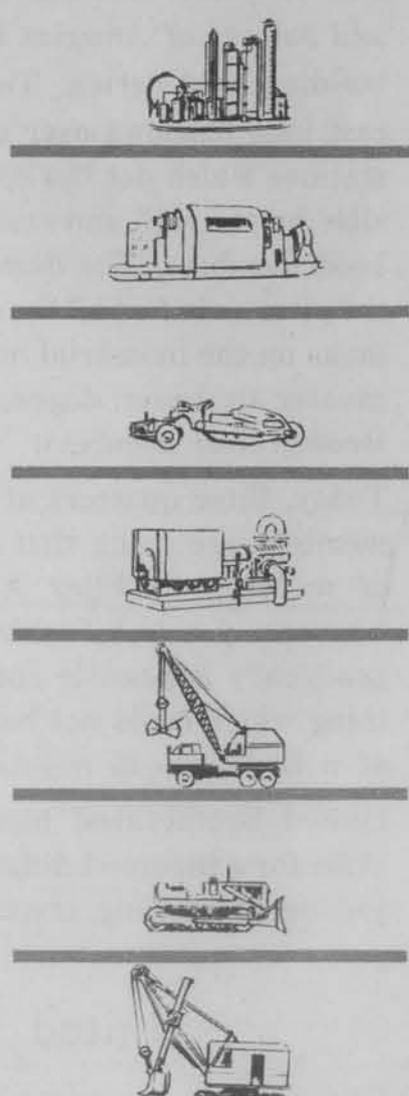
It has never taken a narrow, selfish position toward its patriotic obligations but has faithfully upheld

the honor and the interests and the ideals of our country at all times.

Above and beyond this, it has carried the message of freedom and democracy to every corner of the globe. Millions of workers in Europe, Asia, Africa and Latin-America today are loyal supporters of the free world, instead of Communism, because of the effective missionary work of the AFL-CIO.

Under the leadership of George Meany, the AFL-CIO continues to add new luster to its record while remaining true to the great traditions of the free trade union movement.

We are proud to be a part of that movement and to have shared in the AFL-CIO's achievements, for the sake of our own members and men and women of good will everywhere.



### INTERNATIONAL UNION OF OPERATING ENGINEERS

Hunter P. Wharton, General President; Frank P. Converse, General Secretary-Treasurer; John F. Brady, William J. Stuhr, Jack McDonald, Charles Paluska, Sr., J. C. Turner, Newell J. Carman, Paul O. Larson, Leo Bachinski, Eugene M. Reardon, Sr., and Richard H. Nolan, Vice Presidents.

*The First Automobile was  
still a generation away  
when THE UNITED  
BROTHERHOOD OF  
CARPENTERS was born.*



## 82 DYNAMIC, FRUITFUL YEARS

1881 | 1963

For 82 years the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America has played a major role in the building of America. The towering skyscrapers which cast long shadows over our cities, and the tiny service stations which dot the open plains both were made possible by the skill and craftsmanship of United Brotherhood members. The dams, the highways, the factories, the piers — in fact all the structures, big and small, which make up the industrial might of our nation — depend in greater or lesser degree on the know-how of United Brotherhood members.

Today, three quarters of a million United Brotherhood members are using that know-how to build the sinews of an even mightier America. Wherever you turn, wherever you look, inside or outside, night or day, it is practically impossible not to see or feel or touch something which could not have been built without the skill of a Brotherhood member.

United Brotherhood men possess a hundred different skills for a thousand different jobs of milling, fashioning, joining, assembling, erecting, and fastening wood, metal,

fiber, cork, composition and other material. A Brotherhood member's work may be designated as carpentry, joinery, millwrighting, pile driving, dock building, ship carpentry, millwork, floor laying, roofing, logging, saw-milling, furniture making, casket making, display building or perhaps even toy making, but he is an integral part of the broad craft of carpentry. His skill and craftsmanship make possible a great deal of the beauty, comfort, and safety that surround our lives today.

Individually and collectively, the members of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America are proud of the record they have achieved in the years since 1881. Through wars, booms, panics and depressions; through transitions from hand-power to steam-power, and from steam-power to gasoline, and from gasoline to electronics, the United Brotherhood has adapted and kept pace with changing conditions to serve the nation well.

In the final analysis, nothing can speak more authoritatively for a bright future than can a sound past.

United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America

101 Constitution Avenue, N.W., Washington 1, D. C.

# Why BROTHERHOOD belongs in our name



**HOME FOR AGED MEMBERS:** Since 1928 the United Brotherhood has maintained a Home for Aged Members at Lakeland, Florida. Here old-timer members receive a quality of care that is unsurpassed. All of their physical, recreational and spiritual needs are taken care of by a competent staff of specialists in these essential fields.



**PENSIONS:** Brotherhood members 65 years of age or over with 30 years of continuous membership are entitled to a monthly pension. In the past 33 years the United Brotherhood has paid out \$60,300,000 in pensions to make life a little happier and more secure for those who have devoted their lives to the construction industry.



**FUNERAL DONATIONS:** Thanks to a long-established death benefit program, no Brotherhood member in good standing ever was buried in a pauper's grave. In the past half century the United Brotherhood has paid out \$60,500,000 in death and disability donations.



**APPRENTICESHIP:** The passing of skills from generation to generation is a major concern of the United Brotherhood. 30,000 young men are at all times undergoing the disciplines of apprenticeship training under programs jointly devised and administered by the Brotherhood and the employing contractors.



*The United Brotherhood moved into this new headquarters building in 1961. The union transferred from Indianapolis, Ind., where it had been located from 1903 to 1961. The building, latest in design and facilities, is located at 101 Constitution Avenue, N.W., Washington, D. C., on a site facing the U. S. Capitol grounds.*



United Brotherhood  
of Carpenters and Joiners  
of America

# AFL-CIO: The People's Lobby



The wide-ranging concern of the labor movement for all aspects of American life has won it a proud title

TESTIMONY is a key function; a typical Senate hearing is at left. Sometimes it leads to scenes like that at right. The President is signing a bill providing equal pay for women.



CHILD LABOR was the subject of a poignant speech by Samuel Gompers at the founding convention of the Federation of Organized Trades and Labor Unions in 1881. Thanks to union legislative efforts, child labor has largely been eliminated except in agriculture.

FIFTY or 60 times each year—once a week or more—spokesmen for the AFL-CIO appear on Capitol Hill to present labor's views to Congressional committees which are considering legislation of interest to the trade union movement.

Several hundred more times—every day and then some—labor lobbyists drop in to see individual members of the House and Senate to discuss the merits of pending bills.

This is the "labor lobby" in action. It is often attacked as though it were a clandestine pressure operation. Actually it is right out in the open.

Yes, there is a labor lobby. The objectives of the labor lobby are set forth in the policy statements of the AFL-CIO. Some of those objectives obviously have to do with unions as such; the Landrum-Griffin Act, Taft-Hartley, Walsh-Healey, Davis-Bacon—names that may not mean much to the public.

MOSTLY, though, the labor lobby deals with far more familiar questions. Housing, for instance; or social security, consumer protection, education, conservation of natural resources, disarmament, mass transit, farm prices, civil rights, interest rates, juvenile delinquency—you name it. Whatever it is, the AFL-CIO has an interest; first of all, because 13½ million people have an interest in almost everything, and beyond that, because the AFL-CIO speaks, not only for its own 13½ million, but for all who work for wages and salaries, for all who have no other voice.

It is for this reason that the AFL-CIO has been called the "people's lobby," a title in which it takes special pride. The title has been well earned; for example, at the previous AFL-CIO convention more than half the resolutions adopted—almost 50 of them—set forth a trade union position on some issue that was pending in Congress.

Here are a few examples:  
**Consumer protection.** AFL-CIO lobbyists have been working with many members of both houses of Congress who are seeking stronger federal legislation to protect consumers. The

so-called "truth-in-lending" bill, sponsored by Sen. Paul Douglas (D-Ill.), would require full disclosure of all finance charges on consumer loans and consumer installment loans, thus helping to prevent usurious interest rates and charges. The "truth-in-packaging" bill, introduced by Sen. Philip Hart (D-Mich.), would help prevent merchandisers from selling air along with their product, and better enable housewives to judge prices.

THE AFL-CIO is the only strong national organization fighting for consumer protection measures. It was allied with the late Sen. Estes Kefauver (D-Tenn.) in his fight for stronger controls on prescription drugs (a fight only partially won last year following the Thalidomide tragedies) and is now resisting efforts to pass a federal fair trade law which would allow manufacturers to fix retail prices.

**Natural resources.** The AFL-CIO has long been concerned with the conservation and development of America's natural resources. It has been a staunch supporter of the Tennessee Valley Authority, the rural electrification program and various public power development projects in the west.

The Water Pollution Control Act, so necessary to reduce critical water shortages in future years, was passed with AFL-CIO support, and labor has continually urged more attention to the outdoor recreation needs of our rapidly increasing population.

FOR many years labor has tried to alert the government to the nation's rapidly rising electric energy demands, and urged a full scale nuclear power development program so that those needs can be met cheaply and efficiently.

Finally, the labor movement has always recognized the importance of the farmer in the nation's economy, and has backed a wide range of farm programs, including soil conservation and measures to establish economic equity for the family farmer.

**Urban problems.** More than

two-thirds of all Americans now live in cities and suburban areas. The rapid expansion of these areas has created political, economic and social problems whose solution is far beyond the capacity of the cities themselves.

The AFL-CIO has called on Congress to enact a wide variety of programs to assist local communities. It lobbied vigorously for a federal Department of Urban Affairs to coordinate more efficiently the government's activities in this field.

THIS year the AFL-CIO worked for a system of loans and grants to local communities to provide or improve mass transportation systems as a means to prevent traffic congestion from throttling central city areas, and to offer a practical alternative to the constant increase in the use of automobiles for commuting.

**Juvenile delinquency.** A federal program to develop greater knowledge about factors causing juvenile delinquency and better services to prevent it—the Juvenile Delinquency Control Act—was supported by labor. The Domestic Peace Corps, intended to encourage citizens to take more active measures in meeting social problems in slum areas, in helping migratory farm workers and in providing basic services to patients in mental hospitals, is also backed by labor lobbyists.

**Foreign policy.** The labor movement has been actively interested in foreign affairs for

many years, and this interest has been reflected in support for related legislation.

The AFL-CIO and its predecessor organizations have supported this country's foreign aid programs from the beginning of the Marshall Plan. Each year labor has stood with the executive branch of the government in trying to forestall unwarranted and unwise cuts in foreign aid funds and programs.

The Peace Corps and the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency were established with labor backing on Capitol Hill, and authorization for the President to buy United Nations bonds to support the peace-keeping functions of the U.N. was passed with AFL-CIO help.

Most observers agree that the President's Trade Expansion Act of 1962, an essential element in our program of helping to strengthen and unite the free world, could not have been enacted without labor's active encouragement.

**General labor legislation.** Much of the legislation related to workers sought by the AFL-CIO has no direct bearing on labor-management relations, and often has little direct effect on union members.

For example, the minimum wage law amendment of 1961 had its greatest impact on non-union workers, those earning less than \$1.25 an hour or who were not then protected by the law at all. Bills to tighten child labor laws relating to farm labor, and to provide educational and health services for migrant laborers, apply to very few trade unionists.

Labor has been a leader in the effort to bring the Mexican farm labor program (Public Law 78) to an end, so that thousands of poor Americans

who are now deprived of jobs may gain employment and so that the working and living standards of those presently employed can be improved.

THE Youth Employment Opportunities Bill, designed to help young people just coming into the labor market, does not benefit union members directly, but is a matter of great concern to the AFL-CIO.

**Civil liberties.** Throughout their existence, unions have fought to preserve and expand the civil liberties of American citizens. Recent attempts to approve broad wire-tapping bills; to pass legislation giving Congressional approval to the discharge of employees of defense contractors on the testimony of secret informers, and to authorize compulsory testimony in federal courts were opposed by the AFL-CIO.

In short, the AFL-CIO program is a program for all the American people.

It is a program which makes the labor movement the "people's lobby" in Washington.



MILLION-DOLLAR gift from AFL-CIO members was presented to the Eleanor Roosevelt Cancer Foundation at the 1961 convention. AFL-CIO is now seeking to raise \$1 or an hour's pay from each member for the Eleanor Roosevelt Memorial Foundation.

MOSAIC MURAL in the lobby of AFL-CIO headquarters is a Washington tourist attraction.

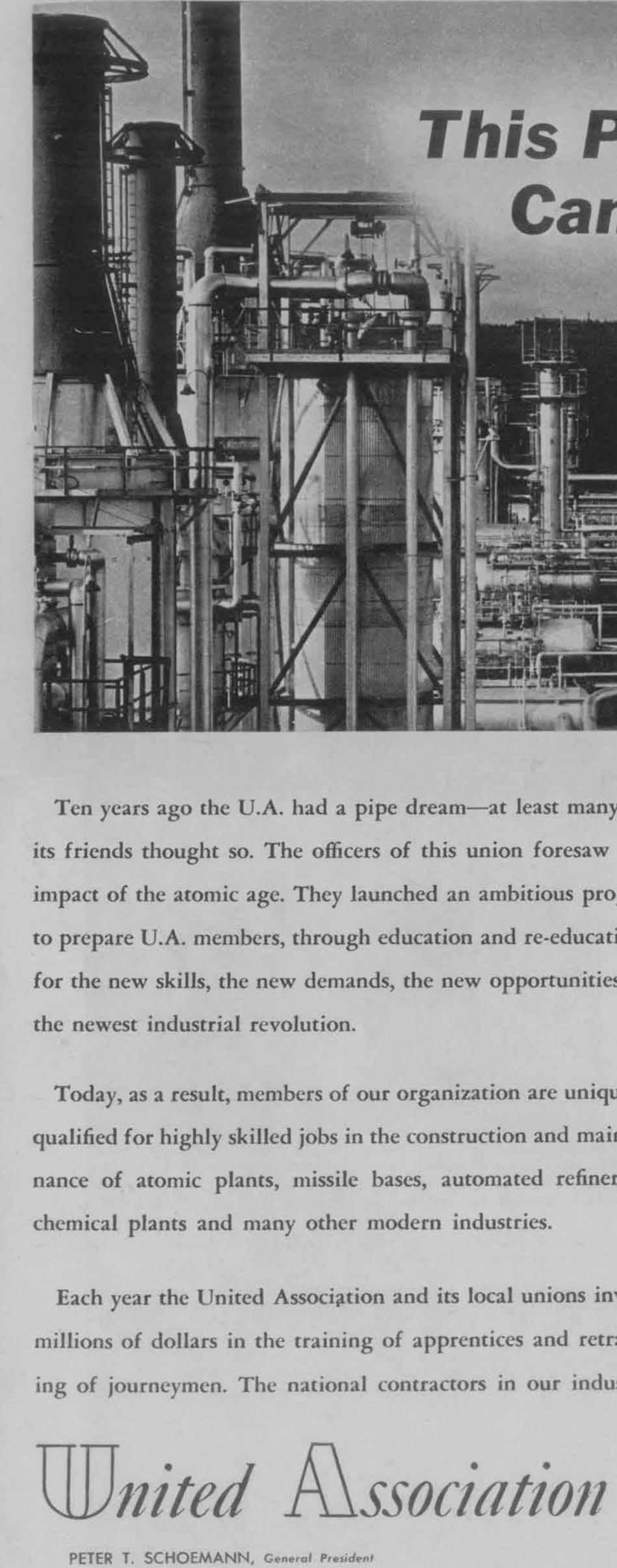


Many other "people's lobby" issues are covered in separate articles in this section.



