Landmarks of Labor No. 9

THE FEDERAL EIGHT HOUR DAY
1868

The year 1868 was a banner one for advocates of the eight-hour day. In that year President Andrew Johnson signed the bill making eight hours the legal work day for certain Federal employes. The law applied only to laborers, workmen and mechanics employed by or on behalf of the Federal Government.

A jingle of the day attributed to the wife of Ira Steward, an early shorter work day leader, set the tone for the eight-hour day drive. The jingle went:

"Whether you work by the piece or work by the day, Decreasing the hours increases the pay."

Establishment of the eight-hour day by the Federal Government marked a long step forward in shortening the hours of all working people and can be said to be one of the great landmarks of labor immediately after the Civil War.

Reprinted from THE LABORER; official publication of the International Hod Carriers', Building and Common Laborers' Union of America
We Americans are beginning a New Year and a new decade in what can perhaps best be described as a mood of complacent melancholy. Outside, we appear to be as bland and smooth as butter. Inside, we are a mite confused. The endless good tidings which are issued from Washington and by the ad-men partly persuade us that everything is simply wonderful.

Yet, I think, enough survives of our traditional American common sense, even after its erosion by the appalling let-down in our educational standards and the inanity of much of what we accept as "entertainment," to convince us that some of the cream on the bun of our self-congratulation is the least bit sour.

We are assured, for example, that all of us are rolling in wealth. If you and I don't feel that we are in exactly that condition, then that is a fact we had best keep to ourselves. Any little nagging need for dollars or for shiny merchandise can easily be met by going into debt...
FUTURE historians may decide on a name for the Fifties—furious, fatuous, fabulous, frantic, or whatever. Certainly the decade just ended was a restless and prosperous time that brought many innovations into American life.

Between 1950 and 1960, Americans were on the go, with one out of five changing homes every year. The populations of several states—including California, Florida, Arizona, and Nevada—increased more than 30 per cent, the National Geographic Society says.

City-dwellers flocked to suburbia, where they lighted seemingly eternal flames in the cookout’s charcoal grill. Having more leisure time and money, Americans visited beaches and national parks in growing numbers. The motel came into its own. Everyday travel by plane lost its novelty, and holidays abroad became commonplace.

Television antennae stippled the American skyline. The “TV Western” and “TV dinner” were standard fare. For those
people who clung to their old movie-going habits, Hollywood offered the short-lived 3-D and the firmly ensconced wide-wide screen.

The 1950's were a noisy decade. Along with music from previous years, Americans listened and danced to calypso, be-bop, rock 'n roll, and progressive jazz. They bought millions of long-playing disks recorded, of course, in stereo and hi-fi.

It was an age of gadgets and wondrous mechanical aids; disposal units; powered lawn mowers; electric can openers; deep-freezers, with an endless variety of frozen foods; transistor pocket radios; and cars with air conditioning and automatic transmission. Promising more living comforts for future decades, scientists made enormous strides in the development of electronics and the peacetime uses of atomic power.

The 1950's brought many new expressions into the vernacular. A sampling suggests some of the hopes, fears, and foibles of the decade: Salk vaccine; fallout; juvenile delinquent; supersonic; tranquilizers; drip-dry; IGY (International Geophysical Year); smog; beatnik; sputnik; payola; population explosion.

Americans, both as participants and spectators, upheld their traditional love of sports. Golf grew in popularity. For sports fans there were such thrills as the first no-hit, no-run game in a World Series (1956) and a Briton's four-minute mile. The scaling of Mount Everest in 1953 appealed to adventure-minded people everywhere.

At home and abroad, writers and photographers gave unprecedented coverage in newspapers, radio, and TV to events of lasting significance. The decade had hardly begun when the Korean War broke out. Atomic spy Klaus Fuchs was tried and convicted. Elizabeth II was crowned Queen of England, and General Dwight D. Eisenhower was elected President of the United States with the largest popular vote in the Nation's history.

Hydrogen bombs were exploded. The first man-made satellite went into orbit. A Soviet space vehicle photographed the hidden side of the moon. The first nuclear submarine circumnavigated the frozen Arctic Sea. Antarctica was explored and colonized.

Stalin died. Communist China emerged as a world power. Dictators of Argentina, Venezuela, and Cuba were deposed. Egypt seized the Suez Canal. Hungary revolted. In Africa and Asia, many colonial lands gained their independence. Khrushchev and Eisenhower took unprecedented journeys.

The United States added two States to the Union. The U. S. Supreme Court outlawed segregation in schools. In the field of religion, the 1950's were highlighted by the death of Pope Pius XII and the succession of John XXIII. In that of literature the decade's hero was Boris Pasternak.

Above all, the Fifties were a fast-moving decade. In May, 1952, the world's first jet passenger service was inaugurated between London and Johannesburg. By the end of 1959, passenger jets, satellites, and guided missiles filled the skies.

January, 1960
Looking Behind

WHO FARED BEST?

The statistics for 1959 show that chief beneficiaries of the year’s recovery were recipients of dividend and interest income. Wages and salaries came in third, while farm income plunged disastrously.

