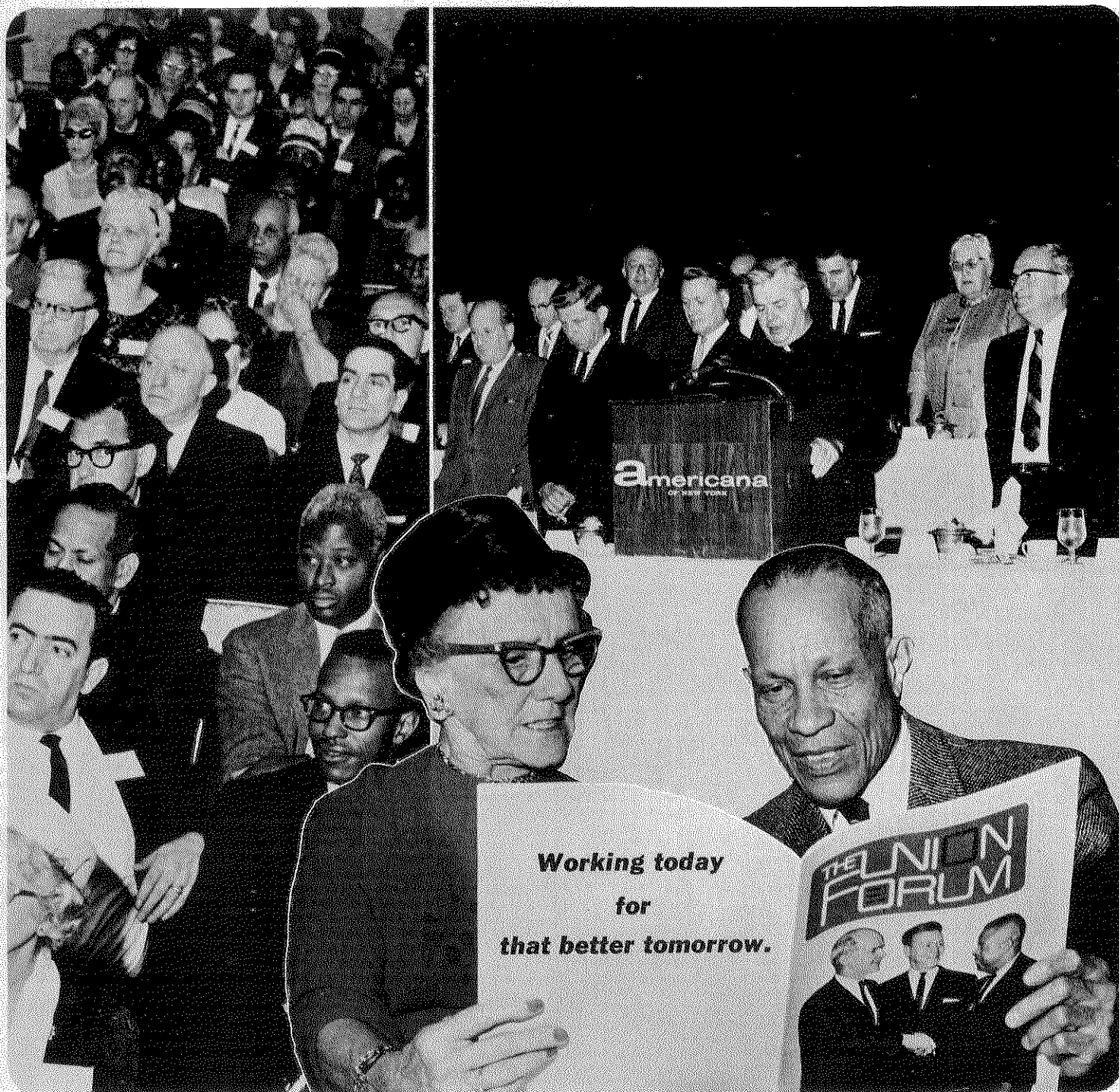


# THE UNION FORUM

VOLUME II  
NUMBER I  
MAR. / 1968



## A REPORT

# THE CALL TO ACTION

This issue of *The Union Forum* constitutes a report, in pictures and text, of the activities and progress of the Allied Educational Foundation during 1967.

Through our various projects—the Educational Conferences, the Workshop Abroad, scholarships, the activities of our Union Mutual Benefit Association, the classes for shop stewards—we have made the Foundation a living, vibrant reality for our members. We are proud of the program we have developed—but pride does not blind us to the fact that much more must be done to realize the aim set forth in our slogan: “Make today better than yesterday—and tomorrow better than today!”

Our program and its various projects are still in the experimental stage. We recognize, of course, that there is room for improvement—for us it is the largest room in the house. And as experiment passes into experience, we are confident that the program will be more effective and better. Just as 1967 was an improvement on 1966, so likewise do we anticipate that 1968 will be an improvement on 1967.

The projects of the Foundation are neither a final objective nor a finished work. Rather, they are a challenge, constantly renewed, beckoning us toward a destiny where the meaning of our lives matches the efforts we put forth to

strengthen and enrich our Foundation as the instrument for the realization of the hopes and aspirations of the Union members we are privileged to serve.

For our Foundation and indeed for our nation and world the road ahead is strewn with many dangers, the first of which is the danger of futility—the belief that there is nothing one person or one organization can do against the enormous array of social ills—misery, injustice and violence. Few, admittedly, will have the greatness to bend history itself—but each of us can work to change a small portion of events, and in the total of all those acts will be written the history of this generation. Each time we illuminate a problem, or act to improve the lot of others, or stand up for an ideal—things we are doing constantly through the projects of the Foundation—we send forth a tiny ripple of hope. And crossing each other from thousands of different centers of energy and daring, such as our own Foundation, those ripples build a current that can sweep down the mightiest walls of darkness, misunderstanding and oppression.

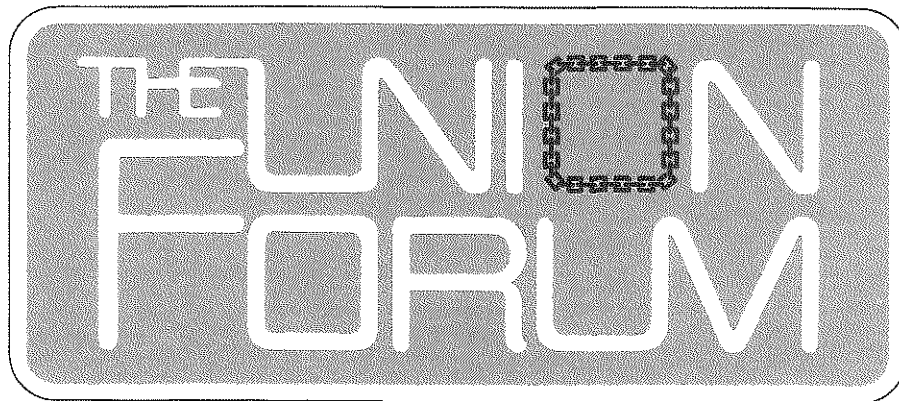
The high aspirations and deep convictions of our Foundation are, I submit, not incompatible with the most practical and effective of programs. There is no basic inconsistency, as the work of Foundation underscores, between ideals and realistic possibilities, no separation between the deepest desires of heart and mind and the rational application of human effort to human problems. But it requires adherence to standards and to vision which takes great courage and self-confidence.

These qualities are vital for those who seek to understand, let alone change, a world that yields most painfully to understanding and change. And the work of our Foundation will be judged, ultimately, not only by the immediate benefits it produces but also by its long-range impact upon understanding and change. There is pride in that, even arrogance, but there is also experience and truth. In any event, it is the only way we in the Foundation can live.

This, then, is a report on the Allied Educational Foundation—its projects and its progress—a report that must be, above all else, a call to action.



*George Barant*



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MARCH, 1968

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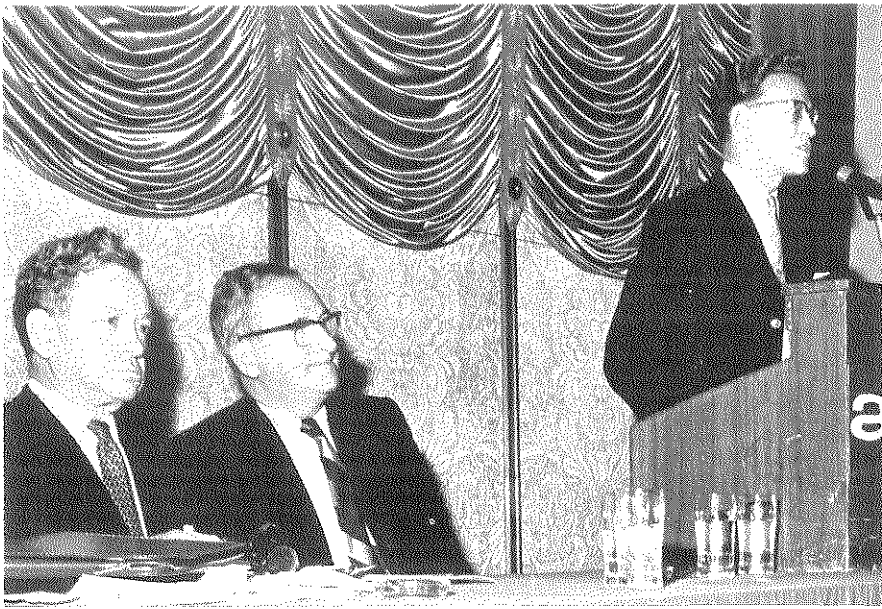
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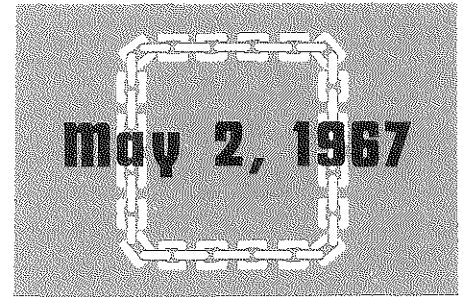
### ON THE COVER

The pictorial montage illustrates some of the activities carried on by the Allied Educational Foundation in behalf of its members and their aspirations for a better life. On the dias, delivering the invocation at the May 2 Educational Conference, is Father John Morrisson, while "the crowd shot" was taken at the November 21 Educational Conference. And reading the Union Forum with vivid interest and gusto are two senior members who through their Union Mutual Benefit Association proudly proclaim that "we will never retire."





*George Barasch opens the Educational Conference with an outline of aims and objectives which gave the participants a sense both of belonging and of confidence. This keynote was the prelude to an introduction of the initial speaker, Max Lerner, noted educator and Columnist for The New York Post (on left).*



# OUR EDUCATIONAL CONFERENCES

## A Pictorial Summary



*Martin Luther King does double-duty in answering questions from members of the press while affixing his autograph for our members, including Union Representative Jesse France who also had an opportunity to ask the civil rights' leader some questions of his own.*

There is an ancient fable about men of two factions negotiating across an open space in bitterly cold weather, keeping their distance in the fear that to go nearer would mean capture. But the frost was so intense that the words, instead of reaching the other side, froze in the air between them—until some resourceful person lit a warming fire. In the temperate atmosphere the words, which had remained in icy suspense, now began “to melt, to run down in little runnels, into a low murmur, resembling the thawing dripping of spring, and finally were heard distinctly,” so that the bargaining could continue.

In this tale lies an apt illustration of the Educational Conferences held under the auspices of the Allied Educational Foundation in May and November of 1967. They set an atmosphere of moderation within which the voices of America—the leaders from every walk of life, the shakers and movers of our society—may be heard. They give opportunity for the exercise of some of the often overlooked and underrated qualities operative in enlightened democracy—a tactful and good-humored insight into our problems as well as a decent respect for the opinions of mankind.

They provide also the opportunity of leisure, of detachment from the workaday world, which is an urgent condition for the success of democracy, for only in leisure can the critical mind function well. Ideas and action contrived under stress can often be brittle.

The Conferences also set important bounds by enabling private individuals, like our shop stewards and senior citizens, to take part in public affairs—and public officials, including a Supreme Court Justice and United States Senators, to talk as private citizens. They reduce the distance between such officials and specialists, on the one hand, and the rank-and-file, on the other.





*Whether it is in checking in or checking out, the accent is on efficiency, courtesy and promptness. An experienced staff in front and in back of the desks moves the audience with ease and precision.*

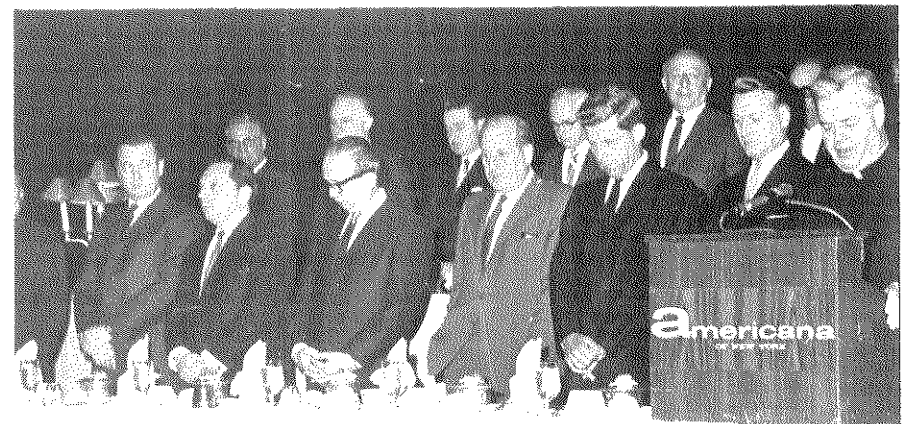
*A pointing finger gives emphasis to humorous remarks by Union Representative Jesse France to a group of shop stewards who are flanked by (l.) Ben Camedeco, Vice President, and Henry Freedman, Secretary-Treasurer.*



*The appearance of Martin Luther King on the dais precipitated a sustained round of applause. "The fight must go on. The cause of civil rights must not be surrendered at the end of one or even one hundred defeats," the Chairman stated as he introduced the speaker.*



*Senator Gale W. McGee (D., Wyoming) illuminates point on Viet Nam—in which he expressed the Administration position—to the obvious gratification of two veteran State Legislators—Senator Simon Leibowitz and Assemblyman Stanley Steingut.*



*Father John J. Morrisson delivers invocation at the commencement of the luncheon period*

Those of us who shaped the Educational Conferences as well as participated in them feel part of America and love it, but we are not compelled to regard the object of our love as anything but fallible and mortal. Our America is a society open to the pouring in of experience, and at the Conferences we have partaken freely of the experiences of leading American thinkers and doers—even those whose thoughts and actions may not coincide with those of American trade unionists.

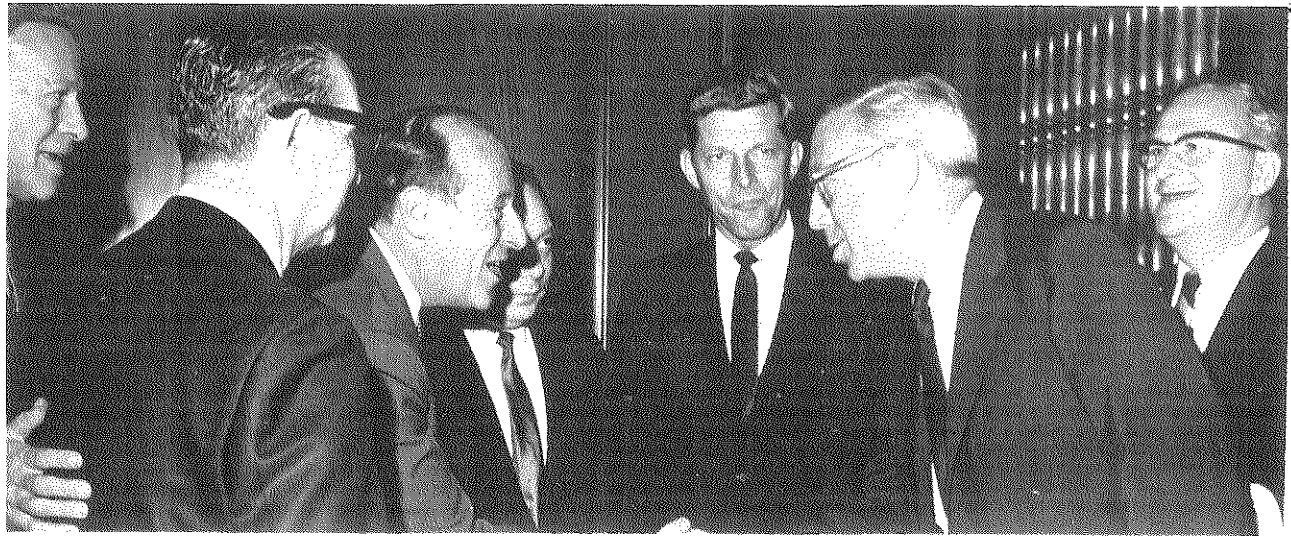
We do not feel ill at ease in presenting our platform as a forum for so many conflicting views. We respect the views of those who come before us but we judge these views from the standpoint of trade unionism. And this is the frame of reference—always striving, never satisfied—which will continue to be the point of departure of the Conferences.