YOUNG AND OLD, at home and abroad, are of concern to the AFL-CIO. At top, union Peace Corps volunteers—a bricklayer and a carpenter—rebuild a hostel in Pakistan. Below, retirees attend a labor-sponsored rally for old-age hospital care as part of the social security system.





# ***This Pipe Dream Came True***

Ten years ago the U.A. had a pipe dream—at least many of its friends thought so. The officers of this union foresaw the impact of the atomic age. They launched an ambitious project to prepare U.A. members, through education and re-education, for the new skills, the new demands, the new opportunities of the newest industrial revolution.

Today, as a result, members of our organization are uniquely qualified for highly skilled jobs in the construction and maintenance of atomic plants, missile bases, automated refineries, chemical plants and many other modern industries.

Each year the United Association and its local unions invest millions of dollars in the training of apprentices and retraining of journeymen. The national contractors in our industry

contribute another \$1 million a year to a trust fund established to help improve local programs.

This annual investment has paid big dividends:

- *Our members earn more and have better jobs.*
- *Our employers have reaped great benefits.*
- *The national defense program has been fortified.*

These achievements are unchallengeable. They give us a sense of pride in our work and in our continuing program.

The scope of the U.A. training program is explained on the page opposite. It represents, truly, one of the bright pages in trade union history, a pioneering advance by the organization that gave George Meany to the labor movement.

**United Association of Journeymen and Apprentices**

PETER T. SCHOEMANN, *General President*

WILLIAM C. O'NEILL, *General Secretary-Treasurer*

# K+ KH = Craftsmanship

You don't have to go to college to become a plumber or a pipefitter. But it helps. *It takes knowledge plus know-how to attain craftsmanship.*

Today the apprentice setting out to learn the trade cannot get all his training on the job. He has to go to school at night on his own time.

To begin with he must be a high school graduate. In night school he must learn basic science, higher mathematics (through trigonometry), thermodynamics, mechanical engineering and many other difficult subjects.

It's a 5-year course—and a tough one. But when it's over, you can throw away the old gag about the plumber forgetting to bring his tools. He can't. He's got them in his head.

To remain qualified, even the journeyman must keep up his studies, like the doctor, dentist and lawyer. He must go on learning. The U.A. educational program stresses re-training for journeymen.

Many of our people do go to college each year—specifically, Purdue University.

Since 1953, the U.A. has run an annual, week-long, national apprenticeship contest at Purdue. The participants are the winners of State and Provincial (Canadian) contests. Cash prizes and great glory go to the winners in the various competitions at Purdue.

During the same week, the U.A. brings to Purdue hundreds (this year the record total was 523) of instructors for courses in the latest teaching methods. These instructors come from U.A. schools or public vocational schools.

Usually employers are tough to convince. Not in this case. Our National Contractors were so impressed that they agreed to make systematic contributions at a rate that now comes to over \$1 million a year to the International Training Fund, a trust fund which makes grants for modernization of training programs to Local Joint Apprenticeship Committees that need assistance.

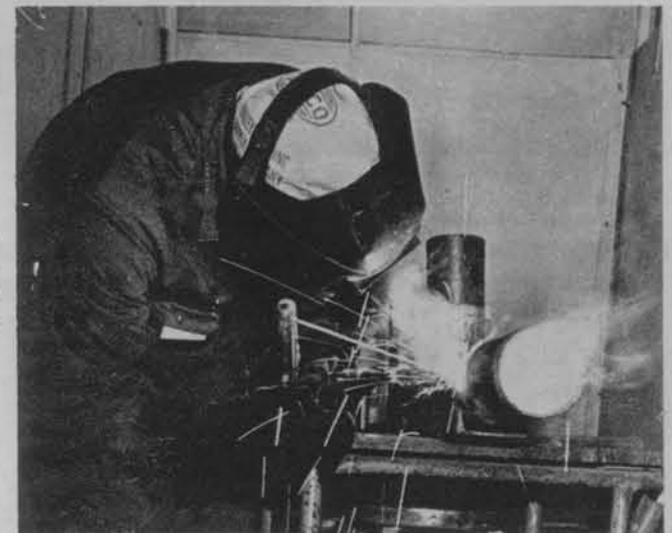
All Americans, both in the United States and Canada, have gained great benefits from these educational achievements, not merely United Association members. It takes Knowledge plus Know-how to make today's craftsman.



United Association instructors attending micro-wire welding demonstration.

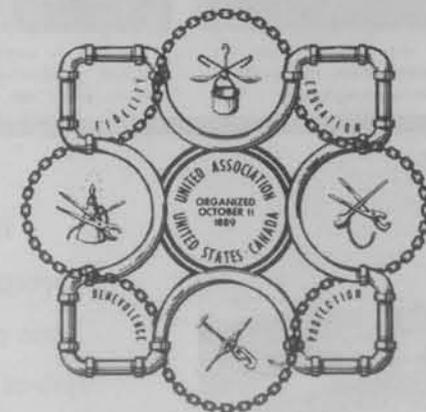


President Peter T. Schoemann, congratulating the three top winners of the 1963 International Apprenticeship Contest.



Welding project being performed by one of the Apprentice Contestants during the contest at Purdue University.

**Building  
America  
is our job**



of the **PLUMBING AND PIPE FITTING INDUSTRY**  
*of the United States and Canada*

DIAMOND  
1888 1963  
SHEET METAL WORKERS' INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION  
"The Fastest Growing Building Trades Union in America"

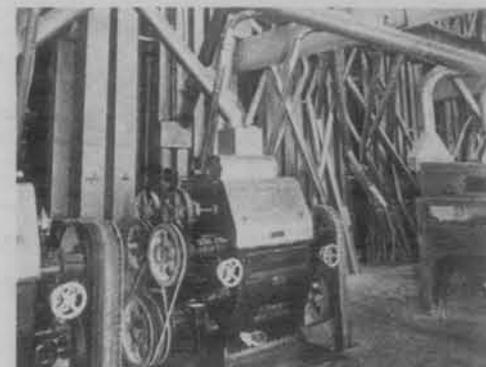
# PROGRESS and PROTECTION

through

# 75 YEARS

JUBILEE

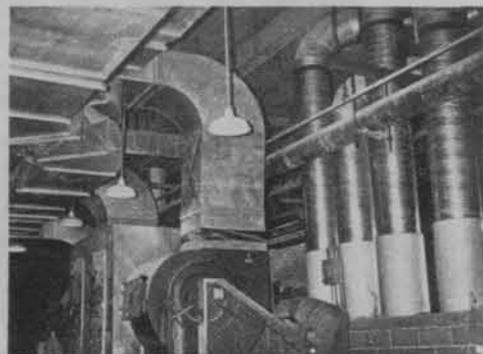
In 1888 a small band of bold men founded this union. Grover Cleveland was President. Samuel Gompers was fighting for the workers. Through its 75 years this union has fought for better wages, hours and conditions and has pioneered in health, welfare and pension plans. Today's rapid and healthy growth attests to the soundness of its policies.



No maze of piping is too difficult for I.A. craftsmen. They work in construction and fabrication of all gauges of metals.



Sheet metal roofing is a traditional skill and it keeps pace with building changes. I.A. men work in both metals and plastics.



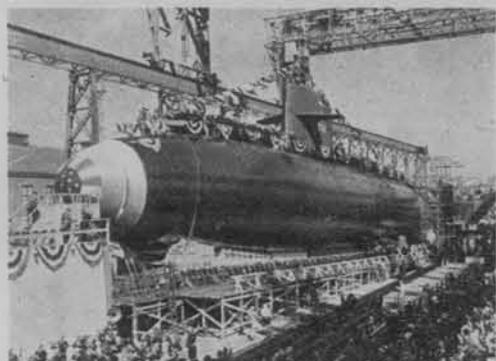
Air conditioning and ventilation occupy a large sector of I.A. work ranging from homes to the largest of industrial plants.



Sheet metal coppermiths bring a high degree of skill to an ancient art in piping, vats, coils, ship fittings and other work.



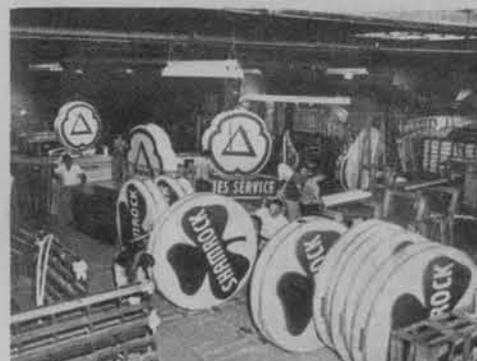
Sheet metal and pipe work are done on North American railroads. The I.A. works closely with other railroad brotherhoods.



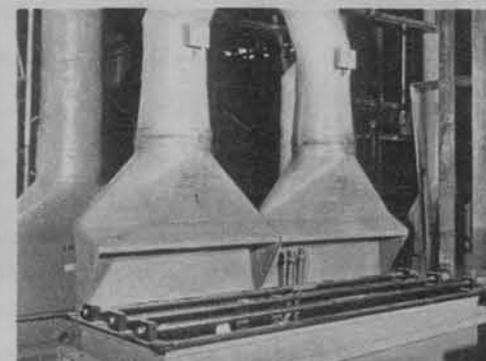
Navy Yard sheet metal workers handle a variety of skills in shipbuilding including air conditioning and ventilating of nuclear subs.



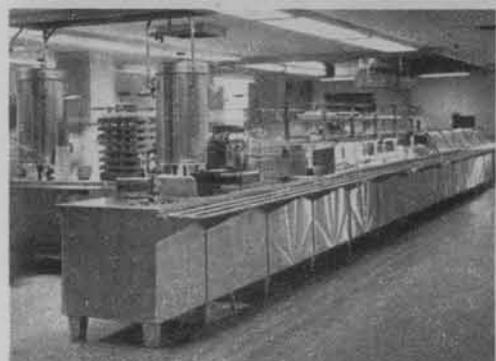
I.A. journeymen are able to adapt their many skills to changes in construction design as work on this geodesic dome demonstrates.



From roadside signs to Broadway spectaculars I.A. men provide the know-how to create successful results for business and industry.



I.A. members work in plastics manufacture and fabrication, making elements which defy the perils of chemical corrosion.



Kitchen and laboratory equipment made by I.A. sheet metal craftsmen show an extraordinary degree of skill in workmanship.



The I.A. is expanding rapidly in the area of metal production, making air controls and other units for American Industry.



Aggressive organization backed by firm and effective negotiations accounts for rapid and successful growth of the Sheet Metal Workers.



The I.A. works in joint committees with employers in apprentice training and in providing post-journeymen training.



The I.A., a pioneer in health, welfare and pension benefits, now plans a home for retired members near Lake Wales, Fla.

In his speech eight years ago to the newly merged AFL-CIO President George Meany urged members "to let all their actions be keyed to that simple, plain principle that a trade union has no other reason for existence than the job of carrying out and carrying forward the interests and welfare of its members." This has been our credo for 75 years and will remain our pledge in the years ahead. Our one concern is to serve our members as good unionists and good citizens.

*Edward Carbaugh*  
GENERAL PRESIDENT

*David S. Turner*  
GENERAL SECRETARY-TREASURER





THREE STAGES OF COPE include, above, checking registration records against union membership rolls; right, inducing the unregistered to qualify as voters; and far right, using telephone persuasion to get voters to the polls.

## We're with Aristotle

Who said democracy will work only 'when all persons alike share in the government to the utmost'

**A**RISTOTLE observed that democracy would flourish only "when all persons alike share in the government to the utmost," and America's founding fathers, 2,000 years later, hopefully envisioned a nation where citizens assumed responsibility in public affairs and kept a close weather eye on office-holders charged with their conduct. Today, in the United States, a handful of organizations devote their resources, energy and time to effectuate the founding fathers' vision.

One of these is COPE, the Committee on Political Education of the AFL-CIO. The AFL-CIO believes the horizons of a democracy expand only as the participation of its citizens increases. In this belief, COPE has aroused thousands of trade union members to take part in the public life of their community, state and nation through programs of political education and political action, whose goals are better

lawmakers, better laws, better government, a better life for all Americans.

COPE conducts year-round programs of political education for union members and, in election years, nationwide non-partisan registration and get-out-the-vote campaigns. It has helped millions of previously non-voting Americans—not just union members and their families, but citizens outside the trade union movement—first to register, then to exercise their franchise to vote.

For example, COPE's massive registration campaign in 1960 helped enrol record numbers of voters in New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Michigan, California, Illinois and other large industrial states. Its get-out-the-vote drive contributed to an all-time-high vote of more than 68 million in the Presidential election. In 1962, COPE's efforts stimulated a turnout of more than 50 million voters, highest ever for an off-year Congressional election.

**A**S AFL-CIO President George Meany has said, "We don't tell people how to vote; we just want as many people as possible to go to the polls. Whatever the decision may be, we want it to be a real majority decision—a majority of all the people."

COPE is not and does not aspire to be a political party, nor is it—or the AFL-CIO—wedded to either major party. The merger convention of the AFL-CIO in 1955 clearly set forth COPE's independent status when it resolved: "We reaffirm labor's traditional policy of avoiding entangling alliances with any other group and of supporting worthy candidates regardless of party affiliation. We will seek neither to capture any organization nor will we submit our identity to any group in any manner."

Since its inception, COPE has scrupulously honored these guidelines. COPE groups at the municipal, Congressional and state level have endorsed thousands of candidates from both major parties and worked actively for their election purely on the basis of the candidate's program and individual merit.