November figures issued by the Department of Commerce show that personal income through November was running at a record rate of $385 billion, about $1 billion above the previous peak in June, the last full month not affected by the steel strike.

The breakdown showed:

- Wages and salaries running at a rate of $2.602 billion, or 7 per cent higher than in 1958.
- Dividends running at a rate of $13.7 billion, or 10 per cent higher than in 1958.
- Personal interest income running at a rate of $23.5 billion for a boost of 10 per cent over 1958, and
- Farm income running at a $10.4 billion rate or 26 per cent lower than in 1958.

Unemployment compensation payments were up slightly, mostly due to heavy benefits in the automobile industry which was hard-hit by the steel strike.

On the dividend front every major industry showed gains, the only exception being mining where dividends dropped about 10 per cent instead of conforming with the general 10 per cent increase shown by the rest of the economy.

The sharp 10 per cent boost in interest income due to the “tight money” policy of the Eisenhower Administration has been reflected on the banking front by what the Wall Street Journal called “a rash of increased dividends, year-end extras and stock dividends.” At least nine New York banks boosted dividends from 2 per cent to 100 per cent while banks in other financial centers such as Boston and Philadelphia also boosted their dividend payments substantially.

The banking boom also was reflected in the stock market with bank group stock averaging 20 per cent higher than the low point for the year.

Meanwhile, news from the job front was not so encouraging. The Department of Labor reported that both new and insured unemployment under state programs rose sharply during the week ending December 5. Jobless workers filed 345,200 initial claims, almost 40,000 more than during the previous week. In all, 40 states showed increases.

State insured unemployment also increased by 150,800 to reach the 1,815,200 mark. The rate was 4.7 per cent, the same as it was a year ago and 1.7 per cent higher than it was in 1956 for the same period.

The Department said that most of the increase was due to seasonal cutbacks in construction and other outdoor activities. (PAI)

Looking Ahead

CONTRACT YEAR

The year 1960 will be a heavy union contract negotiation year with about half of all major collective bargaining agreements expiring.

Latest compilation by the Department of Labor shows that more than 120 contracts, each covering 5,000 or more workers, are due for renegotiation during the year. Almost 60 additional agreements permit reopening on general wage changes. Half of these have specific reopening dates while reopening in the other half is tied to changes in the cost of living or to other significant economic developments.

Largest number of scheduled negotiations take place during the second quarter of the year.

The major bargaining situations are as follows:

- Men’s clothing—May.
- Aircraft—April-June.
- Communications—May-August.
- Electrical Products—October.

This does not include railroads which are expected to carry over from 1959, possibly steel with the present injunction expiring on January 26, and coal, which is subject to 60 days’ notice.

Major contracts in trucking, maritime, automobile and machinery industries do not expire until 1961.

Deferred wage increases and escalator clauses are common among major agreements which do not expire next year. At least 2,600,000 workers are scheduled for wage boosts during 1960 as the result of contracts negotiated this year or earlier.

At least 3,300,000 workers are covered by escalator clauses operative during 1960. (PAI)

Technician-Engineer
MORE EDUCATION

WORKERS with good educational background will be needed in the next decade, Secretary of Labor James P. Mitchell said in an address before the American Vocational Association recently.

He said estimates indicate employment opportunities will increase in the professional, technical, and service fields during the 1960s and drop in industrial and production jobs. "Overall, the educational requirements of jobs will be rising all across the board."

Recent Soviet scientific and technical achievements are bringing about a reappraisal of the U. S. educational methods, Mr. Mitchell noted.

"This developing sense of crisis in educational circles is based on the awareness that education has assumed a new dimension—that of a competitive instrument, a weapon, if you will, in the struggle between open and closed societies," the Secretary pointed out.

However, he warned that "we should not make of our educational system a crash program in an international race for a special kind of brain."

If this reappraisal, he said, "is inspired only by fear of falling behind the Soviets, if it is directed only toward those technical areas in which the competition is keenest, and if its purpose is to shake up our educational system to produce quantities of narrowly educated specialists in priority fields at the expense of general educational advance, then I think that the Russian achievement has deceived us into cutting off our own nose cones."

ATTACKS TO COME

AFL-CIO President George Meany, warning that 1960 will be "a year of battle for American labor," has sounded the rallying cry for the 13.5 million members of the trade union movement to exert a united effort to transform the coming 12 months into "a year of victory."

In his annual New Year's message, in which he deplored the legislative and collective bargaining "disappointments" of 1959, Meany declared that labor now faces "the gravest attacks upon our movement in a generation."

The AFL-CIO president cited these main threats to labor and the nation:

- Indications of a "united effort by reactionaries in big business to destroy established union safeguards over working conditions, job security and individual rights."
- The fear that a "coalition of reactionaries in Congress" will attempt to enact new restrictions.
- The "increased military and economic might of the aggressive Soviet dictatorship" and the attempt by "Communist imperialists" to "hypocritically exploit" the world's "yearning for peace" by continued efforts at achieving "Soviet world conquest and domination."

