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Dubinsky Rebuffs 'Bias' Charge At Congressional Unit's Hearing

The New York Times.

Dubinsky Scores House Inquiry; Denies Bias in Garment Union



David Dubinsky talks with operators of Federal Court House in Foley Square after testifying before House subcommittee.

BY STANLEY LEVY
David Dubinsky defended his administration for calling to his aid one for three did not believe in a "class" membership.

In a 3½-hour appearance before a Congressional subcommittee on August 24, Pres. David Dubinsky refuted the charge of bias and corruption leveled at the ILGWU and cited the record of the garment union with the effectiveness that lead one morning newspaper the next day to headline its story "Dubinsky: Who's On Trial?"

The federal court in which the hearing was conducted began to crowd long before the scheduled 10 A.M. start of the session. In the audience were some thirty Negro and Spanish-speaking ILGWU officers ready to testify and tell their own stories of advancement from the shop to officers ranks. But the only other witness that day was Alberto Sanchez, ILGWU director of organization in Puerto Rico.

Sanchez reviewed the history of the ILGWU in the island, exposed grossly false statements made by a consultant to the committee and staggered the committee members by declaring he would rather continue as director of organization for the ILGWU in Puerto Rico than become manager of its locals, because of his personal preference for spreading unionism.

The previous week, on August 18, Vice Pres. Charles S. Zimmerman brought the hearing to a halt and for a time was under threat of a contempt of Congress charge when he hurled at the committee the accusation that an attempt was being made to frame-up the union for political reasons.

Conducting the hearings is Rep. Herbert Zel-

enko, the acting chairman of the subcommittee of the House Committee on Education and Labor whose chairman is Rep. A. Clayton Powell. Its other Democratic members in attendance are Rep. James Roosevelt and Rep. John Dent, and its two Republican members are Rep. Carroll Kearns and Rep. Robert Griffin. The New York Liberal Party refused to endorse Congressmen Zelenko and Powell.

Caution and courtesy prevailed throughout the August 24 session. Pres. Dubinsky dealt with virtually every major issue raised at earlier sessions. But in addition to presenting factual replies he time and again voiced personal and trade union philosophy, personal history, trade union accomplishments and the ILGWU history and record with characteristic sincerity and forcefulness that held audience and investigators spellbound.

Report in 'Times'

The New York Times carried the following account of the session by Stanley Levy on its front page:

(Continued on Page 3)

ILGWU PRESIDENT TESTIFIES:

- SERVICE BASED ON MERIT, NOT RACE
- NO 'CLASS' MEMBERSHIP IN ILGWU

Dubinsky: I appreciate the opportunity you have afforded me to appear before your committee. I consider this an important day in my life and in the life of my union, which I have headed for the last 30 years, because today a subcommittee of the Congress is investigating to what extent the union is discriminating against Puerto Ricans and Negroes, to what extent racketeering and exploitation prevails in the union. Since Congress decided to investigate, I took it that at least they wanted to know what is going on in this union.

Zelenko: If anything?
Dubinsky: If anything, I know, also, that any investigation involves a lot of implication, a lot of insinuation, a lot of leaks that affect the prestige of the union and the interest of the workers whom it represents.

"I joined the labor movement at the age of 15. For the last 55 years I have been connected with the labor movement. I paid a high price for my principles. At the age of 16 I was jailed for 18 months and sent to Siberia for one 'crime': belonging to a trade union and participating in a strike. This happened in Russia under the Czar's regime.

Excerpts from voluntary testimony presented by Pres. David Dubinsky to the subcommittee of the House Committee on Education and Labor, at hearing held in Federal Court House in New York City on August 24.

I could have bought my freedom if I would have repudiated my principles and dissociated myself from the trade union movement. I did not do it then and don't intend to do it today, at the age of 70.

I ALWAYS CONSIDERED THAT I am the head of a progressive, constructive union. It is a union that believes and practices equality, that supports every movement and every cause against discrimination, against exploitation, against racketeering. Little did I believe in the 55 years of my activities that I would have to appear before a Congressional Committee to defend our union and to prove it is not what it is here alleged to be.

I and my union have established a record for the labor movement, before the public and before the world, as for

union that fought Communism, fought racketeering, fought discrimination and fought against sweatshops; so much so, that tens of thousands and hundreds of thousands of people enjoy the fruit of this labor. It was a very costly effort.

I cannot believe that you gentlemen, at this time or even at the end of the hearings, no matter how long they will proceed, consider that this International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union is what has been alleged. It is not a two-faced union; it is a union with one face, with character, militancy, determination and a record. That reputation, despite attempts made to besmirch and to undermine it, is not a result of publicity stunts with huge expenses for it.

Don't fall off your chairs, Congressmen, when I say to you that the ILGWU does not have one man on the payroll for the purpose of obtaining publicity

for the union, of building an "image," and any statement to that effect is, mildly, a fantasy and untrue.

Our union has achieved a reputation, but not because we have publicity men; it is because of our record of efforts to keep it clean, to be constructive, to be democratic, to be of service to our members, to our industry, and to our community. When a union does that, it don't need paid publicity agents.

THERE WAS A TIME, BEFORE THE AFL-CIO merger, when the American Federation of Labor, under the leadership of William Green, maintained that each union had autonomy and could do whatever it pleased.

I personally, and the ILGWU disassociated from that position. We maintained that a labor union is a public organization, responsible to the public. When we were out of the AFL, because we joined the Committee for Industrial Organization to organize the workers in the mass production industries and its 1940 we considered returning to the AFL, one of the conditions was that the AFL, (Continued on Page 2)

DUBINSKY AT HEARING:

'Proud We Organized Exploited Workers!'

(Continued from Page 1)

change its policy on the question of racketeering and assume, as obligations to clean out racketeers and not permit them to hold office in the unions. At the 1940 AFL convention in New Orleans, after we had reconstituted the ILGWU introduced a resolution against racketeering. In fact, I was physically attacked because of this action, in a widely-reported incident at the convention.

The ILGWU delegation was the only one at that convention which registered its disaffiliation by refraining from voting for George Brown for election to the Executive Council. Charges of malfeasance in office had been lodged against him. The ILGWU thereby concretely demonstrated its opposition to racketeering.

"Then in 1941, at my suggestion, the AFL Executive Council named a committee to look into the matter of "paper" locals. A committee was appointed consisting of George Meany, then AFL secretary-treasurer, William McPhee and myself. This was the first time that the AFL took the action of suspending "paper" local unions.

In 1942 when the hearing conducted by Judge Prosser disclosed disgraceful conditions among the longshoremen, I raised the question with Meany, then already AFL president, whether action could be taken on the basis of our 1940 resolution. Meany's reply reflected the new spirit of the AFL in affirming that the executive council intended to apply all of its influence in order to correct a situation as reports indicated existed on the New York waterfront.

ON THE QUESTION OF LEGISLATION, the traditional position of the labor movement had been that there should be no governmental interference in the internal affairs of unions; that unions would take care of themselves. But when an investigation conducted by Senator Douglas disclosed racketeering going on in connection with health and welfare funds, I wrote an article for the American Federationist, with the approval of George Meany who was also the editor of that magazine, for the first time advocating giving government the right to ask for the filing of reports in order to eliminate this disgraceful situation.

"Then arose problems with the teamsters and Hofas, the bakers, textile, distillery and other unions where we realized that legislation pertaining only to health and welfare did not solve the problem.

In January 1958, during an address to the executive board meeting of the Retail Clerks International Association, I said that in my opinion unless government with its subpoena power will investigate, we are powerless.

I advocated that something be done in that field and as a result of it, there was the original Kennedy-Jves Bill that we supported. Later it became instead the Landrum-Griffin Bill.

We supported the first one; the other one we considered punitive. In other words, it was our contention that legislation is proper where there are abuses but it should not be misused to hamper and discourage the growth of the labor movement.

