

# A TRADITION OF LEADERSHIP A HISTORY OF THE NEW YORK STATE AFL-CIO

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## FOREWORD

The New York State AFL-CIO has a rich and proud history, which is deeply embedded in labor's continuous struggle for dignity and economic and social justice. This history is the story of the State Federation and its predecessor federations dating to 1865. It is not intended to be a history of the entire labor movement in the Empire State but rather focuses on those personalities and events that helped to create and forge a strong and effective statewide federation of unions. The organization of labor at the state level evolved through a series of stages culminating in the merger of the New York State AFL and the New York State CIO Council in 1958 creating the New York State AFL-CIO.

The tradition of the state federations in New York State is a tradition of leadership. New York State has always been the largest and strongest of any state labor movement and, with its current 2.3 million members, remains so today. Victories won by the labor movement in New York State were the first of their kind in the nation and often became models for federal legislation as well as for other states. From the very beginning, organized labor, acting through the state federations, was the champion not only of labor's right to organize and bargain collectively but of improving the working conditions and daily lives of all New Yorkers. It also fought for safe and healthy workplaces, a fair and equitable workers' compensation system and disability benefits, unemployment insurance, minimum wages, an end to child labor, and job-related training to mention a few.

Furthermore, the state federation served as the voice of labor in public policy determination on issues affecting all citizens-education, housing, transportation, taxation, and the role of government in strengthening the State's economy.

This history is a compilation of a number of earlier histories as well as research papers of interns and contributions by the staff and friends of the New York State AFL-CIO. It is not intended to be a scholarly research paper but rather a popular history which attempts to capture the flavor of earlier documents. For example, the section on the CIO Council is a slightly edited version of a history produced just following the 1958 merger.

Special thanks goes to Cornell ILR intern Ann Benedetto who provided major assistance in researching, writing, and pulling the final draft together. We also wish to thank Harry Van Arsdale, Jr. Scholarship winners and Cornell ILR interns Leslie Braginsky, Steven Davi, and Charlotte Lynne Bischel for their research papers. Lois Gray, Phil Ross, Debra Bernhardt, Irwin Yellowitz, and Matt Dolan provided invaluable advice and assistance as did former New York State AFL-CIO Public Relations Director Joseph Murphy and Assistant Director of Legislation Richard Torrey. Interviewed for the project were Morton Bahr, Peter Brennan, Father Philip Carey, Chick Chaikin, Joseph Collins, Fileno De Novellis, Sam Kovenesky, Richard Nolan, Jack Rubenstein, Jack Suarez, John Tierney, Malcolm Wilson, and Thomas Young.

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Much of the early history was drawn from accounts written in 1923 and 1933 by John M. O'Hanlon, Secretary-Treasurer of the New York State Federation of labor and an article from the American Federationist in 1939 by William Karlin.

We welcome comments and suggestions for improving this history for future editions.

And finally, gratitude is expressed to all of those visionary and courageous trade unionists who have played both large and small in building the greatest state federation in the nation.



Paul F. Cole  
Secretary-Treasurer

August 1990

## **PAST PRESIDENTS**

### **Trades Assembly of the State of New York** *(February 1865- September 1865)*

### **Workingmen's Assembly of the State of New York** *(September 1865 - 1898)*

1865	Henry Rockefeller	Troy Typographical Union
1865-1867	John Jacobs	Ship Builders' Union
1868-1871	William J. Jessup	Ship Builders' Union
1872-1873	James Connolly	Practical Painters' Union
1874-1883	George Blair	Packing Box Worker's Union
1884-1885	Walter W. Thayer	Troy Typographical Union
1886-1887	Samuel Gompers	Cigarmakers' Union
1887-1891	Thomas J. Dowling	Blacksmiths' Union
1892-1894	John Phillips	United Halters of North America
1895-1897	William J. O'Brien	Granite Stone Cutters Union

### **New York State Branch of the A.F.L.**

1888-1890	Frederick Haller	Cigarmakers' Union
1890-1891	Harry Ogden	Molder's Union
1892-1897	Daniel Harris	Cigarmakers' Union

### **Workingmen's Federation of New York State**

1898-1899	James Lavery	Typographical Union
1899	Daniel Harris	Cigarmakers' Union
1900-1902	Martin F. Murphy	Molders' Union
1903-1905	John J. Pallas	Pattern Makers' Union
1905	W.O. Jones	Cigarmakers' Union
1906-1910	Daniel Harris	Cigarmakers' Union

### **New York State Federation of Labor**

1910-1915	Daniel Harris	Cigarmakers' Union
1915	Homer Call	Int'l Butcher Workmen's Union
1916-1926	James P. Holland	Eccentric Firemen's Union
1926-1933	John Sullivan	Brewery, Cereal and Soft Drink Worker's Union
1933	Emanuel Koveleski	Bartender and Hotel Employees Union
1934-1940	George Meany	Plumbers
1940-1943	Thomas Lyons	Teamsters
1943-1958	Thomas Murray	Bricklayers

### **New York State Congress of Industrial Organizations**

1938-1940	Allan S. Haywood	C.I.O
1940-1942	Gustave A. Strebel	Amalgamated Clothing Workers
1942-1958	Louis Hollander	Amalgamated Clothing Workers

### **New York State AFL-CIO**

1958-1961	Harold Hanover	Carpenters
1962-1983	Raymond R. Corbett	Ironworkers
1984-1999	Edward J. Cleary	IBEW
1999-	Denis M. Hughes	IBEW

## **THE FORMATIVE YEARS**

While the history of organized labor in the Empire State can be traced to colonial times, the institutional roots of the New York State AFL-CIO began as the Civil War was drawing to a close.

On March 24, 1864, a bill was favorably reported in the New York State Senate which declared that workers organized into a trade union were engaged in an unlawful activity and that all strikers would be fined and/or imprisoned. Within days, the individual trade unions throughout the state swung into united action against what became known as the Folger Anti-Strike Bill. The bill, which had been introduced on March 7 by Senator Frederick H. Hastings of Rensselaer and Washington counties, made it a misdemeanor for groups of workers to combine for the purpose of conducting a strike and carried a penalty for violation of one year's imprisonment or a fine of \$250, or both. The bill reported from the Senate Judiciary Committee under the chairmanship of Senator J. Folger, was a more drastic form and its title had been changed to read: "An act to punish interference with employers and employees." Unions based in Albany held public protest meetings and lobbied legislators intensively. Other rallies were called in every major city, the largest taking place in New York City's Tompkins Square where, on April 1, 1864, 15,000 workers denounced the proposed bill. William Harding of the Coach Painters' Union presided.

The New York meeting approved a motion by Robert Crowe, a delegate from the Tailors Union, that a joint committee of various unions be organized to visit the Capitol to make sure that the legislative leaders got the message. By April 11th, the bill, with the unanimous consent of the Senate, had been recommitted to the Senate Judiciary Committee for a public hearing. The trade unionists at this hearing fully exposed the contents and purpose of the bill, and the Judiciary Committee decided to pigeon-hole the measure, where it remains to the present day.

One delegate at the New York City meeting called upon all present to pledge themselves to defeat Senator Folger for Governor if he became a candidate, as it was generally reported to be his ambition. In 1882, when Mr. Folger was the Republican candidate for Governor after serving in President Chester A. Arthur's cabinet, he was defeated by Grover Cleveland by a plurality of 192,854 votes.