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**Notes:**
- April 29 for Lincoln & Omaha
- April 30 for cities 7,000-40,000
- Oct. 28 for Lincoln & Omaha
- Oct. 29 for cities 7,000-40,000
- 1959 registration entitles elector to vote in 1960 primary
- May 14
- May 29
- June 25
- May 3
- May 23
- Sept. 28
- June 14
- June 28
- May 9
- May 25
- Oct. 31
- June 7
- June 7
- July 5
- July 26
- July 8
- Oct. 28
- May 20
- May 20
- April 26
- April 26
- Sept. 28—Dem.
- July 15—Counties over 25,000 population
- July 25—Others
- Oct. 19—Counties over 25,000 population
- Oct. 29—Others
- Nov. 5
- Not required if name is on "Check List"
SECRETARY OF LABOR JAMES P. MITCHELL has released a composite of state labor enactments for 1959 which shows a number of major changes in state labor laws.

A rundown of state legislative enactments so far this year shows:

- Unemployment insurance has been raised in 22 states.
- Provisions for lengthening the period of unemployment insurance were made in 23 states.
- Workmen's compensation benefits were increased in 29 states.
- Thirteen states adopted or amended laws on radiation diseases.
- Eight states adopted or amended minimum wage laws.
- Legislation affecting migratory farm workers was enacted in 11 states.
- About a dozen important laws in the field of industrial relations were enacted.
- Fair employment practices acts were adopted or amended in five states.

"This new legislation by the states represents a substantial gain in economic, welfare, and health benefits for the working men and women of the Nation," Mr. Mitchell commented.

Although legislative sessions were completed in most states by July 31, six legislatures have not yet adjourned. These are Delaware, Michigan, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Vermont and Wisconsin.

Following are the major labor enactments of state legislatures during 1959:

- **Unemployment Insurance**
  Maximum weekly benefits under unemployment insurance were raised in 21 states. One state, Iowa, did not actually increase benefits but added dependents' allowances, which amounts to an increase.

  The duration of benefits was increased in 16 states. Six other states provided for automatic extension of duration under certain conditions. In addition, Ohio enacted a temporary measure extending the benefit period for persons who exhaust their benefits before December 26, 1959.

- **Workmen's Compensation**
  Workmen's compensation benefits for all or most types of disability were raised in 27 states, and for merely a few types of disability in two others.

  Thirteen states adopted laws specifying coverage of and/or modifying disability claim time limits for radiation diseases.

- **Minimum Wage**
  A minimum wage law was enacted for the first time in North Carolina covering both men and women, with statutory minimum wages set at 75 cents an hour.

  New Maine and Washington laws set a statutory minimum of $1 and apply to both men and women. Under the Washington law, minimum wages could be
January, 1960

set by order for women and minors. The former Maine law had been repealed.

Vermont and Alaska also raised their minimum wage—Vermont 75 cents to $1 an hour and Alaska from $1.25 to $1.50 an hour. Connecticut made its $1 statutory minimum applicable to hotels, restaurants, inns, and cabins. New Hampshire boosted its minimum from 85 cents to $1 an hour for most occupations. Massachusetts raised its wage floor from 90 cents to $1 for most occupations (a $1 minimum already was required in manufacturing and in other occupations not covered by wage order).

Other new wage laws included an increase in six states in the amount of wages exempted from garnishment, and an increase in the amount of a wage claim which the labor commissioner in Alaska may take for collection.

- **Migratory Labor**

Among enactments in the field of farm labor were transportation regulations in two states, regulation of farm labor contractors in one state, regulation of farm labor camps in four states, and provisions for education of migrant children in four states.

- **Industrial Relations**

New York passed a law prohibiting financial abuses by unions, and requiring financial reports from unions, employers, and labor relations consultants. Nebraska banned secondary boycotts. New Mexico prohibited certain types of picketing. Oregon repealed its entire labor relations act of which anti-picketing provisions were a part. Wisconsin repealed the prohibition against political contributions by unions which had been adopted in 1955. The right of public employees to join unions was affirmed in four states—Alaska, Florida, California and Wisconsin.

No “right to work” legislation was enacted this year, although “right to work” bills were introduced in three states and “right to work” repeal or amendment bills were introduced in six states.

- **Fair Employment Practices**

California and Ohio enacted fair employment practice acts, and Connecticut, Oregon and Wisconsin amended their fair employment practice acts to prohibit discrimination because of age. Equal pay laws were enacted in Hawaii, Ohio and Wyoming.

- **Occupational Health and Safety**

In Connecticut the labor commissioner was authorized to issue safety rules for places of employment. Massachusetts enacted detailed provisions relating to the health and safety of persons loading and unloading vessels in ports. In four states the health department was authorized to issue regulations to protect against radiation hazards.

**OOOPS! Your Age Is Showing**

"Say, did you know your telephone line was out of order yesterday morning? I tried to call you and I kept getting a busy signal. Finally I called Central to ask her. . . ."