In our union, we reported to our 1956 convention that "We are proud of the fact that in our union we have never waited for headlines to rid ourselves of the occasional betrayer of the trust. We have not needed government officials to determine whether or not an abuse has been committed. At all times we have kept our eyes open and have been on the alert and all complaints, whether signed or not, have not been investigated. This investigation has indicated that a trust has been violated.

New York City AFL-CIO Rallies to ILG

Resolution adopted by New York City Central Labor Council, AFL-CIO, August 16, 1962:

One of the great international unions of the AFL-CIO, a union that is the pride of the trade union movement in our city and in the country and that reflects credit on our country throughout the world, is under attack today by a subcommittee of the House of Representatives Committee on Education and Labor.

The very resolution adopted by this subcommittee gives the impression that it is motivated by political animosity, that it is out to smear this union and thereby to discredit the entire labor movement of this country. For if there is any labor union that has been the pioneer for furthering all that is sound and progressive in labor, that is the ILGWU.

The terms of the resolution adopted have already prejudged the outcome of the so-called investigation and have accused the union and its leadership for everything that it has fought against—discrimination, dictatorship, violation of the rights of members and misuse of funds.

The New York City Central Labor

Council AFL-CIO repudiates and protests this despicable, unwarranted, unfounded attack on the ILGWU, which reflects unfavorably on the organizers of the attack.

The council extends to its ILGWU affiliated locals and to the ILGWU its fullest support and calls upon every local union of the council to do likewise.

The officers of the council are instructed to send copies of this resolution to the affiliates asking that this resolution be adopted by their organization and that the affiliates' resolutions be returned to the council so that the full support of the New York City labor movement be thus manifested.

The officers of the council are further instructed to make known the position taken in regard to this unjustified attempt to smear the ILGWU; to notify the general press, the labor press, the New York State AFL-CIO, the national AFL-CIO. The officers of the New York City Central Labor Council are finally instructed to notify the President, the Vice President, the entire Congress of the United States, particularly the members of its subcommittee.

the culprit has been dismissed forthwith. The general executive board then reported that six officers, not among the high ranks or leadership had been removed from office for irregularity and personal conduct which drew a reflection on the organization with which they were connected.

The ILGWU and affiliates have 775 officers, and we employ 1,640 staff members, or a total of 1,815. In the 30 years I am president, between 40 and 45 persons had to be dismissed for these things. It comes to an average of about one and a half a year.

YOU HAVE SEEN CONSIDERABLE time on the question of Local 60-55A. Let me give some background on this matter.

Prior to 1953 the shipping clerks of the dress industry were not organized. In 1953, the manager of Local 60 came to our General Executive Board and asked for permission to organize the shipping clerks, because the local was willing to provide manpower and finances required to establish a union of shipping clerks and an agreement. He asked they should be a separate branch of Local 60.

At the time the shipping clerks' organization was started they had 350 workers, the pressers of Local 60 had 2,265.

In April 1964, when the first agreement was made, the shipping clerks branch started with a temporary executive board of 16, and then they added four for a total of 20. The branch at that time had 1,600 members and the pressers had 3,200.

Today, the picture is reversed: the shipping clerks have 1,900 and the pressers 1,300 — half of what they had when the branch was established. The reason, as you detailing this is that a big issue was made by the pressers having 40 executive board members while 55A has 20, supposing to show "discrimination."

I am proud of the fact that we succeeded in taking those exploited workers, who had been working all kinds of hours in the industry, were at the mercy of the employer, and organized them and obtained decent human conditions for them.

I WAS NOT BORN A UNION PRESIDENT, I was a worker in the ship nine years; only by a coincidence I became a manager. When the then president died, there were oldtimers with longer records of union service than I had. They decided on me not because I was Jewish but because they thought I was the ablest man.

If there is a Puerto Rican or a Negro or an Italian or anyone else who has ability to be a business agent, a manager, a vice president, give him to me. I will spend half my time finding him a position and promoting him.

But I'll be damned if I will support the idea of the professional Negro, professional Jew, professional Italian or anyone else that one should be a manager or president because he belongs to this or that race. In our union, one should be promoted on the basis of merit, confidence, and service to be performed.

WHEN WE MADE THE FIRST SHIPPING clerk agreement, it was on a 46-hour week basis. They have their two groups. One group at that time—that was in 1954—had a \$39 a week minimum and the other group had \$40. Now, the \$39 minimum has become \$46; the \$40 became \$50. The lower paid workers got a higher increase.

Also, this is on the basis of 35 hours, instead of 40 hours. When they work five hours overtime they get paid for seven and a half. So the group one, the wages became \$56 instead of \$36; in group two, instead of \$40 they became \$60.

I plead guilty; I have committed a "crime" by organizing them in that branch! And these are just the minimums; I will come to wages.

Then they have 6% legal paid holidays, vacations, health benefits, retirement, severance. This amounts to another \$7 or \$10 a week that they didn't have before.

I understand it has been said that this
(Continued on Page 8)

Randolph Flays Attack on ILG

A. Philip Randolph, national president of the Negro American Labor Council, sent the following letter to Pres. David Dubinsky on August 20:

Let me acknowledge receipt of your letter of August 17, 1962 with circular enclosed, "Congressional Committee Open Hearing on Exploitation of Workers in Garment Industry," issued by the Greater New York Chapter of the Negro American Labor Council, which states:

"We of the Negro American Labor Council know that this investigation is long overdue. We know how we suffered lower wages on account of race bias."

"We are asking you and your friends who are members of ILGWU, and who have been discriminated against, to file your complaints with this Committee. Don't just grumble and chew your friends' ears off, when there is a Committee that can be appealed to. Your name will not be mentioned."

Permit me to say that this circular is unauthorized and does not reflect the position of the Negro American Labor Council on the long progressive history of the ILGWU, a notable symbol of social, free democratic trade unionism under your distinguished leadership.

At the meeting of the New York Chapter of the Negro American Labor Council at which discussion was carried on concerning the circulation of a leaflet in connection with the investigation of exploitation of workers in the garment industry, Cleveland Robinson, secretary-treasurer of District 65 and regional supervisor of Zone No. 1 of NALC, acted the president of the local chapter, Fred Small, representative of Local 1814 of the International Longshoremen Association, over whose name the leaflet would be issued, and expressed his opposition to any such circular being put out in the name of the Negro American Labor Council. He was told that it would not be issued by the council but by a group of rank and file members of ILGWU.

May I say that the Negro American Labor Council is uncompromisingly opposed to race bias in all labor unions and industry, but we are also opposed to any witch hunt against a bona fide labor union such as ILGWU. We believe the basic remedy is the enactment of Federal Fair Employment Practice legislation.

Let me observe that I will remember when, in the early 1930's, because of racial discrimination against Negro delegates to the convention of ILGWU which was held in the present Sheraton-Chicago Hotel in Chicago you removed the convention to the Morrison Hotel where Negro delegates were acceptable. This was a fine demonstration of moral courage and sound trade unionism.

I need not tell you that I do not agree with all of your policies and I am sure you do not agree with all of mine, but I certainly do not consider you or Charles Zimmerman or the ILGWU to be anti-Negro.

Leaving courthouses after conclusion of hearing session on August 24, left to right, Louis Stulberg, Emil Schlesinger, David Dubinsky, Shelby Appleton, Charles S. Zimmerman, Moe Fallman, Morris F. Glushkin.

Dubinsky Rebuffs 'Bias' Charge At Congressional Unit's Hearing

(Continued from Page 1)

'Times' Story

David Dubinsky, defended his union for three and a half hours yesterday against charges of racial discrimination, sweetheart deals, low wages and racketeering.

In a virtuoso performance before a House subcommittee investigating New York's garment industry, the 70-year-old president of the International Ladies Garment Workers' Union conceded that his organization was not without sin.

And he gave credit to the subcommittee for calling to his attention a situation involving Local 102, which he called "the problem child of our union."

But Mr. Dubinsky, alternately roaring like a wounded lion or laughing like a pleased child, gave little ground.