The scattered unions had learned their lesson. In February 1865, a state convention was called, composed largely of Civil War veterans, who established a new state-wide body initially named the Trades Assembly of New York State and elected a Troy Typographical Union leader, Henry Rockefeller, as president.

The delegates at the founding convention declared the objects of the new state body to be:

"To agitate such questions as may be for the benefit of the working classes in order that we may obtain the enactment of such measures by the State Legislature as will be beneficial to all of us, and the repeal of all oppressive laws which now exist; to use all means consistent with honor and integrity to so correct the abuse under which the working classes are laboring as to insure to them their just rights and privileges; to use our utmost endeavors to impress upon the various divisions of workmen the necessity of a close and thorough organization; and of forming themselves into local unions wherever practicable."

Thus was born the first state federation in the nation some twenty years before the American Federation of Labor was formed.

In September of that same year, the body met again to review the results of that year's legislation and changed its name to "Workingmen's Assembly of the State of New York" and elected John Jacobs, a Civil War veteran of the New York City Ship Builders' Union as president who served for two years.

The work of the new organization almost entirely involved direct contact with members of the state legislature. For the first seventeen years of its history, this was done by the President assisted by the delegates to its annual convention who lived in the Capital District. After 1882, a statewide committee was established for lobbying.

Until 1890, all conventions of the state body were held in Albany. Despite the same surroundings each year, the selection of officers at each convention reflected a greater diversity. Until the turn of the century, the state federation experienced not only name changes but a steady flow of principal officers with many different union affiliations. In these thirty-plus years, more than ten different labor bodies were represented in the executive office of the budding organization. While some unions, such as the Troy Typographical Union, due in part to its location near Albany, achieved such recognition many times, the years brought many new faces to the executive committee.

Following its initial success against the hostile Folger Anti-Strike Bill in 1865, the Workingmen's Assembly was able to remove most of the old common law master and servant codes from the State books. In 1870, under President William J.

Jessup of the New York City Ship Builders' Union, the Federation was successful in gaining legislation to circumvent the common law rulings of the courts, which adopted only the employer's point of view. The statute, which amended the conspiracy law, stated: "The orderly and peaceable assembling or cooperation of persons employed in any calling, trade or handicraft for the purpose of obtaining an advance in the rate of wages or compensation, or of maintaining such rate, is not a conspiracy." That year, the Assembly was also successful in securing a bill creating an eight-hour day for all city, county and state employees. This was clearly a landmark accomplishment as it laid the foundation for eliminating the hours of work for public and private employment.

Realizing the lack of verified information on which to base legislation, the Workingmen's Assembly demanded in 1871 the creation of a State Bureau of Labor Statistics. This was the initial effort to establish a department of the state devoted to the concerns of labor and was continued with vigor until the Legislature of 1883, by unanimous vote of both houses, finally passed the labor bill creating the Bureau of Labor Statistics, the forerunner of the present New York State Department of Labor. The original statistics for this bureau were furnished from accumulations gathered by the State Workingmen's Assembly.

In the meantime, legislation had been promoted and enacted guaranteeing apprentices humane treatment and proper instruction and lifting them out of the servile, underpaid and underfed condition that the State Federation had found them in throughout the state. Free public schools and compulsory education for youth was a fight continuously waged by organized labor since 1826. The 1871 apprenticeship law provided for compulsory education of the youth of the state in free public schools, "the effect of which was to remove many children from grinding factory toil and restore to them their heritage of equality of opportunity to seek the rudiments of knowledge and an open door to a better life." This legislation was the beginning of the laws to regulate child labor and establish compulsory school attendance.

James Connolly of the Practical Painters Union of New York City served as president in 1872 and 1873. Following Connolly, and for ten successive years between 1874 and 1883, George Blair of the Packing Box Workers Union of New York City was president. It was during the tenure of this Civil War veteran in 1882 that the Assembly chose to create a Political Branch, which would act in conjunction with the executive officers in performing various lobbying functions.

A mechanics lien law for unpaid wages was secured in 1875 and, in 1881, legislation was passed requiring that seats be provided for women workers in their places of employment. This legislation signaled the start of a code of laws recognizing women's unique workplace needs.

With the creation of a new state-wide lobbying committee, a new president, Walter W. Thayer of the Troy Typographical Workers Union was elected and served from 1884 to 1885. The first victory against the oppressive sweatshop system was achieved during Thayer's term in 1885 with the passage of the Roosevelt law prohibiting tenement house cigar making. The bill banning cigar manufacturing in the tenements won initial success in 1883 despite heavy opposition. It took vivid descriptions from Theodore Roosevelt, a young Assemblyman who inspected the tenements, to persuade the conservative Governor Cleveland to sign the bill. The law and its successor in 1884 were found unconstitutional by the New York State Court of Appeals largely on the ground of interference with personal freedom and property rights. The 1885 legislation was allowed to stand. Thayer later became the president of the Common Council in Troy and Warden of Dannemora Prison.

Thayer's successor in 1886, the future president of the American Federation of Labor, Samuel Gompers of the Cigar Makers Union of New York City, wasted no time in extending favorable legislation. A devoted and vocal opponent of tenement house cigar manufacturing, Gompers was no doubt pleased by Thayer's work as president. To buffer his success, Gompers managed to get enactment of a proposal calling for the inspection of factories in the interest of the health and welfare of factory workers. This legislation marked the initial enforcement of the new labor laws of the state. James Connolly, a former president of the State Workingmen's Assembly, was made the first state factory inspector with John Franey of the Buffalo Typographical Union as his assistant.

At the same time, a State Board of Mediation and Arbitration, advocated by President Gompers, was created by law, and this brought into existence the third bureau devoted to the interests of wage earners all of which were later welded into one organization as the State Department of Labor.

Many of the early conventions were marked by conflict. One such session occurred in January 1887, which was presided over by Samuel Gompers. The following is a translation from German of a news account from the New Yorker Volkszeitung of January 20, 1887 that is from the Samuel Gompers Papers, Volume II.

"The State Workingmen's Assembly convened on Tuesday in the City Hall, with President Gompers in the chair. Representatives of all the large trades from all parts of the State, 200 in number, were present. In the morning session there was a struggle between the trade unionists and an organized opposition to the Cigarmakers' International Union. The same scenes ensued which have been so often enacted in the New York Central Labor Union when the same

delegates came into contact. First came a wrangle as to whether the Committee on Credentials should be appointed by the President, as the custom had been, or elected by the convention, and it ended, amid turmoil, in the appointment being made by President Gompers, who delivered his annual address to the convention when the committee was out. But the wrangling referred to was as a storm in a teapot compared with that which ensued when the credentials committee reported in the afternoon and held the credentials of about 25 or 30 delegates, because of protests.

"The second day's proceedings of the convention (Wednesday) were very much like those of the first. There was nothing done, but wrangle constantly over the reception or rejection of credentials. The scenes in both open and executive session were such as to make the cooler heads ashamed of the proceedings. There were threats of violence, and one delegate to whom objection was made rushed to the platform and drew a pistol, which however, was taken from him.

"There is a long list of resolutions and bills, upon as many subjects connected with the Labor movement, for presentation, which are being held back till the questions of credentials are settled. It has usually taken three days, in the most peaceable times, to finish business before the Assembly. Two days are already spent in organizing.

"In the evening of Wednesday the K. of L. delegates representing the opposition to President Gompers, who represents the trades union element, held a caucus, and laid their plans for the morrow. The former resolved to strive to throw out a lot of the delegates who are objectionable to them, and, at the session which is about to open for to-day, the Knights of Labor, who are acting under direction of the "Home Club", expect to secure full control of the State Trades Assembly.