"I saw a green felt hat the other day that reminded me of one I used to have. It was an Empress Eugenie. . . ."

"I was talking to the girl in the beauty parlor who marcelled my hair and she said. . . ."

"I wasn't a bit surprised when they announced their engagement. Didn't you notice the way they were making eyes at each other?"

"Who do you think you are, driving like that? Barney Oldfield?"

"Toodle-oo!"

"C'mon, let's see if there's anything to eat in the icebox."

"It was my first date and all the money I had was 50 cents, which was just enough for a couple of hamburgers and a milkshake."

"Say, that's a mighty nice Victrola you've got there."

"And just as we were about to leave on our honeymoon, I sprained my ankle. The way it happened was I caught my heel on the running board of the car and. . . ."

"I don't care what they say, I think it's dangerous to leave food in opened cans."

"Hot diggity dog!"

"I remember that night as if it were yesterday. I was sitting in the den, reading Liberty magazine when. . . ."

"When I catch a cold I always rub my chest with camphorated oil, and then I take a nice piece of flannel and. . . ."

"I still think the best way to cook a roast is to sear it in a 450 degree oven. . . ."

"How about taking in a moving picture show after dinner?"

"Sure I can dance. I mean, I can't do anything fancy like the Big Apple, but I can cut a pretty mean foxtrot, if I do say so myself."

"Yeah, he's quite a golfer. I saw him on the links the other day. . . ."

"Isn't that awful? Sitting right there in broad daylight, spooning?"

"That'll be peachy-keen!"

"Say, whatever happened to Joe Penner?"

—Jane Goodsell (PAI)

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www.americanradiohistory.com
NLRB Chairman Outlines New Horizons

On December fifth last, the Chairman of the National Labor Relations Board addressed the Commerce Alumni Association of New York University. We believe Judge Leedom's address makes interesting reading, taken as a whole in these days of confusion and contradiction which follow the enactment of new labor-management legislation.

I am not a complete stranger to New York University. I came here some years ago from the peace and quiet of court chambers in the distant state of South Dakota to participate as a member of a conference held in connection with the establishment of a new Law Center. On that occasion an award winner, who was rather apologetic and humble, told a story that delighted us. I would like to pass that story along to you, for I have been honored more than I deserve in being invited to address the distinguished alumni of one of the great business schools of the country, although I have no background in the field of business.

The speaker likened himself to a certain old horse, who, after years of long service, was reluctantly turned out to pasture by his fond master. When the owner heard one day of a fancy horse show in the neighboring town, his affection for Dobbin overcame his good judgment and he took the old horse to enter him in the show. However, one show official after another shunted him off, and when one official remarked disparagingly, "Why, man, you're crazy. That old nag couldn't possibly win a prize in this show," the old farmer replied, "Oh, I know he couldn't win a prize, but think of all the nice horses he'd meet." Today I fill the role of the old horse.

As you may know, my topic is New Horizons in Labor-Management Relations. It is just short of five years that I came to Washington to serve on the National Labor Relations Board. I have indicated that my native state is South Dakota, where we have neither industry nor organized labor, as they exist in the industrial sections. This is not to say that out there we toil not neither do we spin. Yet my life there, by comparison with what it has been since, was contentment as only the titles of the field know contentment. After five years of being battered by labor and by management and the Bureau of the Budget and committees on Capitol Hill, to say nothing of problems with the Washington Senators—both varieties—I sometimes wonder why I ever came to Washington. But associates have advised me that my wonderment is nothing compared to that of the men responsible for bringing me to my present post. For, as I have noted, my experience, except for the last few years, was neither in labor nor in management, but in the law as practitioner and judge.

As chairman of the National Labor Relations Board, I am not required to have qualifications as a great mediator, reconciler, or arbitrator. The Labor Board has no part of mediation in labor-disputes. And I have not been trained in the social sciences. My function is essentially that of interpreting the law as Congress has written it to apply to unfair labor practices by employers or labor unions, and to provide for elections, and settle controversies incidental thereto, held to decide which if any union is to represent an employer's employees. And so what I say today could be said to be circumscripted by the confidential limitations. Be not misled by my official title which could, at the outset, lend a wholly unwaranted aura of expertise. Therefore, since I indulge here rather freely in publicly confessing the sins of others, rather than my own, I request in advance the same tolerance for error that is due to our preachers, editorial writers, labor and industrial leaders, and economists—especially the economists, who sometimes, at least, exposed freely on subjects outside their ken—to say nothing of college professors.

When the word "horrizon" is used in such context as the title of my discussion, it has a certain connotation of human advancement of human progress. It makes one think of the prophet's beautiful sentence, "I lift up mine eyes unto the hills whence cometh my strength." While I desire to say something today about the new labor law, I do not deal with it as a new horizon in labor-management relations in this lofty sense. Rather I deal with the new labor law and more especially with the mood of the country that gave it birth, as factors in achieving that new horizon that industrial America must envision. That new horizon is this: Experience has demonstrated that collective bargaining, while basic in preserving fundamental freedom from governmental intervention in labor relations, has failed to achieve that stability essential both to the growth of the country and for national defense. The American concept of collective bargaining must be supplemented to avoid work stoppages. There must evolve, in the public interest, an adequate substitute for the strike and the lockout. The greatest need for it today exists in those industries, such as steel, where bargaining is national in scope. Once established in these industries and its advantages realized, it is inevitable that it would spread to smaller segments of the economy and the waste of work stoppages would disappear from the economic scene.