He peppered his testimony with homilies in Russian, Yiddish and Hebrew. He strook his finger at committee members and slammed the table for emphasis. He said it was ironic and wrong that of all the 100 inter-

national unions in this country, the ILGWU should be the first singled out for attack.

His mood ranged from disdain for the charges to patient tolerance for those who had brought them. He lashed out at "insinuations, implications and news leaks by committee staff members that affect the union's prestige and good name and therefore, the welfare of its members."

Throughout, the members of the committee, headed by Rep-

resentative Herbert Zelenko, Manhattan Democrat, listened respectfully and spoke softly to Mr. Dubinsky. They assured him that neither he nor his union

was being accused of anything. They deplored the possibility that staff workers had leaked news to the press.

Labor Leader's Views

Mr. Dubinsky's testimony was in rebuttal to charges made at three earlier sessions of the subcommittee at Federal Court House in Foley Square. His argument ran as follows:

"The garment union has fought labor racketeers for years inside its own ranks and within the labor movement as a whole. The ILGWU, he said, was responsible in large measure for changing labor's traditional hand-off policy on racketeering.

"The union does not discriminate against Negroes and Puerto Ricans, as charged by several earlier witnesses. Rather, he said, it seeks them as leaders.

"There is no discrimination in membership, initiation fees, dues, wages," he shouted. "There is no class A membership, no class B membership. Our members eat together, meet together, dance together, celebrate together and fight together."

Mr. Dubinsky spurned the notion that because a minority group had a dominant number of members in a local or a section of the union, it should also control the leadership.

"I'm damned," he cried, "if I will support the idea of the professional Negro, the professional Jew, the professional Italian that a man should be a union officer."

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Zimmerman Hurls Accusals of Anti-ILGWU Frame-Up

The House subcommittee investigation of charges of discrimination by the ILGWU ran into rough going on August 18, with the subcommittee's special consultant, Herbert Hill, checked by members in the presentation of his own prepared testimony.

In a stormy scene, subcommittee Chairman Herbert Zelenko was bluntly accused by ILGWU Vice Pres. Charles E. Zimmerman of having prejudged the issues in a television comment, at the hearing got underway, on alleged "patterns of discrimination."

Zimmerman, general manager of the Dress Joint Council and former chairman of the AFL-CIO Committee on Civil Rights, angrily told Zelenko that the chairman had "found us guilty on television," had asked loaded questions and had not allowed the witness to correct mis-statements of alleged fact about the provisions of an ILGWU contract. Zimmerman, threatened with a contempt-of-Congress citation, made it clear that his countercharges were directed only at Zelenko and not at other members of the subcommittee. He reluctantly agreed, finally, to have the exchange stricken from the record.

AFL-CIO Accus

The AFL-CIO Executive Coun-

cil has branded the Zelenko investigation a "political vendetta." Pres. George Meany pointed out in a news conference that "some of the subcommittee members" did not receive a political endorsement from New York's Liberal Party, with which the ILGWU has close ties.

The early hearings were punctuated by a series of events in which subcommittee members repeatedly checked Zelenko's actions.

When the chairman made accusations involving contract terms for Local 60-60A, covering shipping clerks and packers, he read out-of-context sentences to make it appear that workers could be shifted into higher classifications without higher pay.

Rep. James Roosevelt and Rep. John H. Dent backed up Zimmerman's protest at the distortion by omission, and Zelenko

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Attendant



Meida Springer, long-time Dress Joint Board business agent and currently with AFL-CIO Department of International Affairs, specializing on Africa, stood by on August 24, prepared to testify before a Congressional committee hearing concerning her ILGWU activities. As session concluded before she could speak, she is slated to appear at scheduled resumption of hearings on Sept. 12.



Some of the 10 ILGWU members and officers who waited at the Congressional Committee hearing on August 24 to tell the story of their membership, experience and officiousness in the ILGWU were left to right: front row—John Wilkinson, Chairman Local 105; Amelia Cortez, executive board member Local 40; William Harris, rank and file, Cutters' Local 10; Maria Colera, dress-

maker's business agent; Louise Delgado, dressmaker's business agent; Carmen Rolan, education director Local 40; Clara Vasquez, executive board member Local 60; Julius Ramirez, member Local 10 and business agent and director of organization, Local 62. Center row—Mabel Fuller, education director Local 62; Cathy Andrade, business agent Local 23; Carmen Ortiz, business agent Local 23; Iris

King, Business agent Local 91; Adalide Santolungo, executive board member Local 105; Alfred King, executive board member Local 99; Bella Scott, rank and file, dressmaker's Local 22; Gertrude Royal, executive board member training for business agent Local 91; Back row—Isa Barnes, business agent Local 98; Michael Cuevas, member Cutters' Local 10 and business agent Local 32;

Lovetta Brooks, recording secretary Local 66; Manuel Gonzalez, business agent dressmaker's Local 22; William Grant, rank and file, Cutters' Local 10. In the group, 9 are business agents, 2 education directors, 3 executive board members and 3 rank and file. Sixteen of the group have attended ILGWU national conventions; one was a delegate to last AFL-CIO convention.

How Come?

The August 23 session of the House committee hearing was opened with the reading into the record of pages 1 and 3 of the August 15 issue of Justice. Committee members were especially put out by the page 3 story dealing with the appearance before the committee in executive session of dress industry impartial chairman Harry Uviller on August 18.

One member of the committee called the piece entirely "improper" and reserved the right "to ask the chairman at a later time to investigate how matters dealing with executive sessions have appeared in public print."

We think that is a good idea, but there is no need for the committee to spend money, waste time or wait to find out how the matter got into Justice.

It was rewritten from clippings of accounts that appeared in the New York Times, The New York Post, Women's Wear Daily and the Daily News, the last of which carried a detailed account of the Uviller matter on the morning of August 18, hours before the committee opened its first executive session.

How come?

Eastern Region Pact, \$47,500 Back Pay End 4-Year Saga at Bonnie Lass in Jersey

Four years of extended, precedent-setting litigation coupled with a strike against the Bonnie Lass Knitting Mills of Cliffside, N. J., ended this month with a union agreement, and back pay totaling \$47,500 for 45 workers, ranging in seniority to 13.100.

The back pay is the case represents the largest single determination in the New Jersey regional office of the National Labor Relations Board, according to Vice Pres. Edward Kramer, general manager of the Eastern Region.

Terms of the new agreement are highlighted by an increase of 1 percent wage increase for all plant workers, with an additional 7 percent later effective March 6, 1963. These workers also received a two-step wage boost, a total of 10 percent as long as workers earning less than \$18.00 and 10 cents for those above that rate.

The pact also provides 6 1/2 guaranteed paid holidays, with additional half holiday provision, and employer contributions to the health and welfare, retirement and recreation plan.

Higher minimum wage floors were also established in all work categories.

The Bonnie Lass case began in April of 1958, when a number of workers in the shop requested recognition. Local 1283, American Labor Union, sent in an organizing team, and in no time an overwhelming majority of the workers voted membership applications.

But when the employer learned of the campaign, he filed a charging petition with the NLRB, and requested with a requested anti-union drive which had the ILGWU to file unfair labor practice charges.

The employer's continued refusal to recognize the union finally brought about a strike in August of that year. Meanwhile, the ILGWU filed additional unfair charges against the firm during a hearing on the employer's representation petition. This petition was dismissed by the NLRB in January 1959 because of the involved charges.

Asked Reinforcement

Subsequent to an investigation by the NLRB regional office, a complaint was heard against the firm charging the employer with refusal to bargain.

Following this complaint, the union called for a demand for reinstatement of the striking workers, who represented all but 10 percent of the shop labor force. This would have compelled the employer to bargain in good faith if he reinstated the workers, or failing that, would have resulted in a possible back pay claim.

The company refused to reinstate the law; the employer began to shut down certain departments within the factory, insuring no claims before the NLRB that he had changed the nature of his operations. Then, a series of meetings were held at the home of a company vice president, where the workers were advised they should be reinstated only if they abandoned the union.