The pages that follow give a birds-eye view of what took place at our two Conferences last year. They cannot do justice, however, to the events themselves. Some of the words seem a little cold now, after a lapse of up to almost a year—but the pictures help to reconstruct the original setting and mood and in this way to recapture the hot, stinging moment of urgency.

*Trustee Hyman Plotnick points to an item in The Union Forum to Father John J. Morrisson as Frank Lasky and Samuel LaMar, Vice-President and President of the Allied Trades Council, also take a "look-see".*







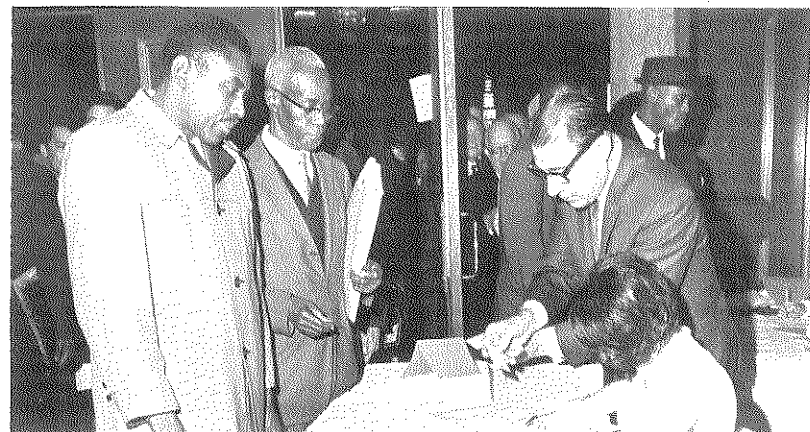
*Two "Stans"—Stanley Steingut, the New York Democratic leader and Assemblyman, and Stanley Levey, National Labor Columnist for Scripps-Howard chain of newspapers—exchange greetings as VIP's gather at pre-luncheon session. State Senator Simon J. Leebowitz, Congressman Frank Brascoe and U. S. Senator Gale McGee look on approvingly.*



**May 2, 1967**

*Applause punctuated the prediction by the Reverend Martin Luther King, an outstanding leader in the fight for civil rights, that only the implementation of a positive program against poverty would avert "a long, hot summer"—a prediction that was to be realized in the violent outbreaks in Detroit and two dozen other American cities during 1967.*

*Secretary-Treasurer Henry Freedman supervises check-out at the Educational Conference. As always, he is the first to arrive and the last to leave.*

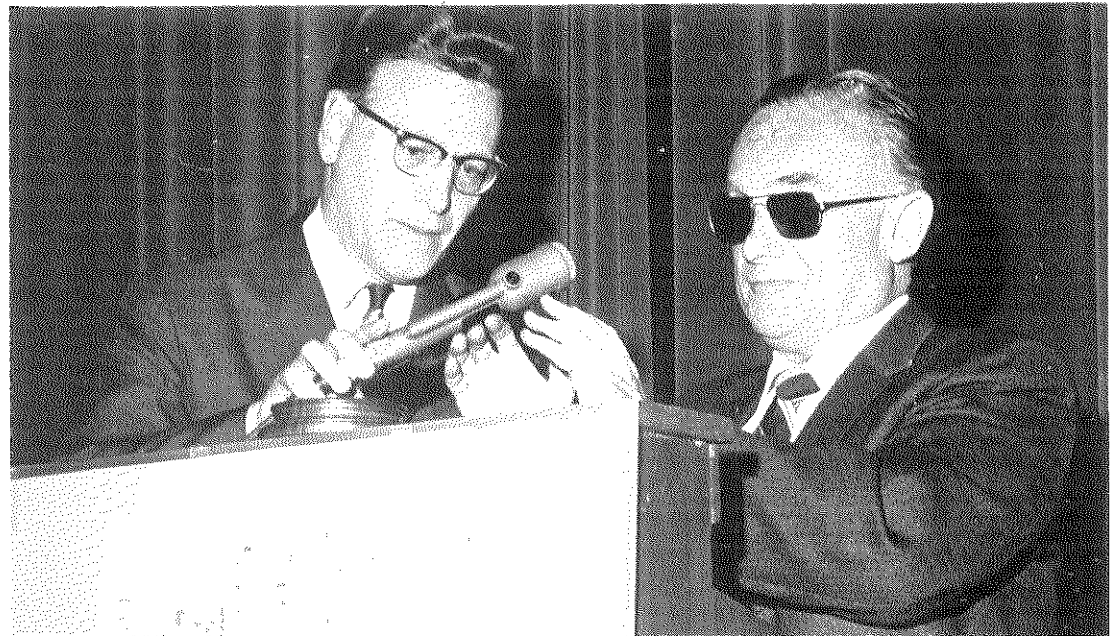




nov. 21, 1967



*Abe Weiss takes a leaf from Senator Edward Brooke's book—"The Challenge of Change"—to introduce "one of the rising stars in the American political firmament today." The Senator has traveled extensively throughout the world and has spoken enthusiastically about the greatness of the American society.*



*After introducing Victor Riesel as a long-time friend of our Union and active in the various projects of the Allied Educational Foundation, the chairman adjusts mike for the final speaker of the session, whose good humor and stories about labor kept the audience interested to the very end of the Conference.*



*Representative Jesse France and shop stewards manifestly concur with the hearty congratulations being extended by President Nick Sceusa to Senator Edward O. Brooke after his eloquent and forthright presentation which ripped at the very roots of our civil rights crisis.*

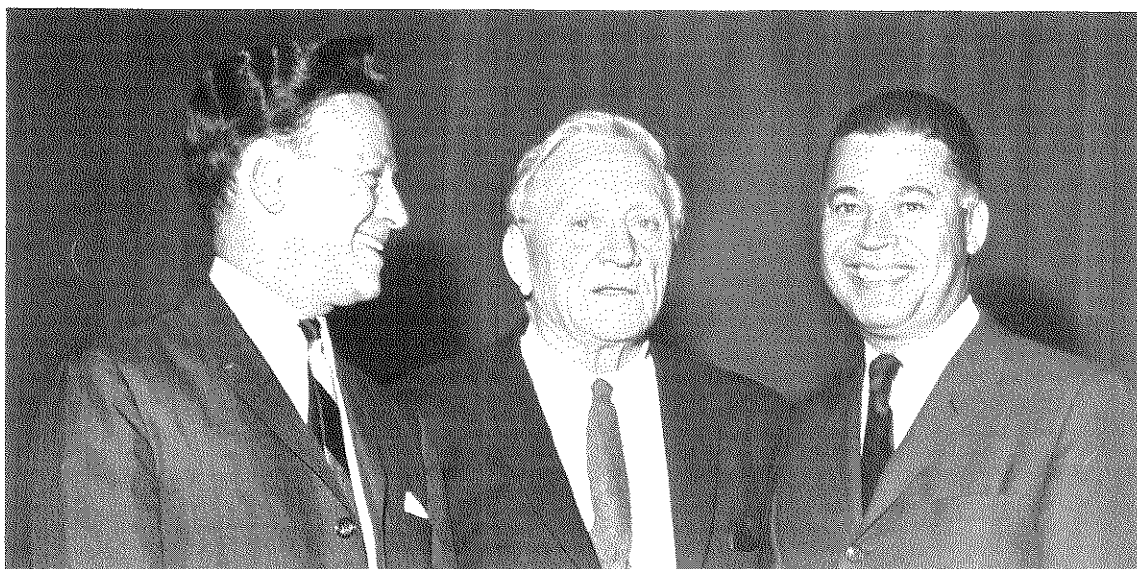


*A tremendous array of juridical talent was in attendance at the Educational Conference. Shown, l. to r., are Federal Judge John Cannella, U.S. Supreme Court Justice William O. Douglas, Supreme Court Justice Louis I. Heller, Supreme Court Justice Frank Pino, Justice Louis I. Kaplan and the Chairman.*

One more point: to ask an editor to pick out a portion of a lecturer's remarks and let the rest die in the musty files of a transcript is like asking a mother to choose which of her brood of children she will put into a crowded lifeboat when there is only room for a few. Like the parent, the editor feels that he is committing infanticide. But he has been fortunate in obtaining the cooperation of the guest lecturers in telescoping their remarks into the selections cited below.

None of the issues, finally, with which the Educational Conferences were concerned, have been or can be settled. But that is as it should be, in this world of tragedy and conflict and free choice, in an always unfinished country. And so long as it will be, it gives meaning and substance to our Educational Conferences whose influence and reputation go far beyond the confines of the hotel in which it was held or for the immediate audience of shop stewards.

*A smiling trio—George Barasch, Justice William O. Douglas and Senator Edward Brooke—is captured on film by the alert photographer.*







Nov. 21, 1967

*Father Morrisson gets together with the Fund Trustees during the reception period. From l. to r.: Lewis G. Bernstein Boris Liebmann, Richard Glazer, Father Morrisson, Manuel Tobias, Hyman Plotnick, Paul Hardy and Frank Lasky.*



*Senator John O. Pastore (D., R.I.)—“a tireless campaigner, a statesman respected throughout the world, and an orator who has few peers”—is being introduced by Abe S. Weiss with the statement that there are few Senators who can speak “more authoritatively in behalf of the Administration than our guest speaker.”*

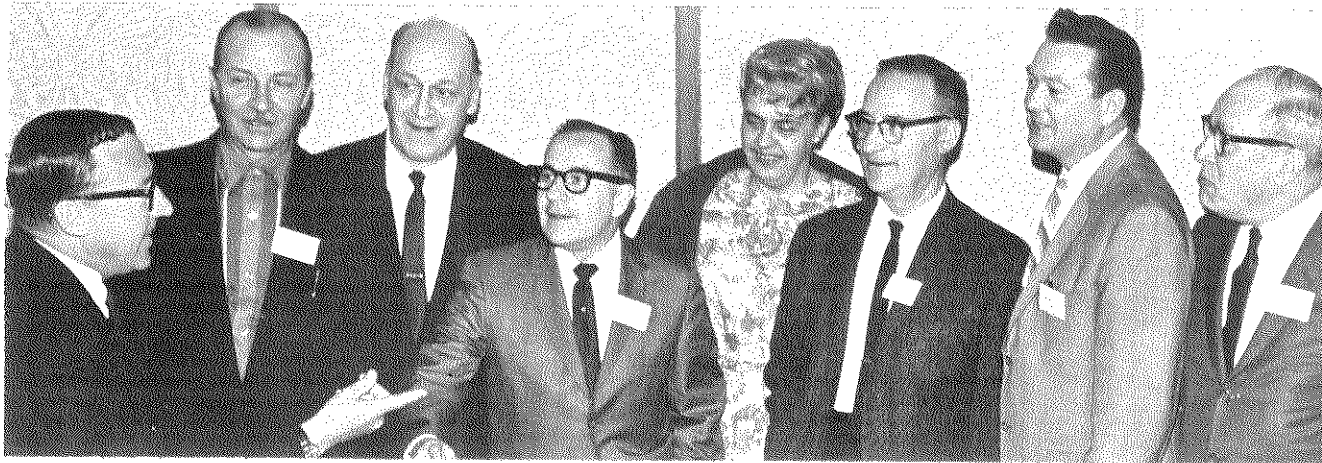


*Like everything else, the check-in went smoothly and effectively—a tribute to the planning and follow-through by staff whose skill and knowledge contributed so much to the success of the project.*



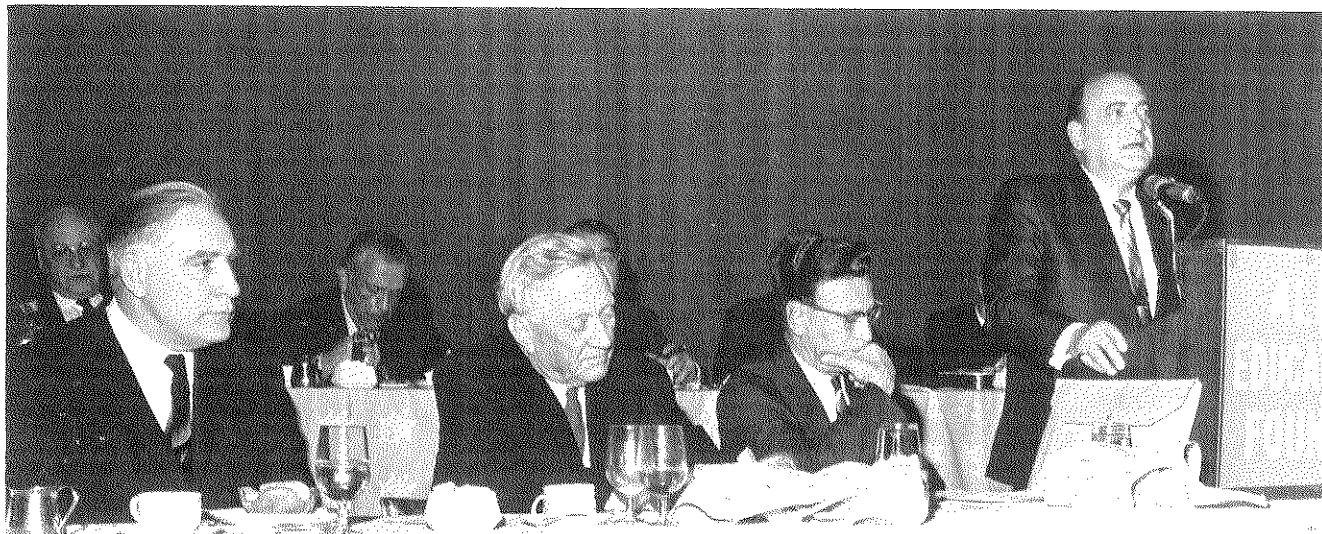


*From George Barasch to Justice William O. Douglas in a sentiment registering the feeling of the audience: "We are indeed deeply indebted to you, Mr. Justice Douglas, for the clarity of your remarks and for stimulating our thinking. We will treasure your appearance here as one of our most memorable occasions."*



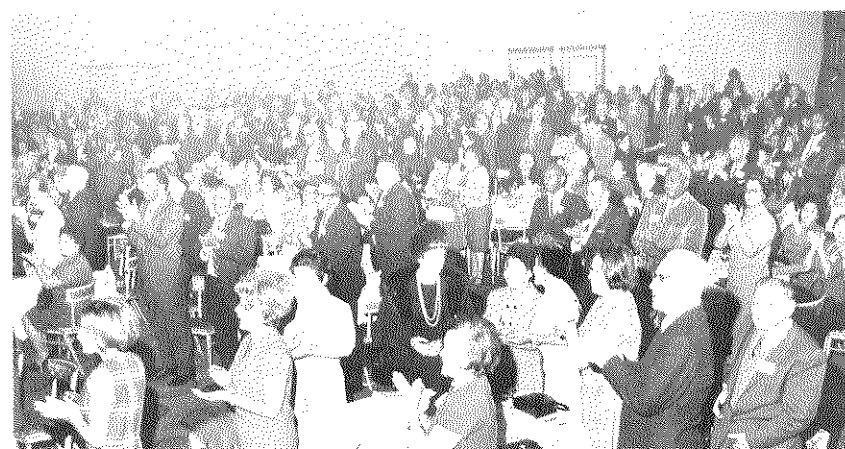
*Buddy Hipes, Union Representative (on left), discusses with a group of shop stewards a point made by one of the speakers in the morning session which had obviously made an impression upon the group.*

*Joseph Treretola, President of Joint Council 16 and International Vice-President of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, lauds the work of the Allied Educational Foundation as, l. to r., Federal Judge John Canella, U. S. Supreme Court Justice William O. Douglas and George Barasch listen intently.*





*A view of the dais—or, at least, of one side of it—as George Barasch does the introductory honors for the distinguished galaxy of public figures, labor leaders, educators and Foundation Trustees.*



*A spontaneous and enthusiastic expression of tribute by the assemblage was recorded as Justice William O. Douglas completed his illuminating remarks on America's relationship to Asia in this troubled era.*



*Senator John O. Pastore has been quoted as favoring the kind of straight thought and straight talk that will lift people out of their seats. If proof of this is needed, take a look at our audience after he had concluded his remarks on Viet Nam.*



*The seriousness and intensity with which the Shop Stewards, followed the discussions is reflected in this audience shot taken during the talk by Senator John O. Pastore.*

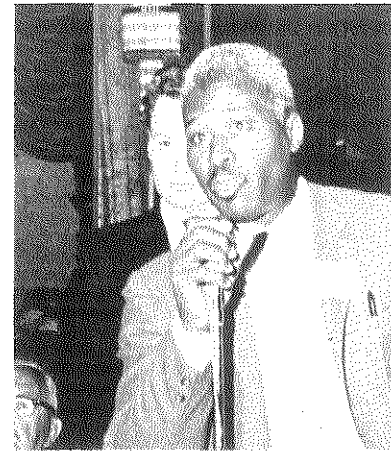
# OUR MEMBERS QUESTION THE SPEAKERS

At the turn of the century Jay Gould, the industrialist, spoke contemptuously of labor when he said, "I can buy half of the workingmen to kill the other half." Today, the workingmen and women, acquiring vast power through education, have changed the tone of industry. They are searching for knowledge which will help them advance their social and economic conditions. The questions represent the feelings of our members who have secured their gains and are looking towards the future with confidence. Whatever the reason—clarification of a point made, the relevancy of a fact or opinion not noted by the speaker, or the introduction of a contradictory viewpoint—our members felt it was not only "better" but proper to ask questions. And ask they did, as can be seen on this and the next page (taken at the May 2 Conference) or on the following two pages (taken at the November 21 Conference.)