"Whatever be the result, the body must get to business to-day, or else the whole of its proper business will be left topsy-turvy.

"After much wrangling about the credentials of delegates, in which the Knights and Trades Unionists took opposite sides; with the former in the majority, a resolution to appoint a harmonizing committee of ten (five from each side) was offered by Delegate McKenna, K. of L., and carried, after which the body adjourned till 2 in the afternoon. There is now good assurance that the proceedings will move along in an orderly way, till the close.

"The Albany politicians are watching the convention as closely as they are the caucuses of the Republicans on the Senatorial fight, and the outcome of the session will affect even the small crumbs of legislation that may fall from the politicians' table."

The decade of the 1870's was a restless one for labor. In 1872, over 100,000 workers in the building trades in New York City went on strike. The next year, the Panic hit the unions with a different blow. Membership declined dramatically. The depression began to wear off, but in 1877, railroad workers released their pent-up grievances in the Great Railroad Strike. Crushed by state and federal forces, workers called for political retaliation. They organized the Labor Reform Party in 1878 and garnered 200,000 votes in the state election. The next year, the Greenback-Labor ticket elected mayors in Elmira, Auburn, Utica, and Oswego.

The state federation enjoyed the support of Governor David B. Hill of Elmira who assumed the governorship from the post of Lieutenant Governor upon resignation of Grover Cleveland, January 6, 1885. He was elected to a full term and then re-elected in 1888 serving until 1891. Governor Hill entered public life as a Knight of Labor candidate for the State Assembly.

Following Gompers' brief but distinguished tenure, Thomas J. Dowling of the Albany Blacksmiths' Union assumed the presidency and served until 1891. Under Dowling, Labor Day was declared a legal holiday (1887), it became unlawful for an employer to use a worker's union affiliation as a reason not to hire (1887) and the union label was legalized in the hope of promoting the sale and consumption of goods produced under "fair industrial conditions" (1889).

In 1888, the New York State Branch of the American Federation of Labor (AFL) was formed as a second statewide federation and elected Frederick Haller of the Cigar Makers Union in New York City as president. Haller resigned late in 1890 to practice law, which he had been studying. He was District Attorney of Erie County in 1901 when President McKinley was shot and as such prosecuted and convicted Czolgoz, the assassin. This organization had two more presidents--Harry Ogden (1890-91) and Daniel Harris (1892-97). It combined with the Workingmen's Assembly in 1898 to create the newly named Workingmen's Federation of the State of New York. Presidents Daniel Harris and William J. O'Brien of the predecessor federations became first and second vice presidents, respectively, and James A. Lavery of the Poughkeepsie Typographical Union was elected president and served for one year.

At the Niagara Falls convention in 1910, when all vestiges of the Knights of Labor, which had maintained a form of state organization for some years, had disappeared, the title of New York State Federation of Labor was adopted as

inclusive of all organized men and women workers of the state exclusive of the four railroad brotherhoods. The railroad brotherhoods did maintain state legislative boards that cooperated with the Federation on legislative and non-partisan political action.

The two organizations cooperated in pushing for passage of a new state constitution in 1894, which was successful. The constitution contained language abolishing the prison labor contract system and limited prison labor exclusively for products used by the state and municipal governments. The curtailment of prison labor in competition with free workers and private industry involved a long and continuous struggle beginning in 1859. John Phillips, president of the State Workingmen's Assembly and Daniel Harris of the State Branch of the American Federation of Labor worked jointly to include the convict labor language at the Constitutional Convention.

In 1903 and 1905, the Workingmen's Federation presented amendments to the state constitution to legalize an eight hour day and prevailing rate of wages law for all public work done in the state. A state law concerning the eight-hour and prevailing rate of wages adopted in 1899 had been declared unconstitutional. In 1906, the original law was replaced having been introduced in the Legislature by Thomas Rock, a union leader who had been elected an Assemblyman from New York City. In 1905, the amendment finally passed in the legislature and was ratified by the people of the state at the polls. A law limiting the employment of children under 14 years old in any store or shop was approved in 1896.

The Workingmen's Federation was in existence from 1898 until 1910 when it changed its name to the New York State Federation of Labor--a name it kept until the 1958 merger with the New York State CIO Council. Daniel Harris was the last president of the Workingmen's Federation (1906-1910) and the first president of the New York State Federation of Labor (1910-1915). Also serving as presidents of the Workingmen's Federation were Martin F. Murphy of the Buffalo Molders Union (1900-1902), John J. Pallas of the Pattern Makers Union in New York City (1903-1905), and W. O. Jones of the Brooklyn Cigar Makers Union (1905).

## **THE ROLE OF WOMEN**

Women have played a significant role in the history of organized labor in New York State. At the 1869 convention of the New York State Workingmen's Assembly, representatives of the Women's Typographical Union No. 1 of New York City and the Collar Laundry Worker's of Troy were present. They were originally denied credentials by a 12-8 vote since the Constitution of the Workingmen's Assembly stated that women were not eligible to be seated as delegates. Later in the convention, however, the Constitution was amended and the women delegates were seated. They succeeded in getting a resolution adopted proposing legislation to regulate the hours of work of minors and mandate at least three months schooling a year. Women have participated in every subsequent convention and in the early years represented textile and garment making unions.

They sponsored resolutions proposing that women be given the right to vote as citizens. The resolutions were always adopted and the State Workingmen's Assembly was considered as a pioneer advocate of women's suffrage.

Susan B. Anthony recognized the great sympathy among trade unionists for women's suffrage. She also organized the Working Women's Protective Association, No. 1, of New York City. Ms. Anthony along with Elizabeth Cady Stanton, were delegates to the National Labor Union held in New York City in 1868.

The right to vote for women was part of every legislative program of the State Federation of Labor until it was granted by adoption of the XIX Amendment to the U.S. Constitution on August 26, 1920.

A report entitled "Women Who Work" published by the Bureau of Women in Industry of the State Labor Department published in 1922 stated, "The trade union movement has done much toward standardizing of work for women" and cites the organizing of women workers into men's unions with equal pay for the same job. It also noted trade union victories in the enactment of labor legislation for women such as the nine-hour workday, factory sanitation and safety and anti-sweatshop laws.

Prior to 1915, women delegates to the convention had on several occasions been chosen as officers, and in 1915 the convention of the New York State Federation of Labor amended its constitution so as to provide that a woman should be a member of its Executive Council and that a woman must be chosen as one of the vice-presidents of the federation.

Miss Nellie Kelly, a member of the United Garment Workers of Syracuse and business manager of her local union was chosen a vice-president and member of the Executive Council by the convention of 1915 and served until 1921. She was succeeded by Mrs. Betty Hawley Donnelly, treasurer of the Central Labor Council of Buffalo.

## **THE AGE OF REFORM**

The experiences of injured workers and dependents of those who were killed on the job in endeavoring to collect damages from employers for negligence under the Employers' Liability Law, had proved hopeless. Casualty insurance companies, with which employers were usually insured, compelled employers to fight their employees with every legal resource including the principles of "contributory negligence, fellow servant negligence and assumption of risk by the act of going to work." After years of attempting to improve the law, the State Federation abandoned that course and, in 1910, sought and secured a law establishing the principle of Compulsory Workmen's Compensation for injury and death in certain clearly defined hazardous occupations and optional compensation in other occupations. The wage earner would surrender any right of negligence action for specified indemnity payments while actually disabled, or in the event of death, to his family dependents in return for automatic payment of claims. The courts, however, promptly annulled the new compensation law and the State Federation had to again go through the arduous task of amending the state constitution which was finally accomplished in 1913. An extra session of the 1913 legislature, still in session in December after the people had voted, passed the present Workmen's Compensation Law, but because of the hostility of the insurance companies and employers to an exclusive state insurance fund to provide the required insurance, all forms of profit-making insurance coverage were finally permitted. The benefits of this law have been increased and improved progressively since 1913.