This is the new horizon. It shall depend on some new legislation, but basic to all this is a new approach and new attitudes.

The New Labor Law

First, however, the new labor law. Its specific provisions which protect the individual union member against the dishonest and autocratic union official, and protect the welfare funds, are of real significance. The so-called Bill of Rights is a kind of liberation from what became in a few cases, arrogant tyranny over the lives of workers. I cite, as an illustration, the sad history of Local 138 of the Operating Engineers in Nassau County. The new law gives union members these protections:

1. A union member may not be fined, suspended, or expelled, or otherwise disciplined from membership for speaking his mind in or out of union meetings.

2. No special assessment may be levied by locals without a secret ballot of members or by a regular convention.

3. Members have a right to see a copy of the collective bargaining agreement.

4. Every union must inform its members concerning the provisions of the Act.

5. Every labor organization must adopt a constitution and by-laws and file a copy with the Secretary of Labor.

6. Democratic election procedures in unions are required, in-
cluding elections of officers at minimum-stated intervals with the use of secret ballots.

Honest labor leaders, emotionally hurt by additional restrictions, would do well to regard these enactments as good faith measures, not always perfect, but designed to rid collective bargaining of serious impediments, to make it work better, and perhaps to save it.

The other provisions,-amendments of the Taft-Hartley Act,-which our Agency administers, and which regulate the conduct of labor organizations and employers in their industrial relations, in my opinion, are not so restrictive on unions as to make them the killer provisions some have declared them to be. While certain provisions do restrict unions as to some practices found most troublesome to neutral employers, other provisions give unions certain advantages. Still others tend to speed the processes of our Agency. In general, I think most of the general reforms provide for some of the notable changes brought about by these provisions. They become effective the 13th of last month.

(1) Before November 13, a union could induce or encourage a strike of railroad workers, government workers, agriculture workers or supervisors of a neutral employer and not violate the secondary boycott restrictions of the Taft-Hartley Act. Such conduct, since November 13 constitutes an unfair labor practice and can be enjoined.

(2) Under the new law a union cannot induce or encourage a single employee of a neutral or secondary employer to strike. Previously such inducement was a violation only when directed against two or more employees, thereby resulting in or tending to bring about concerted action of such employees.

(3) No longer can unions threaten, restrain or coerce secondary employers not to do business with a primary employer having a labor dispute.

Now a union cannot picket a neutral employer for the purpose of preventing the public from buying goods that such neutral employer obtains from another employer with which it has a labor dispute. Under such new restrictions, however, a union may utilize truthful publicity other than picketing to advertise its labor dispute, provided such truthful publicity does not have the effect of an employer of the neutral employer not to pick up, deliver or transfer any goods or not to perform services at the establishment of the employer involved in the labor dispute.

(5) Hot cargo contracts are outlawed except for apparel and clothing manufacturers and the construction industry. In general, however, clauses in contracts were designed to give a union under its contract with an employer the right to induce his employees not to handle goods of another employer with whom the union has a labor dispute or whose goods are labeled unfair or "hot.

(6) The new law also outlawed certain recognition and organizational picketing, that is, picketing by a union when it does not represent a majority of the employees in the plant picketed.

(7) The new law liberalizes hiring policies through unions in the building and construction industry and makes lawful union shop provisions in this industry that require union membership after only 2 days' employment rather than the 30 provided in the Taft-Hartley Act.

(8) The new law is designed to eliminate the no-man's-land in labor relations. Under it, the States and Territories may take jurisdiction over labor disputes as to which the National Labor Relations Board declines to assert jurisdiction, thereby giving to the States and Territories jurisdiction over cases which the Board does not take.

More important, however, in my discussion, than the specific provisions of the bill which are restrictive in nature on unions, is the fact that such a bill passed with a wide margin in this particular session of Congress. Organized labor in the elections of 1958 had won a notable victory in the political arena. A reliable source reported that, in that election, 49 of 81 newcomers of the House could be rated "pro labor" and only 11 against.

The position of 21 new members was reported unknown. And labor's strength, even before the 1958 elections, is revealed by the failure of the 85th Congress to do at that time any additional restrictions on unions. Mr. George Meany summarized the political picture eloquently in his quip before the AFL-CIO convention in San Francisco on September 13, right after the passage of the bill, "that if we were to get any more victories like we got in 1958 that sort of victory might ruin us."

But something happened. The relentless wheels of the McClellan Committee continued to grind, and out of that machinery, quite unexpectedly to many, came hits and pieces of revelation that slowly but surely nullified public opinion. Even some of those members of Congress, who, more than any others, owned their political lives and would not resist the pressure of the public to do something to catch up with the corruption in some unions' leadership and to give to the worker a new chance for democratic action.