**Alice Cousins**

*What do you feel can be done to repair the damage that Stokely Carmichael and Cassius Clay have done to the image of civil rights? What, Dr. King, are your views?*



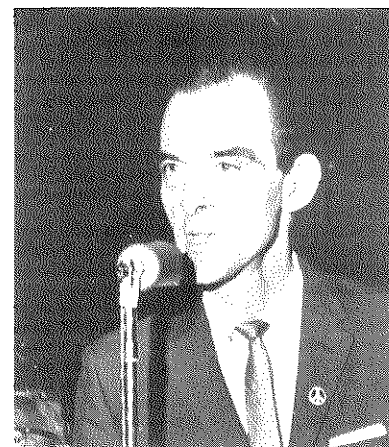
**Anthony Mayo**

*Mr. Salisbury, I'd like to ask you in your estimation of China coming into the war, do you believe that China could carry the nuclear war to America as well as we could carry it to them?*



**Ina Henriquez**

*Dr. King, do you feel that your recent statement on Vietnam will affect the Negro fighting men, their morale?*



**Herbert Lyle**

*Mr. Lerner, how are we going to communicate with the younger generation? For example, take my son, how can I communicate with him? He throws words like existentialism at me and new concepts of life. Do I have to go to college and study all these theories so I can communicate with him? I find it very difficult to communicate with the younger generation.*





**Felix Vasquez**

*I heard—Mr. Wechsler—that a candidate like Governor Wallace would be better for liberals than for the conservatives. I would like to know what is your opinion of Martin Luther King running in a fourth party, and what effect will he have on any candidate running as a liberal?*



**Nick Sceusa**

*Mr. Salisbury, do you think we are getting the right reports on our casualties in Vietnam?*



**Richard Kralik**

*Mr. Lerner, the newspapers, radio and TV and movies in their news information tend to emphasize the more sordid aspects of events in our lives. How much do you think they are contributing to the possibility of the decline of our society?*



**Garland Floyd**

*Dr. King, would it not be the best move for the Negro to stop race riots?*



**Manuel Tobias**

*I would like to find out why there is criticism just because the Congress gave President Johnson the power when our ships were attacked in the Bay of Tonkin to do what he really could do to stop this attack and help the Vietnamese people? Mr. Salisbury, I would like your opinion.*



**John Levi**

*A noted British historian said that if the United States pulls out of South Vietnam the country would be quickly unified under Ho Chi Minh. And I noted this morning in the New York Times that Secretary of State Rusk revealed that there were 28 peace proposals to Hanoi, all of which were rejected. Will you comment on that, Mr. Salisbury?*



**Joseph King**

*Don't you agree the President has done an outstanding job on domestic policy and this Vietnam war has been a political football and he has done everything in his power to create an honorable peace?*



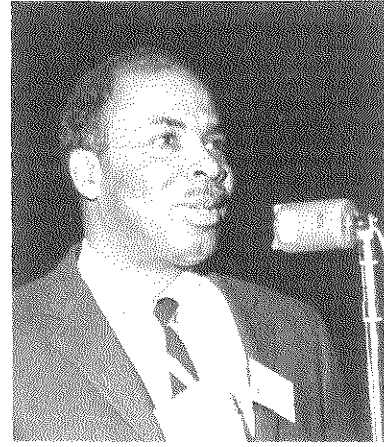
**James Casey**

*Senator, do you think if President Johnson had increased the military action in Vietnam, it would end this crisis so much sooner?*



**Douglas Fox**

*I would like to ask Dr. King as a Negro if he thinks that it would be really wise for us, for some of our race, to speak against cooperation of the two races. Would it not be better if we would get together and get our people together and teach more about unity than about killing the white man and getting against each other?*



**Thomas Stewart**

*I am sure there are responsible people who are protesting this war, who want to seek peace, who don't want to sell the country out, who believe peace can and is possible. I too also lost a nephew in Vietnam but I still believe in peace and I am still going to fight for it, but I am not going to sell our country out to obtain this.*



**Willie Allen**

*I would like to know your opinion of the growing opposition to the military draft?*



**Leroy Keel**

*Is America able to sustain, are they able to sustain the war there and make progress at home work?*



MAX LERNER, is Professor of American Civilization at Brandeis University and a regular columnist for the New York Post and other leading newspapers here and abroad. He has frequently appeared on television and radio and has written books on politics, law, education and social theory, including his now classic work *America as a Civilization* and, more recently, *The Age of Overkill: A Preface to World Politics*. He is one of the nation's most sought-after lecturers and commentators, and was the first speaker at the May 2 Educational Conference.

# BASIC IN

There is the violence of rebels without a cause who do not give a damn about anything. They have lost all their beliefs, all their faith and all that is left with them is this uprooting. Do you know, one can understand the violence of these youngsters on the street because all around them in America they see America as a horn of plenty, as the most sensual, affluent Babylonian civilization that ever existed, more Babylonian than the Babylonian civilization. They look around them and try to reach for this affluence and it eludes them and they feel frustrated, and the gap between what they are coming to expect and what they get is so great that it leads to violence. That is what violence comes out of, a sense of despair, a sense that life is really treating you badly, that nothing that you can do is bad, that anything goes.

\* \* \*

We call it a generational gap or the generation struggle. But it is very real, believe me. It has always been real. The generations have always misunderstood each other but it has never been quite the same as it is today. At the University of California at that first riot sit-in they had you remember one of the student leaders got up and said to this mass of students being harangued, "Never trust anyone over 30."

This is a crisis of trust that we are in because these young people have lost their sense of trust and lost the capacity to communicate with us as indeed we have lost the capacity to communicate with them. I think this is happening because as young people grow up in their adolescence there are two crucial phases that they have to go through; otherwise they cannot be mentally and psychologically healthy.

First, they have to identify themselves with someone, someone older, someone they admire, a father, a mother, an older brother, a teacher, a pastor or whoever it might be. They have to identify themselves with someone and shape themselves on someone. I must say I have been through that with my sons, with some of my students, and it is a very sweet thing. They think you are God, there is nothing you can do that is wrong. It is a marvelous, sweet, heady feeling.

Then comes the second phase that they have to go through, and that is rebellion. They have to rebel against the same person, the same authority upon which they shaped



# REALITIES

## AMERICAN LIFE

themselves originally and with which they are identified. This, too, is crucial because a young boy or girl cannot be themselves unless they first have broken away from whoever they identified with. May I say I have gone through that, too, with my sons and my students and they do not think I am God, in fact the very opposite.

That is a very bitter period for youngsters and for the older people but here is the important point. If you have gone through this first phase in a healthy way and found someone to identify with, then you have someone to rebel against and that is healthy. You come through that and eventually you come back to your family; there is a return. But if you have not gone through the first phase in a healthy way, if you have not had anyone to identify with or no one good, or no one that you trust, if that has not happened then you have no one to rebel against and then the rebellion becomes diffused and it becomes a rebellion against the whole of society, against the power structure, the establishment, whatever it may be, against the whole older generation. It becomes a rebellion against the world and life itself. Out of that comes the violence and the bitterness and the separation.

\* \* \*

What we need to do in this whole generational gap is not to say the devil has entered into these young people. I do not believe in the devil principle. It is not that the devil has entered into them and makes them do his bidding but that we must try to reestablish communication and reestablish trust.

I have never believed in this white supremacy thing because that breaks communication and trust. But neither do I believe in black supremacy, for that too, breaks communication and trust. I do not believe in white power or black power. I believe in shared power. I believe in people's power.

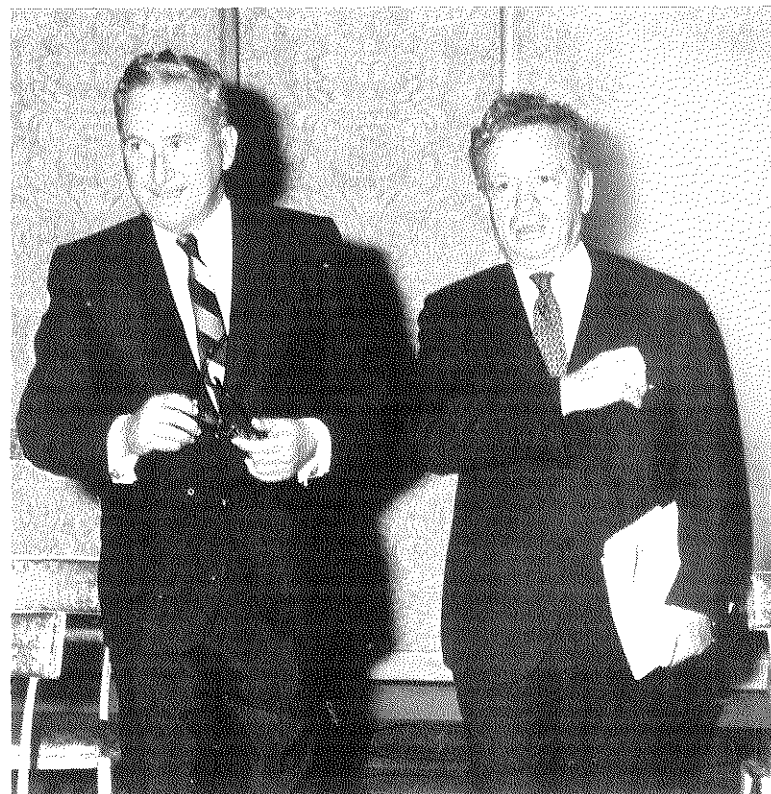
\* \* \*

We are being revolutionized by the new technology, by the computer. People are afraid that they are going so far that the human being himself will become a computer. I am not afraid of that. I have never been afraid of machines. I have never been a machine smasher. I think machines have their place; it is to relieve human beings of drudgery. I believe in work in the sense of some-

thing that a man is proud to do, that he really cares about. But I do not believe in human drudgery and for that reason when the machines come in, while there may be a period when you need to retrain, ultimately the revolution of the computer is a revolution that relieves us of human drudgery.

That leads me to the revolution of values, of things we believe in, of the things that make life worthwhile, otherwise the whole thing does not have very much meaning.

When young people cease to believe in a civilization, that civilization's days are numbered and the problem in our society between the young people and ourselves is to see whether we can shape a new set of beliefs, something that gives life meaning, that gives life purpose, so that these young people who have been trying to get a message to us will be able to feel there is a future for them to stretch out their hands to and to claim. And if we do not have some of these things I have been talking about, what Adlai Stevenson said will I fear be true: "There are other and bloodier hands than ourselves that will reach out to that future to claim it."



Abe Weiss escorts Max Lerner (r) into Imperial Ballroom of Americana Hotel to start the Educational Conference.

# CIVIL RIGHTS AT THE CROSSROADS

---

I need not pause to say how very delighted I am to be here today and to have the opportunity of being with you in this Educational Conference. I am happy to be here for several reasons. Certainly one is my great respect and close association with the Teamsters Union for quite some time now and, of course, there is another reason why I am happy to be here. And that is I just flew in from Atlanta, Georgia and as we were getting ready to land, because of weather conditions, it was a very turbulent and bumpy flight, and whenever I am caught in a turbulent flight situation I am always happy to get on the ground. Now, of course, I do not want to give you the impression that I do not have faith in God and the air as a Baptist preacher. It is simply I have had more experience with Him on the ground. I do want to say how happy I am to be here and I want to thank you for inviting me. It is always a rich and rewarding experience to take a brief break from the day to day demands of our struggle for freedom and human dignity and discuss the issues involved in that struggle with concerned friends of good will all over our nation.

I come to you today to discuss this issue that is certainly one of the most important issues facing our nation and facing the world. I want to try to talk very honestly about the civil rights movement and the problems that lie ahead and I want to talk frankly about what we must do in this period of transition.

The civil rights movement is not at a crossroads; it is white America that has reached the crossroads. It has come a part of the way toward its dream of a democratic society but now many are resisting its fulfillment and wish to stop short, to remain a half democracy. To put it in plain language, many Americans would like to have a nation which

is a democracy for white Americans but simultaneously a dictatorship over black Americans. The attempt to hold onto this is hopeless and an unjust solution and the resistance to the Negro's demands for genuine rights are creating the tensions of today.

White resistance to the next stage of democracy is dividing their nation and creating bitterness and social turmoil. I want to be very clear that I am not saying that we have a pure black against white conflict. Tens of millions of white Americans are sincere allies of Negroes. They are allies not only because they cherish decency and justice; they are allies because they know democracy is indivisible. If it can be denied because the color of their skin is different, it can be denied to others because they too may be different, whether it be their parents' birthplace, their church or station in society. Another reason that Negroes and so many whites are united against reaction is that Negroes are not the only poor in the nation. There are nearly twice as many white poor as Negroes and therefore the struggle against poverty is not involved solely with color or race discrimination but with elementary economic justice.

\* \* \*

There are two indispensable conditions that the guaranteed annual income operates as a consistently possessive measure. First it must be paid to the medium income of society, not to the lowest level of income. To guarantee an income at the floor would simply perpetuate welfare standards and freeze society into poverty conditions. Second, a guaranteed income must not be rigid but dynamic. It must automatically increase as the total social income grows. If permitted to remain static under growth conditions the recipients would be suffering a relative decline. If periodic reviews disclose the whole



national income has risen then the guaranteed income would have to be adjusted upwards by the same percentage. Without these safeguards a creeping retrogression would occur in not applying the positive characteristics of security and stability provided by the guaranteed annual income.

The contemporary tendency in our society is to base our distribution on scarcity which has vanished and to press our abundance into overfed mouths of the middle and upper classes until they die with superfluity. If democracy is to have breath of meaning, it is necessary to adjust this inequity. It is not only moral but it is intelligent. We are wasting and degrading human life by clinging to archaic thinking.

The curse of poverty has no justification in our age. It is socially as cruel and blind as the practice of cannibalism at the dawn of civilization when men ate each other because they had not yet learned to take food from the soil or to consume the abundant animal life around them. The time has come for us to civilize ourselves by the total, direct and immediate abolition of poverty.

In conclusion, I want to say something about your union because it is not said often enough. The press had a field day in attacking the Teamsters and many public officials found it advantageous to identify with the attack on you. In spite of these attacks you have gone about your significant work and certainly there is one area that I know very well. The Teamsters Union has perhaps the highest percentage of Negroes in its membership of any major union in the country. You did not have to be ordered by courts to take in Negro members. You did not have to be pressured by demonstrations to be fair and decent. You are as subject as any other Americans to prejudice but you dealt with it as men should. I wish that in this respect other unions, churches, business organizations, schools and universities would try to learn something from you because in your experience you can teach some profound democratic lessons to a great many self-righteous critics. If at its foundation the nation does not find its way to brotherhood it is not going to find security, it is not going to find self-respect. I think the leadership of these noble goals is going to come not from the high and mighty but from the ordinary man who like you solve problems in work by honestly facing them. Therefore, I hope you will raise your voices and demand to be heard because you have something to say and the future of the nation may well depend upon how carefully it listens to those who had the courage to pioneer and the character to be right.



## **Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.**

DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING JR., is the President of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference which under his dynamic leadership and guided by his philosophy of non-violence has sparked the drive for equal rights for all American citizens. The coveted Nobel Peace Prize was awarded to him in 1964—the youngest person ever to receive it—"for the furtherance of brotherhood among men". A man of his time and for all times, he has earned universal respect as the moral conscience of America and an eloquent spokesman for the ideals of democracy.



# A CONSTRU FOREIGN

**Senator Gale W. McGee**

I want to talk very frankly today about this toughest of all our current questions, the question of Vietnam. I say tough because it touches us in a way that we have never known or experienced previously in history.

I submit these three things. It is the first war that we have ever fought on TV. It is the first war that almost entirely is reported from just one side. It is the first war in which we have had an instant communication about every little breath that is taken or lost over there on those torturous battlefronts.

My point to you, is that we are living in this very unique time when instant communication throws us so close to the developments of every crisis that we tend to be engulfed by the details and to lose sight of the bigger picture. Instant communication dwells upon chaos and we are living in a time of tremendous chaos and change, the change in development and the sweeping inequalities

that reach into all corners of the globe are bound to be chaotic; and when you are reporting change you are reporting chaos. What you fail to report is that civilization is still moving ahead and it operates along the guidelines that experience and history have already laid out before us and our great blind spot is that in being captivated ourselves by the headlines we lose sight of the deep substance and sense of direction that mankind somehow manages to pursue with a purpose.

I would like to make a very pretentious undertaking by suggesting that some day you and I will be able to look backwards on Vietnam and discover the place that it will occupy in the history books. I think it is important we try to reconstruct what is taking place with us, in us and around us right now and cast it upon the page of history that it will some day fill. I would like to pretend to undertake that kind of project at this moment. If we are to do this it seems to me that we have to put first things first and that you have to understand that the issue is not Vietnam.