Endorsements are made within the

framework of by-laws which provide that a screening committee first interview all candidates for an office to determine their positions on issues of importance to working people, the community and nation. The screening committee then submits a recommendation of endorsement to a statewide COPE convention, and only with approval of the convention does an endorsement become official.

The sole endorsement made at the national level comes in Presidential contests. It is made by the General Board of the AFL-CIO, then implemented by national COPE and COPE bodies throughout the nation.

Many Americans, acquainted with COPE activities, are unaware that a long tradition of trade union participation in politics predates the present organization. In 1823, shoemakers in Philadelphia campaigned for free public education and helped pave the way for the public school system as we know it today. In the 1830's, workers' parties organized in major northeastern cities and offered slates of candidates for local offices. The Knights of Labor, after the Civil War, was a politically-oriented national labor federation. In 1881, the first convention of the newly-formed Federation of Organized Trades and Labor Unions, predecessor of the AFL, approved a 12-point program calling for passage of specific legislation, and it tacked on a 13th point urging union members to political action in support of candidates in basic agreement with that program.

Labor participated in Congressional and Presidential elections until 1924 when its organized political activities suffered, as did the trade union movement at large, from a concentrated attack by employer organizations. In the 1940's, however, organized, coordinated political activity returned to stay with the formation of the CIO Political Action Committee in 1943 and the AFL Labor's League for Political Education in 1947. When their parent bodies united in 1955, PAC and LLPE merged into COPE.

**W**ITHOUT the support and encouragement of members of the trade union community, COPE's programs

would be largely ineffectual. But it has widespread endorsement from the men and women of organized labor. In the final analysis they, through their degree of interest and participation, determine the extent and nature of COPE activities. Each year, union members in increasing numbers demonstrate their confidence in COPE's programs and purposes by devoting hundreds of thousands of volunteer man-hours to COPE activities in their communities.

The national COPE staff provides a staff of field representatives and state, city, Congressional district and local union COPE bodies with publications, informational literature on national political issues, leaflets, posters and research materials, including voting records on key issues of all United States Senators and Representatives.

**I**N each of the 50 states a state COPE committee functions under the leadership of state AFL-CIO officers and executive board members, and representatives from each city, county or Congressional district COPE body. The state group is neither a branch nor a subsidiary of national COPE, but it operates in cooperation with national COPE and in conformity with national COPE policies. State COPEs make endorsements of candidates for governor, U. S. Senator, U. S. Representative, state legislature and other officers elected to serve the state as a whole.

Congressional district and county and city COPE bodies are organized along lines similar to the state COPE. Most of the COPE groups have active women's activities departments.

Voting performance in the United States has improved steadily in recent years through the efforts of COPE and other organizations. Yet this country is far behind other free nations in the degree of citizen participation in elections.

In 1960, a Presidential year, approximately 107 million Americans were eligible to vote. Only 64 per cent voted, and this was a record high. In the 1962 Congressional elections, nearly 110 million Americans were eligible. Only 48 per cent voted. This, too, was a record.

Here are the percentages of eligible voters who cast ballots in other free nations in recent elections: Austria, 95; Italy, 93.8; Belgium, 90; Turkey, 87.7; West Germany, 86; Greece, 85; Israel, 82.8; France, 82.7; Denmark, 80.6; Norway, 79.3; England, 72.8; Japan, 72.8.

COPE's goal, through its expanding registration and voting campaigns, is to equal or surpass these figures.

Progress with . . .

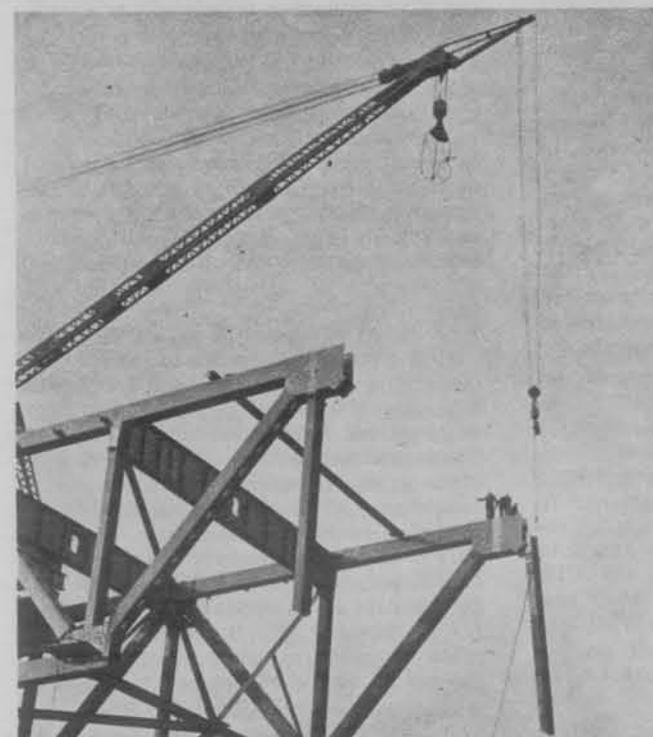
# THE IRONWORKER



Sidewalk superintendents watch the topping out of the Los Angeles Airport Theme Building.



Night work on a highway bridge to avoid day time traffic.



Ironworkers on a bridge.

As a sidewalk superintendent, you must have looked up and watched a man walking on a beam 15 stories in the air. That man is an iron worker—a man of varied skills and talents. As a youngster he, too, perhaps watched an iron worker aloft, and determined to be one.

To be an iron worker he not only must know how to walk the beam connecting structural members, but he also must have the know how to lift the steel from the ground, requiring an extensive knowledge of rigging.

He may be seen again at another time deep in an excavation working on the foundation for another skyscraper. Then, again, he may be seen at the site of a massive power plant placing the heavy equipment with delicate precision.

Since 1896, the year of the founding of the International Association of Bridge, Structural and Ornamental Iron Workers, progress has been the watch word.

The first goal sought by the iron workers was safe working conditions for a trade by nature a dangerous and hazardous one. The first International President saw many of his

friends killed in a fall while working on the construction of a bridge.

Iron workers take pride in their ability to get the job done fast, never hesitating to use all of the technological improvements placed at their disposal. It is a far cry from the old hand-operated stiff leg derrick to the modern crawler crane with its 225 foot boom.

The sound of the air-operated riveting gun is vanishing from the scene along with the picturesque rivet heater tossing hot rivets to the riveting gang. High-strength bolts and nuts and welding are used in present day construction methods.

The enclosing of a sky scraper is now calculated in days instead of weeks with the use of curtain-wall prefabricated panels.

A helicopter has been used by Iron Workers to lift a cross for placing on top of a church steeple, and in another instance a helicopter lifted the steel for the erection of its own landing pad on top of a downtown building.

Progress has been a way of life to the Iron Worker from the day of the hand driven rivet to today's power impact bolt.

## International Association of Bridge, Structural and Ornamental Iron Workers

John H. Lyons, Jr., *General President*

James R. Downes, *General Secretary*

James V. Cole, *General Treasurer*



Curtain wall construction.



The topping out flag flies on the last verticle member as Ironworkers look on.

# It Was Only Yesterday

**Social security, now 28 years old, has given new and deeper meaning to the concept of independence and dignity for the aged**

**A**MERICANS are closest to their government through the broad program of insured protection which currently pays \$15 billion yearly in social security benefits to 18½ million Americans and provides coverage to nine out of 10 workers. And many of those not covered by social security have the protection of the railroad retirement program or the civil service retirement system.

This blanket of protection over all of the United States in an important part of the "network of personal security" the AFL-CIO has been helping to build since social insurance began.

It was the signing of the Wagner-Lewis-Doughton bill into law in August 1935 that created, in the words of President Roosevelt, "a cornerstone in a structure which is being built but is by no means complete," and provided the labor movement, the Congress and the individual American an opportunity to develop a uniquely American method for coping with the problem of personal security.

**T**HE AFL-CIO regards social security, with its many improvements and broadened benefits of the last 28 years, as the basis of a three-part approach to security, which is: the public program (social security); private savings, home ownership and insurance; and the negotiated pension plan.

Pension plans have had the close attention of America's unions since 1949 when the

courts struck down employer contentions that such "fringe" benefits were not an appropriate subject for collective bargaining. Today, two out of three union members are protected by pension programs.

The labor movement looks upon old age and survivors insurance of American citizens and family units (which also aids younger citizens by underwriting the care of their elders) as a foundation upon which it can build, and has been building for 15 years.

**O**N this foundation, pension programs are developed in each industry to meet the needs of the workers themselves. In a highly dangerous industry the union puts stress on disability pensions; in an industry with a necessity for quick reflexes (airline pilots), the emphasis is on early retirement; and a high rate of worker mobility within some industries (i.e., maritime) has made necessary a multi-employer program.

All Americans do not have this three-fold protection. Many workers go through their entire careers without pension coverage, and others who work for several companies during their careers find their service was never long enough to accumulate pension benefits. This is a recurring problem needing special attention by the individual and by the unions, for rarely can an individual afford to undertake a retirement program of his own through a private insurance company. Almost every American, however, has

private life insurance in addition to any life insurance or death benefit his union may provide.

Social security, collective bargaining and pensions have made Americans security conscious to the point where there is now 6½ times more private life insurance in force than in 1935.

Organized labor is justifiably proud that the original social security law in 1935 sprang from recommendations of a 23-member advisory council which included five labor representatives, one of whom was William Green, the late president of the AFL.

The amendments of 1939, 1950, 1954 and 1956 had their beginnings in advisory committees where labor unions were strongly represented. Vital among these are coverage for survivors and disabled workers. Today, a widow with small children can receive as much as \$36,000 in benefits, and disability payments are being made to 750,000 Americans and their dependents.

**A**N American who was 37 years old when the social security program became law was worried about keeping his low-paying job or was among the 11 million jobless. He was more concerned with food and clothing for his young children than with the new law that would "put a number around your neck," as its opponents claimed. Today he's 65 and collecting social security.

It seems like only yesterday.

*Building Service Employees International Union is proud to be affiliated with the AFL-CIO and its 13,500,000 members who fight for a better America—for better wages, hours and conditions for workers—for a better life for all American families.*

**DAVID SULLIVAN**  
General President

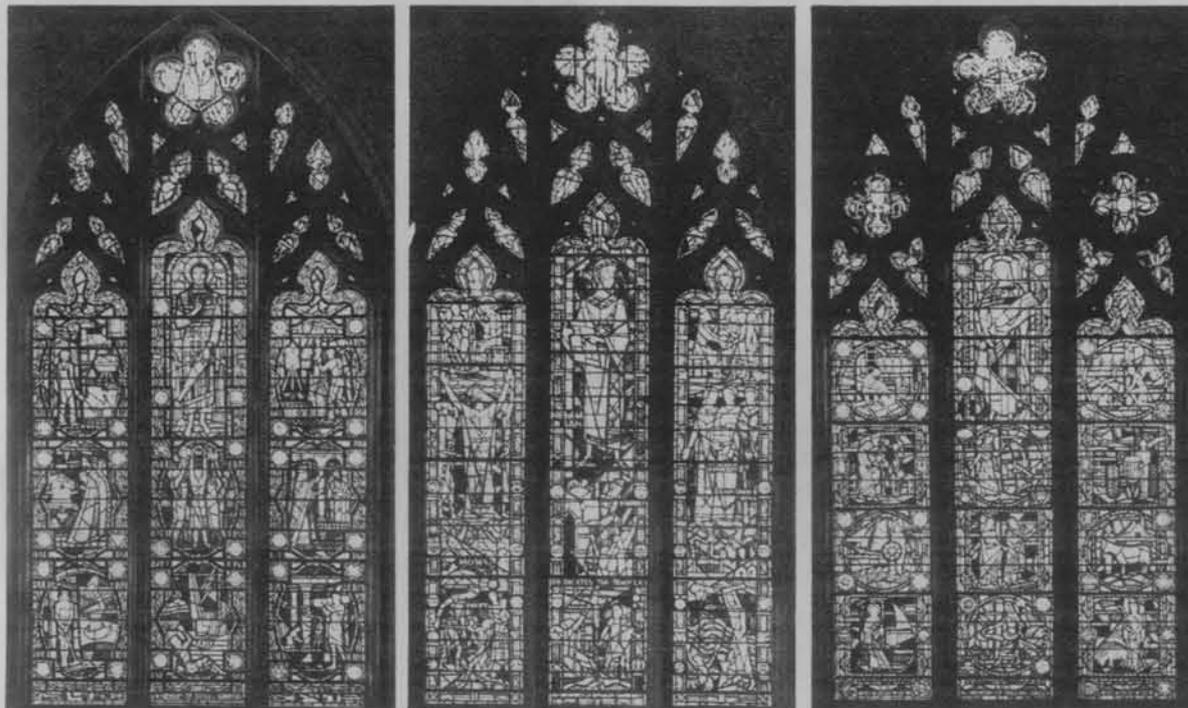
**GEORGE E. FAIRCHILD**  
Secretary-Treasurer

**EXECUTIVE BOARD**

Thomas J. Burke  
George Hardy

Charles C. Levey  
Albert G. Hearn

Thomas Shortman  
Henry Kruse



MEMORIAL WINDOWS in Washington Cathedral commemorate Samuel Gompers, Philip Murray and William Green, symbolizing the labor movement's deep and comprehensive spiritual ties.



# Smart Shoppers Buy Where They See the RCIA Star

Throughout the United States and Canada the union store card of the Retail Clerks International Association is recognized as the proud symbol of reliability, integrity, and the best in service from skilled salespeople.

Be sure to patronize only those establishments where the union store card of the Retail Clerks International Association, AFL-CIO is displayed. There RCIA members enjoy union wages and working conditions and offer you the fine service you have a right to expect.

THE PROPERTY OF AND ISSUED BY THE  
**Retail Clerks International Association**

**UNION STORE**

SEAL OF THE RETAIL CLERKS INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION  
AFL-CIO  
FOUNDED 1888

AFFILIATED WITH

**The ONLY Union  
Devoted Exclusively  
To the Welfare of  
Retail Store Employees**

**SPECIAL AWARD** from the United Community Campaigns of America recognized that union members contribute one-third of all community chest funds. The presentation was made at the 1961 AFL-CIO convention by Oliver G. Willits, left, national chairman of UCC. Joseph A. Beirne, chairman of AFL-CIO Community Services Activities, and AFL-CIO President George Meany accept the plaque.



## Community Services

(Continued from Page 14)

when they must remain bed-ridden for lack of money to purchase wheelchairs? This problem had the AFL-CIO Community Services representative in Detroit stumped for only a minute. There was no agency to provide for this need; therefore, a special appeal was necessary. Within a few weeks, thousands of dollars had been raised from unions and 39 wheelchairs purchased and put into use.