Automation, Technology and Bargaining

Not all were able to see what was forming beneath the turmoil of the McClellan Committee hearings. And many others may be missing significant trends lurking behind the developments of the recent steel strike. These developments, as well as certain other smaller strikes equally distasteful to public opinion, and the gigantic work stoppages forecast on a grand scale through the establishment of strike funds running into millions of dollars, all bear on the need to achieve that new horizon that must emerge on America's industrial scene.

No doubt one of the factors, back of the stalemate in bargaining that has approached complete breakdown in the steel industry, was the effort to save work rules tending to protect jobs affected by automation. To heretofore union leaders for taking a firm stand on work rules that protect members' jobs, is no answer at all to the problem. For, to make changes in leatherheading, and quit there, is the unfair, superficial approach that sees only the effect and not the cause. When machines displace thousands of workers who have no place to turn for a livelihood, not only their unions should be striving to protect their interests, but so should the industries that utilized their labor over the years; and so should all of society.

I do not know how the problem will be handled, but I do know that unions and employers must face down their belligerence and tackle in real cooperation the human problems involved in substituting machines for men in the industry. The financial cost, and it may be great, should not be a deterrent, and if it requires government subsidy through a tax advantage or otherwise, a plan therefore should be devised that is at least as acceptable as subsidies born of numerous other economic dilemmas. Thus society would again be bearing no more than its just share in the adjustment necessary to progress. But the plan must be dynamic and creative, not cost in the deadening mold of wage payment for unnecessary jobs.

Donald I. Rogers' article in the Herald Tribune of Sunday, November 15, is in point. Mr. Rogers said in part:

"Employers have no special desire to eliminate jobs. Their transcending aim in the field of automation is to keep themselves competitive and to utilize all methods for peak efficiency. . . . "One of the most far-sighted approaches on the part of labor to the nettlesome problem of automation was taken at a recent convention of the Amalgamated Lithographers of America. If it is granted that automation provides problems as well as great opportunities for industrial progress, then the attitude of the Lithographers warrants careful consideration by all concerned. After a years' trial, the Lithographers made permanent their group for dealing with new equipment and new methods developing in their industry. This group finds out all it can about new equipment through close contact with employers and makers. It then informs its members of what changes to expect in their field. Finally, it works with local unions and employers to accomplish the changes with as little human dislocation as possible."

In making this point, Mr. Rogers quotes Mr. Edward Swayduck, president of Local No. 1 of the Lithographers, New York City, and chairman of the permanent Committee of Technological Developments, as having said: "We do not believe in unreasonable opposition to new developments so long as the jobs are not affected."

Mr. Rogers then goes on to say: "The last sentence, we suggest, contains the key to sound thinking on automation. It
has been estimated that without steady progress in manufacturing methods from early days it would now require 10 per cent of the nation's work force just to make the light bulbs we now use. And they'd cost more than $20 each.

"The Lithographers realize too, that if lithography becomes too expensive the work will be done by other processes—by printing, engraving, or by those improved office duplicating machines. The Lithographers claim to keep their industry competitive. That, of course, is exactly the same goal sought by the employers."

Lithography may lend itself better than some other industries to this approach, but this falls short by far of recognizing, and giving credit for, this union's remarkable achievement. It shows foresight and enlightened approach, if applied over a half a century with equal daring in other industries, might have produced similar results. The record of Local No. 1 of the Lithographers is remarkable. In 35 years they have never had a strike. They have a regular 35-hour week. The members' average rate of pay ranges from $125 to $200 weekly. They enjoy 3 weeks' vacation, 10 paid holidays, and have welfare and pension programs second to none.

As lithography moves forward providing more and better jobs, and additional time for leisure through increased production in technology, other industries stand out in apparent contrast. Railroads, for example, appear to be still reveling in the gold and plush pullman cars of another era, while the air-conditioned bases and the airlines handle the passenger traffic and the truck lines haul the freight. The automobile industry is perhaps now on the brink of pricing itself out of the market. It is to be hoped, however, that before that happens, enough Americans may decide our own low-priced compact cars are as good as the still cheaper foreign makes. It has been said that if the business leaders in the automobile industry had been serious in the intention to hold the line against inflation, they would have done well a year or so ago to have worked out the proposal of the Auto Workers to reduce the price of cars. And if it is true, as some have stated, that the steel industry has been stubbornly resisting the union demands in the current dilemma only for the sake of a noble defense of management prerogatives, and without due consideration to the problems incidental to its rather extensive automation, then such approach is quite like not seeing the forest for the trees.

Name calling back and forth between management and union leaders will neither create new jobs nor pay stockholders additional dividends. But such abuse can foment class strife, it can induce bigger and more disastrous strikes, and it can solidify anti-union sentiment among the uninformed members of the public who do not appreciate the basic merits of good unionism. In contrast to the demagogic tirades with which all who read are familiar, and more of which we are sure to see and hear, there is open to labor and management the avenue of close cooperation between them in achieving their common goal of meeting competition.