Let me repeat that. If we are to understand Vietnam we have to understand that the issue is not Vietnam. The issue is all of Asia. The issue is political balance and stability in an area that was left in almost total wreckage in the wake of World War II. In the wake of that war we in the United States occupy a unique position of being one of the two great powers that survived it capable of waging any kind of campaign for a new form of peace in the world.

Whether we like it or not the only substitute that modern man has worked at for war is the balance of power, political

GALE W. McGee, United States Senator from Wyoming, is an acknowledged leader of this celebrated Upper House of Congress. In addition he has also served on such key committees as Foreign Relations, Commerce, Banking and Currency and Post Office and Civil Service. He plunged into political life from the academic world, obtaining a Ph.D. at the University of Chicago where he was also a Professor of History. His remarks at the luncheon session on May 2 keyed the Educational Conference.



# CTIVE POLICY

equilibrium we call it. Some day I hope we are smart enough to get the war under law that we dream of. As the late Adlai Stevenson reminded us while he was Ambassador at the United Nations: "Before we can get to a world under law we have to get the world put back together again from the last war. We have to have a starting place and somehow we are going to have to draw a fine line that separates the forces of power around the globe and that fine line will be the mark of the new stability from which we can begin our long journey down the road into a better future."

Well, the events of the cold war these 25 years have recorded the incidence of adjusting the balance of forces in the world. Suffice it to say very quickly that our policy has been an exceedingly successful one in Europe. It probably reached its peak in 1948 in the Berlin Air Lift, where the ebb and flow of Soviet intentions was measured. Containment has not only been realized; it has brought about a revolutionary change in the whole climate of Europe and the new atmosphere that prevails there today reflects the success of the policy of our country.

The essence of our policy position in Asia has been to try to restrain any source that sought to use military force to change the boundary lines that he might then have with his neighbors. That was the why of the two Chinas, that was the why of Korea, that was the why of our rushing planes and supplies into India when Mainland China started her predatory activities along the borders of Tibet and India. That is the why of landing 12,000 Marines in Thailand in 1961.

We wage wars not for peace, do we? War has never been waged for peace. That skips a step. Every war is waged to try to win the chance to work at peace and the chance has to be won before the bricks can really be mortared into place. It is that chance that is still pending in Asia, a chance that has been successfully met all around the rim with its final test now being in Vietnam. Having come as far as we have, having proceeded along what has been a very tortuous and often bloody and certainly costly road for so long, it is almost literally possible to say there is the end of the trail looking up in sight and to falter now would be much more serious than just lousing up Southeast Asia. It would be tragic and forfeiting the consequences of very notable steps forward that have brought our present world desperately close to the chance for a better world. The price we have already paid for that chance ought to haunt us every night and what we do with that chance will determine the course of the history of our time.



Questions sympathetic to Senator McGee's approach to the knotty problem of Vietnam were voiced by Joseph Bowen, above, and Edward Braun.



HARRISON E. SALISBURY is the Managing Editor of The New York Times and an internationally-recognized authority on the Communist world. His distinguished career as a journalist started on the old Minneapolis Journal, matured as a foreign correspondent for the United Press and reached commanding heights at the Times, particularly for his Pulitzer-prize-winning observations on Russia and for his coverage of Southeast Asia. His two most recent books are *Orbit of China* and *Behind the Headlines—Hanoi*, an account of his recent visit to North Vietnam. "I am delighted to spend this day with you," he stated just before delivering his informative, albeit controversial, views on the burning issue facing the American people.



# WHAT NEXT IN VIETNAM

**Harrison E. Salisbury**

I want to turn to what the future may hold in this war because the future is not too propitious, as I see it. We had an opportunity for several months, in which we could have engaged in an undercover, underground clandestine exploration with the North Vietnamese to see if there was a ground for negotiation. I can say that with full authority because I happen to be privy to some of the secret messages that went back and forth between Hanoi and the United States. We could have done it. For reasons which I do not understand myself to this day we decided against it.

I believe that I can guess the reasons. I believe that in Washington it was interpreted that if Hanoi was ready to talk they were weak and we could read the signs as well as they, of the difficulty of the supply lines, of the conflict between Russia and China. And we decided to gamble, to put more pressure on them in the hope that six months from the start of the escalation we would not have to negotiate, a very difficult, arduous task, particularly for men who are a little bit tired and not too creative in their thinking. We would not have to negotiate, we would be able to hand a piece of paper to Hanoi and say, "Sign here." That was the decision, I believe. I may be wrong but I believe that was our decision and that is what underlies the escalation, the putting on of the pressure, the heat, the all-out effort to really smash them in the next few months with the hope that at the end of that time we will get a capitulation, a surrender.

Will that happen? I doubt that very much. If I were a gambling man I would bet ten to one against it. These people are not going to give up, not under those circumstances.



There is another thing which concerns me even more, and that is the risk to ourselves and indeed possibly to the whole world which is involved in this escalation. It is predicated on the idea that our only enemy is North Vietnam, the teeny, small, backward, weak almost defenseless country. That is true today. Will it be true tomorrow? I am not too sure. Behind Vietnam stands China. China is the great enigma. China is perhaps the key to what is going to happen in this war.

We have played this as though we were absolutely sure China would not come in. Is that a safe bet? I do not know. I directed my attention in Hanoi to this particular point. I said to the North Vietnamese themselves, "Under what circumstances would you ask China to send in her troops?" "Under three circumstances", they said to me.

If we carry the war, ("we," meaning the United States) north of the 17th Parallel into North Vietnam; if the United States sends amphibious forces North to land in the Gulf of Tonkin, and, thirdly, if we carry the war too close to the frontier with China, a deliberately vague formulation that could mean many things, but probably means if we bomb too close to China.

What happens then? Well, Hanoi may ask the Chinese in. They may say, "Come on in we need you." They do not want to ask the Chinese in, I know that. They have had China in their country before. The Chinese are their hereditary enemy. They have had a record of 3,000 years of fighting them. They are afraid to have them in because they might not leave. But faced with the alternative of what they would regard the obliteration and extermination of their country or calling on the Chinese, they would call for the Chinese.

That is not the only circumstance under which China might intervene. For more than a year the Chinese have been telling me, whenever I have been able to get into contact with them, that they regard this war as primarily directed against them. They see Vietnam as a springing off point, as a means of attack on China. They say "We know it is coming, we are expecting it. We are preparing. We know your tactics. We know your strategy." They then proceed to explain to me what they think we will do. They think we will launch a nuclear attack on them and we will strike for their nuclear facilities and then follow up by hitting their principal cities. They have even given me calculated estimates of 300 million they say will be killed in the first two waves of the American attack. But, then they shake their heads and say, "But that won't be the end of it. There will be still 500 million Chinese surviving and you will have to come in and

fight us hand to hand", in what they call "a war at 200 meters." The training manuals of the People's Armies of China for three years have been based on this concept of the final battle with the United States when the survivors, the 500 million, come out of their foxholes and caves and trenches and mountain hideouts to fight only within a range of 200 meters, when all our technology is valueless, when only the bayonet and rifle and the hand grenade are useful.

I hope the Chinese are wrong. I hope such a war never comes to our people. It is a war which our military people for generations have warned us against, the mass land war in Asia. This is the sort of thing which would waste all of our treasure and all of our manhood and strength and last 100 years.



Autographing his book—"Hanoi Behind the Headlines"—is Harrison E. Salisbury, Assistant Managing Editor of the *New York Times*. The award-winning study of what is taking place in North Vietnam was the frame of reference for an interesting analysis of American policy in Southeast Asia at the May 2 Educational Conference.

That is one of the prospects that lies right over the horizon. It could ensue if Hanoi called in China. It could ensue if China, which as you know from reading our papers is in a paranoid state these days, should misinterpret some move of ours as being the last step before the actual attack and attack herself. Why should they wait since they expect us to attack. I think there is very little chance that such a war with China could ever be confined to Vietnam nor could it be halted short of nuclear hostilities.

STANLEY LEVEY, is the chief labor columnist for the nationwide Scripps-Howard chain of newspapers. He earned his spurs as a labor reporter for The New York Times and served for many years as a news correspondent for the Columbia Broadcasting System. His coverage of labor and national events—in the press and on radio and TV—has gained him respect among trade unionists as a fair-minded and well-informed commentator, a viewpoint shared by his colleagues in the White House Correspondents Association.

### Stanley Levey

Like Mark Twain commenting on reports of his own death, I think the reports of the death of trade unionism and of the labor movement are grossly exaggerated. I see no evidence of death and certainly none of *rigor mortis*.

A few senior citizens here and there, a palsied hand here and there, some rather grim convictions which grow out of the intolerance of advancing years.

I think perhaps those of you who are the young people in the trade union movement ought to prod the old-timers a little bit and ought to push them a little bit. George (Barasch), you are too young to have that prescript apply to you. But I think there is a great deal the young people in the trade union movement can do to fashion and deter-



**“WHAT HAVE  
YOU DONE  
FOR ME  
LATELY?”**



mine and have some effect upon what their trade unions do, what they become and what they stand for.

As I see the trade union movement today, and I cover it every day in Washington and around the country, I see a great shifting mass of people mostly young, mostly vibrant, mostly aggressive, mostly people who want something more than what their leaders are giving them. They want security, yes, but security is the watchword of thirty years ago. This is 1967. Security does not mean very much to the great mass of the rank and file of the American trade union movement. The membership of the trade unions are made up of young people, not of middleaged people and not of old people but of young people, young people who do not subscribe to the same sentiments and same values and same ideologies, if you will, of the people who are their leaders, by and large, and of the people who have written the great and glorious trade union history of this country.

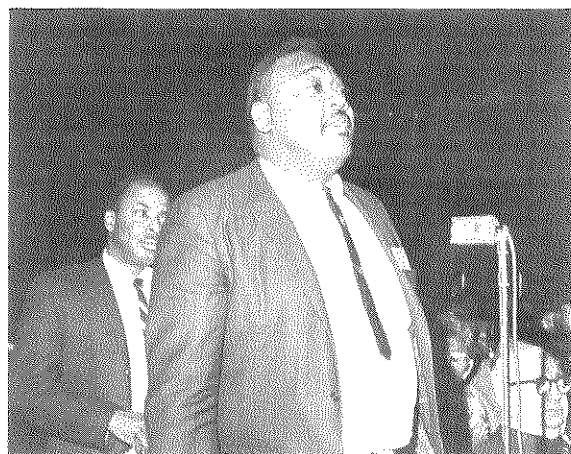
This younger generation is the generation that is throwing out its leaders, that is overturning contracts written in their name, that is pressing for new and exciting and vibrant contract causes. These are the young people who are saying, and I think quite properly, "what have you done for me lately?"

Reference to the battle of the overpass in the auto industry cuts no ice with these people. Reference to the blood and guts shed in the labor battles of the past are meaningless to them. Why, even reference to World War II and in some cases Korea have no pertinency to this new and vigorous trade union generation. They are people of today. Their problems are of today and they want answers today that will solve their problems and they seem to be getting them.

I mentioned a moment ago that old trade union leaders had been overturned and it is really a shocking thing when you stop to think of the record of lost leaders in the last few years. I do not use that term lost leaders in the Macy sense. Arnold Zander of the American County and Municipal Employees has been overthrown by a new and vigorous man, Jerry Wurf, and that union is the fastest growing union in the country today and made up of people employed in the public sector.

The pressure is on for new ideas, new air currents being circulated and we all can't lose for winning.

There are other problems facing the trade union movement. The top leadership is still too old. There were some changes in the A.F. of L. CIO Council in December 1965 at their convention but it was a nominal changeover. The top leadership is still top-heavy with people of another era, people of



Among those who interrogated Stan Levey on the labor issues he posed were, above, Frank Greer and George Ponzini.



old ideas that really do not understand and represent the new young membership in their trade unions.

I think quite honestly that the trade union movement has not dealt as adequately, speedily, resourcefully or vigorously enough with the problem of the great mass of Negroes in the trade union movement. The AFL-CIO came too little and too late to civil rights, perhaps not too late. It is never too late really. A great many young American Negroes who might otherwise be attracted to the labor movement as their medium for protest and for construction action are not. They find, and I say this sadly, they find the trade union movement yet another aspect of the establishment, an establishment that does not understand them, that is suspicious of them.

As far as politics are concerned, the trade union movement is doing a good day to day job in Washington on a lobbying basis. It is getting what it wants. The interesting thing to me about having been in Washington now about five years is how little really the rank and file trade union members understand what the role of the labor movement is in Washington. It is basically a lobbying job that is being done there. It is not a job of organizing, it is not a job of setting up unions, it is not a job of collective bargaining. Its job is to try to set the legislative basis that will make collective bargaining and organizing easier for the member trade unions and that is being done on a very effective level.

**James A. Wechsler**

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JAMES A. WECHSLER, Editorial Page Editor and Columnist for The New York Post, is recognized as one of the outstanding liberal commentators in the United States today. His association with The Post, which began two decades ago, climaxed a journalistic career which started as editor of the Columbia Advocate and included stints on PM and The Nation as well as a tour of duty in Germany in the U. S. Military Government. He has written five books, including his most recent work, "Reflections of an Angry Middle-Aged Editor."

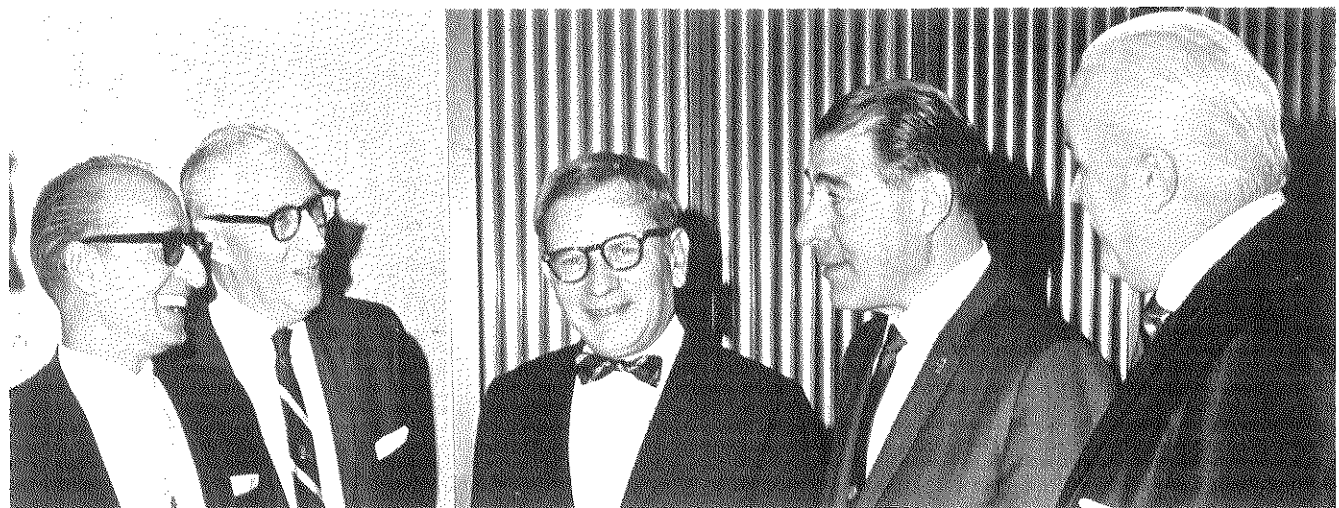
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# A JOURNALIST LOOKS AT 1968

What do we really know about what will happen in 1968 when the names are reduced to the final list? I would say that no election, certainly in my lifetime, seems as full of uncertainty as this one. Whether the Republican candidate will make his bid as a so-called dove or whether he will speak the language of a hawk remains unclear. My own guess is, however, that whoever that candidate may be, a basic premise of his program will be that he can make peace in Vietnam.

So all of these formulas are subject to change in the event the Democratic choice changes. Those who say that President Johnson's present status in the polls are entirely similar to those of Mr. Truman's in 1948 I think miss a very essential point. The coalition that performed the miracle of 1948 simply does not exist any longer. Mr. Truman was able to rebuild and rehabilitate the coalition of labor and the minority groups which also formed the strength of Franklin Delano Roosevelt. That coalition is split, in my judgment, beyond repair. I know it is

Shown in an exchange between the New York Post editor and union leaders are, l. to r., Nick Sceusa, Manuel Tobias, James Wechsler, Henry Freedman and Frank Lasky.





suggested, for example, that the labor movement is overwhelmingly committed to the reelection of the President. I would commend to you, however, the story of the recent labor conference in Chicago, attended by 523 union figures, which took a very strong position in opposition to the President's stand.

Certainly, however, beyond the labor scene there are the alienated and the dissatisfied young people of America; this is perhaps the most traumatic aspect of the national scene.

I do think it is puzzling and baffling and frightening if you look at the world from the viewpoint of someone now in college or someone looking for a job in a ghetto, or someone about to be drafted for military service. To those, the world is not a promising place. It is not one that offers much honor or meaning. I think the yearning expressed by the Hippies is the yearning for a better way of life. Much as we may laugh at some of their antics, they are actually a very deep-seated part of young Americans today. I think this country would be a poorer place if our younger people were content and serene.