Sometimes the need is more subtle—the pitfalls of everyday living. A mid-western attorney once reacted to news that local factory workers had won a wage increase by remarking, "Give me a few days in town and I can take it all and more from them." What he had in mind was the ease with which the average person can be tripped up on the fine print of installment buying and consumer credit. Like the lawyer, unions are well aware that if more time could be spent with members on the use of money there would be more purchasing power in every dollar.

One effective device has been educational material prepared by the AFL-CIO. More than a million booklets on installment buying ("Consumer, Beware!"), consumer pitfalls ("It's What's Inside That Counts"), health

Strawberry gelatin dessert without strawberries, pineapple-filled cookies without pineapple, "almonette" cookies without almonds. Sounds crazy. But then there is the giant size that means small; the super-giant size that means regular and the king-size that means pretty big, all blazoned on packages designed to hide the true weight, contents and ingredients. This, unfortunately, is what faces the housewife every week in the Alice in Plunderland world of supermarkets of America.

In a 1961 policy statement, the AFL-CIO pledged its support to the cause of the consumer and called upon affiliates to "cooperate in efforts for consumer education activities and to lend their support to consumer interest programs in both state and federal governments." A bill now before the Senate sponsored by Sen. Philip A. Hart (D-Mich.) would prohibit unfair and deceptive packaging. Acting as the "union" for all consumers, the AFL-CIO has testified in favor of the bill and is giving it full support.

A novel health service is provided by the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union for nearly 50,000 members who live outside the areas covered by the union's 13 permanent health centers. Five "clinics on wheels" have been visiting plant gates from Alabama to New Hampshire—and Puerto Rico, too—since 1954. Each 33-foot mobile unit is staffed by a technician, a nurse, a case worker, a doctor and a driver. At least twice the ILGWU's rolling clinics have met public emergencies, helping out in a Pennsylvania flood and a Puerto Rican hurricane.

insurance costs, pre-retirement advice and scores of related subjects have been distributed through local community service organizations.

The broad spectrum of AFL-CIO interest in community affairs is illustrated by two of the seven Americans who have received the Murray-Green Award, labor's annual prize for service to mankind. In 1957 the award went to Dr. Jonas Salk for saving millions from crippling misery. In 1958 the same honor was paid to Bob Hope for bringing the blessing of laughter to so many who needed it—and most particularly to men in the armed forces, whose outposts he has visited, in war and peace, all over the world.

**T**HE labor movement is most aware that in all this there is a seeming paradox: Increasing protection is being written into union contracts in the form of health and welfare and pension programs, yet the needs within the community continue to increase. More older citizens, more leisure time and more community problems, coupled with the necessity for constant vigilance against misguided attacks on public assistance expenditures, require even greater participation by labor in community service affairs.

With organized community service activity now the rule rather than the exception in local unions, there is deeper meaning in the words of the resolution adopted at the AFL-CIO merger convention in 1955:

"The trade union member is first and foremost a citizen . . . What is good for the community is good for labor."

## What's a 'Good Union'?

**W**HAT is the definition of a "good union?" What are the basic qualities involved? There are a number of answers, depending on where the question is asked. Some management quarters still hold to the concept of the western pioneers, "the only good Indian is a dead Indian." To them the only good union is a dead union. But there are sounder standards.

Is it simply a matter of longevity? Can it be assumed that a union is good because it has lasted for generations?

Obviously, age is one indication that a union is serving a useful purpose, but it is not decisive. All established institutions—including unions—tend to be self-perpetuating. So age is not an adequate test.

Then there is the matter of size. Size is clearly not a way to measure quality. There are good small unions and good large unions in the AFL-CIO. And there is one very large union outside the AFL-CIO which cannot be so described.

**T**HEN there is the question of power, the power to win economic battles; the power to sustain strikes until they are won. There is no doubt that a good union needs to be a strong union. But here again, power alone is not enough. There are strong unions which are not good unions. Union power must be viewed in the context of "power for what?" And this makes it clear that strength, though necessary, does not necessarily result in a good union.

What about the exercise of power? What about strikes or the lack of strikes?

The newspaper editorial writers would have the public believe that a good union never gets involved in a strike. It is true that some good unions have long records of industrial peace. This is commendable—as long as the interests of the members have been protected and advanced during the periods of peace. But that is possible only when employers, too, sincerely want a fair agreement, one that will give workers what they properly should receive.

**S**OME good unions have a great many strikes. They are found in those industries where management as a whole has never become reconciled to collective bargaining; where its aim is not only to force the hardest economic bargain, but to hamper in every possible way the effective functioning of the union itself.

The strike record of a union is not a good measuring rod. And neither is the opinion of the newspapers.

Having ruled out these factors, what about the positive side? What qualities need to be present in a good union?

First and foremost, a good union must be able to protect its members and win a reasonable measure of economic justice for them.

Since power was ruled out as the ultimate test of a good union, this may seem contradictory. Actually, it is not. Unions need to be strong. But they need to be strong in terms of how well they can meet the needs and fulfill the proper aspirations of their members. A good union looks upon power as a means, not an end.

**S**ECOND, a good union must be run by the members and for the members. It must be a representative democracy of the highest type. There must be leaders—strong leaders, able and willing to stand firm for what they believe is right, and to fight for it against what might appear at times to be a popular position. But they must always be subject to the support or the rejection of the general membership of the union.

Third, a good union must be an honest union. This goes beyond finances; just being "money honest" is not enough. The integrity of a good union is all-inclusive. It extends to its relationships with employers; to what it says to its own members; to the formulation of its policies and the evaluation of its own performances.

Fourth and last, but by no means least, a union must look beyond its own horizons. It must recognize and fulfill its proper role in the life of the nation and the community in which it lives.

**A** GOOD union is concerned with politics and with legislation at every level. It lends its support to community projects and services, such as the United Fund and the American Red Cross. It is dedicated to the proposition that the ultimate objective of a union, in improving the lot of its members, is to improve and strengthen the nation as a whole.

For example, a union can very easily avoid a strike by agreeing to its own destruction at the hands of an intransigent employer. But avoiding a strike on those terms does not serve the national interest; it weakens it. Under those circumstances, the interests of the members are identical with the national interest, and a good union is aware of that fact.

The protection and betterment of the membership; unflagging adherence to democratic practices; total integrity; broad civic spirit. These are what make a good union.

—George Meany



*We have set our course toward these goals:*

● Improved conditions for maritime workers and workers in related on-shore industries. These are the people represented by the 29 trade unions affiliated with this Department. Our first duty is to them.

● A strong American merchant marine. We believe that revival of the American merchant

marine is essential to healthier, long-lasting national prosperity and also vital to effective national defense.

As free trade unionists, devoted to the ideals of American democracy, we are proud of the record of the AFL-CIO and proud to be an integral part of its organization.

**OUR AFFILIATES:** *The Commercial Telegraphers' Union • Seafarers International Union of North America • Distillery, Rectifying, Wine and Allied Workers' International Union • International Association of Fire Fighters • International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers • Sheet Metal Workers' International Association • Laundry and Dry Cleaning International Union • International Association of Bridge and Structural Iron Workers • Office Employees International Union • United Cement, Lime and Gypsum Workers International Union • International Longshoremen's Association • Upholsterers' International Union of North America • Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers International Union • International Union of Operating Engineers • United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America • International Brotherhood of Firemen and Oilers • International Chemical Workers Union • United Association of Journeymen and Apprentices of the Plumbing and Pipe Fitting Industry of the United States and Canada • National Marine Engineers Beneficial Association • Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America • International Hod Carriers', Building and Common Laborers' Union of America • Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America • American Federation of Grain Millers • American Federation of Technical Engineers • Retail Clerks International Association • International Association of Machinists and Aerospace Workers • International Brotherhood of Operative Potters • International Brotherhood of Boiler Makers, Iron Ship Builders, Blacksmiths, Forgers and Helpers • International Leather Goods, Plastics and Novelty Workers Union*

# MARITIME TRADES DEPARTMENT

Paul Hall  
President

Jack McDonald  
Vice President

Peter M. McGavin  
Executive Secretary-Treasurer

# When Congress Takes Up Labor

**C**ONGRESS has not found it easy to write laws governing labor relations. Since the Wagner Act of 1935, which guaranteed workers the right to organize unions and bargain collectively with employers, there have been only two major revisions of this basic labor law. Each came after a 12-year interval.

The first of these revisions was the Taft-Hartley Act, which heavily shifted the labor-management power balance toward the side of management. In brief, Taft-Hartley outlawed the closed shop; opened the way for state abolition of all other forms of union security; opened the door to direct interference by employers with the efforts of their workers to organize; subjected decisions of the National Labor Relations Board to exhaustive court review, and in general transformed the administration of labor-management law into a matter of legalisms rather than equity.

The second major revision was the Landrum-Griffin Act, inaccurately titled the Labor and Management Disclosure Act of 1959. Landrum-Griffin further shifted the power balance toward management, and in addition, dealt extensively with the internal affairs of labor organizations.

The bill which became the

## Laws don't turn out the way they were intended—or do they?

Landrum-Griffin Act started out as a measure to require detailed reporting on union finances and procedures and to regulate certain key union activities, such as elections. Much of the pressure for this legislation resulted from disclosures by Senator McClellan's rackets committee about the conduct of three national unions which the AFL-CIO had expelled. Nevertheless, the AFL-CIO endorsed the idea of a statute aimed at curbing the specific abuses that had been exposed in a few unions.

**W**HAT happened as the bill proceeded through Congress demonstrates why it is so hard to enact sound labor legislation. The original proposal became the pawn of anti-union groups whose real objective, as one academic expert expressed it, was to swell the public outcry for reform in order to win support for a law "which would strengthen the bargaining position of management in relation to labor organizations."

These groups succeeded. Using arguments which one labor scholar labeled emotional and "patently misleading," they

convinced a majority of Congress to tack on sweeping provisions for regulating a union's day-to-day business and for limiting its traditional economic weapons in labor disputes. The need for such broad statutory regulation of internal union affairs had never been established, and there was an almost total absence of Congressional study on the relative strength of unions and employers.

These defects have been reflected in the four years of experience under the act. With more than 17 million union members in the United States, suits for the protection of individual rights have been reported at the rate of only about two dozen a year. Landrum-Griffin was hardly necessary even in these few cases. State courts have traditionally safeguarded individual rights by treating union constitutions as contracts enforceable by a member.

It is the same story with respect to Landrum-Griffin's bonding requirements. The act ordained the bonding of union officers to cover "faithful discharge of duties." Since this was a new and undefined area,

bonding companies established a stiff rate. But a 1961 poll of AFL-CIO affiliates revealed that two years after the passage of the law there had not been a single known claim under this provision. The bonding surcharge has been cut in half and is likely to be cut further.

**M**ANY of the membership rights spelled out in Landrum-Griffin seem fair enough on their face. Members, for example, are guaranteed the right of free speech and the right not to be disciplined improperly. Yet the vague way in which some of these protections are worded can invite unfounded litigation and produce unreasonable interpretations.

More important even than Landrum-Griffin's regulation of internal union affairs is its effect on relations between labor and management. Tighter restrictions have been placed on picketing and on a union's right to enlist the aid of neutral employers and employees in a labor dispute.

A labor relations expert has said, "The boycott is a weapon and, as a weapon, is in itself neutral." In enacting Landrum-Griffin, Congress ignored this lesson.

When the Wagner Act was passed in 1935, there were 3½ million union members in the United States. In the next 12 years membership more than quadrupled, to nearly 15 million. But in the dozen years between Taft-Hartley and Landrum-Griffin, unions added only another two million members.

Many factors may have contributed to this result. But at least one study has concluded, on the basis of historical patterns in this country and recent organizational trends in Canada, that "The major barrier to the growth of union membership in the United States has been the Taft-Hartley Law with its progenies, the 'right-to-work' laws."

**S**O-CALLED "right-to-work" laws are the principal means by which the states can regulate the nation's labor relations. These laws, which are authorized by the Taft-Hartley Act, forbid a union and employer to agree to a union shop.

"Right-to-work" laws actually strike at the heart of the concept of collective action upon which the labor movement is based. These statutes make a sham appeal to personal liberty in a context where the only genuine freedom of choice comes through organizational activity.

When they have been given a vote on the matter — and millions had the opportunity in government-conducted elections in 1947-49—over 95 per cent of the workers themselves have favored a requirement of union membership as a condition of employment.

The shoemaker's child goes barefoot no longer; now, his father's union wages buy him shoes

The old saying about the shoemaker's child isn't valid any more. It began to change in 1895 when skilled shoemakers, led by John Tobin, formed the Boot and Shoe Workers' Union to improve their conditions. A charter from the new A. F. of L., and the new idea of labor as consumer as well as production tool, helped.

But the story of better and more American shoes began much earlier, in the Boston of 1648. Here, 28 years after that first landing at Plymouth, the Massachusetts Bay Colony granted a charter to the "Companie of Boston Shoemakers."

These craftsmen, said the Great and General Court, might ask decent prices, set hours of labor for themselves, and control the trade so that shoemakers got fair return on their workmanship; customers, good value for their wampum. No money was coined until 1652.

With some lapses, but in clear succession through the Philadelphia Cordwainers, and the Knights of St. Crispin, the original Companie of Boston Shoemakers still marks American shoemaking through its lineal descendant, the Boot and Shoe Workers' Union, AFL-CIO.

Like other unions, this one grew into a Guild-like association through the skills and common needs of its men and women members. Intransigent management, lacking social orientation in the early days, helped shape this growth. Age has matured both sides. Wages are set today by bargaining, not by either side's directive. But the union's function still is to protect its members from economic and social injury. It provides balance to management preoccupation with profit, which sometimes excludes other human factors.

Since its rebirth in 1895, the Boot and Shoe Workers' Union has worked toward gaining the social changes won by the A. F. of L., later by the combined AFL-CIO. Elimination of child labor, removal of prison-made goods from commerce and the prevention of prisoner exploitation by some shoe manufacturers, were early union victories. Arbitration, the 40 hour week, paid vacations, sick pay, insurance, health and welfare plans, pensions, Social Security, and Unemployment Compensation followed. The democracy and dignity of grievance procedure were union-won. And the steadily improving productivity, aided by new machines and better management, which produced more than 600 million pairs of shoes in each of the last three years is a result of union stimulation.

Through their union they have so improved their wage and working conditions that today, shoeworkers own more homes, drive more cars, send more children to college, buy more shoes and other goods, and enjoy a leisure once denied them.