On March 25, 1911, 146 women were killed when a fire swept the Triangle Shirt Waist Company factory in New York City. A mass meeting at the Metropolitan Opera House voiced the demand that immediate steps be taken to prevent another tragedy from occurring because of the negligence of employers. Assemblyman Alfred E. Smith aided in the establishment of the New York State Factory Investigating Committee. The purpose of this committee was to investigate the conditions of manufacturers in the State and it was directed to report to the Legislature with recommendations for eliminating the horrid conditions of factories at that time. Smith served the committee as vice-chairman. The Factory Investigating Commission included, in addition to Assemblyman Smith, AFL President Samuel Gompers, Edward D. Jackson of the Switchmen's Union, President Mary E. Dreier of the Women's Trade Union League, Frances Perkins, who later served as Secretary of Labor under President Franklin D. Roosevelt, and Senator Robert F. Wagner, as chairman, among others. Smith's experience on the commission marked an important point in his career because it made him painfully aware of the horrible industrial conditions throughout the State. The work of the committee led to a series of proposed labor laws that Smith worked hard to pass. Included in the labor legislation passed between 1911 and 1914 are accident prevention, an increase in the number of factory inspectors, and penalties for violations of the Labor Law were safeguarded. Legislation was also enacted for the licensing of immigrant lodging houses and the protection of workers in tunnels and caissons. Fire prevention requirements were devised, fire drills and automatic fire sprinklers were made compulsory. The Commissioner of Labor was given summary power to close unclean factories. Registration of factories became a requirement. A fifty-four hour law for women and male minors was passed and children applying for working certificates were required to have a physical examination. Night work of women in factories was prohibited. The Labor Department was reorganized, temporary classes in labor camps were provided, smoking in factories was prohibited, ventilation was provided for and seats for women workers were required. Dangerous trades were regulated and protection of elevators was ordered.

Also included in the labor legislation passed were the restriction of manufacturing in tenements and the provision of many sanitary services for the cleanliness of factories. Public employment offices were established and the enclosure of stairways in factories serving as exits in buildings of five stories or more were required.

The inspection force of the State Labor Department was doubled and all other agencies for the enforcement of labor laws increased. In 1913, another batch of labor laws was recommended by the Commission and enacted into law.

Altogether, forty-four new additions to the Labor Law were enacted in 1913 as a result of the Wagner-Gompers-Smith Commission, as it had come to be popularly known.

As a result of the Commission's recommendations, the State Department of Labor was completely reorganized with its annual appropriation doubled. Prior to this time, the State Labor Department, comprised of the three original bureaus, had occupied a small space under the southern eaves of the Capitol. The Labor Commissioner's office was approached by a ladder leading to a mezzanine floor with his staff of inspectors working out of the floor below amid the mass of records being handled by a few clerks.

It now became, at one bound, the second largest department in state government with 151 new employees added. It was the largest in the nation. It was taken out from under the roof of the Capitol and given large quarters on one of its main floors. It was also granted authority to open branch offices in industrial centers of the state with supervising factory inspectors in charge. State Free Employment Bureaus were likewise established.

Among the 44 new labor laws passed in 1913 were those further regulating working hours for women and minors, extending the school attendance laws, establishing one day's rest in seven in all factories, stores and other workplaces, providing that seats for women workers must have backs, prohibiting smoking in factories strengthening of fire prevention and means of escape, removal of poisons, fumes, gases and infectious material from contact with workers as well as numerous other health and safety measures.

According to John M. O'Hanlon, chairman of the Workingmen's Federation legislative committee in 1923, this spurt of labor legislation resulted in "extending in the most comprehensive way, the state's protection of men, women and children engaged in industry as to health, life and limb, safeguards, hours of women and minors, and their actual conditions of employment...Dark Age factory methods were torn up by the roots."

However, in 1914, a reaction by employers occurred. They cooperated with the Republican Party and succeeded in electing a reactionary legislature in both houses, which, when seated in 1915, immediately undertook to weaken or remove the laws enacted in 1912-14. In a stormy session of the legislature, some bills repealing or modifying existing legislation were passed, a great many were defeated and others vetoed by Governor Charles S. Whitman. It was probably no coincidence that State Federation President Daniel Harris' death directly coincided with the emergence of the reactionary Legislature and its attempts to nullify favorable labor laws. Further attempts to weaken the labor laws in 1916 were unsuccessful.

In 1916, James P. Holland of the Eccentric Firemen's Union of New York City was elected president of the New York State Federation of Labor succeeding Homer Call of the International Butcher Workmen's Union of Syracuse who served for one year. Holland held the post until 1926 when he was succeeded by John Sullivan of the Brewery, Cereal and Soft Drink Workers' Union of New York City who served until 1933.

Through the efforts of State Federation officers and John Mitchell, Chairman of the State Industrial Commission, the Workmen's Compensation Law was not only preserved but extended to "cover many occupations not included in the original act and to also include all municipal and state employees" in 1916 and 1917.

In 1918, a plan to reduce illiteracy among adults in the state was given added impetus with legislation authorizing the establishment of specific training institutions for teachers of adult illiterates. The Robinson Law of 1918 authorized all minors between sixteen and twenty-one to attend day or evening school until they acquired satisfactory knowledge of English and a third bill required night schools to run concurrently with the regular public schools and that they be maintained three nights a week for two hours each night.

The State Federation strongly supported the nation's effort in World War I. Labor's "unrivalled patriotism" brought much of the anti-labor activity to a halt while labor and management cooperated during the war effort.

## **AL SMITH LABOR'S ALLY**

A reactionary Republican legislature emerged at the end of World War I and sought immediately to curtail labor's power and weaken labor legislation. Fortunately, organized labor had two important friends in state government--Governor Alfred E. Smith and State Supreme Court Justice Robert Wagner. As a judge, Wagner consistently upheld labor's right to freely organize. His reluctance to grant anti-labor injunctions clashed with the views of most judges and with the conservative majority on the United States Supreme Court. Wagner's desire to shape some kind of industrial democracy and to uphold labor's right to organize helped the labor movement in New York State emerge from this era of reactionary politics relatively unscathed.

The year 1915 saw the close of Smith's twelve-year career as a legislator. According to Henry Moskowitz's biography of Smith, in the twelve years of his legislative career, he was the outstanding champion of justice in New York State. His stellar political career led him to be nominated for the Governorship in 1918. In one of his campaign speeches, he stated "I have spent twelve years in the Assembly in the State of New York and I know the State Government. I want to say to you here and now that if I am elected I will do what my conscience tells me is best for the State of New York. If I do wrong, you may be sure that it will not be from ignorance and you can hold me responsible." He won the election and became the new Governor of New York State. In his inaugural address, he said, "No one owed more to the State than I do."

Inaugurated on January 1, 1919 Governor Al Smith was a true champion of labor. He consistently vetoed every bill presented to him that weakened labor laws or created hardships for workers.