The Threat to Collective Bargaining

The problems incidental to automation serve now as the threatening cause of the breakdown in our concept of collective bargaining. Unless solved, we must face the inevitability of the big strike in our major industries. No one wants strikes. They are like war. A kind of remnant of the jungle—they have been the essential last resort on the industrial scene in settling some disputes. The strike carries with it the dangers inherent in the old and abandoned practice of bloodletting. Enough of it and the patient will surely die. The labor leader who is at his very best as a dragon slayer, rallying the rank and file to give them all for the cause, must feel, when he contemplates the removal of the strike from his arsenal, much as did the French noblemen when they were forced to give up their right to dueling. But, in certain situations at least, the strike, along with its sometimes used counterpart, the lockout, seems doomed. For the affected worker, the strike must often seem much like the practice of hitting himself in the head with a hammer—it feels so good when he quits.

This pressing need to cope with the economic problems stemming from automation serves to emphasize for me the need to deal with strikes due to other causes as well. Magazines and newspapers have been full of articles by experts in the field of labor disputes, by labor leaders, United States Senators, and other government officials, all urging the dire need for some substitute for the strike in such situations as steel. Some labor leaders seemingly wanted any kind of government intervention in the steel strike, except that which the law of the land provided, and most naturally preferred the kind of intervention that would achieve labor's goals.

The steel strike is reported to have cost half a million steelworkers, 1 billion dollars, which adds up to an average pay loss to each of $2,000. The companies lost 1 billion 100 million; railroads, that could not very well afford it, lost 215 million; and, unless fortune smites on them, they and their workers, who lost 120 million in wages in the steel strike, may not make that up. With their depletion of their liquid assets, steelworkers of the country lost 1 billion 750 million; industry lost 1 billion 500 million; and the government lost 1 billion 600 million; a grand total loss of 4 billion 850 million dollars. Think of what such a fund would do toward solving job displacement resulting from automation.

What triggered this huge economic loss? What brought on this near tragedy, if not real tragedy, to the industrial scene? Well, it was the decision as to whether the 500,000 steelworkers would go on strike, or continue to work under the old contract at their existing wage rate, at a time when their bargaining representatives had reached a real impasse in the effort to get a new and better contract. Viewed at this point, the decision to strike seems unreasonable. But with our present collective bargaining machinery, what was the alternative? The union would have to yield to the company demands. But a policy of yielding would, of course, mean the end of collective bargaining.

Legislation and National Emergencies

Those whose business it is to prevent recurrence of the events of the steel dilemma—the impasse, the strike and then the industrial strike—must report to be working with the problem of adequate legislation. Without the benefit of profound study or collaboration with the experts, and speaking strictly for myself, I offer the following observations, not really as a proposal for amending present national emergency provisions of the law, but merely to provoke thinking on this subject that may soon be very much in the public mind.

It seems reasonable that when a work stoppage is threatened there should be intervention in behalf of the public beyond the mediation services now available, and which in many instances have been utilized with great effectiveness. Such intervention should come before the strike—not after—but not until a real stalemate has been reached by the negotiators. With work continuing under the old contract, subject to possible adjustment retroactively under any new contract signed, public intervention might then go beyond the unsuccessful efforts to conciliate into fact finding, or clarification of the issues and points of difference between the parties. Then following an additional period of good faith bargaining, assuming a continued impasse, actual recommendations for settlement might be made. It would seem reasonable that the knowledge, and familiarity with the issues, of the conciliators might well be utilized in such subsequent public intervention.

If all of this should fail to result in settlement of the dispute, resort might then be had either to an established tribunal or a tripartite board consisting of representatives of labor, management, and the public. The function of the tribunal would be to review all that had gone before, and to render an advisory opinion, or to what would constitute a final settlement. In those cases involving legal questions, claimed to

Technician-Engineer
be impediments to settlement, this function might well be vested in a designated court.

Neither labor nor management would be expected to endorse any such proposal that skirts so close to compulsory arbitration. But their objectives, meritorious as they are, must be considered in the light of the public welfare, and the dire consequences that flow from our present system of almost complete freedom to disagree. In labor disputes, as in international tensions, there is merit in any device that will keep the belligerents talking, while the wheels of industry keep turning.

These suggestions go further than most knowledgeable persons would now advocate, and almost certainly further than Congress will legislate. But if there is no easing in the strain on the economy that has already been sustained and that now continues to threaten by reason of the steel strike and by one or more similar situations in the making, some further restraint on freedom of bargaining will be demanded by Mr. John Q. Citizen. He still rules the roost, despite our inclination at times to think otherwise—witness the spectacle of the passage of the Landrum-Griffin bill with the aid of the many labor-supported members of the 86th Congress.