This union's 68 years of unbroken existence is testimony to the wisdom of those shoemakers of Boston, in 1648, who began the battle for economic and social justice for workers. It honors those others who rekindled the flame from the old ashes.

We, who join hands in this union to make the shoes of the world's most productive shoe industry, reaffirm the principles on which our union was reborn: justice to the worker; success to the manufacturer; profit to the retailer; peace to the community. Successors to the pioneers of 1648 and 1895, we continue to press for balance and progress in 1963.

**BOOT AND SHOE WORKERS' UNION, AFL-CIO**

246 Summer Street, Boston, Massachusetts John E. Mara, President

FREE  
TRADE  
UNIONISM  
IS  
THE  
HIGH  
NOTE  
OF  
WORLD  
HARMONY

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF MUSICIANS  
OF THE UNITED STATES AND CANADA  
AFL-CIO  
HERMAN KENIN, President

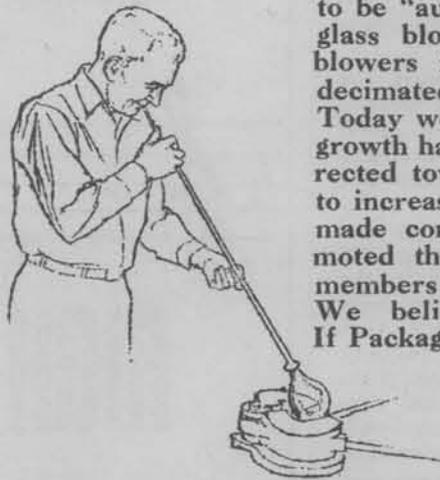
# 1846 - the first labor-management agreement in the glass container industry

# 1902 - industry-wide bargaining... 61 years of good labor-management relations

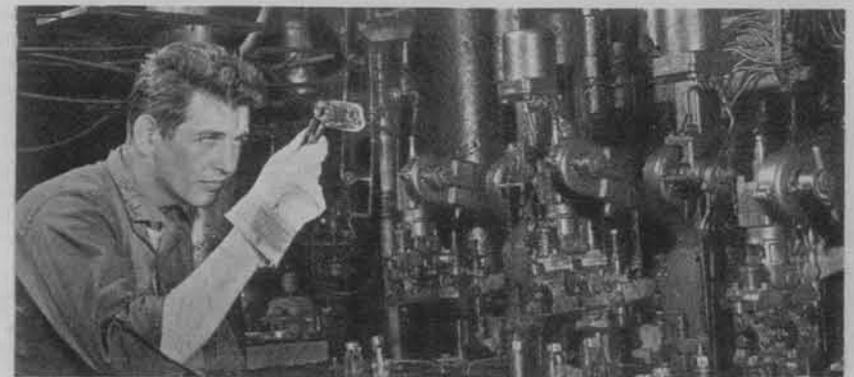
117 years ago, on June 22, 1846, the first collective bargaining agreement was negotiated with firms in the glass container industry. It was the start of a remarkable era of union-management bargaining that has continued through the years. In 1902, the first industry-wide agreement was negotiated. Since that time, there have been no nationwide strikes in the industry. In 1958, the Glass Bottle Blowers Association initiated a series of periodic Labor-Management Committee meetings to discuss mutual problems which affect its 62,500 members and the entire industry. Healthy labor-management relations developed over a period of years have brought mutual respect on each side of the bargaining table. Both labor and management have benefited.



## Glass Container Production and Union Membership at Record Highs



The Glass Blowers were one of the first unions to be "automated" when the high-speed automatic glass blowing machine replaced the hand glass blowers in the 1920's. Membership was further decimated by Prohibition to less than 2,000 in 1927. Today we have grown to over 62,000. Part of this growth has been aided by our union's campaign directed toward 60 million people in union families to increase sales of beverages and foods in union-made containers. For many years we have promoted the advantages of products made by our members through the labor press and other media. We believe that "It's Always First Class—If Packaged In Glass."



### FIBERGLASS—modern miracle



From fiberglass now comes a host of new products, light in weight, stronger than steel, rust-proof, flame-proof. Members of our union make the fiberglass from which come motorboats, auto bodies, rocket shields, fishing rods, draperies, insulation and other wonders of modern science.

### PLASTIC CONTAINERS



With new developments in plastics, our members now make containers with plastic wedded to glass to make stronger bottles and jars as well as lightweight all-plastic bottles which hold detergents and other products. See them in colorful profusion at your favorite store.

*Militant trade unionism combined with responsible negotiation have enabled us to secure wage advances and other benefits which were thought impossible a few short years ago. The pensions, insurance, vacations and union security which we have achieved help give our members dignity, peace of mind and freedom from fear. We are proud to be part of an industry where this has been accomplished at the negotiating table. There are many goals still to be achieved, but we face the future with confidence.*

*Lee W. Minton*



International President • Vice-President, AFL-CIO

## GLASS BOTTLE BLOWERS ASSOCIATION, AFL-CIO

226 So. 16th St.  
Philadelphia, Pa.

# The Second Plank

Education has had high priority among unions since their earliest years

**T**HE 106 men had gathered in Pittsburgh to form a federation of labor from the many scattered unions throughout growing America, and in the meeting hall that November day in 1881, they worked to spell out a 12-point platform. Their first plank reiterated the right to form a union; their second demanded more adequate education of America's children.

"If the state has the right to exact certain compliance with its demands, then it is also the right of the state to educate its people to the proper understanding of such demands," the plank read.

This hunger by the labor movement for educational betterment has always been as strong as the desire for better wages and conditions because one is interwoven with the other.

From the first groping efforts in 1881 aimed at laws to force the children out of the mills and into the schools, the labor movement has worked to raise the goals of all Americans from acceptance of the mere rudiments of learning to a demand for the opportunity to achieve the full flowering of the mind.

America's schools are much better off today as a result of this diligent support by unions, but as America grows, so grows its educational need.

**F**IRST there was school construction. Here AFL-CIO efforts have been of major importance in the building of nearly 500,000 new classrooms since 1955, the highest rate of school construction in history. Yet because of the growing school population, this record number of new classrooms is far short of the need. Half the states had a greater classroom shortage in 1962 than in 1959.

A recent study prepared for the Office of Civilian Defense showed that nearly 11 million pupils are in classes with 30 or more students in a room. To reduce these classes to 25 elementary pupils and 20 secondary pupils—a standard widely accepted by educators—the nation needs 271,000 new classrooms.

The survey also revealed that 338,000 classrooms now in use are either firetraps or overage.

And for every classroom there must be a well-trained, adequately paid teacher. At each convention since 1955 the AFL-CIO has called for teachers' salaries adequate for the proper support of the teacher and his family. Here, too, the efforts of labor and other groups have brought improvements. The average teacher's salary has risen approximately \$1,700 since 1955. Yet for all of this, teachers are still among the lowest paid professional workers. A recent study by the National Science Foundation in-

dicates that 38.8 per cent of our college graduates earn at least \$5,000 a year within two years of graduation, but among educational majors, only 17.4 per cent reach this income level in the same period. More than one-fifth of the classroom teachers in the United States earn less than \$4,500 a year. It is little wonder that one teacher in every seven leaves his job at the end of each school year.

**I**T has been the position of the AFL-CIO since its founding that schools in a democratic society should themselves be democratic institutions which give recognition to the need for a teacher's personal and professional security through a strong union. The most dramatic accomplishment in this regard has been recognition of the United Federation of Teachers, AFL-CIO, as the collective bargaining representative for New York City teachers. But in most school systems, collective bargaining for teachers remains an urgent but un-fulfilled need.

There is much other unfinished business in education. The AFL-CIO has maintained that adequate financial support for schools requires a coordinated effort by local, state and federal governments, with substantial federal aid the key ingredient. Unfortunately there has been little progress in this direction. The National Defense Education Act has boosted teaching of science, mathematics and foreign languages in many schools, and aid to federally-impacted areas has proven popular even among members of Congress who oppose federal aid in general. This is the extent of federal aid to elementary and secondary schools. All federal education programs combined amount to only 3.7 per cent of the budget for elementary and secondary schools in the United States.

**S**TATE and local efforts to improve schools, remarkable though they have been, have not been able to catch up to the real need. Thousands of communities and many states simply do not have the financial resources to develop a school system to equip their children to meet the needs of today's society.

Federal legislation to overcome some of these problems has been embroiled in racial and religious issues, but the real opposition comes from those who want the local property tax rather than an income tax to carry the burden of school support. Meanwhile, crowded classrooms, underpaid teachers, ill-equipped facilities take a staggering toll of our greatest natural resource.

But these are not the only ways in which youth is wasted. The AFL-CIO merger conven-



UNCROWDED, WELL-EQUIPPED classrooms like this are too few.

tion resolved that "no federal funds should be granted to any state which takes action in defiance of the decision of the Supreme Court" on school desegregation, but only recently has the government moved in this direction.

**V**OCATIONAL education, which for generations was a special concern of organized labor, has failed conspicuously to keep up with the needs of society. The AFL-CIO has long sought a strengthened system of vocational education and a complete re-examination of the program. This view was more than justified by last year's report of the President's Panel of Consultants on Vocational Education. The panel discovered that vocational education has changed little since the beginning of the century. Inadequately financed and too rigidly structured, vocational courses were training young people for non-existent jobs and doing little to develop the skills needed in modern industry.

Closely related is the problem of retraining adult workers whose skills have become obsolete. The 1957 AFL-CIO convention called for federal aid to retrain workers in areas of chronic unemployment. In 1962, with the active support of the AFL-CIO, Congress passed the Manpower Development and Training Act which provides grants to the states for retraining the unemployed and for providing a living allowance during their training.

Education to the labor movement is not all secondary and trade schools. Unions are deeply interested in higher education. The AFL-CIO has supported federal aid to institutions of higher education and it has supported scholarships and loans to students. But organized labor increasingly has come to the view that higher education should be the right of every qualified young person, at least through junior college. To this end the AFL-CIO sponsored a nationwide conference on Equal Opportunity for Higher Educa-

tion in January 1962, with participation by union leaders, educators and government officials.

In higher education, as at other levels, federal action has been laggard. The National Defense Education Act has provided helpful loans and a few other federal programs have given spotty assistance, but the massive federal aid necessary to help colleges expand while keeping the tuition costs within the means of low-income families is still to be won.

Unions have an extensive education program of their own. Almost every labor group has an education director, often a professional teacher. Classes may be held in the evenings in the union hall or for a week or more on a university campus. Subjects range from collective bargaining to international affairs—a scope designed to produce better union members, better union leaders and most of all, better citizens.



## A HERITAGE OF SERVICE

The International Brotherhood of Firemen and Oilers has been serving its members across the nation and in Canada since 1898. Through pursuit of organized labor's goals the Firemen and Oilers has brought a better way of life to its members in a great number of industries in the vast industrial complex it serves. We are proud to serve the cause of responsible unionism along with our sister unions in the AFL-CIO. With this tradition and heritage we look to a still brighter future for those we are privileged to represent.

INTERNATIONAL BROTHERHOOD OF FIREMEN AND OILERS  
AFL-CIO

# Arbitration, Automation, Retraining Embraced Years Ago By International Pressmen and Assistants' Union

By FRED ROBLIN

**A**LTHOUGH relatively small as labor unions are judged and little known outside its own industry because of its long record of peaceful existence with employers, the International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union (IPP&AU) has been a leader for three-quarters of a century in the adoption of economic, social, humanitarian and technological programs designed for the benefit of its members and the graphic arts industry.

Today, in discussions of industrial workers and labor unions there are three primary areas of concern: Some system to replace costly strikes in the settlement of labor-management differences, the effect of automation on employment, and the conjunctive problem of retraining employees whose skill and energy are replaced by machines. In each of these areas, and others, the Printing Pressmen's Union appears almost prophetic, not only in its adoption of founding principles and philosophies but in the subsequent establishment of needed institutions, programs and agreements long before the printing industry or the government took decisive action.

More than 60 years ago, the International Labor Union, whose members print this great newspaper and virtually every metropolitan newspaper in the United States and Canada, adopted arbitration as the preferred method of settling disputes with management. As a matter of fact, the International Arbitration Agreement between the IPP&AU and the American Newspaper Publishers Association is the oldest continuous agreement of its kind in American industry. As recently as 1962 the Printing Pressmen voted five-year renewal of this agreement between their International Union and the ANPA, as well as the Union Employers Section of Printing Industry of America, an association representing

Pressmen's Home is not an institution for the aged or infirm as the name might indicate, but is the headquarters of the International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union. Established in 1910 on a 3000-acre tract in eastern Tennessee, the community has its own post office; the largest school of its kind in the world, an administration building housing union executive offices, a commercial hotel, a 6-story apartment building, a memorial chapel, and 50 residences.



Anthony J. DeAndrade is the tenth labor statesman to serve as president of the International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union, taking office May 6, 1959.

commercial printers. It provides that after negotiation, mediation and conciliation fail to decide contractual provisions, then final decisions—binding upon both parties—shall be made by experienced impartial arbitrators. It also provides that during the life of a contract, union men will not strike, nor will the employer lock them out of their jobs.

The men who print most all the magazines, books, stationery, business forms, Bibles and billboards in this country point with pride to the fact that they accepted without protest the attachment of automatic paper feeding devices on their presses as early as 1920, even though each machine thus "automated" eliminated the need for hand feeders. From that day forth every IPP&AU president has exhorted his membership to accept and master new machines and processes thus to continue to be productive members of the tripartite team of investor, management and labor.

The need to retrain workers, displaced by a changing technology is not something new for the IPP&AU whose members not only print newspapers and magazines but paper napkins, metal cans, cardboard boxes, and the myriad of packaged items on today's market shelves. This organization has been retraining its members for the past 52 years and doing it in a

million dollar school financed entirely by union funds.

When you read your favorite newspaper, or purchase goods in printed packages, or conduct business on printed forms the odds are heavy that the printing was done by skilled workers who proudly belong to a labor union that has made very definite contributions to the graphic arts industry for 74 years; a union more often the victim of a labor strike than the cause of one; a labor union that has by peaceful yet forceful negotiations obtained for its members a standard of wages, hours, working conditions and fringe benefits among the highest in American industry; a labor union whose members receive, in return for their dues, every humanitarian and economic service possible of achievement by united effort for collective gain.

What is now the International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union of North America was founded on October 8, 1889 when delegates from 13 local unions, representing some 500 printing pressmen, met at 98 Forsyth Street in New York City for the purpose of forming a parent organization to better protect their interests and advance their status. The last three words of their chosen name were in recognition of the Canadian pressmen who were active in the organization from its beginning.