One of Smith's first acts as governor was to oppose the proposed Barnes Law which conservatives had devised to "deprive the legislature of the power to pass labor and welfare legislation." The Barnes Amendment was a direct affront to

the gains made by the Factory Commission. Its doctrine of laissez-faire economics and conservative Social Darwinist principle of minimal government threatened to abolish the idea of protective labor legislation. Smith's opposition to this proposal was essential to its defeat. Smith also played a pivotal role in the development of the Workmen's Compensation Law. While still campaigning, Smith attacked the direct settlements amendment which essentially subtracted the Industrial Commission's intervention from the Workers' Compensation formula. As this amendment generally acted to the worker's disadvantage, Smith initiated an official inquiry which "uncovered underpayment in fifty percent of the cases investigated." As a result of this and a second report some months later, the provisions of direct settlement were repealed, and a number of measures aimed at protecting workers' rights, enhancing administration of worker's compensation and increasing benefits were improved. In addition, Smith managed to procure, on his own initiative, additional protection against on-the-job hazards, while bringing occupational diseases under the workers' compensation blanket.

As a governor, Smith proved to be an effective ally of the cause of women's suffrage. Upon the receipt from the Acting Secretary of State, Frank L. Polk, of a certified copy of the "joint resolution proposing an amendment to the Constitution extending the right of suffrage to women" with a request that he submit it to the Legislature for its action, he took pride in prompt action to place New York among the first of the states to ratify. He immediately called an extraordinary session of the Legislature on June 10, 1919. His reasons were set forth in the Proclamation calling the session.

"My purpose in calling the Legislature in extraordinary session is to enable it to take prompt action upon the proposed amendment to the Constitution of the United States extending equal suffrage to women.

"New York State has already extended to women the suffrage within its own bounds. When the right of the women in the Nation to the same privilege is to be determined, New York State, the Empire State, should be in the front rank bearing its full share of responsibility, with its full share of the efforts required to write into the Federal Constitution the principles we believe in and grant to the women of our land the right to which they are entitled, which should be speedily granted them as a slight recognition of their heroic conduct in the great crisis through which we have so recently passed.

"It is important that action should be taken upon this measure before the next regular session of the Legislature for several reasons.

"New York should be in the forefront in the advocacy and adoption of all measures of a beneficial progressive character in the support of which it has been too often lagged.

"But furthermore, if this privilege is to be extended to women in such form as to entitle them to full participation in the next ensuing presidential election, early action is necessary.

"It would not be sufficient to permit them only to choose as between candidates selected and principles approved by others, but they should be enfranchised at a date so early that they may take part in the primaries which will be held next spring to select delegates to the national party conventions and thus be co-workers from the very start in the selection of candidates and the declaration of party principles.

"In order to secure this early action by at least thirty-six of the States, it will be necessary to call special sessions of the Legislatures of many of them, where regular sessions will not be under their constitutions be convened until 1921.

"I know of no greater stimulus to prompt and energetic action throughout the Nation than would follow the immediate and decisive approval of the proposed amendment by this the most populous of the commonwealths.

"If it receives the approval of New York at an early date, I believe her good example would be far-reaching and forceful and be followed by a sufficient number of her sister states at a date so near that full association in the steps leading up to selection of our next President would be enjoyed by the newly enfranchised voters."

The prompt action of the New York State Legislature was regarded by labor and suffrage leaders as a strategic move favorably influencing the legislators of other States for the final ratification of the Constitutional Amendment

After the war, New York State was faced with the problems of economic adjustment. According to the Reconstruction Commission, "due to many causes, the industrial life of the State is undergoing a period of unrest." Smith was advised to call a statewide conference of employers, workers and the public to prepare a program of action, which would try to prevent strikes and establish arbitration and the mediation of differences between employer and employee. The conference was held on September 16. Smith appointed a special board called the Governor's Labor Board. It consisted of representatives from labor, business, and the public.

The board did commendable work. They were able to avert strikes in public utilities in Buffalo and in the textile industries of the State. They also averted a strike of 70,000 garment workers in New York City, a strike between the milk wagon drivers and their employers, and the distributing companies of New York City and distributive workers. Employees of the Railway Express Companies were stayed at work while their grievances were being settled. Smith was the chief influence in bringing about industrial peace in some of the most important industries of the State that had been disturbed by the post-war period of unrest. Smith was able to achieve substantial improvements in the workers' compensation program during his first tenure. As his campaign for governor was dominated by efforts to achieve workmen's compensation reform, Smith's first venture would be distinguished by his ability to effectively defuse labor disputes. Despite such constructive work, however, Smith was defeated in his re-election campaign of 1921, overcome by the decidedly conservative swell of national politics at the time. During his brief stint, Smith's replacement, Nathan J. Miller, attempted to reverse much of the favorable labor legislation achieved in preceding years.

While Miller was generally unsuccessful in his attempt to reverse the legislation of Smith's tenure, he did manage to effect some change in the enforcement of the laws. The creation of a state legislative committee in 1921 to replace the existing State Industrial Commission promised to achieve this end. The new body consisted of an Industrial Commissioner and Industrial Board of three members, replacing the previous system of equal employer and employee representation. In restructuring the State Labor Department and reducing its appropriations, Miller was able to greatly reduce the State's enforcement power. Miller's destructive work was cut short, however, by his defeat for re-election in 1922.

On January 1, 1923, a new state administration headed by Governor Smith was installed with a Democratically controlled Senate, and a Republican controlled Assembly although that house saw a large increase in liberal members. The non-partisan campaign of united labor in local and Assembly elections of 1921 was so effective and made so many startling changes in the political map that it helped block further erosion of labor laws.

Again confronted with a Republican majority in the Assembly of 1923, Al Smith nonetheless addressed the legislative session with proposals for "radical new laws" calling for shorter hours and a minimum wage for all women and minors, an extended rental control system, more low-cost housing, and a watering-down of the State Prohibition Law.

The Assembly's conservative Republicans immediately rejected the eight-hour day for women and the housing relief proposals. In opposition, Frances Perkins claimed support for a so-called "National Women's Party" and demanded "equal rights" for women through a proposal giving women the right to work eleven hours a day. Many of these social reform proposals were stalled by the Assembly. One effort that the Republicans were able to kill was the rehabilitation of the State Labor Department. In his address to the State Federation of Labor in 1923, Smith emphasized his proposal for increased appropriations stating "You might as well just tear up the Labor Code unless the State spends sufficient funds to make it effective."

Another labor backed and Smith supported accomplishment was the strengthening of the Workmen's Compensation Law by making direct settlements more difficult to attain.

Despite such advances, many pro-labor bills were also defeated. A proposal to limit the use of court injunctions was defeated. A bill declaring that the labor of an individual is not a commodity was also defeated. As alluded to before, bills calling for Minimum Wage Boards and a forty-eight hour week for women passed the Senate but were defeated in the Assembly. While direct settlements were hindered, a labor-drafted bill to prohibit insurance company coverage under Workmen's Compensation and "confine all insurance to the State Insurance Fund" was also blocked. Numerous education reform proposals, like those calling for free textbooks, improved physical care for school children and educational improvements in rural communities, were soundly defeated. Despite these defeats, labor was gratified by the enactment of a series of bills aimed at repealing some of the Lusk Laws of 1921-22. The Lusk Laws damaged the budding educational system through its lenient system of approving and licensing private trade and professional schools. Through the Lusk Laws, many fraudulent "schools" of very poor quality were able to easily achieve licensing by the State Education Department. Smith supported educational amendments in 1923 nullified many of the Lusk Laws by sharpening the Educational Department's scrutiny in regard to administering licenses.