In January 1959, the union filed a new unfair labor practice charge, this time including the demand for reinstatement and back pay. An immediate response by the NLRB Trial Examiner in the case upheld the union position, and directed the firm to reopen the closed departments and offer immediate reinstatement to all workers.

The employer's refusal to accept these recommendations, but the board sustained the examiner's decision, and the company to bargain with the union in the event manufacturing operations were resumed.

WANTED!
Gerie Linnick, Susan Nyzal, Elizabeth Rakail
If you see this notice, call the Eastern Region New York Office, Call Collect: CO 5-7000! The Treasurer of the United States is holding \$3,261 in stores as your part of the Bonnie Lass \$47,500 back pay settlement.

Leadership Decides
However, rather than order the firm to reopen its manufacturing departments, the NLRB issued a ruling that has become a landmark report in dealing with runaway shop cases.

The board advised the employer to reinstate all the workers concerned amount and pay them back wages as of the time of reinstatement, or until they had obtained substantially equivalent employment elsewhere.

At this point, both company and union filed new motions with the NLRB, the ILGWU seeking to compel the employer to bargain on the grounds that he was still engaged in manufacturing, although on a reduced scale, and the firm charging that the board order was a wide departure from precedent.

The same pattern established since the beginning of the proceedings continued. The employer's motion was dismissed, but additional hearings were ordered on the union's motion, and an intermediate report was subsequently issued sustaining the ILGWU position.

Again the firm objected to the trial examiner's report, but after 23 months of investigation the board decision sustained the examiner's finding.

After the NLRB decision, National demand was made upon the employer to meet and negotiate a collective agreement. The employer rejected the demand, leaving union members to resource but to unity.

President Kennedy, on August 28, announced he was appointing Secretary of Labor Arthur J. Goldberg as an associate justice on the U. S. Supreme Court succeeding Justice Felix Frankfurter, who retired.

Goldberg, who is 54, will bring to the nation's highest tribunal a long background as a leading labor lawyer.

Before being named Secretary of Labor by President Kennedy at the end of his administration, Goldberg had been legal counsel to the AFL-CIO and a member of individual unions. In addition, from time to time he had given legal counsel to such as a dozen major organizations, including the ILGWU.

Also, he played a major role in working out the Ethical Practices Code and the setting up of the National Machine Committee of the AFL-CIO.

Previously, in his capacity as an associate to the CIO, he was entrusted to the CIO, and the negotiated effectively to work out the settlement on the AFL-CIO merger. Earlier, he had

the NLRB to initiate enforcement proceedings in the Circuit Court of Appeals.

"In line with the inescapable union drive, company representatives made overtures to terminate the requirements of a settlement. After extended conferences and negotiations, the employer finally entered an independent agreement, and the arrangements were made for reinstatement and the back payment of \$47,500.

"Union attorneys throughout the four-year legal battle were from the Newark law office of Kapelsohn, Lerner, Leuchter and Ritzman.

Anti-Judy Bond



Members of Nassau County Locals 57 and 77 distribute literature and union label giveaways outside Gerz Department Store in Jamaica, L.I., a prime outlet for Judy Bond blouses. Leafleting drive begun when store refused to cooperate with the ILGWU in refusing to handle products of the struck runaway firm.

Educational Pioneer Fannia Cohn Retires After 5-Decade Service



Fannia Cohn, ILGWU Education Secretary who retired after 33 years of service to the union, was honored at a luncheon held on August 27, sharing table with the ILGWU pioneer Mrs. Ann, left, General Secretary-Treasurer Louis Stalberg, Pres. David Dubinsky, First Vice Pres. Louis Antonini and Political Education Director Gus Tyler.

Fannia M. Cohn, vice president of the ILGWU from 1916 to 1928 and for more than four decades secretary of the union's Education Department, has retired. The event was marked by a luncheon on August 27, attended by those in the ILGWU who have been her close co-workers. Miss Cohn was the first woman to serve as vice president of the garment union.

Throughout the world, those concerned with workers' education know her well. Through correspondence and visits, her experience

many years ago came to stand for pioneering efforts to increase the educational opportunities for men and women in the shops, and in the factories, both for the enrichment of their leisure hours and for a fuller participation in the affairs of their unions.

Fannia Cohn came to the union from Russia in 1906. She joined the ILGWU shortly before the great shirtwaistmakers' uprising in 1909. For almost a decade she was an busy organizing garment workers—in stillborn's wear and white goods, especially—in educating them. She was in the forefront of the educational struggle that marked the ILGWU into the U.S. entry into World War I.

In 1927 she was appointed one of three vice presidents to help draw up the general educational plan which the General Executive Board approved in October of that year. Mrs. Cohn was named organizing secretary of the education committee and in 1928 became executive secretary of the union's new Education Department.

Starting in 1928, Fannia Cohn was the moving spirit in success to the ILGWU's educational program such outstanding teachers as Charles Beck, Harry J. Corbett, David Saposs and Sylvia Kayat. On January 4, 1928, the ILGWU opened at Washington Irving High School in New York its first of a number of evening schools

with courses in economics, labor history, literature, civics and psychology—which it called the Workers University.

World Areas

In ILGWU experience in the recent years Miss Cohn began her work with the ILGWU provided the basis for numerous accounts and studies used by teachers in other parts of the U.S. and the world. In 1921 she became a co-founder of the Workers Education Bureau and Brookwood Labor College. One year later she was a delegate (Continued on Page 11).

Kennedy Names Labor Sec'y Goldberg to Supreme Court



Arthur J. Goldberg helped in efforts to appeal Communist-dominated unions from the NLRB.

Named to succeed William W. Wallcut, Secretary of Labor was W. Underhill, who had been Under-Secretary of Labor.

JUSTICE

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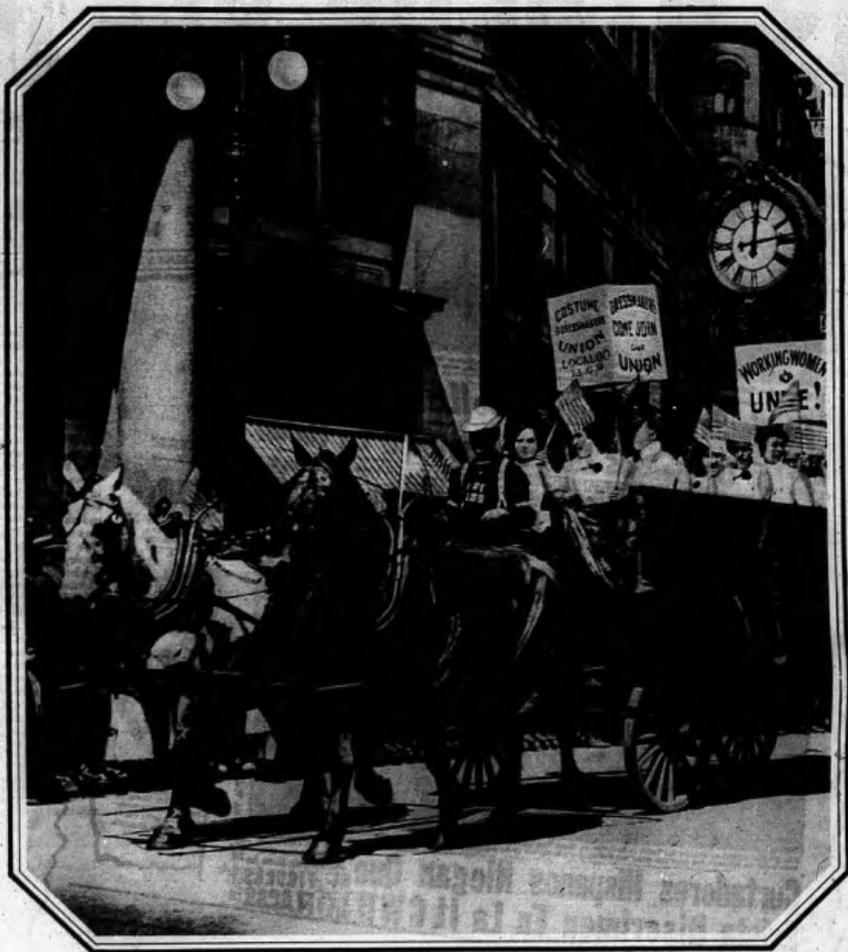


Photo: The Baltimore Architect Inc.