Critical as I have been of Mr. Johnson, I have felt the sincerity of his desire for a peaceful world in order that he could get on with the business of building the "Great Society." The fact of the matter in my judgment is that he is now caught in an entrapment from which there is probably no honorable escape. In my view he is the victim

of unwise counsel; he has been the victim of men who have betrayed him each time there was a chance for peace negotiations.

He has now reached, I fear, the point of no return in which the enemy, having endured a pretty rough passage, is prepared to sit things out until next November on what may well be the sound assumption that any new President, even be his name Reagan or Nixon, will make his first order of business the achievement of a negotiated peace in Vietnam, just as President Eisenhower made that the first item on his agenda in 1952. The President is not a man who is going to drop an atomic weapon on North Vietnam and send them back into the Stone Age, as one of our retired Generals recommended. He may further escalate the war thereby inviting the risk of confrontation with the Chinese or Russians. But I think the larger possibility is that the war will continue on its present course with a slow increase perhaps in the military action and that November 1968 will find us in, essentially, the same position we are in now.

In those circumstances I would venture the prophecy that Mr. Johnson, again assuming he is the candidate, will face a very rough time. The notion that 1968 resembles 1948 is far less accurate than the suggestion that 1968 may bear close resemblance to 1932. Then, too, there was a President, a man of high humanitarian motives, entrapped by events; that event, of course, was the depression. Hoover had let things go so far that there was no way out for him—there had to be a new man and a New Deal. I think this analogy may prove to be the sounder one.

In this rundown that I have given you of the prospects facing America, I would suggest that the overwhelming transcending fact about American life at this time is a feeling of unrest and uncertainty and doubt about the future. The price of the war is paid not only on the battlefield, it is paid in every State as well as the national legislature. The President continues to assert that we can fight both wars, the war in Vietnam and the war against poverty. But Congress has passed for only one war: Military appropriations remain sacrosanct. Appropriations for the battle against slums and human misery at home and abroad, as reflected in the cuts in the foreign aid program, are the chief sufferers of the war in Vietnam. I think that too will produce a very serious upsurge of unrest among the electors next year because it tends to dramatize and crystallize the sense of frustration that I think exists in some areas of the country and among some sectors of our people.



# Let Us Defend Our Country

We have our dissenters. We indeed have many patriots as well. I question the sincerity of no man. Every man has a right to think as he likes and to say what he thinks, and no one should question that. But all we are talking about here in this day and age, with all the problems that confront mankind, is that when we speak of disagreement, we also speak of responsibility.

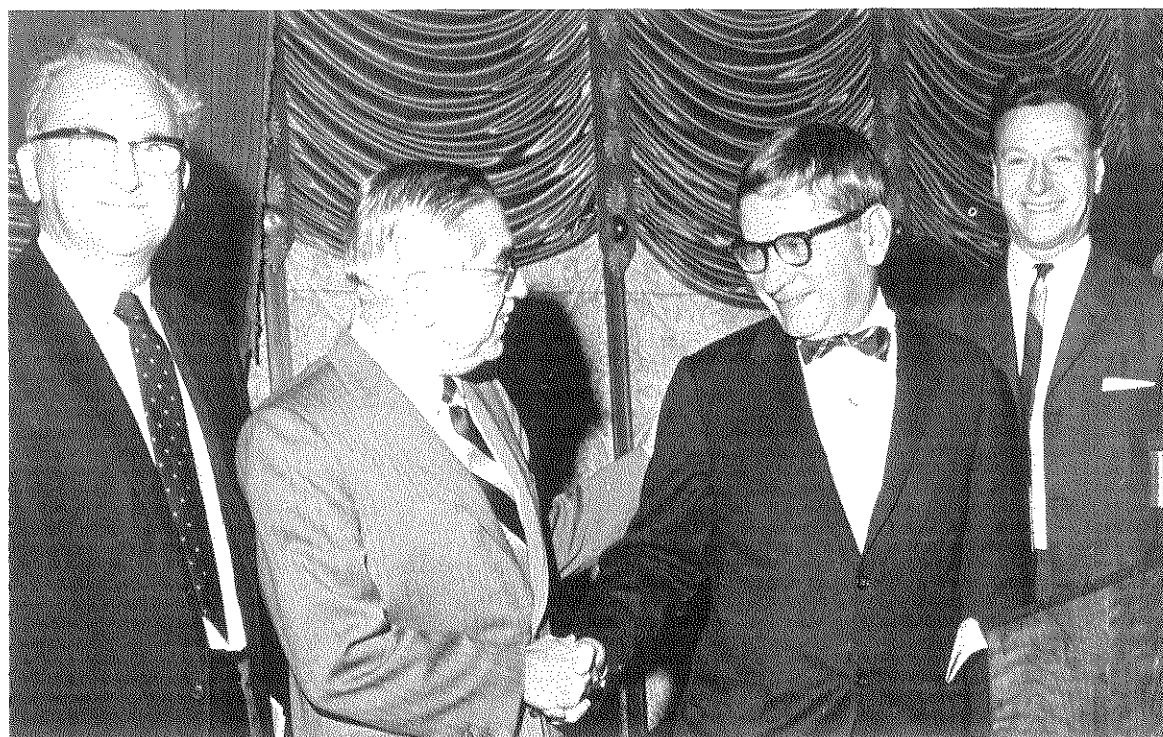
I shall not forget that horrible spectacle in Washington not too long ago. You have a right to disagree, oh yes, you have a right to speak out your mind. But when these people try to invade the Pentagon, then you ask the question: what are they trying to do, have a beatnik take over your country? When these same people spit at American soldiers wearing the uniform of the United States of America then you ask yourself, is this responsibility?

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Every man has a right to the freedom of his own thoughts and to express them as freely as he wishes. But sometimes it is necessary to know the facts and that is the reason why I have come here today. I have come here to present to you possibly the other side of the coin. I don't think America is as bad as some people are trying to make it.

Here we are, only six percent of the population of the world; we occupy seven percent of the land mass of the world; we control forty percent of the wealth of the world; Why we have a \$1.40 minimum wage. When did that come? Today we have meaningful civil rights laws since 1964. When did that come? Today we are doing more for education than we have done in the history of this Republic. When did that come?





Senator John O. Pastore congratulates James A. Wechsler, Editor of *The New York Post*, "upon a most persuasive presentation. I like what you said but can't agree with your conclusions."

Then I ask you this question: Who is it that sits alone, probably not too often with people to comfort him? Maybe he is right, maybe he is wrong. But do not tell me it does not help Ho Chi Min to hold on every time someone says if we have a new President we would get better negotiations. What would you do if you were Ho Chi Min and everyone told you that if you hold on until the next election perhaps you would get peace on your terms? Would you let go or would you hold on? That is the criticism that I make here today. Yes, everything has to be measured in its proper proportion. And that is absolutely necessary, especially in the kind of world in which we live.

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*JOHN O. PASTORE, United States Senator, has served the people of his native state of Rhode Island for more than three decades—as member of the General Assembly, Assistant Attorney General, Lieutenant-Governor, Governor and, since 1950, in the Upper House of Congress. He has been a member of the United States Delegation to the United Nations and has been particularly active in international conferences on the Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy. He was the Keynote Speaker at the Democratic National Convention in August 1964.*

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Today there are no precise answers because this is a very imprecise world. Today we are living in the atomic age. We are living with man's creative ability that has produced the power that could burn everything that man has built from the beginning of time. A man asked me, "You keep talking about 25 million megaton bomb. What is a 25 megaton bomb?" Well, if you take a 25 megaton bomb and reduce it to dynamite and begin to load freight cars, those freight cars will extend from the Atlantic Ocean to the Pacific Ocean. I say that only to give you an idea of how sensitive some of those issues are, for such a bomb could reduce a whole nation to rubble.

U Thant did say sometime back, "If you stop the bombing maybe they will talk." But did he ever say that Ho Chi Min authorized him to say that; never! We don't know. Maybe they will and maybe they won't. But in the meantime who is responsible for five hundred thousand American boys in Vietnam today? Who is responsible for their security, who is responsible for their lives? As I said at the Democratic convention a few years ago, one man in this country cannot afford to be wrong, he cannot have a second guess, and that is the President of the United States, no matter who he is, whether he is Republican or whether he is a Democrat.

We have such a man—a man of responsibility—in Johnson. I think he is on a right course. And I believe that in backing him to the hilt we are advancing the cause of peace—and the cause of American freedom!



## Justice William O. Douglas

*WILLIAM O. DOUGLAS, Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States since 1939, has dedicated his life to the achievement of the American dream of freedom and of "equal justice under law." Before donning his judicial robes, he was a member of the faculty of both Columbia and Yale Law Schools and served as the Chairman of the Securities and Exchange Commission. Out of his vast learning and travels, particularly to Asia, have come 25 books in addition to many magazine articles.*

# ASIA - DEMO

When I came back from the Far East in the late 1940's and suggested that the United States recognize the Peking regime, I almost got impeached. Nevertheless, I don't see how we can build a viable world society, unless we are in a position to at least talk to the people of the world. And yet today it is impossible to even talk to one-quarter of the people of the world. There are Chinese bamboo curtains which separate us. They can't come here, we can't go there. There is no commerce. I feel strongly we must start bringing Peking into the family of nations by exchanging Ambassadors, giving them a seat in the U.N. and working out jointly our troubles. These are tremendous problems. Yet these are practical problems and we must solve them.

As far as our Asian position is concerned, it will be progress, as I see it, if we can stop being a satellite to Chiang Kai Chek, because being a satellite to Chiang Kai Chek conditions most of the thinking we are doing.

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Vietnam is a country that has never known democracy and neither have the other Asian countries. The first Prime Minister, I knew him well, and he was a fine person individually. He was raised in the Mandarin tradition, which is the Chinese tradition. There was no such thing as free elections or a free press or free schools in Vietnam. Their great chance came in 1954, the Geneva accord. Then the line was drawn, as I say, merely to give the north and south a chance to get prepared for elections. The nation that was responsible for their not having those elections was the United States. John Foster Dulles and Eisenhower said there would not be an election and there was no election. South Vietnam was never an independent nation; South Vietnam from the very beginning has been an American satellite.

As a result of what has happened, this tremendous national movement in Vietnam was transformed into a Communist movement. That is the great, great tragedy because when you look at every leader in South Vietnam you don't find any with a political program, neither at the village level or nationally; nothing, no leaders, no local leaders, no one, no one except Ho Chi Minh.

What is happening there is not being manned and directed by China; China has no troops there. If we are fighting there be-



# CRACY'S BATTLEGROUND

cause we think we are fighting China, then we are all mixed up, because they are not there. Peking, I think, fears our presence in Vietnam will become a foreign military base, just as we would fear Mexico were it to be occupied by a foreign military power. Hanoi fears, above everything else, Chinese domination. The answer to this is some form of federation through a new Geneva Conference; that obviously is the vehicle for settlement.

I often wonder why we in the United States think we are the only nation entitled to a Monroe Doctrine. We say, keep out of our hemisphere. China is tremendously large and powerful and also wishes a Monroe Doctrine for her neighbors.

My friends, this is no time for unilateral action. We are in the Atomic Age. It is time to substitute the rule of force under which we have lived so long and to substitute the rule of law in order that we may survive the Atomic Age.

China, no matter how many bombers you may send over, will still be part of Asia. Our policy in Southwest Asia tends to drive the smaller countries into the arms of China.

One thing I don't think we have quite really realized is that the Communist world will never allow North Vietnam to be liquidated any more than the democratic world would allow Israel to go under. We are dealing here with two tremendously high-powered ideological forces. The problem of this age is how to get along with these different ideologies and to allow room for growth, development, tolerance, and the peaceful settlement of conflicts.

As I have traveled in the world, I have seen Vietnam in many, many countries. In Brazil, with twenty million people, they make less than fifty dollars a year. How long can a few rich nations keep millions of people down? It won't go on much longer. Are they going to have to use force and revolutions and violence? Are we going to unilaterally send our troops, our planes, to help put down all these revolutions?

The great inspiring message of America is that the world revolution is on the side of liberty, freedom and justice, the right to jobs. These are the great things, and many people in the world do not have them.

There is too much suffering, misery and ghettos in this world. We are going to have

trouble. Vietnams are more numerous than we can count.

I say it is the end of the era of unilateral action: the time has come for it to stop. This thing that happened to Israel should never happen again: there must be an agreement there. If we wipe out the Communist enclave in Vietnam, Russia could wipe out the democratic enclave in Israel.

Where is this going to end? There must be a meeting of minds, we must have world peace because, my friends, we live these days on the brink of atomic nuclear war.

The rule of law is the only solution, and the great wonderful place to start would be in Vietnam today, submitting this whole thing back to the Geneva Conference so it could work out something that would stabilize the situation for the benefit of all the poor people of that unfortunate country.

Justice William O. Douglas and the chairman exchange a few pleasantries at the reception for the guest of honor before the luncheon session. Military, political, business, educational leaders honored the Conference by their attendance.



# THE CRISIS IN OUR CITIES

Our nation, the United States, is a nation which has great technology and is able to span the continent and the ocean in a few short hours. That technology has been mobilized to transport weapons of war rather than tools of development and assistance. The greatest need that I have found, while serving in your United States Senate, is the need for human understanding in this world. We are at war in Vietnam yes, but we are also at war here in the United States of America. The war that I speak of is the war against poverty, the war against disease and against despair, the war against man's inhumanity to man.

For example, the Congress has been debating whether this nation with a gross national product of some seven hundred and fifty six billion dollars, whether it could afford to spend 2.08 billion dollars for the anti-poverty program in this country. I want you to compare that request, that very moderate request for 2.08 billion dollars, with the amount of money we are spending in Vietnam. There we are spending close to three billion dollars a month for the war in Vietnam. I want you to compare the amount of money for Federal education, totalling just 2 billion dollars annually for the elementary and secondary education, with almost 3 billion dollars monthly for the war in Vietnam. This nation with its great influence and great wealth could solve any problem it undertakes to solve, but we have not made a total commitment which is so essential if we want to solve the problem of the poor and of the minority groups and if we really want to stop the riots that are taking place in the nation.

I have never been an advocate of the idea of black power or white power. I am a firm believer in political power, and I believe that we have to recognize that this nation cannot

EDWARD W. BROOKE, United States Senator, won his seat in 1966 as decisively as in 1964 when he was re-elected Attorney General of Massachusetts by the largest plurality of any Republican in the history of the Bay State. After graduating Howard University in 1941, he saw five years of active service in the European Theatre of Operations for which he received the Bronze Star and Combat Infantryman's Badge. He then took his law degree at Boston University and plunged into veteran and community activities. He was elected Attorney General in 1962, opening up a promising political career.

## Senator Edward W. Brooke





Senator Edward Brooke strikes an obviously humorous note as he introduces the serious subject—"The Crisis in our Cities"—to which he addressed his remarks. The audience applauded loudly as he emphasized one point after another in what he termed a "positive approach" to the problem.

live half rich and half poor. I went to Chicago, Illinois; there are three million, six hundred thousand people living in that city, of whom one million, one hundred and fifty two thousand are Negroes. Of that number, 32% are unemployed today, not underemployed but unemployed there. And that same situation exists in most of the major cities in this country. I don't believe the government has the responsibility for feeding, clothing and sheltering all Americans. But it does have a clear responsibility nevertheless which it can abandon only by forfeiting its claim to great humanitarian ideals.

I believe it does owe all Americans an opportunity. But if Government does not help and the private sectors as well do not help in coming to grips with these conditions which we so well know, then we will be increasing the relief role in this country. Yet when you put a man on relief you really don't help him. I am in favor of relief when it is necessary, I am in favor of giving relief to men only when they are not able, bodily or mentally, to function as effective and meaningful contributors to our economy, for otherwise you destroy his initiative and his self-respect. What we need to do is train his mind and train his skill, his hands so that he can become a proud member of society.

Once he has self-respect then he has respect for the rights and privileges of others. We have to break the chain! Don't you believe that all the people who are living in ghettos are shiftless and lazy and don't want to work! It just isn't true! I could fill your heads with statistics for the numbers who are crying out for jobs and who are hoping they can get an opportunity to work and become a man.

This revolution that has taken place in this country, and to some degree all over the world, is taking place because of the despair and frustration. It has gone on for such a long period of time. Frustration has been building and building until it comes to a point where it is at the explosive stage, as you have seen in the summer of 1967 and before. So many Americans have turned their backs on these problems. We talk about the other America, the avoided America, the evaded America, and we try to pretend that it doesn't exist in the land of plenty. The fact is, it does. People are fearful of their own rights. Here is a flight to suburbia, and for the protection of their children they change schools.

I think that this nation became great because of its diversity. We took the best brains and integrity we could find. They came in from Italy, and France, and Germany, and Scandinavia, from all over the world, and poured themselves into what is called a melting pot. This melting pot is what you find in the ghettos primarily today. It was never intended to produce a bland rural-like America, one that looks like his neighbor, acts like his neighbor, thinks like his neighbor. It was never intended to have sameness. The magnificent idealism, that is what makes it great. I think that is what Pope John was speaking about when he said open the windows and let the fresh air in. I don't think he was talking about a single religion. I think he was talking about respect for the religion of others. We must bring into our thinking in our country respect for the rights and the privileges of others, to look at them as a man. Most of the people that I talked to in the ghettos are more concerned about human respect and dignity than even the right to have jobs and all of the material things which most of us think so dear.