In 1923, the State alcoholic beverage Prohibition Law was removed from the statute books after much controversy. From the start, Al Smith assailed Prohibition as a violation of civil liberties. This conviction eventually led Smith to a repeal of the so-called Mullan-Gage Act, a state edict which would have reinforced the Federal Volstead Act which defined intoxicating beverages at .5 percent alcohol in order to prohibit beer and wine sales. In doing this, Smith "denied that the Constitution imposed upon the states the necessity of adopting enforcement legislation to supplement...any other Federal statute." While Smith lost many votes by this action, organized support for repeal was provided in large degree by the trade unions. Samuel Gompers expressed such support and a hope that repeal would lead to greater modification of the federal law so that people would enjoy a beer without being "law violators."

The year 1924 saw more favorable labor legislation. As had become almost customary, the Workmen's Compensation Law was improved. In a letter to the State Federation Convention of 1924, Smith wrote that the non-compensated waiting period after an injury had been reduced from fourteen to seven days. Some labor law amendments attained during 1924 included reducing one hour of labor for male minors between sixteen and eighteen. Another created an Industrial Council in the Labor Department. This council was composed equally of employers and employees and would advise on important labor and workers' compensation issues. With these successes came defeats. For a second time, proposals for a minimum wage board and an eight-hour day or forty-eight hour week for women in industrial establishments was defeated in the Republican Assembly. While this bill did initially garner eighty-four votes in its favor, twenty-one of them Republicans, these twenty-one Republicans then held a caucus where they were finally outvoted by a minority of the Assembly. Smith also met with some defeats as many of his progressive housing reform proposals, many aimed at winning rent control and low cost housing, went unheeded by the Legislature.

The year 1925, while not uneventful, served to extend much of the favorable legislation achieved in preceding years. Several amendments were made to the Workmen's Compensation Law.

An amendment to the Federal Constitution submitted to the states for ratification, the Federal Child Labor Amendment, which would have created a national law limiting child labor in industry, did not survive the New York State Legislative session of 1925. The defeat of such a bill clearly was not reflective of the dire need of such a reform measure. While many ignored the slave-like nature of child labor in many parts of the State, many women's groups like the Women's Trade Union League, the Consumers' League, and the New York Child Labor Committee provided vigorous support for child labor law ratification. These groups combined in an effort to achieve ratification, calling themselves the New York Committee for Ratification of the Child Labor Amendment. The New York State Federation of Labor worked very closely with this committee to achieve the ratification goal. Such support was undoubtedly affected by a call by the American Federation of Labor to affiliated state and local central bodies to create as much public pressure as possible, citing the need to elect only those Assembly candidates with unequivocal pro-child labor law leanings.

To add further insult to organized labor, a bill was sponsored and passed by the Assembly's Republican majority which continued the fifty-four hour week law. Moreover, votes were cast by the majority against any measures creating a forty-eight hour work week, a proposal repeatedly advanced by organized labor in preceding years. Fortunately for labor, Governor Smith vetoed both bills, citing them as complete violations of party campaign platforms.

Another labor-supported proposal that met with defeat again in 1925 was a bill that would drastically limit the use of injunctions in labor-management disputes. More specifically, the bill proposed that no injunction could be issued "unless authorized by a verdict of a jury after trial of the facts in open court with both sides represented and present." While in 1925 this measure had been made a plank in the Democratic platform, the Republican majority in the Assembly had only responded to labor's request with a firm veto.

Consistent with a history of supporting legislation that not only benefits the wage-earner directly, but which helps all people, the State Federation, at its 1925 Convention, addressed the issue of the emerging state park system.

Another bill vehemently opposed by labor and defeated was the so-called Holder Assembly Bill. This bill sought to destroy the eight-hour and prevailing-rate-of-wages law by providing "that municipal employees could be made to work overtime five days a week without compensation" in order to secure the Saturday half-holiday. Governor Smith also vetoed a substitute for a forty-eight hour workweek law for women that would have only perpetuated the fifty-four hour week. In vetoing the bill, Governor Smith stated that "this measure in fact permanently establishes the fifty-four hour week, but provides that under certain complicated and unworkable conditions" the Industrial Board could reduce hours in certain specified industries.

While the Child Labor Law went unratified, a labor-advocated measure creating a forty-four hour work week for all minors between fourteen and sixteen, with a guaranteed Saturday half-holiday, was created in 1925. Another favorable statute called for the appropriation of \$50,000,000 toward the creation of new state hospitals, a law building on the substantial wage increase obtained by state hospital employees in 1923, their first raise since long before World War I.

It was in December of 1924 that American Federation of Labor President Samuel Gompers died. In a moving tribute, the Matthew Woll of Chicago, Vice President of the AFL, extolled the many virtues of this great labor leader and man. "... To us here in America he may well be styled, and well has he earned, the title of the Washington of the great American trade union movement. Samuel Gompers ... was a man that American labor least of all shall ever forget."

By the laws of 1926, the State Department of Labor was given virtual immortality. 1926 marked the culmination of a long campaign by the State Federation to make the State Department of Labor a constitutional division of the State Government. By achieving this, the State Federation essentially guaranteed that the Labor Department could never be abolished or even partially weakened by law.

Also in 1926, some administrative amendments to the Workmen's Compensation Law were passed by the legislature. Despite this, however, the State Federation's primary measure which would establish an exclusive state fund for Workers' Compensation did not get enough affirmative votes to pass the Senate. With the support of the State Federation of Labor, Governor Smith on May 19th, signed the Kark-Phelps bill which would provide for a voter referendum on election day on the subject of modifying the Volstead Prohibition Act. Through the vigilance of Al Smith, the State Legislature appropriated the sum of \$62,355,000 for "immediate construction of state hospitals, office buildings, fire prevention and the extension and improvement of parks, new prisons and other structures." These funds were largely from the public improvements bond issues supported so vehemently by Smith during the 1920's.

Regarding legislation more directly affecting the wage-earner, Governor Smith vetoed a bill which would have created a seven-day work week. On May 5th, Smith vetoed the so-called Boyle Bill which would have required ice plant employees to work seven days a week. Citing his reasons for the veto, Smith simply stated that among other considerations, "this bill seeks by law to exempt ice plants from the provisions of the so-called one day of rest in seven act..."

At a conference held in Albany Labor Temple on March 2nd, various labor organization representatives gathered to present their arguments on the appeal of an exclusive State Fund for Workmen's Compensation. Among a myriad of arguments, Secretary-Treasurer John M. O'Hanlon stated, "that under Exclusive State Insurance, the State of New York can guarantee to its injured workers prompt payment of claims and can give employers better compensation protection than they enjoy now at a great deal less cost than under existing forms of insurance."

On May 17th, Governor Smith signed the so-called Truman-Winters Bill which extended the original law of 1895, allowing barbers, Sunday off, including New York City and Saratoga. In response to opposition concerning the extension, the Governor granted a hearing in his executive chamber on May 11th to hear disputes and support. The enactment of this extension signified the culmination of a campaign of several years by the State Federation and the Barber's Union to secure Sunday rest.

On a sour note, the bill presented by Assemblyman Schonk which would have provided for a forty-eight hour work week for employed women and minors was defeated once again in 1926. Before voting commenced, a large group of Republicans advocated support of the Schonk Bill, only to be outvoted at a conference of the Republican Assembly.