"8 Hours of work—8 hours of rest—8 hours for what we will!"

"Eight hours of work, eight hours of rest, eight hours for what we will."

That's the slogan carried by members of the Knights of Labor in the first American Labor Day Parade in September, 1882.

It was a time when unions were young, when the 12, 14 and 16-hour day was the rule, the six and seven-day workweek commonplace. It was the era of the sweat-shop.

Labor has come a long way since then.

It wasn't easy.

Each step was bitterly contested by those who believed in their "God given" right to exploit people.

But in the end, as a result of the efforts of America's great unions, employers too came to understand that workers did have rights.

Today, in most industries, union men and women can hold up their heads secure in the knowledge that these hard-won rights are protected by the unions. Many of these rights have even become the laws of the country. We take so many of these for granted. Social security,

unemployment insurance, workmen's compensation, minimum wages, shorter workweeks—and yes, public schools also—didn't just happen. They came because unions like the International Ladies Garment Workers' struggled for them.

This is part of what all unions like the ILCGWU represent. There are 450,000 members, 80% of them women—many of them mothers, in the ILCGWU. Through their union they share the same goals you do. They work for decent shelter, health and education for their families. They measure the future in terms of their children. They contribute to the welfare of their communities and their country.

The label of the ILCGWU is their signature in ladies' garments. It is the signature of men and women who, through their union, have achieved fair standards, the dignity of a voice in their own conditions of employment and a position of respect in their communities.

Look for it the next time you shop for women's or girls' apparel. It is your guarantee that the clothing you buy was made by skilled craftsmen in a shop reflecting the best American standards and traditions.



Symbol of Decency,
Fair Labor Standards and the
American Way of Life.

This ILCGWU union label ad will appear in 73 newspapers across the country on Labor Day.

DUBINSKY AT HEARING:

How We Consistently Fight Discrimination

(Continued from Page 7)
 to a low flying industry. If the way I can't consider ourselves an employment agency; we don't engage shipping clerks. We don't tell anybody—wherever we go in Polish, Portuguese, Italian, Jewish—what France he should go in. We don't hire; the employers do the hiring.

A study was made of 22 shops representing 1,320 shipping clerks, the great majority of them. Of these, just 34—only 2.5 percent—earned more than \$200 a week; 161, or over 12 percent earned from \$10 to \$200 a week; 256, or 21 percent, earned from \$50 to \$200. The rest of them, 84 percent, earn from \$70 up to \$100, as follows: 22 percent from \$70 to \$100; 17 percent from \$80 to \$90; 51 percent from \$90 to \$100, and 14 1/2 percent above \$100.

I have no apologies to make. If I were a fault-finder, if I would be paid for finding faults with others, maybe I would find fault with this and a lot of other things. I am not; I am a president of a union, dedicated to improving the condition of the workers. I am satisfied with the progress that we have made.

THERE IS NO DISCRIMINATION.
 Whenever there will be enough shipping clerks, qualified to act as managers, there will be managers in the local Puerto Rico branch and there will be managers in other locals. We need manpower; we need Spanish-speaking, Negro people, to serve our members.

This union stands accused of discriminating against Negroes and Puerto Ricans.

If there is a union in this country which stands for equal rights and equal job rights, it is the ILGWU. We do not discriminate when we hire into the union, we don't discriminate in initiation, we don't discriminate in wages.

We have no Chain A membership, no Chain B membership; we have equal voting rights, we have equal dues, we have equal rights, we have equal rights together, working together, organizing together and fighting together.

With the return of equal division of work we have to end our local. In New York, everyone, irrespective of race, sex or color, is equally entitled to all jobs of work. We do not see assembly, and that work, the same as the work of Puerto Ricans and the Negroes. Perhaps an employer or a government official might want to give preference to his "handicapped," but the provision in the contract of equal distribution of work prevents that. They are all everybody's "handicapped." This is a matter of "united front" in order to achieve our goals. They may not admit manual, they laid back on both white and the non-white. The only trouble is when it's a white person he cannot claim discrimination; when it's a Negro, there is somebody to cry "discrimination."

Our agreement, in the dress industry, provides there shall be no discrimination against an employee or applicant for employment because of race, creed, color or national origin.

Developing Puerto Rican Leadership

The following section from the GEB Report to the 1952 ILGWU convention was read into the hearing record as part of Pres. Dubinsky's testimony:

At the November 1952 meeting of the General Executive Board in San Juan, Puerto Rico, Pres. Dubinsky, in the presence of Fernando Stora Berdecia, Puerto Rico Secretary of Labor, stressed the need for the development of such leadership.

He pointed out that the island was permitting thousands of its people to come to the mainland, but that the transition was being made with no accompanying transfer of persons able to provide leadership. Secretary of Labor, stressed the need for the development of such leadership.

Now, gentlemen, isn't it a bit ironic, that at this date I have to sit here and say we are not discriminating against Negroes and Puerto Ricans? Last week, when you were in here, I was in Chicago attending the AFL-CIO Executive Council meeting at the Gibraltar Hotel. When I came back to New York, I recognized it as the Medinah Club.

In 1934 the ILGWU had a convention there. After being there a week's time, some of our Negro delegates were not admitted into the dining room and elevators. In the middle of the convention—the first time in the history of the labor movement—the ILGWU moved that convention from the Medinah to the Morrison Hotel. Now, I came there and I found that a week before my coming to this former Medinah Club, the Negroes had a convention in the same hotel. We were the ones who started the fight there.

In 1952, our convention was held in Miami Beach. Following is a statement I made at one of its sessions, as recorded by our convention proceedings:

"When we made arrangements in having the convention in Miami we made sure there would be no discrimination because of creed, race or color. That was a condition for our meeting in Miami."

"We were advised that there would be no discrimination in the hotels, in the restaurants and in the stores. Today, we learned of an incident. There is a firm, the Rexall Drug Store on Washington Avenue and Lincoln Road, which is not living up to the standards that we were assured will be prevailing here during the convention. I want you to note that the Rexall Drug Store on Washington Avenue and Lincoln Road should not be patronized by our delegates."

WE ARE BEING CHARGED WITH DISCRIMINATION AGAINST PUERTO RICANS.
 I wonder whether there are many unions throughout the nation that do what we are doing. Paragraphs that we print on the question of the structure of the union, on the question of our membership, on the history of the union and some of the locals, are both in English and Spanish, as are our Spanish-speaking membership lists. We have a committee to investigate and about their functions and their obligations.

For many years we had a Jewish committee in addition to the Italian and the Polish. We also have a French edition in Canada, and a Chinese publication.

I HAVE HERE A FEW ITEMS LISTING OUR FINANCIAL CONTRIBUTIONS TO AGENTS ON BEHALF OF NEGRO STATES. It has been charged to the eye "discriminating."

To the National Urban League, in the period from 1947, we contributed \$37,500; United Negro College Fund, \$48,000; National Conference for Permanent FEPC, \$12,000; Negro Labor Committee, \$1,000 in monthly contributions and \$98,000 since 1934 for the salary of the head of this committee.

Then there is the William Richard Royce, \$7,250; The Bureau of International Education, \$12,500; Southern Inter-

national Council, \$5,000; Common Council for American Unity, \$2,000; Georgia Workers Educational Service, \$2,500; Puerto Rican Scholarship Fund, \$1,750; Puerto Rican Relief, \$5,000; National Committee Against Discrimination in Housing, \$7,250; Civil Rights, \$6,000; Southern Tenant Farmers, \$2,500.