\* \* \*



# The Battle For Survival

**Victor Riesel**



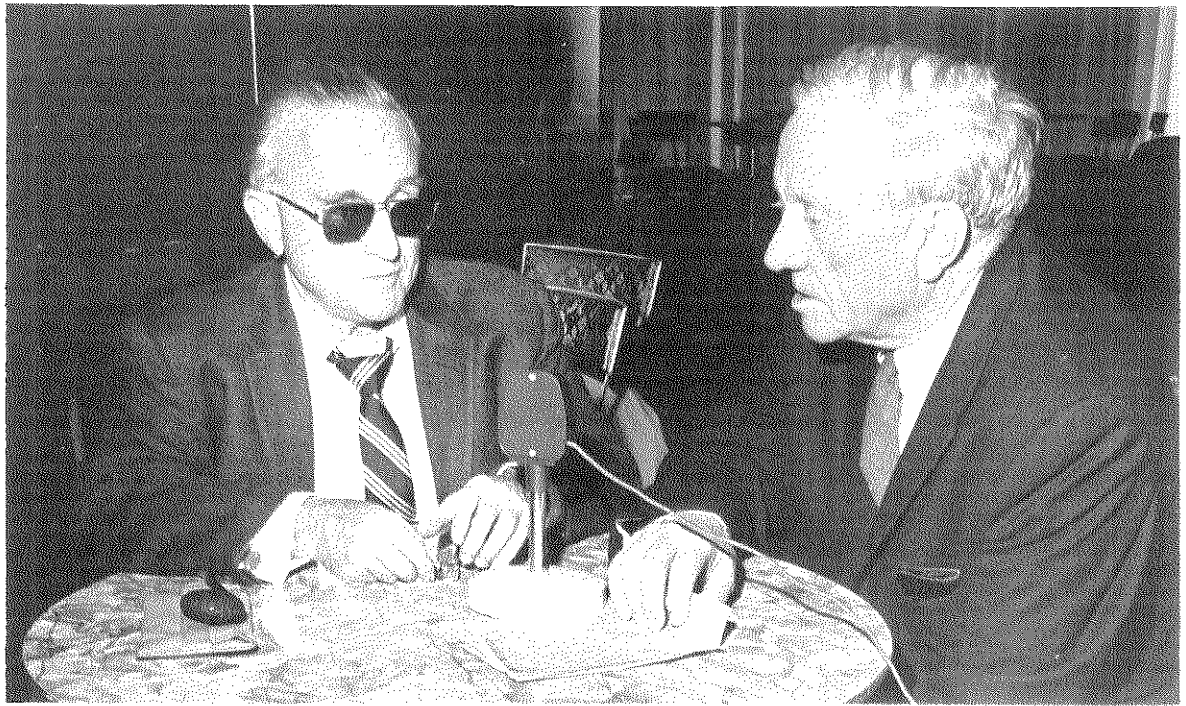
VICTOR RIESEL, is a nationally-syndicated columnist whose "Inside Labor" appears in 336 newspapers throughout the United States with a readership of 27,000,000. As the dean of labor journalists, he has reported on trade union developments, here and abroad, for 35 years. He is in great demand as a lecturer and TV and radio commentator. This is his second appearance at our Educational Conference, bespeaking the respect our shop stewards and senior citizens have for his penetrating analysis and insight into the labor scene.

I want to tell you that one of the most militant, and one of the most courageous and one of the most daring trade union movements, exists in the Vietnamese Federation of Labor. It exists freely. Its counterpart in North Vietnam has been shot in the head or tortured to death. It is for this reason that Mr. Boo, a Buddhist, by the way, is a leader of an organization affiliated with the Catholic Trade Union Federation of Brussels and he came to the United States and to the Free Trade Union movement to seek counsel.

I won't dwell here on the fact that there is documentation in Vietnam of the fact that the Communist Socialist Workers' Party of Hanoi has a Central Committee in which there is a military command, which is linked directly to force. And I give challenge to those liberals to come and study the documents which reveal that they have tortured and killed 100,000, including teachers, trade unionists, liberals, and that in Vietnam, as throughout the world, there is that specter of Communism which is the hangman of liberalism. That is why the trade union movement is standing for the war as they stand against any other party in any land in which men and women like yourselves could not gather and speak frankly and hear dissent.

\* \* \*

You will soon learn that the construction trade unions will open their membership to the Negro youths in the inner cities, in the slums, in the Watts, in the Harlems, in the Bedford Stuyvesants. This will be one of the most revolutionary steps taken, for the construction trade people will train these young people to pass the exam and take them into the apprenticeship and give them \$2.64 an hour learning the job.



During a brief interlude in the proceedings Victor Riesel, whose radio program is as nationally syndicated as his "Inside Labor" column, interviews Justice William O. Douglas on a subject close to the latter's heart—the conservation of our natural resources.

We in the labor movement don't need to be told, nor do we need the advice, nor do I want to run through just once more the fact that Lyndon Johnson and Hubert Humphrey will be nominated, and that they will run against a ticket consisting of Dick Nixon and perhaps Ronald Reagan or Percy. I firmly believe that with the full employment that we have, Lyndon Johnson will be re-elected overwhelmingly.

\* \* \*

To what height the American labor movement has come, I say, when Presidents fly to their councils, just as Lyndon Johnson flew there the other night to do honor to the labor movement! To those of you who were there or to those who read the reports or the columns, this is the epitome of labor success. And it substantiates my theory that to the degree you, the rank and file, as much as the leaders, participate in and are active in your organization, you control the policies which affect the world.

If I left you with nothing else but the fact that the labor leaders of yesterday become the Prime Ministers of today, that is the labor movement of yesterday—whether it is in Burma, Africa or Asia, whether it is here or on the other side of the iron bamboo curtain, whether it is in Latin America or the sunny isles of the Carriibbean—can and does become the basis of society and government today and tomorrow. And what you permit them to do with it, they will do with it. They will waste it, as they did in England, or they will make it a sort of antiseptic success of emptiness as they did in Sweden, or behind the bamboo curtain, so to speak, now bloody and spattered. They will stand even against the totalitarianism of the Communist powers and they will do it with determina-

tion and courage.

This world wasn't made for trade unionism, as Arthur Goldberg has said, in the image of a slot machine. You have to do more than put your dues in and pull the handle. You have to develop an ideology of trade unionism that says, "What is good for the country is also good for the trade unions." Let me tell you that the trade union movement in America has built a magnificent structure. Politically it has well over fifteen hundred political machines in the cities and states. The Negroes would not have won in Gary, Indiana, nor Cleveland, nor in Philadelphia, if it hadn't been for labor's political machine, money and manpower.

Political education is the only hope you have, and I tell you this objectively. Such education is the only chance you will have from now on to prevent Nixon from being elected. And with it the passage of labor legislation which will tie you in knots! No labor movement was ever closer to a President of the United States, and I defy you to go back in history and find, even in the days of the New Deal, a President who attempted to wipe out poverty by the expenditure of 26 billions of dollars, as Johnson is doing, who attempted to make civil rights a reality, not a slogan, who has paced such advances in education, social welfare, housing and urban planning.

What I am saying to you is that every time you demean the office of this man, every time you demean this man, every time somebody shouts, "LBJ, how many kids have you killed today?" you also demean the one man who has fought for every bill that organized labor has pushed, who has taken as his own labor's fight for the "Good Society."



For twelve weeks, under the tutelage of Benjamin H. Naumoff, Eastern Area Director of the Bureau of Labor-Management Reports, U.S. Department of Labor, our shop stewards received an intensive briefing on "Labor and the Law."

# LEADERS OF TOMORROW

## **Rutgers University Trains Our Shop Stewards in Latest Labor Tactics**

In our Union the shop stewards—and the committeemen—are key people. Democracy in the shop begins with a good steward to represent members with management. Democracy in the Union begins with an alert membership—and the steward plays a key role in informing the members currently and fully on all issues.

Stewards, then, are the first line leadership. This is a difficult job, requiring many skills. A good steward, in handling grievances, must know his Union contract and, beyond that, must know how to deal with people. He must know the services and facilities of the Union and he has to transmit this information—the best way being "to aim his mouth at another man's ear."

We also know that for the average member the image of our Union is usually his image of his steward. The

steward is the one person in our Union structure with whom the member is in contact on a daily basis. If the member considers the steward to be intelligent, aggressive, fair-minded and well-informed, he will generally feel the same way about our Union.

Because we live in a changing world, a steward must constantly participate in a process of continuing education. Last year's answers will not necessarily meet this year's problems. For this reason the Foundation, in cooperation with Rutgers University, inaugurated a shop steward's training class so that our stewards can become more effective representatives of our Union in the shop. It is our intention to continue, and to expand, this program in 1968 and in the years ahead.





Presiding over the graduation exercises at the Shop Steward's Training Course is Dr. Herbert Levine, Director, Labor Education Center, Rutgers University—the academic institution with which our Foundation has been closely identified in a number of educational projects.



Human relations—with emphasis on the personality of the shop steward in representing his fellow employees in dealings with management—was the subject matter of the course taught by Dr. Alfred Jones, an outstanding authority in the field of industrial and applied psychology.



Shop stewards, fully trained and highly experienced, recipients of the Rutgers University diploma, are shown in the traditional graduation picture with the staffs of Rutgers and our Union.

# "WE NEVER RETIRE"

The formation of the Union Mutual Benefit Association—the senior citizens of our Union—involves a determination on the part of the men and women who help to found and build our organization that retirement symbolizes a beginning as well as an end—a renewal as well as change—and that through this Association they will continue their relationship with our Union on a positive note.

Retirement for the Association members has meant an opportunity to develop new interests, find new avenues of creativity, continue to live fully and generously, with the knowledge that activity itself is an essential ingredient of successful living in the later years.

We must remember that the average American today is living 20 years longer than he did in the early 30s when our Union was born—thanks, of course, to fantastic advances in medicine, nutrition and sanitation. It is important that they live without money problems that too often has blighted old age—and, accordingly, the Foundation has supplemented the well-rounded program of retirement benefits to which our Union members are eligible.

And the Foundation has cooperated in building new interests and new relationships — interesting educational programs, entertaining get-togethers and projects such as the trip to our nation's capital last October. These activities are captured in photographs—but the pictures cannot capture the enthusiasm and sense of togetherness which are generated by being together in the Association.

Our Foundation intends to cooperate with the Association in every way to make 1968's program even more fruitful than in 1967.



"The best tribute we can pay our departed Elizabeth Cook is to carry on the wonderful work of our Association." This sentiment was expressed by her successor as President, Fred Englert: "We found a home . . . we found ourselves . . . the good work we are doing as union members must never fade for a moment."

At the conclusion of a retirees' meeting, the veteran Union members give the new issue of *The Union Forum* the once over . . . and they are obviously absorbed in what they are reading.



In Memoriam: Elizabeth Cook—in what was destined to be the last picture taken of her—is shown with sister members of the Association outside the F.B.I. building in Washington, D. C. on October 11, 1967 only hours before she passed away. Behind her she left the strongest heritage—the respect of all the veteran members of the Union Mutual Benefit Association, of which she was the first President.







Members of the Union Mutual Benefit Association line up to receive supplementary benefit from the Foundation (above), while (below) the retirement checks are gaily held aloft. Up to \$300 was distributed to each member of the Union who retired prior to January 1, 1967.



Congresswoman Florence P. Dwyer (in gray suit, in foreground) presented this autographed picture to members of the group—some of whom are in her New Jersey constituency—as a memento of their visit to the nation's capital. The educational trip was initiated by Rutgers University and financed by the Foundation.







Dr. Herbert S. Levine, Director of the Labor Education Center of Rutgers University, and Al Nash, lecturer at the Center, (seated, r. and l., at the head of the table) do their smiling bit at the orientation session held before the group's departure.

# OUR OVERSEAS PROJECT

London—August 1967

"A tremendous experience", "the thrill of a lifetime", "a dream come true"—these were the reactions of Local 815 Shop Stewards upon their return to John F. Kennedy Airport on August 28, 1967 after a three-week Workshop Abroad project in England sponsored by the Foundation in co-operation with the Labor Education Center of Rutgers University and South West London College.

For the members of the group—the great majority of whom had flown for the first time and, of course, had never left the mainland of the United States—the thrill and experience commenced when their Pan Am flight touched down at Heathrow Airport. From there it was an hour's ride to London which is both a "swinging city" and temperamentally still much the same as in the days of Elizabeth I—when it was already well over a thousand years old. But the London of Elizabeth II, as our group members found out, keeps pace with a faster moving age. To its skyline, long dominated by the venerable St. Paul's Cathedral and the famed Tower of London, new structures are rapidly adding their towering silhouettes, including Imperial College of the University of London where the group did their classroom chores.

Our members, from the outset, were

in for a pleasant surprise. They had heard a great deal about the taciturnity of the British—how cool and how reserved they are. Our people were surprised to find how kind and how helpful they really prove to be. The Londoner, for example, will listen to the foreigner's query patiently, will speak to him slowly—and also loudly, as though a language of which you don't know one single word (and there were times when our members thought the greatest difference between the British and the Americans was one of language, particularly when confronted with Cockney accents and Scottish burrs) became intelligible if spoken loudly enough. When at last the visitor understands him, the Londoner, before the visitor has had time to thank him, will walk on with a shy, kindly smile. And our members—from this and a thousand and one other experiences—were to realize that they had arrived at the heart of the most civilized human community in the world.

While the group was based in London, they also had occasion to take in other parts of England as well. On the first week-end, for example, they went to see a Shakespeare play performed in that most interesting of English theatres—the Royal Shakespeare The-



Just before take-off members of the Workshop Abroad project pose for a last-minute picture with Foundation and Union officials. Moments later, they were seated and the Pan Am flight began to wing its way across the Atlantic. For many in the group flying in an airplane was a "first-time" experience.

atre at Stratford-on-Avon. Even if Shakespeare had never lived there, this would be a colorful town to visit. Since he did live there, it has been carefully preserved in all its Tudor-style perfection. On the way there the group passed Oxford which with its beautiful old buildings and the imposing spires of the University is probably one of the loveliest and most interesting cities in all England. A visit was also made to Blenheim Castle, the ancestral home of the late Winston Churchill, to Cirencester, a medieval town on the River Dee, gloriously cluttered with timbered houses (one of them—a famed inn—being the place where the group spent an evening), ancient arcades (now used as shops), and remains of the old city walls, to Bath whose famed natural hot springs were first appreciated by the Roman conquerors, to Stonehenge whose stones bring up the image of an age long before the dawn of modern man—and hundreds of other sights, scenes and sounds.

On one free week-end members of the group fanned out in all directions—to Scotland, to Norway, to Paris and even to Rome. And at all times they were to enjoy London which, as Dickens once wrote, "is the most inter-

esting, beautiful, and wonderful city in the world to me, delicate in her littleness, and stupendous in her totality."

But the group came not only to see and to enjoy but to study and to work. And study and work they did.

The intensive, down-to-earth experiment in workers education concentrated on a comparison between British and American trade union procedures and problems in such areas as collective bargaining, organizing, processing of grievances, arbitration and participation in political and community activities. Headquarters of the course was at Imperial College in London where outstanding British trade unionists, including Victor Feather, administrative head of the Trades Union Congress, Lord Cooper, President of the Municipal and General Workers, Les Cannon, President of the Electrical Trades Union, and Jack Jones, General Secretary of the Transport and General Workers Union, discussed such issues as labor's collective bargaining goals, the administration of British trade unions and the relationship between the Trades Union Congress and the Labour Party. The latter point was elaborated upon by Eric Moonman, a Labour Party



Officers and Shop Stewards of the Transport and General Workers Union take advantage of a luncheon break to join with members of our group to permit the photographer to record the scene outside the main entrance of the Slough Works at Imperial Chemical Industries.

Member of Parliament, during a discussion held in his office at the House of Commons.

Primary emphasis was given, however, to direct exchanges—in such places as Esher and Woodstock, labor colleges run by the Electrical Trades Union and the Municipal and General Workers Union, or at the Slough Works of Imperial Chemical Industries—between our shop stewards and their British opposite numbers. The relationship between the local union and the International Union, disciplinary procedures, negotiations and administration of contracts, problems of jurisdiction and representation, welfare and pension benefits as well as other conditions of employment, union security and seniority clauses, the role of the shop steward—these and countless other practical problems were explored in face-to-face discussions which were valuable and interesting to both groups.