Today, the IPP&AU has 115,000 members in 750 local unions and stands as the largest international printing trades union in the world. Its growth has been consistent with the expansion of the industry and the extension of organized labor throughout the United States and Canada.

Since the beginning, the Union has had within its membership the men who operate all kinds of presses, printing by all processes and producing printed items of every nature. Members are running all sizes of presses, ranging from the small office duplicators to mammoth printing machines capable of producing 36,000,000 magazine pages a day. They claim almost equal craftsmanship with the artist who creates the painting for a few, for they can duplicate his work in printing ink for the benefit of the many.

Also within the framework of the Printing Pressmen's Union are thousands of paper handlers, ink and roller makers, and the industrially-organized workers in plants producing printed specialty items and paper converted products.

Passage of the Taft-Hartley and the Landrum-Griffin Acts guaranteeing democracy in labor unions occasioned no changes in Pressmen's laws which for 50 years have provided for election of officers by

popular referendum. Further insuring grass roots government are sections of the IPP&AU Constitution whereby convention delegates from every local union (including those in Hawaii and Alaska) are paid the equivalent of round-trip railroad fare plus \$25 per day for attendance at the week-long quadrennial sessions. Thus, even the smallest unions of 10 members have a very real voice in the operation of their parent body.

In appraising the Printing Pressmen's Union, it is difficult to determine whether its contribution has been greater to its membership or to the printing industry. The labor statesmanship of its leaders has always been imbued with an understanding of management's problems, a background of technical experience and a cognizance that the progress of the union and the welfare of its members can only improve as the industry itself produces greater resources to share.

At the turn of the century,

it was the start of a vast educational program that today offers a half dozen courses of practical training, 107 different correspondence course lessons, a recognized technical journal, and an in-plant technical and training service, the latter available without cost to management or member.

In recent years, the American Newspaper Publishers Association has operated a research institute to find better ways of obtaining higher quality at lower cost in newspaper printing. But as early as 1922 the Printing Pressmen's Union led the way by establishing a Newspaper Engineering Service and operated it without cost to the publishers until such time as they shouldered the responsibility themselves.

The Bureau of Apprenticeship and Training of the U. S. Department of Labor is this year celebrating its 25th anniversary. But 13 years before the establishment of that Bureau, the Printing Pressmen's

Printing pressmen built this \$1,000,000 Technical Trade School to provide craft training for their members. In full operation the year around, it draws craftsmen from all corners of the United States and Canada.



medical statisticians reported printing pressmen had the fifth highest rate of tuberculosis of any of the craft groups. That verdict prompted the union to build a tuberculosis sanatorium and pay the full cost of care and treatment for its afflicted members until medical science and tax supported sanatoria relieved the union of that obligation.

Many early-day craftsmen jealously guarded as secrets the arts and sciences of their trade, but the founding fathers of the Printing Pressmen's Union had the courage to see that if they were to expect consideration from management in the form of improved working conditions for their members, then the union had an obligation to supply management with skilled workers. Likewise with concern for their members, the early leaders of the union realized that the skilled man could command a higher income and greater job security than the unskilled. Therefore they became the pioneers in craft training and in 1911 they announced with considerable pride, that the new Technical Trade School was open for training of members in presswork. The beginning was modest—a few presses, a few instructors—but

Union started a comprehensive program of craft training for its apprentices in which the employer is actively involved.

Federal social security and unemployment offices were born in the 1930 depression years, but farsighted leaders in the Printing Pressmen's Union had established a retirement program for its members in 1924, founded a mortuary benefit in 1896 and started an employment department for its members in 1891.

And so the records reveal that the International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union has conducted itself in the highest tradition as a partner in the printing industry; has been a leader in establishing services and benefits of merit and value to its membership; and has unreservedly accepted those things designed for high production of satisfactory quality printing at lowest cost in the vast and complex endeavors of the graphic arts industry.

Thus the International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union of North America now proudly approaches its 75th anniversary under the banner of its motto: Confide Recte Agens—"Have confidence when acting rightly."





EARNED RETIREMENT is a bitter joke when pensioners (and often their children) must seek public relief to meet the costs of illness. A social security insurance plan would prevent this.

## It's Not the Cure

What's worse than the disease, for retirees, is paying the high cost of recovery

IT IS only in the make-believe world of Dr. Kildare and Ben Casey that the drama ends when the medical crisis is overcome and the patient is on the road to recovery. In real life, especially if the patient is elderly, an even-greater crisis lies ahead—that of paying a crushing hospital bill.

And far from make-believe, the odds are heavy that the average retired person in America will suffer at least one costly illness in his later years that can sweep away his every possession and burden him and his children with heavy debt. Unfortunately, there is almost no way within the means of most older persons to protect themselves against this disaster. The staggering cost of adequate private medical care forces most elderly people to rely upon faith, hope and charity. For contrary to popular belief most older people are not "well fixed." The median income for couples over 65 is \$45 a week.

IT is against this background that the AFL-CIO has given full support to hospital insurance for the aged through social security, just as it supported the original concept of social security and the many improvements made in that program over the years. The labor movement believes this is the only sound, equitable way to provide for the health care needs of retired citizens without pauperizing them.

The Congressional fight for such a program began in 1957 with the introduction of a bill by then-Rep. Aime J. Forand (D-R.I.). The American Medical Association promptly dubbed it "socialized medicine"; most private insurance companies simply cried "socialism."

However, two sets of facts serve to counter these charges, and form the basis for the AFL-CIO's position.

The first set of facts relates to the needs of the 65-plus Americans:

1. They are a low-income group.
2. They need medical care more often, and for longer periods, than younger people.
3. Fewer of them have health insurance, and what they have is less adequate, than is the case for the rest of the population.
4. Private insurance programs cannot meet the need, for sound actuarial reasons. Inexpensive policies pay benefits so meager as to be meaningless; good policies cost more than most retired persons can afford.

The second set of facts has to do with the proposed remedy, which (since Congressman Forand's retirement) is now known as the King-Anderson bill:

1. It provides hospital, outpatient and nursing home care for persons eligible for social security old-age benefits, and for others in the same age group who do not have social security coverage.

2. It has nothing whatever to do with the "doctor-patient relationship" since it provides no coverage for medical or surgical needs. Free choice by each patient of the hospital or other facilities he needs is written into the bill.

3. The bill would be financed by a small increase in social security taxes—about 25 cents a week for the average worker. By paying this tax over his working years, he would be entitled to benefits when his needs are apt to be greatest and his income lowest.

THANKS in part to energetic AFL-CIO efforts, using undeniable government statistics, even opponents of the King-Anderson bill now generally acknowledge the needs of the aged. One result was the Kerr-Mills Act of 1960, which provided a state-federal program of medical assistance for the elderly indigent. This is essentially a public relief measure; in order to qualify (and each state sets its own standards), an applicant must prove he has already exhausted his own resources, and often those of his children and other relatives.

The AFL-CIO does not believe such standards are consistent with the concept of earned retirement.

Aside from this basic shortcoming, Kerr-Mills has failed to meet even its own objectives because it depends upon matching state grants. Few states have enough funds for this purpose and some have none at all. While a program like Kerr-Mills is needed to cover cases of actual destitution, it should in the AFL-CIO view be supplementary to a federal insurance system.

SIMILARLY, with hospital and related costs covered through social security, aged persons could use what funds they have available to purchase supplementary protection from private companies for physicians' care, for example. For their part, Blue Cross, Blue Shield and commercial insurance carriers, relieved of the burden of insuring the high-cost aged, could hold down their rates and provide insurance to the working population more successfully. Private health insurance can be expected to thrive with the enactment of social security health insurance—just as private retirement and life insurance was vastly stimulated by the passage of the original social security act 28 years ago.

# THE SOUTH

## A Challenge To All of Us

All of America has a stake in the South. All of America must come to grips with the challenge its substandard conditions pose to its people and the rest of the country, for they retard the nation's forward momentum.

We are convinced the opportunity is at hand. The barriers to meaningful civil rights are being lifted. The political complexion is changing and the South is on the threshold of a two-party system. If properly molded, it can provide a vehicle for progress and break reaction's stranglehold.



We believe labor must help to speed up this process by attempting an organizing breakthrough. We are convinced Southern workers want this to happen.

We in TWUA have taken on this challenge, almost single-handedly, for more than a quarter-century. Given the full participation of organized labor and other progressive elements in our society, it can be met.

*Wm. Pollard*  
President

*John Chupka*  
Sec.-Treas.

TEXTILE WORKERS UNION  
OF AMERICA

99 University Place  
New York 3, N. Y.

What you should know about the

## UNITED GARMENT WORKERS OF AMERICA, AFL-CIO



The United Garment Workers of America is one of the oldest unions in the Trade Union Movement, chartered in 1891, and for nearly three quarters of a century we have been affiliated with the American Labor Movement without a break.

The United Garment Workers of America has the very highest reputation of fair dealing throughout the United States and Canada, has a record of the fewest strikes or work stoppages of any labor organization, has the respect of the workers it represents, the employers with whom it deals, government officials, and the general public.

The United Garment Workers of America was the first trade union in America to obtain paid holidays and vacations with pay on a nationwide basis in the Needle Trades and led the fight against the abuses of child labor and the sweat shop.

The United Garment Workers of America agreements contain provisions for job security.

The United Garment Workers of America has always upheld American standards of living and its members have contributed to the welfare of every community in which they live.

The United Garment Workers of America Local Unions have local autonomy and each Local elects its own officers who administer the business of the Local. Local Unions also select their own negotiating committee and choose their own shop stewards. Local Unions decide important policies and actions by majority vote.

The United Garment Workers of America Union Label is one of the oldest Union Labels and is found on men's and boys' clothing, and the Label is a guarantee that the garment was made under decent working conditions and union wages.

Join the United Garment Workers of America and promote our "Democratic Way of Life."

Joseph P. McCurdy, General President  
Catherine C. Peters, Gen'l Secretary-Treasurer

# the public must be warned!

The railway corporations are now attacking the non-operating employees of the railroads. Management says we are "featherbedding." It asks the exclusive and arbitrary right—

To cut our wages.

To give the work now done by rail employees to others not covered by the Railway Labor Act in their employment.

To eliminate our long-established right to bargain on wages and working conditions.

To destroy specialized craft skills by merging differently skilled occupations to form composite crafts.

To insist that the railroad corporations shall get all the benefits from technological progress and to refuse to share the gains with the employees.

The carriers already have sufficient flexibility under existing work rules to meet all reasonable management requirements. This is shown by what has taken place in the industry in recent years.

## THE FACTS ARE:

Non-operating railway employees are the most efficient and productive workers in American industry.

The total railroad mileage today is about the same size as it was in 1922, but operations (in gross ton-miles per mile of road) over that track have increased 40%. Nearly 400,000 workers were employed to maintain that track in 1922: today, 100,000 men are doing that job.

Railroad locomotives and cars moved 60% more traffic in 1962 than they did in 1922: these locomotives and cars are maintained and serviced today by one-third the number employed in 1922. For all non-operating railway workers—clerks, freight handlers, telegraphers, signalmen, dining car and restaurant cooks and waiters, maintenance-of-way and mechanics—productivity per man-hour has increased 410% since 1922.

In the same period, other American industrial workers have increased their output per man-hour by an average of 140%.

### COULD THIS POSSIBLY BE FEATHERBEDDING?

Do American railroads employ more workers than they need? These figures compiled by the Association of American Railroads compare American railroad employment with railroad employment in the industrially advanced nations of Europe.

	Employees per Mile of Road
United States	3.7
France	14.6
Italy	16.2
West Germany	16.2
United Kingdom	29.2
Soviet Russia	29.6

Railroad management is again generating a national transportation crisis by advancing the ancient "featherbedding" charge to support an unconscionable program to cut wages and wipe out jobs.

If they persist, the dispute arising from this program of railroad management may become a national problem for the President and the Congress next year.

## NON-OPERATING RAILWAY LABOR ORGANIZATIONS

Brotherhood of Railway and Steamship Clerks,  
Freight Handlers, Express and Station  
Employees

Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Employees

The Order of Railroad Telegraphers

Brotherhood of Railroad Signalmen

Hotel & Restaurant Employees and Bartenders  
International Union

Railway Employees' Department, AFL-CIO  
International Association of Machinists  
International Brotherhood of Boilermakers,  
Iron Ship Builders, Blacksmiths,  
Forgers and Helpers  
International Brotherhood of Electrical  
Workers  
Sheet Metal Workers' International  
Association  
Brotherhood Railway Carmen of America  
International Brotherhood of Firemen  
and Oilers

## State of the Unions

(Continued from Page 5)  
members are a part. These special considerations determine the varying forms and practices of collective bargaining.

Thus negotiations may be conducted with a single local employer; or with one company on behalf of the workers in all of its plants; or with one or more associations of employers who compete on a local, regional or national basis. Moreover, the bargaining roles of the local and national unions differ from one organization to the next, and from each other. National representatives generally play an important part in negotiations with major companies and industries. But local union spokesmen play the major role in the thousands of negotiations that involve only local services and trades.

**M**ORE than 150 years ago, when working people first began to organize, almost all goods and services were produced solely for the local market and, of course, no national unions existed. The locals, made up of the workers of one or several workplaces drawn together by common craft or trade identity, bargained solely on local issues with their local employer.

Gradually, these self-sufficient local markets gave way to an emerging national market in which the movement of commodities, capital and labor increasingly became nationwide. It was only then that local unions of similar trades and industries felt impelled to organize into national unions to further their mutual interests.

Today, because most manufacturing establishments compete in the national market and all trades and professions have widespread mutual interests, practically all local unions have found it advantageous to affiliate with an appropriate national union. Yet, whether it is part of the International Association of Siderographers or the United Automobile, Aerospace and Agricultural Implement Workers of America International Union—the smallest and largest affiliates of the AFL-CIO—the local union remains the basic unit and basic source of strength of the American labor movement.

Every local union of whatever kind, be it of factory workers, building craftsmen, actors, teachers, airline pilots, seamen or retail clerks, is a separate entity with a character and functions of its own. Each has its own officers, bylaws and treasury. Each has a voice in the affairs of the national union. Each plays a role—often the sole role—in the collective bargaining process. Most important, it is the local that must assume responsibility for seeing to it that the contract is observed.

Despite the huge size of the

major business enterprises that now dominate the American economy, most collective bargaining is still local.

Only 1,700 of the 150,000 union-management agreements reported by the Department of Labor cover more than 1,000 workers and only 350 cover as many as 5,000. Most agreements still involve small groups at a single workplace, and in most instances the local unions serve as the bargaining spokesman.