Then there are two more that I want to call to your attention. Educational Foundation of Apparel Industries—when you talk about training people for industry—we have contributed to that institution \$7,000 and the pupils mainly are Puerto Ricans and Negroes.



Albert Sanchez (left), ILGWU director of organization in Puerto Rico, leaves hearing room with Page Dubinsky, following testimony. Sanchez effectively detailed complete leadership role of islanders in 1952 Puerto Rican ILGWU affiliates.

At our 1952 convention A. Philip Randolph appeared with an appeal to raise a fund in order to help the Southern tenant farmers.

Following are the excerpts from the minutes of the convention.

"Following the stirring appeal by Brother Randolph, your committee immediately resolved and the GEB committee approved an initial contribution of \$10,000 to support the worthy purposes of the Trade Union Committee on Civil Rights."

Then, there was a plan to build a Puerto Rican Cultural Center in Harlem. A distinguished scholar, the former assistant secretary the Roosevelt administration, Edward G. Miller, Jr., visited me, asking "What help can we get from your union?"

I took it up with the General Executive Board and the General Executive Board decided to contribute \$20,000 towards the cost of this Puerto Rican Center.

Following is a letter that Mr. Miller wrote to us on February 10, 1951:

"I want to thank you most sincerely for your wonderful and generous contribution in having made on behalf of your organization, such a generous contribution to the Puerto Rican Cultural Center. It is most heartening to know that you have made some from the responsible labor leaders in New York. I think this will form a very firm basis on which we can build in the future. I am confident that you have shared on the idea which I discussed with you on the membership of the center itself at 47th Avenue and 136th Street."

"After my meeting I had another conversation talk with Commissioner Davis and our architect has prepared a new model. I am confident that you have made this further with you when I have made a little bit more concrete progress."

IN A STATEMENT SUBMITTED TO THIS COMMITTEE BY ONE OF ITS OFFICERS, IT IS STATED THAT IN MANY LOCALS IN NEW YORK CITY, WHERE THERE IS AN OVERWHELMING MAJORITY OF NEGROES AND PUERTO RICANS, THE WAGE SCALE IS A "SHAME AND DISGRACE" TO THE OTHER LABOR MOVEMENTS. IN THESE UNION AGREEMENTS THE SO-CALLED MINIMUMS ARE IN FACT THE MAXIMUMS WAGES.

In other words, before this committee I stated to you, that this was a shame and disgrace to the entire labor movement. But the labor movement, to

my knowledge, is not ashamed of our union; the labor movement is proud of our union.

I can't believe that the statement is a shame and a disgrace. I say this because it refers to lower wages for Negroes and Puerto Ricans. It ignores the fact that they may be paid wages as high as Puerto Ricans or non-Negroes just as well.

I have before me a study by the Department of Labor issued August 1950, two years ago, of a report in a number of cities throughout the nation. It shows that in New York, the average wage in the dress industry is \$2.48 an hour, although in some places are higher, but because of contracting the average comes to \$2.48.

This report shows that in Cleveland it is \$1.41, in Dallas it is \$1.39 and in Wilkes-Barre, it is \$1.42.

Gentlemen, it is not a question of Negroes and Puerto Ricans. The wages in New York are higher than in the other localities. It is the economic situation of our industry that people move where there are jobs and cheap labor.

When you talk of low wages, it is not a question of Puerto Ricans and Negroes, it is a question that in some parts of the country, in Atlanta in Dallas because it is non-union—in Cleveland, because it represents the down price dress and half of them non-union. That is why it is the job to raise the wages there, other areas and raise them gradually, because you cannot victimize these workers.

If you are going to raise them by 45, 50 cents an hour, they will have the wages on paper, but not in their pay envelopes.

On the other hand, if you raise them gradually, yearly, by 10, 15 or 20-cent increases, there was still control the workers in Atlanta—in Dallas because of other plans."

The margin of profit in our industry is 75%—multiplication is great and the profit is great. The margin is not great but the cheating is great.

LET ME SAY A FEW WORDS ABOUT PUERTO RICAN MRS. ROSENBERG also came to me and said, "Puerto Rico is a growing island with needs workers. Couldn't you get the job to raise the wages there and do something for these workers?"

By 1949 the industry had expanded on the island and Congress amended the law by which we had to raise the wages. These matched did not automatically pay Puerto Rico, but provided instead that a wage and hour committee should see that the appropriate wage scale.

I was appointed a member of the committee. Another member was Father Brown, who is known as Bishop. There were no airplanes in that time. I had to go five days on a boat. I had to go a lot of road because I had a lot of time to read the statistics and figures that the Labor Department supplied me.

What did I find? The average wage was \$7.25 an hour in Puerto Rico, and the average wage in New York was represented. We had a big fight and the final result was that we recommended by a majority vote that for the dress industry the lowest wage was 12 1/2 cents and for the factory workers, 30 cents. That was 1949. It is the first minimum contract in Puerto Rico by the negotiation of workers.

Since then the minimum was raised to 23 cents in 1951, to 30 cents in 1952, to 35 cents in 1953, to 40 cents in 1954, to 45 cents in 1955.

"This applies to the coat and brazenie industry. We were represented on all these things. We had no members there until 1948. But we were interested in helping Puerto Rico, at the same time eliminating an unfair competition in the industry that they had against the rest of the country."

I think if you want to know whether we are anti-Puerto Rican, the Governor of Puerto Rico will tell you what the ILGWU meant for Puerto Rico. It is a concern of decent standards and of decent livelihood and what influenced the industry in the Puerto Ricans because of our fight.

We fought gentlemen, and you know I do not remember the when I appeared before your committee. You remember when I appeared before the Senate Committee. You remember when I stated that when the U.S. Federal

(Continued on Page 9)

DUBINSKY AT HEARING:

ILGWU in Puerto Rico: Record of Progress

(Continued from Page 8) minimum was raised from 75 cents to \$1. Puerto Rico should get the same 25-cent increase. You remember the Senate approved it, but the House was against it.

We remember the Senate Committee fought for it, but the Conference Committee and the House, including the present Chairman of the Labor Committee.

What was the result? The result was that the mainland got the additional increase but not Puerto Rico. Puerto Rico could afford more than anyone else to absorb an increase. The compromise at that conference was annual reviews instead of two years. That was an abandonment of history only two years because everybody recognized, and the union supported, that it should be eliminated, because you cannot change scales every year and employers don't know how to plan their business.

THE GOVERNOR OF PUERTO RICO, contrary to his original opinion that I was wrong, many Puerto Ricans, that was coming to Puerto Rico to take away the work from Puerto Rico back to the mainland, recognized that I am not an enemy of Puerto Rico, because my contention was that in order for Puerto Rico to grow it must have an advantage over the mainland.

The law says they should not have a competitive advantage. I say they must be maintained but they should not have an unfair advantage.

The Governor finally recognized that my fight is not against their having an advantage, my fight is only they should not have an unfair advantage.

Today the brasserie workers in Puerto Rico have a minimum of 96 cents with an average of \$1.10. When the minimum was 33 cents the average was 36 cents. At present there is also an additional 10 percent living benefit. So they are earning \$1.27.

Go into Puerto Rico, go into the houses that we built that cost the millions of dollars that we give in mortgages in order they should be able to live there. The ILGWU did this, the "anti-Puerto Ricans" made it possible for hundreds to live in these houses, for thousands to enjoy a good life.

Now I come before a Congressional Committee charged that we are discriminating against Puerto Ricans!

For the first time, Ioo, those workers in Puerto Rico have health and welfare benefits. They have medical benefits, hospitalization, eyeglasses - now the cost is too. They are following us, but we started it. Vacations with pay, we have not got retirement there yet, but we already have severance pay because you know they are getting a ten-year advantage. I was very much afraid about what will happen after the ten years but I am glad to say that not renewed, some of them may take the "bundle" and leave Puerto Rico and leave these Puerto Rican workers high and dry.

We provided for severance in case this thing happens, so at least the workers have some means of protection, some benefit when they take the bundle and go out of there.