The year 1927 marked the beginning of Governor Al Smith's fourth term in office. For eleven years the State Federation had been involved in a struggle to get their forty-eight hour work week bill passed. With the Industrial Survey's help, a compromise of sorts was reached which, in the words of State Federation of Labor President Sullivan, "while not wholly satisfactory to us nor to the representatives of the Women's Trade Union League... was a long step in the right direction." On March 30th, Governor Smith signed the Mastick-Schonk Bill into law establishing a compromise forty-eight hour work week for employed women and minors. It declared a forty-eight hour week to be the new standard but permitted "a variation of 49 1/2 hours a week where the employer would agree to establish a Saturday half-holiday." The investigating commission, in the end, made the enactment of this law possible. In assessing the effect of the 48 hour work week on women's production, the commission stated: "there are those who claim that (women) will be deprived of their livelihood by the passage of such a law. There is no substantial or convincing evidence before us to support such a conclusion. It does not close occupations to women. It does not result in a decrease in the number of women employed and it does not decrease their wages."

In 1927, Governor Smith signed nine new amendments to the Workmen's Compensation Law which were drafted by the Industrial Survey Commission and were enacted to the laws of 1927. With the full-hearted support of the State Federation of Labor, these amendments passed both the Senate and Assembly almost unanimously. These amend-merits included an appropriation increasing state hospital employees' wages and a bill raising the maximum weekly compensation rate for permanent or temporary injuries from \$20 to \$25. Also, an amendment was approved which raised the inequitable "limitations on compensation awards in temporary disability cases from \$3,500 to upwards of \$4,000 and \$5,000."

Other favorable legislation included the signing of Senator Lipavia's bill calling for emergency rent laws to be extended until June 1, 1928. This bill, while still not addressing the more constructive solution of low-cost housing development in New York City, was recommended by the State Housing Board as a necessary extension of existing law. Another Federation supported bill, appropriated \$350,000 toward increasing the monthly pay of state hospital employees. In the education field, a special commission created by Governor Smith to provide scrutiny "in regard to school finance and administration" recommended a bill appropriating over \$16 million in state aid to the local public school system. According to Smith, the bill was designed to "remove the serious inequities which now exist in the distribution of state monies for education." E.W. Edwards, Chairman of the State Federation's Committee on Education, represented the Federation on Smith's special commission which drafted the appropriation bill.

Some measures which were directly hostile to the state wage earners were soundly defeated through the efforts of the State Federation. On January 26th, Assemblyman Milan W. Goodrich of Ossining introduced a bill which would have repealed Section 176 of the Prison Law which limited the printing and photo-engraving by prisoners for use by the state. In the event this section was repealed, all state and local printing would be required to be done in the state prisons. As Chairman of the Assembly Committee on Penal Institutions, Goodrich's bill promised to carry some weight. However, the State Federation acted quickly to inform and organize their affiliates and other interested parties in opposition to the proposal. All printing trade unions were urged to contact local members of the legislature and inform them of this bill's potentially damaging effects on their livelihood. When the drastic nature of this bill was explained to Assemblyman Goodrich, he agreed to abandon his efforts at securing the bill's enactment.

Finally, an Industrial Survey Commission bill was proposed aimed at amending the Labor Law "so as to give the Court of Appeals the authority to appoint all referees under the Workmen's Compensation Law" and to provide a ten year term of office for those so appointed. While organized labor opposed the bill immediately, both the Court of Appeals and Governor Smith expressed their dissatisfaction considering the bill's terms "as an encroachment of the powers of the Executive Branch of the government."

As in previous years, 1928 included the enactment of a number of favorable amendments to the Workmen's Compensation Law. Once again, however, the State Federation bill to provide exclusive insurance rights under the Workmen's Compensation Law to the State Insurance Fund was defeated. Introduced by Senator Downing of New York and Assemblyman Livingston of Brooklyn, several requests to the Senate Labor and Industry Committee for a favorable report on the bill were ignored. In support of their bill, Downing and Livingston asserted that the "lower priced insurance to be provided by the State Fund, with its added advantages of complete release of liability and assurance of payment of compensation claims ... would lessen the cost of compensation to the consuming public and by unification of regulation afford a better opportunity for studying causes of industrial accidents."

Since the State Court of Appeals decision in 1906 declaring Section 531 of the Penal Law to be unconstitutional, the proliferation of "yellow dog" contracts had advanced unchecked. Section 531 had stated that an employer could not use union affiliation as a reason for not hiring. Since Section 531 was found unconstitutional, a ruling upheld by the Supreme Court, the so called "yellow dog" employment contract had been used to prevent some employees from joining labor unions. At a joint hearing held on the bill in the Senate Chamber on February 28th, Congressman N.D. Perlman presented labor's arguments in favor of the proposal, to no avail as the bill died in committee in both houses.

Another favorable labor proposal that failed was a bill "to amend the state anti-monopoly law so as to insert the provision that the labor of a human being is not a commodity or article of commerce." Despite Governor Smith's voiced support of the measure in his annual message to the Legislature, the bill did not pass through the Assembly.

A bill presented by a Senator Farrell of Brooklyn and Assemblyman Hayes from Albany proposed to clean up the one day in seven rest law by removing many of the laws; exceptions which required numerous men and women to work seven days a week usually at six days' pay. Seeking support, the bill was submitted unsuccessfully to both the Labor and Industry Committee and the Industrial Survey Commission.

Despite these defeats, some favorable labor legislation was passed and many labor-opposed bills defeated. An increased appropriation for the State Department of Labor was achieved in 1928. At the legislative session of 1928, the tradition of legislative proposals aimed at diminishing existing protective labor laws was continued. In 1928 nearly three dozen such proposals were introduced to the Legislature. The most aggressively anti-labor measures were the so-called Boyle and Jenks Assembly bills which were designed to weaken the compromise 48 hour law enacted the previous year. Boyle's bill sought to permit restaurant owners to require waitresses to work any hour of the day or night. The Federation vigorously opposed this bill, and was joined by the Women's Trades Union League, the League of Women Voters, and the Waitresses' Unions of New York, Syracuse, Rochester and Buffalo. Their opposition, while unheeded initially, stymied the bill in the Assembly on March 19th. The Jenks Bill which "undertook to require women to work at any occupation day or night that men work, and without restriction as to hours" carried less weight and was quickly killed in committee.

Finally, Governor Smith vetoed two damaging Workmen's Compensation bills that were vigorously opposed by the Federation. The first bill presented by the Industrial Survey commission that would have hampered distribution of legitimate claims was opposed jointly by the Federation and the State Industrial Board, prompting the Governor to veto the second bill sponsored by the Reorganization Committee which would have given legislators undue control of fund expenditures and its management. With the help of the State Department of Labor, the Federation generated enough opposition to strongly support Smith's veto.

## THE DEPRESSION YEARS

The year 1928 marked the end of Al Smith's tenure as Governor as he was his Party's candidate for President Franklin Roosevelt, overcoming a national Republican tidal wave, won a narrow victory to become governor by less than 25,000 votes. Roosevelt delivered his inaugural address on January 1st and immediately emphasized his pro-labor leanings. In his address, Roosevelt voiced that the function of the state government should be "...to guard the toilers in the factories and to insure them a fair wage and protection from the dangers of their trades; to compensate them by adequate insurance for injuries received while working for us (and) to open the doors of knowledge to their children more widely..." Despite such optimism, labor reformers met with a string of defeats in their attempts to secure more favorable labor legislation. However, labor did enjoy some good fortune. Governor Roosevelt signed a bill which brought a number of disabilities caused by occupational diseases under the Workmen's Compensation law's coverage. While the final version of the law was substantially watered down, reduced from eleven to only four new disease groups being added to the Workmen's Compensation Occupational Diseases section, it was a progressive step. In signing, however, Roosevelt condemned the original bill's mutilation stating "I trust that no person will claim that this legislature has heeded the real need for a law placing occupational diseases under the Workmen's Compensation Act."