New Attitudes of Good Will and Cooperation

But even more important than any legislative device will be the attitudes of the men who head up our great industries and those who speak for the employees. Stockholders, from their remote positions, and the rank and file workers from theirs, should speak up in the interest of a new and enlightened cooperation. Somehow the owners and management, on the one hand, and the unions and the workers on the other, must come to realize that there are values other than greater profits and higher wages which are of tremendous importance in the traditional American way of life that are already threatened by outside forces. Management and the unions cannot afford to risk these higher values by slugging it out to the death in the arena of pure materialism. Only when and if labor and management lift their eyes to these new heights, can they hope to see, through the haze, the great sunny day. On that day the bitterness, and the clamor and the anger will die down and our production team of labor and management will truly seek to serve each other. Then will come the realization that to treat others as you would be treated, is not a platitude but a vital rule of conduct from which neither union nor industry is exempt.

But the haze that hovers over the summit of our horizon is deep purple. Union leaders who have won for their members the great benefits they enjoy, through the strike and aggressive attacks on employers who either assumed or were given the roles of entrenched enemies, now naturally look backward to old methods and looking back, may not, because of their sense of victory, get the full view ahead. Similarly some industrial leaders, reared in the tradition of fighting unions and perhaps defeating them and loving it, who even two years ago showed signs of real cooperation, now appear to many to have fallen back into the old rut, as if unionism could and should be eliminated from the American scene. And who can change the heart of man? Unfortunately, not Congress. This is the core of our problem. A story points it up. A father, partly motivated by a desire for a free evening with his newspaper, stopped at a store and bought his young son a very complicated jigsaw puzzle of the world. After supper he gave it to the eager boy and settled down to read. In an amazingly short time the lad displayed the puzzle completely solved. “How in the world did you manage that so quickly, son?” asked the father. The boy, explained that there was a picture of a man on the back of the puzzle. “I put the man together,” he said, “and the world came out all right.”

It is very hard for human beings to accept change. Across the decades come the words of Lincoln. Leaders in labor and in management should take heed. “The dogmas of the quiet past,” said the great man, “are inadequate for the stormy present. We must think anew, we must act anew, we must disenchew ourselves.” And when we do this in the area of industrial relations we can all say with renewed conviction that this government shall not perish but shall continue to stand as a bulwark of strength against devastating forces that threaten the freedom of all men everywhere.

January, 1960
This IS Progress!

The Minneapolis Labor Review notes that “The impossible has happened!” A big, wealthy national magazine has finally conceded that the Bricklayers' Union “puts no limit on the number of bricks a man can lay per day.”

The Saturday Evening Post pulled the rug out from under a favorite anti-union allegation in captions accompanying a double-page photo of a state bricklaying contest for apprentices conducted in Glen Falls, N. Y., under union sponsorship.

Fit to Be Tied

In London, England, union necktie workers for once agreed with their bosses that women can judge men by the ties they wear. Here are the warning signals for females: “WHITE OR VERY PALE-COLORED TIE—the man is a wolf; PRINTED SILK TIE—the wearer is a tighthead; TIE THAT MATCHES SUIT—the man is very timid; OFF-BEAT COLOR (OLIVE GREEN, LAVENDER)—denotes a lady-killer; BROCADE TIE WITH SMALL PATTERN—the man is an obvious coward; MAROON TIE—man is very dull, a conformist; HANDSPUN WOOL TIE—the man would rather talk about football than sex; TIE TIED IN SMALL, NEAT KNOT—a methodical, organizational man; BIG LOOSELY TIED KNOT—shifty, untrustworthy; BOW TIE—a woman can expect nearly anything from him.”

Say Again?

According to Electronics, industry magazine 59 per cent of all electronics business is military. The editor says, “This hangs sharply into our consciousness at the Christmas season.” And on earth—peace?

Bless You, One and All!

In Derby, England, union officials told the story of workers in a large plant who made secret plans to stage a huge and elaborate office party for an 80-year-old cleaning woman who had spent the better part of her life with the company. Somehow, however, the secret leaked out and the old woman got wind of it. She rushed off to the office manager. “Please, sir,” she cried, “don't let them do it! Don't let them do it!” “Oh, come now, Mrs. McIntosh,” said the manager, “you mustn't be modest. After all, the workers simply want to show you the great affection in which they hold you.” “Affection, me eye,” exclaimed the aroused lady, “I ain't goin' to clean up after a big mess like that!”

Editor Raps Editors

“We ought to be indignant about the ethical shortcomings of television or any other quasi-public institution. But our indignation would be better founded and more credible, if we also managed to muster a few olfactory shoulders about the garbage in our own backyard. Better yet, we might even try to clean it up.”

Dissolving Bromide

In Chicago, that old bargaining table—bromide of bosses, “Why, I work harder and longer than my employees” was blasted to a f f u f f us s e w e l l b y the American Medical Association. Executives don't need more extensive medical examinations than those received by other employees, the AMA concluded, because bosses are not subject to any more stress or strain than workers generally.

Social Security Up

On January 1, 1960, the social security contribution rate became 3 per cent each for wage earners and their employers, and 4½ per cent for the self-employed. These rates apply to the first $4,800 of earnings.