A summary of these comparisons was made at the graduation exercises by George Barasch who enlarged on the background of our Union and the relevance of this experience to a British labor movement that is going through a process of change and evaluation. Also active in developing the

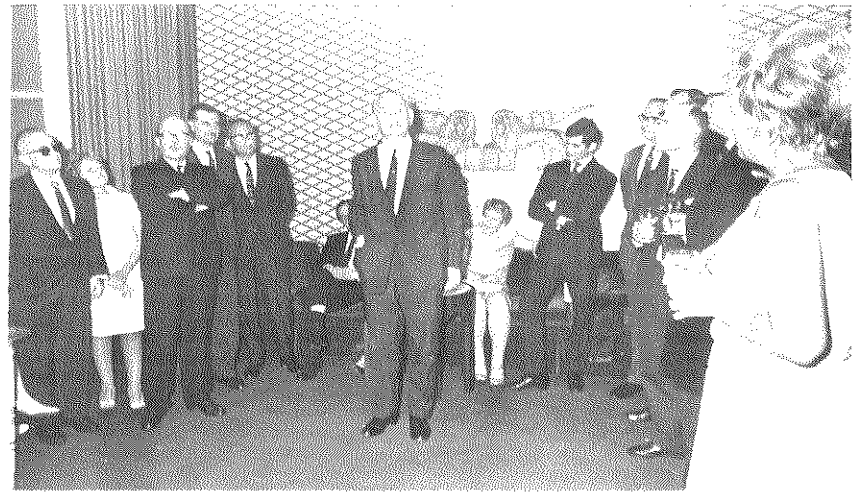
program was Victor Riesel, the nationally-syndicated labor columnist. Serving as Directors were G. Llyw-ellan Jones, Head of the Industrial Relations Department of South West London College, and Abe S. Weiss, veteran labor publicist and educator.

What particularly impressed our shop stewards were the warmth and graciousness of the British. The project began with a reception which was attended by leaders in all walks of life—politics, business and trade unions—and included a delegation from the U. S. Embassy headed by Minister Philip Kaiser. A similar reception, at the end of the trip, was given in honor of the shop stewards by *The Guardian*, one of England's most influential newspapers. The press as well as radio and TV gave extensive coverage to the project, and two of the seminarians—Manny Tobias and Steve Patino—were featured in a British Broadcasting Company TV program.

The group worked hard and diligently during the three weeks, climaxing their study with individual reports on their impressions. The overriding impression was that they had learned much during their stay, but particularly that American trade unionism, such as practised by Local 815 and



Lord Cooper, President of the General and Municipal Workers Union and one of Britain's most influential labor leaders, makes welcoming address at the reception at the Savoy Hotel in London which formally inaugurated the Workshop Abroad project. At the extreme left, following the discussion closely, is Victor Riesel, the famed labor columnist, who served as a consultant to the project.



Abe Weiss makes point at joint conference of shop stewards of Local 815 and Transport and General Workers Union of Slough Works of ICI.



The "people-to-people" dialogue is a two-way movement. Right, students of the South West London College, arriving for the first time in the United States, are shown with Foundation and Union representatives during the course of a full-day session at our Englewood Cliffs' headquarters. The British students concurred in calling this session "the most interesting and vital part" of their two-week stay in the United States during which time they studied at Rutgers University.

the Allied Trades Council, was far superior in terms of effectiveness and meaning than anything existing in the United Kingdom.

Meanwhile, the lessons learned in the 1967 Workshop Abroad Project are being applied in the 1968 project. Tentative plans call for a larger group—approximately 24—and for a stay of four weeks—two in England, one in Italy and one in Israel. The program is being arranged in cooperation with Rutgers University, South West London College, two democratic trade unions in Italy and Histadrut, the Israeli Labor Federation. While no dates have been set with finality, it is anticipated that the group will leave New York City on Sunday, June 16 and return from Tel Aviv four weeks later.

As in 1967, all expenses including travel and a per diem for hotel, food and other items, will be paid for by the Foundation. Again, as in 1967, all members of the group will be called upon to present a report, in writing, on a subject to be assigned by the Project Director.

All signs point, and all plans are directed, to a better and even more meaningful Workshop Aboard project in 1968.



In forefront at a reception at Esher House, the labor college where our shop stewards met with their British opposite numbers, are, l. to r., Lyndon H. Jones, President, South West London College; Manuel Tobias; Abe S. Weiss; and Les Cannon, President of the Electrical Trades Union.

"It is better to ask some of the questions than to know all the answers." James Thurber

## News from the colleges

### Workshop Abroad: S.W. London College

A significant break-through in industrial relations training has been made by South West London College in establishing working arrangements with various organisations in the USA for the regular exchange of students and courses.

For some time the college has mounted a wide variety of courses in labour relations, from an HND Sandwich course and an HND course in industrial relations and personnel management, through refresher courses for specialist practitioners, to a series of short courses for shop stewards and supervisors. Recently, special courses have been developed on a vertical basis on the general question of implementing job changes for improving productivity and reducing unit costs.

At the request of the Institute of Management and Labour Relations at Rutgers University, New Jersey, a three-week course has been organised for twelve shop stewards of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, at a membership of 1-8

million, the largest union free enterprise. Sponsored by the Allied Educational Foundation, this Workshop Abroad has concentrated on comparative aspects of labour relations in the USA and in the United Kingdom.

On Monday, 7th August, a party was held at the Savoy Hotel to welcome the group on its arrival in this country and to enable them to meet Victor Feather (Assistant General Secretary of the TUC), Lord Cooper (General Secretary of the General and Municipal Workers' Union), Jack Jones (Executive Secretary of the Transport and General Workers' Union), Leslie Carron (Secretary of the Electrical Trades Union), J. P. Lowry (Director-General of the Engineering Employers' Federation), and other leaders from industry.

Commanding, at the reception, on this new development, Lyndon Jones, Principal of the College, said: "We are moving into the world of the international community. Well before 1984 fewer than 750 companies will

dominate the world production of manufactured goods. Indeed this relatively small number of companies will produce over 75 per cent of the world's manufactured items. Concurrent with this development we are going to witness the emergence of the international trade union in order that we have the countervailing power. In such a world course such as Workshop Abroad will be commonplace. At this juncture, however, this course is a major break-through and I do congratulate all concerned in the manner in which they have taken such initiative and shown such foresight. In view of the many difficulties which confronted them it has been a remarkable achievement."

In September, students who have been taking courses at the college will go to the USA for a two-week course at Rutgers University, and in November, Professor Warren G. Bennis, Principal of the State University of New York will be initiating a series of exchange seminars.

Victor Riesel, whose column on labour relations is syndicated in over 300 daily papers in the U.S.A., was in fighting mood in the party given at the Savoy. Also in the picture (l. to r.): Lord Cooper, G. P. Knight, J. L. Jones, Stanley Turner, Stanley Ward and Robert Willis.



### Teamsters arrive in U.K.

FINANCIAL TIMES REPORTER  
HERE TO STUDY British ways of handling grievances—and the labour movement of Britain generally—are 12 shop stewards and regular members of the Teamsters' Union, the largest in the U.S. and Canada, who will be staying in London, New Jersey, and Rutgers University, New Jersey, for a three-week course in industrial relations and personnel management. The group is being welcomed by the Institute of Management and Labour Relations at Rutgers University, New Jersey, and by the TUC, General and Municipal Workers' Union, Transport and General Workers' Union, and Electrical Trades Union.

### The cost of communism in Britain's trade unions

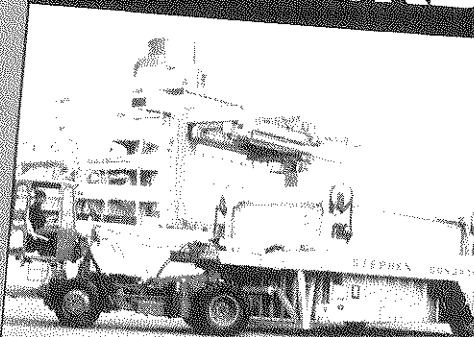
Any chance Britain has of stabilised economic growth is being thwarted by communists. Trade unions have been infiltrated to such an extent that anti-union leaders spend much of the time in counter attack. Almost every major British industrial strike has been inspired by communist inspired leaders. The country loses millions of pounds yearly as a result. Last year's strike of seamen was a prime example. Communists inspired and prolonged the strike. Loyal trade unionists were discredited and trade unionism in general has been discredited. The British project for over eight months has been delayed and the damage to the economy is irreparable. The actual number of communist trade unionists is small compared to the overall membership. But complete infiltration of the unions makes it difficult to recognise the danger, and they are fighting desperately to remain in control. Especially during the next few years many veteran anti-communists are due for retirement. Anthony Lejune, a former editor of the Communist Party, exposed some of the methods in a brilliant Reader's Digest article. Reflecting the Soviet technique of worldwide infiltration, laying stress on the role of small key "withdrawing of cooperation" rather than on mass agitation.

"To exploit rank and file discontent aroused by the government's unlighter formula of wage control and unfair for the Defence of the Trade Unions, Joint Shop Stewards Committee and flourishing throughout industry. Al-

though these unofficial eruptions are dangerous, they amount only to guerrilla warfare compared with the long term plans of the British Communist Party. For behind the new big union growth of penetrating the open aggression. Most ordinary trade unionists do not take an active part in union affairs. They are the men for whom leaders work, and who the communists attack and discredit. The leaders are the communists. They are the ones who are the danger. If the communists and 10m strong trade union movement, they can bring the country to its knees. The livelihood of every British worker, even all who believe in the British democratic way of life owe it to their to resist the communist assault on this country."

Similar warnings have been issued time and again. Yet still the communist situation grows and increases in strength. The communists have all-embracing power. A group of shop stewards from the US Teamsters' Union, visiting Britain for a comparison study, have noted the enormous power. The American trade unions have an unshakable simple answer to communism: it is not tolerated. US unions are not troubled by money, and capitalism leaves no room for communism. Progressive and are wide open to the communists. The Teamsters' Union claims to be the biggest in the free trade union movement. Their comparison study reveals one major fault in Britain: lack of finance. The substantial difference is structural and ideological. But these are secondary to the danger of communist infiltration.

## TGWU RECORD



### SPECIAL ARTICLE ON Containerisation—The Social Problems by the General Secretary page 32



Mr. Willis (left), Mr. Cannon and Mr. Feather (right): "Sheer intelligence and superb dedication."

### US union men see British way

Nothing is likely to persuade the 12 shop stewards of the American Teamsters' Union, in London for a three-week advanced course on trade unionism, that the whole idea was anything but a pretty good one. Even a fire at their Kensington hotel, in which some were awakened from sleep to join around a campfire in the street on Wednesday night, was yesterday becoming just another experience to "tell the folks back home."

The course, which is being held at the Imperial College, Kensington, was inaugurated—and will be squeezed into the tight schedule next week—while the group discussed with a lawyer how to sue for damages to their hotel.

Competition to come on the course, which is costing the union about \$25,000 (£9,000) was keen; and for some, selection was like winning the jackpot in a lottery.

The course was organised by the Industrial Relations Institute of the South West London College of Advanced Business Studies, which considers that the arrangement with Rutgers University, New Jersey, is a significant development in industrial relations training.

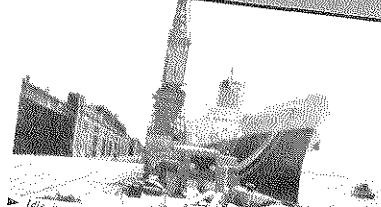
The London college will send 15 students, trade unionists among them, to a course at Rutgers next month.

Mrs. Desires Jones, an assembler in a long closed electrical plant, says she would be able to tell the British about the course, but she was asked to leave the course because of her "unpleasant" attitude.

The group is putting as much energy into its play as into its programme. Next weekend is free. Mrs. Jones and her colleagues are going to Paris and Rome, and others have planned visits to the Republic of Ireland and Scotland. "But," says their leader, Mr. Abraham Weiss, "they will be back, bright and bushy tailed for the restart on Monday."

There were 200 applications from Teamsters' Local Unions in your trade union leaders," he said.

JOHN ROGER



get unionists to recognise the fact that communists are active in unions. Usually they are elected on a small minority vote which comes down to the old question of apathy. Unionists need to take an active part in union activities, and find out about the communist apparatus.

There are various 'hooey' committees that should be avoided. But the version. Other groups, such as the Trotskyites, also disrupt industrial efficiency. The communists are undoubtedly the biggest group. They are a youth movement.

The Economic League's main aim is to make industry efficient. And to promote labour relations. This cannot be done properly unless the communists and other extremist groups are eliminated from industry and trade unions.

There was a loud roar of applause when the speaker said: "I was ordered into a brightly lit room to face with the Teamsters' Union."

There wasn't a sound among the lot. Their leader, Mr. Abraham Weiss, said: "This is a free-for-all fight between the Teamsters' Union and the communists. The Teamsters' Union is the only one that is not afraid of the communists."

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The Workshop Abroad project was the focus of considerable attention in the British press, as this montage of clippings well illustrates. In addition, members of the group were interviewed on BBC's radio and TV programs.

# \$20,000 in SCHOLARSHIPS



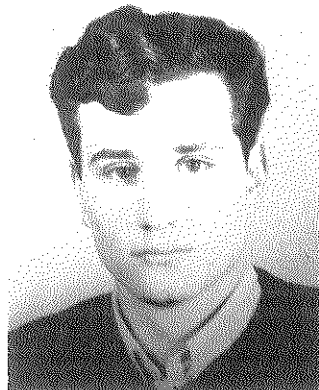
AMERICAN EDUCATION has had to assume one of the most massive tasks in history. It took a nation of immigrants, thrown together from every ethnic strain and culture in the world, and taught them—and their children—the whole body of what is believed, practiced and taken for granted in our society. The common ends of democracy—those of making power responsible, insuring the survival of free inquiry, and humanizing man in a dehumanized technology—are the ends, too, of the American labor movement. If, for only this reason, anything our Foundation would, or could, do to support the educational process would be consistent with our objectives.

But there is likewise another reason. While other Great Society programs are struggling for their very existence, Federal aid to education in 1967 and 1968 continued to ride the crest of the Congressional popularity wave. Indeed, Congress wound up in 1967 by giving the Johnson Administration nearly all it asked and much that it had not. Nevertheless, as Fred M. Hechinger of the editorial board of the New York Times pointed out in a lead article in the Times' "Annual Education Review," while "education gets more money than at any time in history, the new amounts are not nearly enough to do the vast job."

Mr. Hechinger noted that for many promising youngsters, especially those whose parents as workers are in the lower economic brackets, failure to obtain some form of economic assistance often means the difference between going on to college or not. It is because the Foundation wants to assist these young men and women in assisting themselves that it has embarked upon this problem of scholarships. In 1966 the Foundation—after a thorough investigation by the Trustees—distributed sixteen \$1,000.00 scholarships. Last year 20 such scholarships were handed out, and we anticipate that a similar amount will be contributed to worthy and meritorious children of our members in 1968. Notices of how and when to apply will be made later.

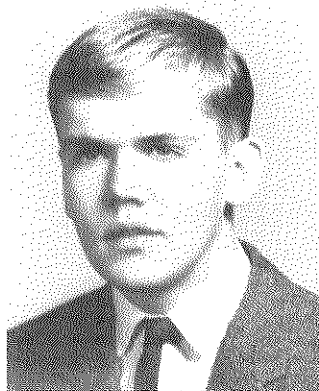
We congratulate the winners of the 1967 scholarships whose pictures and biographical sketches follow. This project is indeed one of the most heartening aspects of the activities of the Allied Educational Foundation.





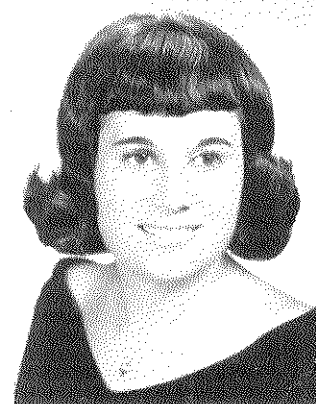
### **Ernest J. Leonardini**

A native of Italy, Ernest J. Leonardini was born on August 19, 1948 and moved to New York City with his parents the following year. Brought up in the Italo-American environment of the East Side, it was not until he enrolled in kindergarten at Our Lady of Pompeii School that he learned English. But he plunged into American ways quite rapidly—joining the Boy Scouts, playing football and doing volunteer work in the hospitals. He graduated both elementary and high school (Xavier) with high honors, winning at the same time a New York State Regents Scholarship. He went on to Holy Cross, which he entered in September 1966 and at which time he is majoring in Romance Languages. "Modern languages fascinate me," he says, "and it is my belief that if men of different nations were able to communicate with one another and understand each other's cultures, this world would be a better place in which to live."



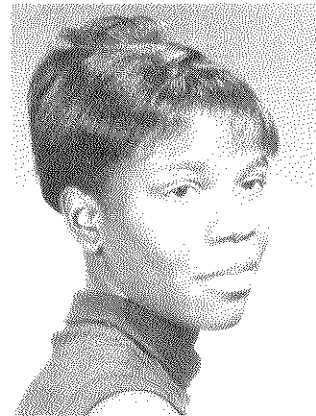
### **Leonard Oberstad**

Another fine product of New York City's parochial schools—Holy Cross Grammar School and Cardinal Hayes High School in the Bronx—Leonard Oberstad entered Seton Hall University in South Orange, N.J. in September, 1966. He will be 20 years old on May 23, and in anticipation of future military service he is now a member of the R. O. T. C. at Seton Hall. He has a wide range of extra-curricular interests—playing baseball and ice-hockey, strumming the guitar ("self taught, and I especially like playing folk and rock-and-roll music") and the band. "My immediate plans after graduation will be to fulfill my military obligation," he says. "After that, I would like to work as an accountant, possibly for an airline."