IT HAS BEEN CHARGED THAT both of our locals in Puerto Rico denied Puerto Rican leadership. Who in the world denied them?



DUBINSKY: WHO'S ON TRIAL?

By Rosal McGowan On Events Planned for the celebration of the 25th anniversary of the 1917 Western Union agreement between the International Ladies Garment Workers Union and the International Union of Needle Trades, Tailors and Dressmakers, Inc. The celebration will be held at the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel, New York City, on Saturday, August 22, 1942. The program will include a luncheon, a concert, and a ball. The program will be broadcast on radio.

From story that appeared on Page 1 on Saturday, August 25.

When this allegation was submitted to your office, it had a list solicited by your staff people giving their EN of the officers, the business agents, the executive board members of Locals 806 and 801, showing that all of them are Puerto Rican workers. Nevertheless, the allegation was still made.

Zelenka: Mr. Dubinsky, may I suggest to you, that you will recall that the purpose of my permitting your appearance here to come in at this point and not to wait until some subsequent date to answer the allegations, so that the fact that the Committee solicited this list and it has not been put in yet, I don't think that any inference should be raised if there is any purpose in hiding it. You may submit it. This is not the conclusion of everything here.

We were confronted with that statement was written, that list was in the hands of the staff.

Zelenka: May I suggest— Dubinsky: The staff member asked for it and he got it.

Zelenka: One of the purposes of your coming here today is this, is the very thing you can put in.

Dubinsky: Yes, you stated several times and I am inclined to believe you were stating here that this was to be an impartial investigation. In the letter that you sent to the citizens, you said you are an impartial arbitrator here.

Zelenka: I think it is important to note for the record that the statement he made in his letter to the citizens has not been made part of the record of the proceedings of this hearing as to date, since it is being reviewed by the staff.

Dubinsky: Yes, Congressman, but the Amsterdam News and all the newspapers reported it because it was requested by the staff and it was reported. We can't help that.

Zelenka: This committee has had your statement read before it and your statements in the press for which this committee is not responsible.

Dubinsky: It is a member of the staff, I think there is no question of the staff that we know of submitted this to a newspaper.

Zelenka: Mr. Chairman, oh, did I see you stated here that you or any other person will I tell you, that it is not to my knowledge.

Dubinsky: I say no member of the staff, may I say to my knowledge.

Zelenka: Okay. That is better.

Zelenka: I don't wish to be accused of anything with this hearing or any other person will I tell you, that it is not to my knowledge.

Dubinsky: Mr. Chairman, I am offering from record now this list, that you already have.

Reasovsky: I think the record should show, Mr. Chairman, that the statement was published and pointed without the knowledge of the committee and I for one as a member of the committee expressly regret that a staff member was allowed to go around to press any statement without the permission of the committee.

Zelenka: Without permission of the committee, the chairman or without the knowledge of it.

Dubinsky: I am glad to hear it but the damage is there.

Zelenka: Much damage is occurring

to members of the committee also for which you are not responsible.

Dubinsky: It is a little bit different for a committee than an organization that is pleading to maintain its dignity and prestige and the confidence of its members.

LOCAL 102, OUR TEAMSTERS local, is the problem child of our union. Board meetings after board meetings have heard complaints against them, so much so that while they were for a number of years part of the agreements of the cloak industry and the dress industry, these two joint boards refused to include them in their agreements any longer. For many years, they were even functioning without agreements.

They are teamsters, they are not regular garment workers.

We were confronted with the question of what to do, to expel them, to revoke their character, and we came to the conclusion that it is better for our industry and better for them for us to exert the measure of control that we can.

Now, what you had yesterday adds much that I know now; it is not a question of a sweetheart agreement. I had no chance to go into it; we concede from the evidence that was presented here

that the agreement was not enforced. The agreement is a fair agreement but the trouble is it was not enforced. I will look into it and I think for this thing you deserve credit. You have called it our situation.

Zelenka: Mr. Dubinsky, earlier today you said we may fall off our seats. This almost caused it.

Dubinsky: You cannot condemn the ILGWU because a business agent or a manager selected for one reason or another—and I don't agree that this is an indication that the ILGWU has sweetheart contracts. It was not even mentioned that this is not the ordinary ILGWU local. It is teamsters.

I WOULD CHARACTERIZE the 14-page statement made by a staff member of yours as untruthful, irresponsible, gross exaggeration, imagined and unfair, and that it was done in a spirit of revenge. The statement charges that the union enjoys a reputation because it has been carefully nurtured by managers by very extensive and well financed public relations campaign. As I told you before, not one penny was spent for one man because of his name. Why? Because they have a good public relations man. You know his name? David Dubinsky. He doesn't get paid for that; he gets paid for being president.

Then the statement says that for all practical purposes, Locals 101 and 60 and 49 are 100% white and that Negro and Puerto Rican workers are limited to membership in Local 22 and in the unit known as 40-A "which is the Jim Crow auxiliary of Local 60."

Also, it says that non-white workers are denied an effective voice in determining union policy. This is an untruth, if I should not say a contemptible lie. At least I will limit myself in saying it is a lie because I know that a Congressional Committee I would have used the first phrase.

On page 9, the statement says, "Thus, Negroes and Puerto Ricans were the manpower grid for the garment industry sweatshop mills."

That is not a question of a sweetheart agreement. I had no chance to go into it; we concede from the evidence that was presented here

(Continued on Page 10)

ILGWU Action Against Discrimination

Read into the hearing record as part of Pres. Dubinsky's testimony was the following passage from 1934 ILGWU convention proceedings:

PRES. DUBINSKY: I suppose the delegates are not surprised that we are having our session this morning in the Marine Hotel instead of the place which was originally arranged for the convention. When the Madinah Club was rented about two months ago, we were promised all reasonable accommodations. The management was asked to have our convention in that place. We did not solicit the place. They solicited our patronage.

We advised them that we had representatives of all nationalities at our convention, and that we were a labor union and did not share in the racial prejudice that exists in some of the hotels in Chicago and that we wanted all our delegates to be treated on an equal basis. (Applause.) They promised us there would be no discrimination.

From the first moment we stepped into that hotel, however, it appeared that it was one thing for the management to promise us accommodations and service, and quite another thing to keep their promise. We were able to endure that they did not live up to their promise, so far as accommodations for housing all our delegates and giving us proper service were concerned, but there was one thing we could not swallow, and that was discrimination against some of our delegates. (Applause.) Their discrimination was reported to

us on several occasions during the convention. We took the matter up with the management and received assurances that they would be corrected.

We gave them a chance to correct them, but finally we saw that even their final assurance were not being lived up to, and last Saturday, before adjourning the session, I asked the General Executive Board to meet with me Sunday morning, to discuss a representative of Local 22 to be sent to the General Executive Board decided that although it might involve additional expense, our organization, who is interested in acquiring justice and resistance to oppression, should actively resist this discrimination and we decided to move our convention out of that hotel. (Applause.)

This should serve as evidence to those who offer from base persecution everywhere that it is the movement that is ready to act in their behalf, not merely with words but by deed.

I am glad we did it, and I hope the delegates, although they had a lot of trouble and inconvenience yesterday and this morning because of moving, will realize that we acted in the spirit and tradition of our International Union. It took courage, it took nerve to better choice. We have a better place, a more comfortable one, and I think we shall find it a better place for conduct, but there was one thing we could not swallow, and that was discrimination against some of our delegates. (Applause.) Their discrimination was reported to

Ensuring Local Democracy

Excerpts from letter sent by Pres. Dubinsky to the then acting manager of Local 60-60A, William Schwartz, on January 27, 1939 concerning local election procedures:

"In order to prevent the possibility of the chairman or a business agent or any convention delegate being elected by a majority of the votes of the members of one branch, I ruled and so advised you and the other officers in my office today that unless the members coming for these officers obtain a majority of votes in both branches of the local, their election will not be considered valid."