The function of local unions in local multi-employer bargaining is equally important. In this kind of negotiation one or several locals in the same labor market area bargain jointly with a group of competing employers for whom the local union members work. This kind of local multi-employer bargaining is commonplace in the building-trades industry and frequently occurs in the printing, hotel and restaurant, retail and other trades.

Because of the increasing size of dominant business enterprises, many corporations now operate in more than one locality. This fact has forced unions to broaden their bargaining function.

Organized labor has learned from experience that the multi-plant company will be tempted to concentrate production whenever possible at its lowest-paid locations. Consequently, unions not only seek to organize workers at each workplace, they also seek to secure a single agreement that establishes uniform pay schedules. If they succeed, the ensuing form of negotiation is called company-wide bargaining. Many of our largest corporations have now accepted this practice.

In some instances, a union-management settlement with the dominant company in an industry will serve as a pattern for the entire industry. This is commonly the case in auto, rubber, steel and oil. Pattern-setting by a dominant producer, as in the case of U. S. Steel, was a fact of industrial life long before unions came on the scene; unions simply have adapted to it.

**I**N other instances, unions bargain simultaneously with competing firms or with a regional trade association, as in the paper, coal and maritime industries. Occasionally, this multi-employer bargaining has national scope, as in pottery, glass, men's clothing and railroading. Such negotiations are called industry-wide bargaining, a pattern widely practiced in Europe.

The national union obviously takes a leading role in company-wide negotiations and in regional and national multi-employer bargaining. Local union representatives also participate, and settlements must be ratified by local meetings or by

delegate bodies from the locals. Moreover, even after general issues are settled, local work-rule problems are left to plant-by-plant negotiation.

Company-wide and multi-employer negotiations are by-products of a changing economy in which giant national corporations now produce a major share of the total output.

Uniform basic wages applying to all competitors in no way restrain price competition or the entrance of new firms into the market. They elevate competition to a higher level. Fair and uniform wages reduce the socially-destructive practice of competition based on substandard pay.

The labor movement is opposed to competition based upon wage differentials. The AFL-CIO believes such competition

The AFL-CIO has long sponsored the nightly newscasts of Edward P. Morgan on the ABC radio network. Morgan, winner of the Peabody Award and virtually every other honor in his field, is generally acknowledged to be the nation's pre-eminent radio commentator. The AFL-CIO is deeply gratified that the awards to Morgan customarily take note of his complete freedom from sponsor pressure. Morgan freely confirms this—sometimes by what he says on the air.

does not deserve the name; that genuine competition must be on the basis of better production methods, a better product and superior salesmanship.

Those who cry "labor monopoly" because unions are now, in some cases, strong enough to bring wage stability to a product market, propose that unions should be forced to bargain singly with each local enterprise or with each local unit of a national enterprise. Company-wide and multi-employer bargaining would be abolished.

The true object is not the end of "labor monopoly." None exists. The aim is to weaken unions so that they no longer can protect the worker in an age in which powerful corporate giants more and more dominate the economic scene. This would reestablish an employer monopoly over wages and conditions of work.

The breadth and variety of collective bargaining in America and its generally constructive and peaceful accomplishments are obscured by sensational press reports of work stoppages. Indeed, strikes may cause public inconvenience. Yet their cost in personal hardship and hazards to those who engage in them is far more severe. Union members and their leaders know that the union's staying power is usually far less than that of the employer. They know that strikes are lost as well as won.

Two alternatives to free collective bargaining between unions and management are available to the American people. The first is to turn back the

clock and restore sole power to establish conditions of work to the employer. The second is to establish pay and working conditions by government fiat. It is safe to say that neither alternative is acceptable to the majority of the American people.

While government statistics do not precisely record the gains in pay that union members win, as apart from those of all wage and salary earners, the overall yardsticks of the Department of Labor broadly point to the continuation of the upward postwar trend.

**S**INCE the end of 1955, when the AFL and the CIO merged, to mid-1963, hourly wages in contract construction, where unions are strong, increased 85 cents. In manufacturing, where unions are well established but unemployment has had a restraining effect in recent years, hourly wages advanced 56 cents. In the retail trades, where unionism is increasing but still is not widespread, hourly wages went up 48 cents.

The wage-gain picture varies, of course, from one industry and trade to another and sometimes from one city to the next. But one common element in the lives of AFL-CIO members is that they clearly improved their earnings status as a result of contract negotiations.

In addition, collective bargaining has yielded a substantial increase in fringe improvements—the terms which make life more pleasant and more secure.

Typically, a greater number of holidays with pay has been achieved in recent contracts. In large metropolitan areas, for example, only 40 per cent of plant workers enjoyed seven or more holidays with pay in 1955. By mid-1963 the number had increased to 70 per cent.

Many new private pension plans have also been introduced and old ones have been improved. The average worker retiring today can expect \$100 or more a month from his pension plan after 30 years of service, plus his social security.

Vacations with pay also have been substantially improved. Many union-management agreements now provide for from one to three weeks of vacation even after the first year of service. More than half provide four or more weeks for longer-service employees. The new steel and aluminum contracts negotiated only this year break new ground with 13-week vacations every five years.

At the time of the AFL-CIO merger, supplemental unemployment benefit plans—designed to meet the shortcomings of state unemployment payments—were just beginning. A considerable number of unions now have won this safeguard.

Once a livable wage income has been secured unions have increasingly sought to negotiate health plans to help members meet the mounting costs of illness. Since 1955 medical, surgical and hospital benefits

have been substantially increased; and sometimes they also include the family. Over 80 per cent of all union members now enjoy some form of hospitalization and medical-surgical coverage.

It is not possible to catalogue all the varied types of union gains, some limited to a relatively few, others widespread. They range from supplemental pay for jury duty and during military training to time off with pay during periods of family bereavement. At times they have been criticized as unrealistic or even capricious. Yet in almost every case they arise out of local conditions. Say it is agreed there should be an additional paid holiday—what day? Columbus Day or Lincoln's birthday? The compromise may be that each worker can take his own birthday. This makes for an amusing newspaper story but may in fact have been a sound pragmatic solution.

But the fundamentals of union contract protection are beyond cavil. They are seniority rights and grievance procedure.

The seniority clause in a union contract provides rational criteria for promotion and job-retention rights during slack times. It means that length of service and experience will receive due recognition. It protects the worker from being victimized by arbitrary decisions of employers.

**G**RIEVANCE procedure transforms a union contract into

a living document. Through this procedure any member who feels that he has been wronged can seek relief, up the various stages of management, and even to ultimate impartial arbitration. The grievance procedure gives assurance that justice in the workplace will be a reality; it is essential to the dignity and self-respect of all American workers.

What union members can reasonably expect to win from collective bargaining in a material sense varies with the circumstances of their specific employment, the general conditions prevailing in their trades and industries and the strength and competence of their unions.

**W**HEN direct labor costs are low in relation to total production costs, wage and other worker improvements bear lightly on the employer. If, in addition, sales volume and profit margins are high, employers can grant improvements far more readily than others whose position is less favorable.

In enterprises in which man-hour output is rising—a factor of increasing likelihood as technological advances and automation become ever more widespread—savings from the productivity rise should be shared with those who work for wages and salaries.

Where work is seasonal—as in the building trades—hourly earnings must take account of the need for an adequate annual income.

Government employees, of course, must depend upon the sanction of elected officials and of the taxpayers to secure improvement in their incomes and conditions of work.

Even though all the economic circumstances may justify substantial worker gains, management may refuse to offer them. High inventories, confidence that automated equipment can be adequately operated by supervisory personnel in case of a strike, or an assumption that widespread unemployment has weakened the union's morale sometimes induce management to resist otherwise justifiable bargaining objectives.

These are some of the facts involved in collective bargaining—in the life of the trade union movement. But the most important fact of all is that a union gives to its members a measure of individual freedom, of self-determination, of personal dignity not otherwise attainable in today's world.

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Born in an era when industrial trade unions were in their infancy, the Allied Industrial Workers of America has grown from a tiny handful of workers into a nationwide network of member locals reaching from California to Connecticut.

The AIW is proud of the part it has played in improving industrial working conditions over the past three decades, thereby helping individual union members assume their proper place in the community.

We are also proud of what we have contributed to aiding the AFL-CIO in the struggle for social progress which has led to our system of free public schools, unemployment compensation laws, social security, etc., in the constant search for a society which will be free of economic insecurity for the wage earner.

We will continue to work within the framework of the AFL-CIO until the job is finished—when the terror of discrimination is no longer with us and all Americans are well-clothed, well-housed, well-fed, well-educated, and well-cared for in their twilight years.

INTERNATIONAL UNION

*Allied Industrial Workers*  
OF AMERICA

3520 WEST OKLAHOMA AVENUE MILWAUKEE 15, WISCONSIN

CARL W. GRIEPENTROG  
International President

GILBERT JEWELL  
International Secretary-Treasurer

# Progress of Unity

(Continued from Page 2)

The convention also "confirmed and adopted" the Codes of Ethical Practices earlier promulgated by the Executive Council. A companion resolution made this point:

*"Let there be no mistake as to our purpose in proceeding against those unions which we have found to be false to their constitutional obligations. Our objective is not to punish. Our purpose is not to exile from the American trade union movement any group of union members. Our basic purpose is to achieve the correction of abuses and to help the members of unions with dishonest leadership."*

Thus the AFL-CIO, very early in its existence, left no doubt that it would enforce the ethical obligations it assumed by constitution.

**A**S a result, the good name of the labor movement as a whole survived the public exposure of corruption in a few unions. The AFL-CIO proved itself able and willing to clean its own house, and established new safeguards against the possibility of future abuses.

There may be many outside the labor movement—and in the editorial rooms of the press, radio and television—who disagree with union policies and are hostile to unionism generally. But even in those circles, AFL-CIO is a trademark of integrity. There is no confusion in the public mind between the AFL-CIO and its affiliated unions and those which were cast out.

This is not only a matter for self-satisfaction. It is vastly important to every aspect of union activity—organizing, collective bargaining, politics and legislation. It is an outstanding achievement of the merger and a tribute to the wisdom of the AFL-CIO constitution.

This was graphically demonstrated before a year had elapsed. Heartened by what they wrongly interpreted as confusion and division within the AFL-CIO, enemies of the labor movement launched a massive drive to enact so-called "right-to-work" laws in a dozen states. ("Right-to-work" is the fantastic misnomer for a law that outlaws the union shop even when a majority of workers want it and the employer is willing to agree to it.)

**M**ILLIONS of dollars were poured into this campaign by anti-union forces. The AFL-CIO reacted by naming a special committee of its Executive Council to meet the threat. The directors of the legislative, political education, public relations and publications departments were organized into a task-force to aid the committee.

Meanwhile, a number of public-spirited citizens, led by the late Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt and former Sen. Herbert H. Lehman of New York, independently formed the National Council for

Industrial Peace as an instrument for combatting "right-to-work" legislation. Close cooperation was established between the council and the AFL-CIO.

In six states the "right-to-work" forces either were defeated in the legislature or failed to obtain enough signatures to force a referendum on the issue. But in six others—California, Colorado, Idaho, Kansas, Ohio and Washington—referendums were scheduled as part of the general election of 1958.

**T**HE objective of the AFL-CIO was to make sure the question became the dominant one in each of these states. Millions of leaflets and pamphlets were distributed; a motion picture, "We the People," was produced and shown hundreds of times at meetings and on television; a book, "Union Security—the Case Against the 'Right-to-Work' Laws," was published and sent



**DEMOCRACY IN ACTION:** This is an AFL-CIO convention, where policies are decided.

to leading editors, educators and opinion-makers; display booths were set up at state and county fairs. No avenue was neglected in a drive to mobilize both union members and other citizens.

In five out of the six states "right-to-work" was crushed by an avalanche of votes. It prevailed only in Kansas, by a narrow margin. And in several states, notably California and Ohio, supposedly unbeatable candidates were overthrown because they were identified with "right-to-work."

**U**NFORTUNATELY this did not put an end to the threat. The financial resources available to the foes of union security seem limitless. While 20 state legislatures have rejected "right-to-work" proposals since 1958, one—Wyoming—has enacted it, and a referendum is likely in Oklahoma. However, the 1958 results demonstrated that voters will reject "right-to-work" if the issue is clearly set forth; and further, that union members overwhelmingly reject the "liberation" which these statutes purport to grant them.

In 1961, the impending dissolution of the AFL-CIO was

again widely predicted. This time the issue creating the problem was one as old as organized labor itself—disputes between unions.

As noted earlier, there had been a lack of enthusiasm for mergers among the affiliated unions with comparable jurisdictions. New irritations—sometimes involving picket-lines—also arose between craft and industrial units. There was much bad feeling and hot talk.

However, those who so hopefully forecast a split in the AFL-CIO forgot their history. Before merger, both AFL and CIO had established plans to settle quarrels within their own ranks. An important prerequisite to labor unity was the AFL-CIO No-Raiding Agreement of 1953, ratified by both federation conventions and signed by most affiliated unions. All these were incorporated into the original constitution, which further directed the Executive Council to codify them into "a combined no-raiding and organizational and jurisdictional disputes agreement... for the purpose of extending, by voluntary agreement, such provisions

other from an industrial union, brought about on-the-spot agreements in scores of flare-ups between building trades and industrial organizations.

Yet there were failures, too. A contributing factor was the persistent softness of the economy, with jobs shrinking in most unionized occupations and too few alternatives opening up. Every hour of employment was important to workers and thus to their unions—important enough to fight for. Disputes that might easily have been resolved in an era of full employment became bitter issues.

Occasionally these issues burst out of the mediation process and onto the picket line. Each such incident was blown up out of all proportion by the press. The trenchant statements of partisans in a specific contest were unjustifiably magnified into threats against the whole concept of labor unity.

These were the circumstances as the 1961 convention assembled. But what had been lost sight of, even by the most careful reporters, was that the most vigorous partisans came to the convention prepared only

for an unorganized plant. It specifically disavows any effort to determine jurisdictional lines in general, but insists upon the right of the AFL-CIO to rule in a specific dispute.

The article then establishes a clear and expeditious process for adjudicating complaints and ruling upon claims for special consideration. And finally, it lists four mandatory and three discretionary sanctions against affiliated unions that refuse to comply with the internal judicial processes.

These are not paper penalties. They include denial, to the offending union, of any and all AFL-CIO services; a cutoff of aid from any other affiliated union; full AFL-CIO assistance to the injured affiliate, and most significant of all, an open season for other unions to raid the offending union at will.

The AFL-CIO leadership anticipated that even this elaborate system might need revision, and should be flexible. Therefore Article XXI can be amended by majority vote of the convention, rather than the two-thirds required for other constitutional changes.