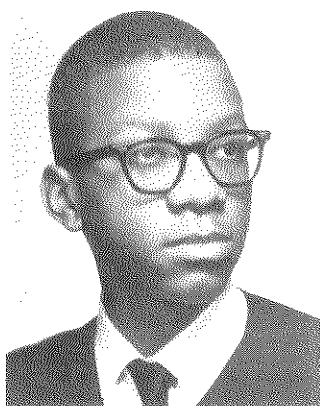
### **Jean Rachelle Teich**

Diminutive and dynamic, Jean Rachelle Teich makes up in bubbling personality what she lacks in size. Now in the School Psychology Training Program at New York University, whence she matriculated after graduating with honors from Brooklyn College, she is pursuing this graduate work preliminary to be licensed "to work with the emotionally disturbed children in a therapeutic relationship." She lives with her mother—a refugee from Austria as was her father who died when she was only four years of age—and her sister in Brooklyn. Her interest in working with children was developed while she was a counsellor, and while her bent is for scholarship, she has also become quite proficient in such sports as swimming and rowing. Her pedagogic interest was further developed by serving as an Assistant Teacher in the Operation Head-Start program. She is particularly intent on exploring the psychological aspects of the functioning of children—an area that she finds most promising.



### **Patricia Irene Mines**

Patricia Mines lives with her parents, four sisters and a brother in White Plains and is now matriculated at Westchester Community College. It was while assisting the younger members of the family that she began to nurture her life's ambition—"to be a teacher". A promising student, she has always been at the top echelons of her class both in junior high school and at White Plains High School where she graduated in June 1967. Among her honors was membership in the National Honor Society. But while "school work was and always has been a part of my life", she also reserved another part for various school sports in which she has likewise excelled.



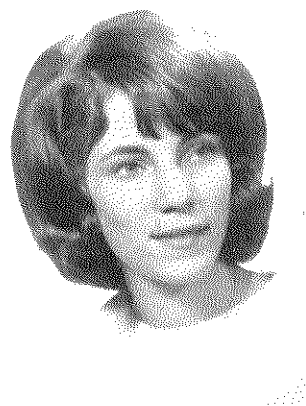
### **John Hood, Jr.**

John Hood, Jr. finds inspiration in the past as a guideline for the future. "I try to live my life like people of ancient times", he says, making particular reference to the Athenians and the Spartans. From the former he has developed a love of learning—a love oriented primarily to mathematics and physics and recognition of which came in the form of being elected President of the Arista (Honor Society) of Haaren High School and acceptance by highly regarded Polytechnic Institute of Brooklyn. From the latter he has developed an interest in strenthening of the body—handball, rack, basketball and softball being his chief athletic interests along with workouts in the symnasium. "A sound mind in a sound body" summarizes his view of life—and given these things, he says, "I shall help make some contribution to the world of tomorrow."



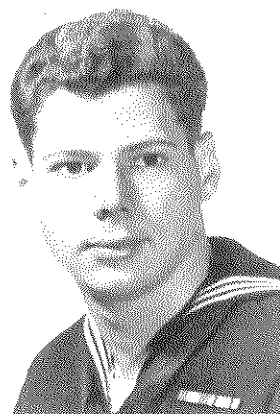
### **Lenore Miller**

Attractive and personable, Lenore Miller looks to college as a springboard for a career in physical therapy. "I love to do work that requires personal contact with people", she says—and during her high school years she had spent months on end in helping Charles, a brain-injured child. Her active mind has been channelized, in addition, to two main areas of endeavor—literature and music. In literature her tastes run to Dostoyevsky, Kafka and Shakespeare, on one side, and J. O. Salinger and Shirley Jackson, on the other. The same ambivalence obtains with respect to music where she demonstrates partiality to Beethoven, Debussy, Bob Dylan and Simon and Garfunkel. But there is a singlemindedness in her devotion to physical therapy, and to the role it can play not only in remedying faults but in restructuring society.



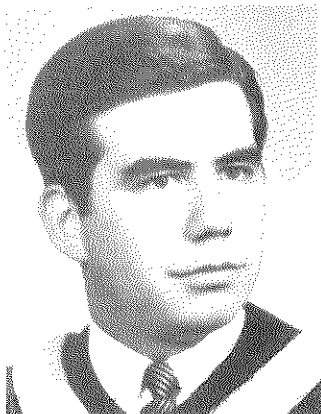
### **Suzanne Gaglie**

Born on August 27, 1949, Suzanne Gaglie lives with her parents, her twin brother and another sister in Peekskill, New York. She recalls her days both at Lakeland Junior High School and at Ladycliff Academy as "being filled with school work and many extra-curricular activities". Among the latter were sports, sewing and hair-dressing. Indeed, the latter interest was so strong that she went to school to study cosmetology—a vocation not only attractive in itself but helpful in "enabling me to work my way through college." She is now enrolled at Sullivan County Community College, and upon completion of her two years she plans to finish at the State University in Cortlandt. Her objective is to become a physical training teacher," for I enjoy all kinds of physical activity and I like to teach what I know to others."



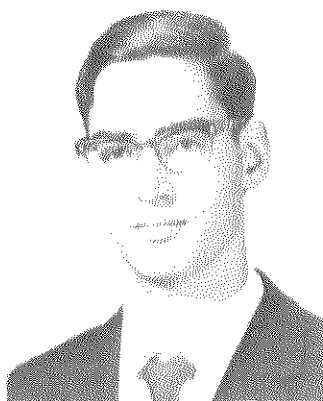
### **David Mendelson**

It was during a three-year stint in the U. S. Navy that David Mendelson "found" himself and decided upon a course of study that will lead to teaching mathematics on a high school level. Before joining the Navy in 1964, he had graduated from Forest Hills H. S. in Queens, and then went on to Queensborough Community College. "Confused and undecided," as he put it, he decided upon the Navy because he wanted to take care of his service obligations while thinking through his future. Many and varied were the Navy experiences, including travel to far-off lands and observing how people lived under different circumstances. Most meaningful, however, was the opportunity given him "to lecture and teach others who were new in the pedagogic methods that were in use" in the navy. It was this success that prompted him to look to teaching as a way of life.



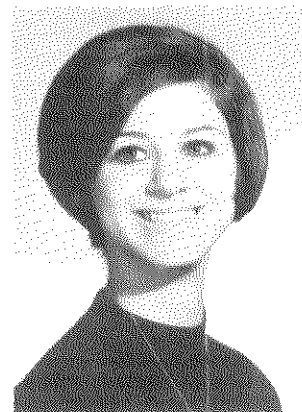
**Jeffrey S. Freed**

So meritorius are the accomplishments of 23-year old Jeffrey Stephen Freed that he has been designated, once again, as a Foundation Scholarship winner. The completion of his first year at Downstate Medical College has further whetted his appetite for "my primary goal"—a career as a doctor. It was a goal to which he held steadfastly since his days at Erasmus Hall High School in his native Brooklyn, as evidenced by his membership in the National Society and such honors, among others, as the Generoso Pope Scholarship Award. After two years at Syracuse University, he returned to Brooklyn College whence he graduated, cum laude, in June 1966. "My present situation", he says, "is truly the beginning of the fulfillment of my goal."



**Stuart Itzkowitz**

On May 3, Stuart Itzkowitz will be 20 years old, and halfway through Harpur College—the State University of New York at Binghamton which he entered after graduation with honors from Stuyvesant High School in New York City. His chief interest is in the biological sciences and although he has not yet decided on what branch he will major, he is determined to achieve his doctorate in that discipline and to do research following his Ph.D. He characterizes his reading as being done "voraciously" and as quite "diverse". He loves to take walks—which he can link up with biology and botany—and to listen to music (with chief emphasis on operas and musicals).



**Robin Gilbert**

Robin Gilbert lives with her folks and her younger brother in Rochdale Village, an experiment in integrated community living in Queens. Long before she graduated Andrew Jackson H.S., she had set her mind on a nursing career. She did volunteer work, for example, at an old age home in Brooklyn and was a "candy striper" in Flushing's Booth Memorial Hospital. Though this decision at first was resisted by the family, her parents are now encouraging her not only to go through nursing school but to go on for a B.S. degree, with a specialty in either pediatrics or therapeutics. In addition to her school chores, Robin has "my fair share of responsibilities at home" and in her limited spare time takes in movies, the theatre, and music as well as widely-ranging reading.



**Lucille De Marinis**

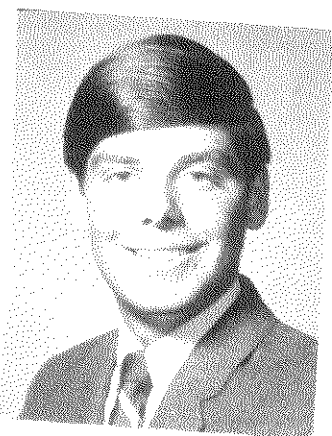
Pert and personable, 17-year old Lucille De Marinis, born and bred in Brooklyn, is a tribute to the education effectiveness of the parochial schools from which she graduated: Saint Paul's Grammar School and Bishop McDonnell Memorial High School. Outstanding in the academic course she pursued, and aware increasingly of the social problems of the age, she has determined to become a social worker. She is now matriculated at Saint Joseph's School for Women and will pursue in line with "my ambition" additional courses of study in the general field of social work.





**Susan Silversmith**

As charming as she is pretty, Susan Silversmith is an all-around girl. At Far Rockaway High School, where she sported better than a 90% average and was a member of Arista and the National Honor Society, she was also quite active in extracurricular pursuits. She was a member of the tennis club, helped to write and act in the "Senior Sing" and served as a volunteer counsellor at a Cerebral Palsy Day Camp. This latter experience so impressed her that she intends to go in for special education among cerebral palsied children. "I am looking forward to college not just to plan a career but to widen my horizons," Susan wrote. "I want to learn as much as I can of what the world has to offer and try to form my opinions without faulty reasoning." Her immediate objective at college? "To do my best at every venture I undertake."



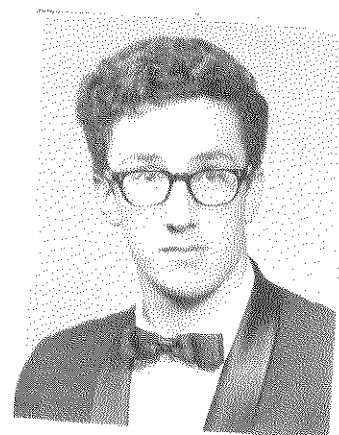
**Richard Werner**

Just turned 20 and in his junior year at Adelphi University, Richard Werner is looking forward to graduate work and to employment with a firm concentrating in the area of statistical analysis. With a bent for mathematics and his forte in business administration, he looks forward confidently to a future full of promise. The past, too, has been quite full not only with school in Uniondale, Long Island (to which he moved from Richmond Hill, Queens, when he was five years old) but with many other activities, including sports. While his favorite is tennis—he's on the Adelphi varsity—he has also played soccer, golf and basketball and has been a wrestler and is now looking forward to taking up squash. His interest in a business career commenced when he did sales merchandising for the Gillette Safety Razor Company—a job which he preferred infinitely to working, as he once had, in a food store. And that interest has been enlarged as a consequence of taking business courses at Adelphi.



**Wendy Gordon**

Wendy Gordon will not be 19 until April 9 but she has already set her mind on becoming a writer in the field of fashion. She arrived at this decision along a road which started at Park East Hospital in Manhattan where she was born, continued in the Jackson Heights area where she was reared and nurtured at day camps where she worked as a counsellor and particularly at Alexander's Department Store. The money she earned she put away for her education, for school—"never a chore to me"—was something quite enjoyable in itself and important in terms of opening up the wider horizon dictated by a career in journalism. She is now enrolled at New York University—"my first choice" and looks forward to four fruitful years there. Tribute is paid to her parents who "have always encouraged me to be anything that would make me happy."



**Thomas Antenucci**

Born almost 20 years ago in a small provincial town in the Appenine Mountains of central Italy, Thomas Antenucci migrated to this country with his parents and brother and sister. "I remember", he recalls, the acclimation "to the customs and ideas of this country"—enrolling in a Yonkers elementary school when he was 7, the day the family bought their first TV set, the smell of newsprint in my nostrils as I carried papers in my arms along the route". Above all, he remembers, the pride the family felt in his academic achievements—and, understandably so, in the light of the honors he attained. "The thought of college appalls me and fascinates, for I am at times befuddled in present circumstances and perplexed when I consider those yet to come," he says. "Yet there is something within me like an irrepressible desire—an intense curiosity to meet the future."



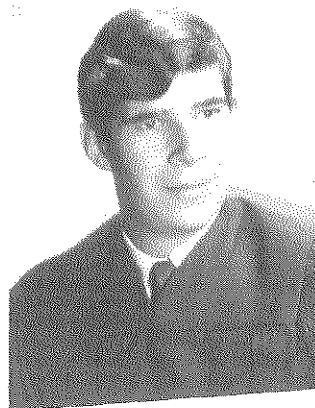
### Mark Feldman

For 25 year old Mark Feldman the philosophy of life is best expressed in the maxim: "To cure someone, to relieve often, but to console always". It is a philosophy which will stand him in good stead in his medical career upon which he embarked at George Washington University School of Medicine in September 1964. A product of the New York City school system—from public school to college—he became definitely oriented to medicine during his four years at City College. "I became more interested in people rather than things," he says, "and this new awareness made it clear to me that my talents lay in the area of the healing arts." To help finance his costly educational project, he has worked since his high school days in jobs ranging from car washer to shipping clerk to bus boy. He looks forward to a career as physician which will be all the more satisfying because it will be "a benefit to the people I serve."



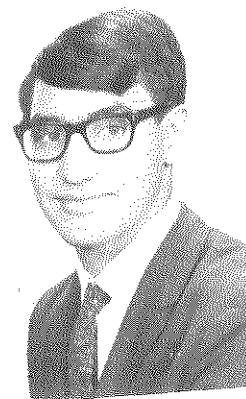
### Jacqueline Levy

Jacqueline Levy just missed being a New Year's Day baby—she was born on January 2, 1949—but she never misses an opportunity to improve her mind or enlarge her capacity. A dedicated and conscientious student of science, she graduated James Monroe High School in the Bronx—where she lives with her parents and younger sister—and is currently enrolled at the Bronx Community College. Her goal is to become "a well-skilled laboratory technologist"—a position which in her estimation will enable her "to aid other scientists in conquering the mysteries of this wide open field." While her studies keep her well occupied, she indulges in her favorite sports (handball, bowling and basketball as a participant, and baseball, softball and football as a spectator) or in reading or music.



### Mark Charles Newman

Born in Brooklyn on March 11, 1948, Mark Charles Newman grew up in an environment where family congeniality was combined with scholarship. He was always influenced by his older brother, William, who is now in the process of completing his doctorate at Stanford University. Tall and well-built—Mark is 6 feet, 2½ inches and weighs 200 pounds—he is a proficient tennis player and swimmer and was a football star until he sustained a knee injury. But his chief love has been scholarship, and his record at Brooklyn Technical High School—one of the highest ranking secondary institutions in the country—has borne this out. The family suffered a setback however when Mark's father—Barney Newman—was laid low with a heart attack. Mark subordinated his own needs to seeing the family through the emergency, although this sense of responsibility cost him a year of school. Now at Foothill College in California, he has been the recipient of outstanding grades—a forecast of better things to come, educationally and professionally.



### Jeffrey Lane

Born in New York City in 1949, and educated in the schools at Belleville, New Jersey, where the family moved to when he was young, Jeffrey Lane is now a major in biological science at Rutgers University. Never one inclined to let grass grow underneath his feet, he has worked since his high school days to build an educational "nest-egg" for himself—as a waiter in a summer camp, a printer's apprentice, lifeguard-counsellor and as a Good Humor driver-salesman. Before, at and after school he has indulged in extracurricular activities—basketball, crew, writing poetry and listening to "my fairly extensive collective of taped music," not to mention his "hopes of renovating a small sportscar." But his other activities are not incompatible with keeping his eyes on the ball, scholastically speaking, particularly on his favorite subject—psychology.



# LOOKING AHEAD

**T**HIS ISSUE of The Union Forum has been devoted to an account of the events and happenings in 1967—the projects and activities of the Allied Educational Foundation.

*In reviewing these projects and activities in 1968 we did so not from the standpoint of being egotistical about attainments or so satisfied that we made no revisions in plans and programs. Rather, we asked ourselves: Are we exploring in depth the desires of the membership and expanding our efforts in that direction? Are we pondering new, fresh ideas.*

*These are self-searching questions that we in the Foundation cannot ignore. Everything is changing so rapidly that yesterday's truths are no longer valid—the needs of last year are often supplanted by something more urgent. We will not be content to continue activities and projects, however successful, just because they were good in the past.*

*We are looking around, therefore, to improve what we have done. Leadership, as we view it, must couple new ideas with the practical wisdom that comes from experience.*

*The Foundation exists for one basic purpose: to help you—the members—in that forward leap called—PROGRESS.*