JUSTICE

INTERNATIONAL LADIES' GARMENT WORKERS' UNION

EDITORIAL PAGE



THE ATTACK ON OUR UNION

OUR ILGWU—IN WHOSE RANKS hundreds of thousands of newcomers to this nation first experienced democracy—stands accused of bias. This union—which for more than six decades has been the portal through which masses of immigrants have integrated into American life—in charged with discrimination.

This ILGWU—which through its president launched union drives in the South and initiated moves to bring unionism to Puerto Rico—is labeled enemy of Negro and Spanish-speaking workers.

This union of ours—founded by members of minorities, built with the sacrifices of minorities, nurtured and sustained by the hopes of minorities—is accused of exploiting minorities.

Who makes these charges? Not the subcommittee investigating the ILGWU, if its chairman is to be believed. Frequently and at length he has insisted that there is no presumption of guilt, that there can be no guilt until guilt is proven.

This would be fine were it not for the fact that the hearings over which he presides lack such basic trial procedures as required proof for allegations and the right to cross-examine witnesses. Lacking these safeguards, unfounded charges against the ILGWU were leaked to the press, smeared across front pages of newspapers and broadcast across the nation.

IS THERE NO PRESUMPTION OF GUILT? Does the committee—and its "experts"—have a genuine wish to be fair and deal only with facts?

Why, then, does the resolution establishing the subcommittee direct not that it ascertain if guilt in fact exists but, presuming guilt, that it ascertain "the extent to which labor organizations [in the ladies' garment industry, that is, the ILGWU] engage in discrimination in employment because of race, color, religion, national origin or ancestry?"

Why, then, did the chairman of the parent committee of the subcommittee, as he sailed for Europe before the sessions, talk to newspapers of "nefarious" and "discriminatory practices" and the "callous disregard of officials"?

Why, then, did the chairman of the subcommittee, on the morning of its first open session, pledge to newspapers that the hearings would be conducted "with no preconceptions, no prejudgments, and no bias," and then close the day with a television statement that there was already evidence of the ILGWU of a pattern of discrimination?

If there are bias and discrimination in the ILGWU these should be uncovered.

Clearly motivated by a desire to uncover the facts, the committee should open its inquiry getting the most competent experts to help it determine whether this union—with its proud traditions, its long record of community service, its history of welcoming newcomers—has been contaminated by an evil. This is a job for recognized and sincere experts—not amateurs, not prejudiced persons, not anti-unionists, not professional racists, not political agitators, not mischief makers, not psychopaths.

The subcommittee could have hired honest experts familiar with ILGWU policies and not vengefully inventing them.

It then would have known, and not been surprised at suddenly learning, that there is no seniority in ILGWU shops but that the rule of equal division of work is the greatest bulwark against discrimination, protecting the most recent entrants into the garment industry equally with its old-timers.

It then would have known that in a piece-work industry such as ours historic strikes and battles were fought to establish the principle that the rate is set on the piece and not on the worker and therefore there cannot be rate discrimination based on race or nationality.

It then would have known why no Negro, no Jew, no Tamsonian, an Hindu, not anyone but an Italian-American can hold membership in Local 89, which through its great manager, Luigi Antonini, was a lone anti-Fascist voice at a time when others were oblivious to the dangers. It would have applauded the origin of this local in the desire of Italian immigrants to participate in the affairs of the union at a time when they were conducted in Yiddish, the language of another immigrant group.

It would have known—for it is all on public record—that individual locals of a joint board do not have individual shop agreements; that a floor sweeper cannot leap into the highly skilled job of cutter; that dress industry shipping clerks were finally organized because dress presses poured money and manpower into the effort to close a non-union gap in the ranks. And they would have wondered what discrimination has been directed at the unemployed white presser and what cause there is to training numbers of new pressers, of whatever color, to compete with him in looking for the job he can't find.

THE SUBCOMMITTEE LEANED heavily on its "experts."

Thanks to the "experts," the committee chairman persisted in interpreting a Local 60A contract clause as permitting exploitation, refused to read the next sentence giving it the opposite meaning until another member of the committee finally succeeded in getting him to do so.

Thanks to the "experts," it was left to the ILGWU to call to the attention of the committee the printed and public record of our union and President Dubinsky personally in the long fight to lift Puerto Rican garment industry wages.

Thanks again to the "experts," no mention was made, until ILGWU spokesmen made it, of the steady rise, on the basis of merit and service, of a corps of Negro and Spanish-speaking officers in ILGWU ranks, persons of such dedication and experience that many of them have been enlisted by the general labor movement and U.S. government agencies for work outside the country.

Thanks to the "experts," not a word was said, until the ILGWU said them, about the serious economic problems confronting the garment industry, about international trade competition, about industrial mobility, about dwindling volume of work in certain branches and markets, about unemployment and public school facilities for training in garment industry skills and the continuing struggle of the union to improve wage and working conditions.

Instead, there were distortions, fictions, distasteful abuse of authority. One ILGWU witness was asked by an "expert," in open hearing, whether he considered himself to be qualified to become a local manager. The questioner persisted while the witness was embarrassed into silence by being asked to pass judgment on himself. Finally committee members threw the question out.

Another "expert"—the top one—came down from his whispering post behind the subcommittee chairman to become the committee's first big witness. First he made certain to have his 14-page statement handed to the newspapers. Then the committee itself had not seen the report, as rules provide it should, and its members had to request and wait for copies. When a fellow committee member asked the committee chairman whether he previously had seen the report and was told he hadn't, he commented aloud, "Well, you should have."

With copies of the statement in the hands of the press, the star witness—expert was altered by two outraged and ashamed committee members before he reached the end of his first sentence. Thereafter, huge portions, dripping with venom, were ordered shared out by the committee as it sought to find a fact in all the fiction which it could let stand in the record. In the end, the entire statement was ordered held out of the record until a lawyer for the committee could edit and censor it—something which, in his search for factual material, he still has not been able to accomplish.

WHAT SHOCKED THE COMMITTEE MEMBERS?

Aside from the intemperate, vengeful and biased language, the report was filled with willful lies of which the following is as good an example as any: "Both of these locals (600 and 601, Puerto Rico) are drafted Puerto Rican leadership even though virtually every other international union from the mainland operating in Puerto Rico has Puerto Rican directors and staff persons conducting the affairs of the union on the island."

When he composed this fiction, the so-called expert for the committee had in hand a list of names of all ILGWU organizers, business agents and executive board members on the island—given to him by the ILGWU—showing that every single one of them is Spanish-speaking and from the island.

The ILGWU's Puerto Rican director of organization, Alberto Sanchez, former's with the commonwealth's Department of Labor, pointed this out, read the full list of names and stressed that under Jerry Schoen, the ILGWU's local director and its now non-island officer on the island, garment union membership in Puerto Rico in the past two years increased from 5,000 to 8,500. Most of the gain was secured in the undergarment industry. Schoen, from New York's big undergarment local, is an expert on that industry.

IS THE COMMITTEE A CAPTIVE of its so-called experts? Does it know only what they want it to know? With impartial experts and consultants seeking to its enlighten rather than to prosecute it could have gathered the pertinent facts about the problems of the garment industry.

But as steeled by prejudicial "consultants" and "experts," what other objectives did these hearings serve than revenge and political blackmail?

The hope of these "experts" has always been utility, to create animosity where there must be sympathy and understanding.

They have sought to bewitch the proud record of our union and have used the prestige of a Congressional committee to do this. How else could a top "expert" who has made a professional career of stirring up hatred instead of fostering understanding, win space in the newspapers?

The committee was ashamed to enter his statement on its record. The committee chairman asked the reporters to keep it out of their accounts as he had ordered it kept out of the committee record. But that didn't stop a leading Negro newspaper from plastering the contents of the shameful, vengeful, hate-laden report across its front page and punctuating it with anti-Semitic interludes.

We cannot believe that a committee of the United States Congress has knowingly lent itself to such malice and evil exploitation. No far it has brought forth its title that this New York newspaper asked: "Dubinsky: Who's on Trial?" This union will survive the unfair attack on it. Can the committee?