Article XXI has been described in some quarters as a revolutionary departure in the relationship between the federation and its affiliates. Actually, it simply formalized powers that had always been implicit, and had been exercised by leaders of both federations as far back as Samuel Gompers.

The national and international unions remain autonomous; they have simply foresworn, voluntarily, their right to engage in combat that damages both their members and the public—debarring, by the way, any appeal to the courts. In so doing they have also reaffirmed in the strongest terms their commitment to a united labor movement.

The remarkable fact is that this change, the nature of which was known to every delegate, was adopted by the convention with the dissent of only one international union. The leaders of American unions realized that they could no longer use against each other the weapons designed to be used for the benefit of workers.

Without merger, this almost-unanimous consensus would have been impossible.

**A**RTICLE XXI has worked well. As of the August 1963 Executive Council meeting, 209 cases have been processed under its terms; 123 of them have been resolved by mediation, only 68 required a final finding or recommendation by the umpire and 18 are still pending. Sanctions have been evoked only three times; they remain in effect against only two affiliates. The change in labor's internal laws has not obviated all of labor's internal conflicts. But it has taken them away from the picket-line and into labor's own judiciary, to the clear benefit of all.

Thus has AFL-CIO's structure evolved. But the important point, to which this supplement is addressed, is how well that structure has served workers and the nation.

to all affiliates of this federation."

**M**ORE than this, another article of the constitution flatly declared that "no affiliate shall raid the established collective bargaining relationship of any other affiliate." To cover those unions which had not signed the no-raiding pact, it set up a mediation procedure with "appropriate" action by the convention as the ultimate step.

And finally, the founding convention created a permanent committee, equally divided between delegates from the Building and Construction Trades Department and the Industrial Union Department, to work out ways of adjusting "any conflict of interest that may presently exist or may arise in the future."

This machinery worked far more effectively than was generally realized. Hundreds of disputes were processed through the mediation channels, and the vast majority of them were settled short of a decision by the umpire or a recommendation by him to the Executive Council. Two-man teams of special AFL-CIO representatives, generally one from a craft union and the

for battle, not for war. They came to fight for a settlement as close as possible to their own terms—but a settlement, not a breach.

The climax came about half way through the convention when, after efforts by smaller committees had failed, the AFL-CIO Executive Council itself went into historic marathon session. It began at 7:30 P. M. on December 12; it ended at 4 the next morning.

The result, ratified by the convention the same afternoon, was an addition to the AFL-CIO constitution—Article XXI—which superseded the earlier disputes provisions and covered a wider area. Its language is categorical. It starts this way:

"Section 1. The principles set forth in this article shall be applicable to all affiliates of this federation, and to their local unions and other subordinate bodies."

**I**T then proceeds to establish, with painstaking thoroughness, what the constitution means when it calls for respect of established collective bargaining relationships, and even the proper conduct of affiliated unions when they are competing



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# Rx: Take Up the Cudgels

To be a healthier nation at lower cost, America needs more doctors, more hospitals and more group practice

THE labor-led revolution which brought prepaid hospital-surgical protection to three-fourths of America over the last 20 years will have to be accelerated and broadened if this nation wishes its citizens — young and old — to achieve the best in health care.

Now a dismal 11th among major nations in the rate of infant mortality—generally viewed as the best index of a nation's medical care—the United States can only overcome its poor standing in this and all medical areas by a combination of government and private efforts.

Preventive medicine or proper diagnosis and early treatment are the best means of health care, and much less expensive than confinement in a hospital.

But if the benefits of the best in modern medical care are

to be made available to all Americans, there are four conditions that government and private groups must meet:

1. More doctors and skilled medical personnel. The chief barrier to any substantial increase in the supply of physicians is, of course, the limited capacity of the nation's medical schools. Present schools must be expanded and new ones built. Both can be done without injury to the quality of education, but the cost can only be met by federal aid. A good, though belated start was made this year.

2. More conveniently-located, up-to-date health facilities. A successful working relationship between government and voluntary associations on the community level is well demonstrated by the hospital construction program of the Hill-Burton Act. Since inception of the pro-

gram in 1946 virtually every community in the country has received financial assistance in construction of 6,000 long-needed hospitals and related facilities. But the program needs to be continued and intensified.

3. Improvement in the organization of medical services. Although progress is being made daily in medical research, merely developing new techniques and services will not bring them to those who need them most. Despite new knowledge and increased skills of physicians, nurses and other professional personnel, countless thousands of people are being denied proper care simply because the services are inadequately organized.

This is another problem area where the AFL-CIO is seeking a solution through cooperation between government and volun-

tary agencies. In 1961 Congress passed the Community Health Services and Facilities Act, authorizing the United States Surgeon General to make project grants to public and non-profit private agencies and organizations for the development of organized health services outside the hospital, particularly for the chronically ill and the aged.

PROBABLY the greatest single improvement in medical organization that is foreseeable in the near future is the further expansion of group medical practice. The new needs for specialization in medicine can best be met through coordinating into a team the many professional personnel required, each with his special skills, each doing what he has been trained to do best. Unions and other consumer groups are providing a stimulus for the expansion of group practice as they increasingly develop prepayment medical plans around a group practice center. This growth should be encouraged by federal loans for the construction of outpatient facilities to be used by doctors in non-profit group practice. The AFL-CIO is supporting legislation providing such loans and loan guarantees.

4. The barrier between medical cost and medical care must be removed. Although it is often said that no one who needs care must go without it, the fact remains that medical care in the United States today is still very much dependent on income. It may well be that only rarely is anyone needing emergency care denied it because he cannot pay — but vast numbers of persons throughout the country do not have access to the high quality care they need, when they need it.

Action to eliminate the financial barriers to needed care must take place on two fronts. The protection that working people and their families have been able to obtain through union-initiated private health insurance plans must be improved, and legislation must fill the gaps which remain in voluntary health insurance.

During the first few years that unions were winning health coverage for their members the

problem was considered to be a fairly simple one: If only the money could be found, then the problem would be solved.

In this first stage of comparative innocence, organized labor concentrated on getting employer participation in the financing of a health insurance plan — any health insurance plan. This meant primarily cost indemnity coverage, providing only spotty protection. The then-available plans were designed to conform to what the insurance industry considered "insurable risks," with the result that preventive and diagnostic care, care in the home and office, remained largely untouched.

Experience revealed two major flaws in the early plans: Health insurance did not provide the anticipated protection against medical bills, and substantial parts of the negotiated funds were being spent on poor or unnecessary or uneconomical care.

WHILE today nearly 75 per cent of the population has some form of health insurance, only about one-quarter of all personal medical care expenditures are covered. The coverage of most plans is concentrated on hospitalization-surgery, leaving other costs uninsured.

Moreover, the amount of money was not the only problem. Unions learned that the structure of a health plan determines the kind of care its subscribers receive. During one year when New York City Blue Cross subscribers had 1,100 hospital days per 1,000 persons, people covered by the comprehensive direct-service Health Insurance Plan of Greater New York (HIP) had only 730 days of hospitalization per 1,000.

As information of this kind became familiar, it became inescapably apparent that prevailing health insurance plans were not meeting labor's requirement for either comprehensive prepayment or high quality care. For this reason, organized labor and other aware consumers can be expected to turn increasingly to prepaid programs that emphasize, first, prevention of illness by eliminating the cost barrier, and second, quality medical care by selected doctors practicing in groups.



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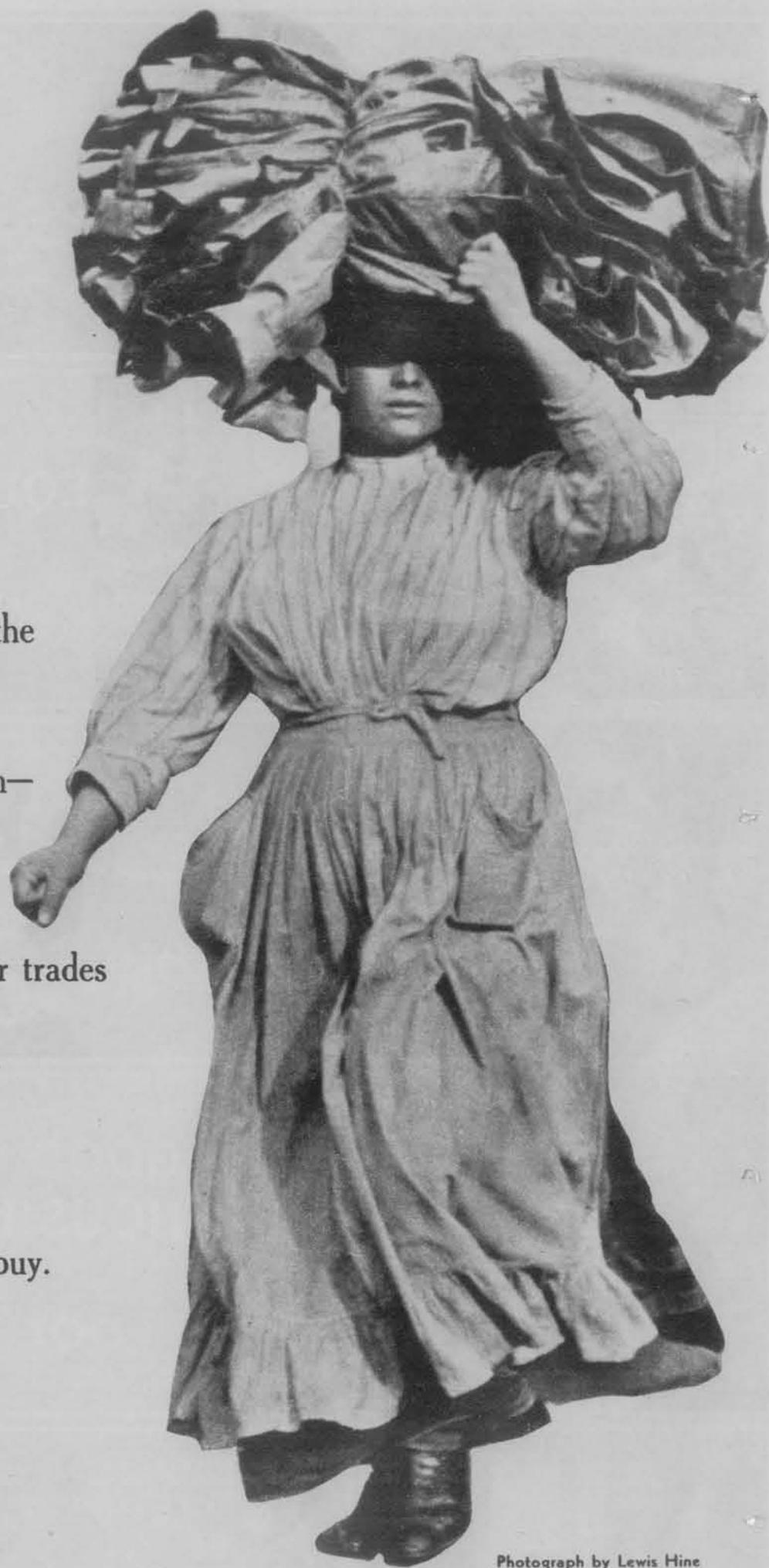
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## HEIGHT OF FASHION-1909

It was the height of fashion  
in the garment industry in those days  
to carry home huge bundles of work.  
And that was after a full day's work.  
A day off? No such thing.  
Work pursued the worker around the clock,  
in the shop or at home.  
Seems like a million years ago . . . the era of the  
7-day week and the \$5 weekly paycheck.  
Happily, fashions and times have changed.  
Ladies' garment workers—thanks to their union—  
can now enjoy their homes,  
their paid holidays and vacations,  
their friends and families.  
And so can millions of other workers, in other trades  
and industries, thanks to their unions  
in the American Federation of Labor and  
Congress of Industrial Organizations.  
These unions have helped raise  
the American standard of living.  
And you can help, too. Buy union when you buy.



Photograph by Lewis Hine



Look for this label when  
buying women's or children's  
apparel. It is the symbol of  
decency, fair labor standards  
and the American way of life.

**International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, AFL-CIO**

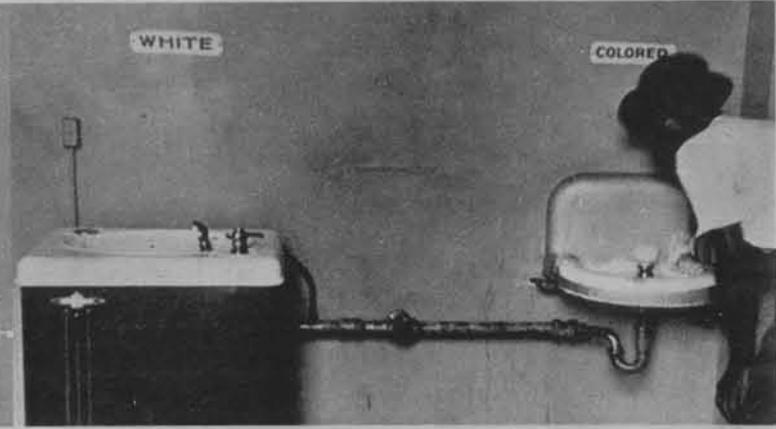
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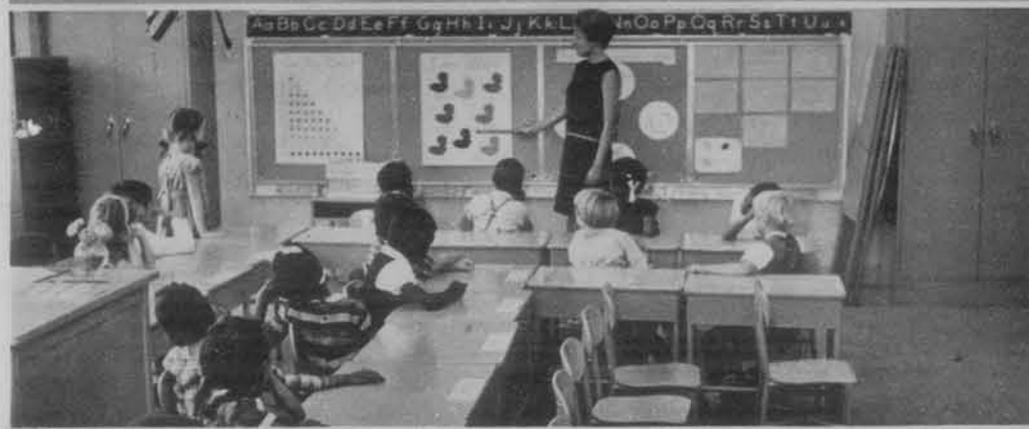
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