Other compensation amendments were also enacted including Chapter 303 which provided continued aid to dependent handicapped children regardless of age and Chapter 305 which bound foreign insurance companies to insure payments of compensation claims.

Besides Workmen's Compensation, the Governor also signed many favorable amendments to the State Labor Law. One substantial law vigorously endorsed by the Carpenters' District Council of New York and the State Council of the Brotherhood of Carpenters, required that "all partitions in the interior of fireproof buildings shall be of incombustible materials."

Other favorable labor legislation enacted during Roosevelt's first term was highly satisfactory to the State Federation. One of the most progressive pieces of legislation called for the creation of an Old Age Pension Commission. As part of the new law's official text, an appropriation "of twenty- five thousand dollars" was to be taken out of the state treasury" for the expenses of the commission created by this act." The State Insurance Law was amended to provide group insurance policies to all labor organization members, regardless of their employment status. Under the old law, trade unions' ability to give group insurance was highly restricted. According to the law, only members that were "actively engaged at their trade" were eligible for coverage. For older workers and those wage earners engaged in unsteady or highly seasonal employment, two groups comprising a good portion of the work force, this amendment was helpful. The weekly day of rest law was extended to policemen in cities, counties, towns and villages, without pay reduction.

The so-called Downing-Moffat Bill, amended the New York City Charter relating to teachers' retirement benefits. This amended pension law granted six percent coverage for every year of service up to thirty-five years. Another new law affecting teachers standardized vocational teacher's tenure and opportunity of promotion, while still other legislation authorized school authorities to establish and maintain either a guidance bureau, or to employ vocational and educational guidance counselors for minors.

While these new laws were being enacted, Governor Roosevelt vetoed a potentially harmful Workmen's Compensation amendment. This bill was introduced by Assemblyman Harry J. McKay of Rochester and would have reduced the benefits payable under Workmen's Compensation by almost half to any worker shown to have a previously "defective" physical ailment. Following the bill's passage, the Federations' legislative representative went to the Capitol and asked the Governor, on behalf of organized labor, to veto the McKay Bill. The bill was emphatically opposed by Frances Perkins. The Governor submitted his veto with a message scathing this amendment which sought "to change a vital principle of the Compensation Law which has been in force and upheld by the Appellate Division and Court of Appeals of this State for the last fifteen years."

Governor Roosevelt also vetoed, with the State Federation's staunch support, three amendments to the Labor Laws. The first was Assemblyman C.P. Miller's bill which would have permitted the employment of minors eighteen and under on polishing and buffing wheels. The other two, which were both presented by Assemblyman Steingut, would have weakened the fireproof provision in factory and mercantile construction. As might be expected, the Metal Polishers and its local affiliates combined with the State Federation to offer their support of the bill's defeat.

Finally, organized labor's attempt to secure enactment of a bill to prohibit the issuing of injunctions without a court hearing in industrial disputes was defeated in the 1929 legislature. In addition, a bill to amend the Labor Laws by providing for two days rest for state employees was thwarted.

The Hofstadter Multiple Dwelling Act, enacted on March 27 and signed on April 29th, was declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court on June 25th. While this bill met with opposition from many, prominently the New York City Trades and Labor Council and the Building Trades Council, on a purely substantive basis, the bill was opposed for other reasons. As corporation counselor Hily of New York argued, the bill "was contrary to Article XII of the State Constitution providing for home rule, had not been passed by a two-thirds vote of either branch of the legislature, and was not instituted by a special message of the Governor."

The 1930's was a time of great economic hardship, high unemployment, and bread lines. Amid this tumult, organized labor achieved its greatest triumphs, both in New York State and nationally. As part of the labor laws of 1930, the State Federation, after almost a decade of fighting, finally secured the enactment of their bill to abolish ex-parte injunctions and require court hearings with equal representation before injunctions can be issued. Introduced in both houses of the legislature on March 19th by Senator Hofstadter and Assemblyman Lefkowitz of New York City, it passed the Assembly April 2nd, and was delivered to the Governor for signing April 3rd. To divert any claims of unconstitutionality, the injunction bill was altered to include all forms of injunctions and not just those called in response to industrial disputes. No longer could injunctions be ordered without giving workers the opportunity to be heard in court. Senator William T. Byrne of Albany, introducer of the Federation's original injunction relief bill, described the new law "as the death knell of feudalism in industrial relations in this state."

While the Injunction Relief Law was a great victory for the State Federation, 1930 saw other highly favorable legislation enacted. Governor Roosevelt's support was a necessary ingredient in the 1930's progressive labor legislation formula. In his annual message to the joint session of the Senate and Assembly on January 1st of the year, Roosevelt emphasized an active sympathy toward labor. Roosevelt's recommendations included the extension of occupational diseases provision under the Workmen's Compensation

Law and creating an official statute asserting that the labor of a human being is not a commodity and an improvement of the content of the multiple dwellings bill passed the previous year. To Roosevelt's credit, the labor legislation enacted during the year clearly reflected these recommendations.

Also in 1930, the State Federation's agitation for an improved Workmen's Compensation program was rewarded with several satisfactory amendments. As recommended by Roosevelt in his address, the Occupational Diseases section of the Workmen's Compensation Law was extended to include four new disease groups. Despite this progress, Roosevelt still emphasized his recommendations to extend Workmen's Compensation provision to all occupational diseases, while deriding the piecemeal method of adding a few diseases each year. In line with such comments, the State Federation provided a bill which included all occupational diseases, but which did not reach the floor of the legislature. Other amendments to the Workmen's Compensation Law included a new weekly minimum for workers with certain types of permanently disability injuries and broader ground for determining employer's financial ability to pay compensation benefits.

The 1930 legislative session also saw some amendments to the State Labor Law. Most of these amendments pertained to increased safety standards in the construction industry. The work of demolishing buildings was provided with more stringent safety regulations in light of the many serious accidents which had occurred in the industry during preceding years. The Day of Rest Law was extended to include motion picture machine operators. Finally, a clarification of the grounds for dismissing any State Department of Labor employee by prohibiting removal "unless in compliance with the terms of the State Civil Service Law" was passed into law.

Despite the Governor's pro-labor stance, the State Federation's pressure was necessary during the 1930 session to oppose some bills which were highly antagonistic to organized labor. These bills included such provisions as requiring women restaurant employees to work all night, increasing the amount of printing in state prisons, reducing the Workmen's Compensations benefits and permitting the nullification of benefits to employees sustaining "minor physical defects on the job." Other potentially hazardous bills included seven proposals to substitute night school for day time continuation schools as well as several other sweeping amendments designed to substantially weaken the Workmen's Compensation Law, Labor Law and Education Law. The movement to weaken the continuation school emanated from the Borough of Brooklyn and for a time it gained the support of a majority of the New York Board of Education. Despite this attack on education, many bills in harmony with the educational program of the New York State Federation of Labor were created at the 1930 Legislative session. New laws stabilized New York City teachers' salary increases provided in 1929 and bolstered vocational teachers' retirement provisions.

Other favorable 1930 legislation included the enactment of a bill "giving preference to citizens of the State of New York in employment on all forms of public work." Undoubtedly this bill would never have been approved without the State Federations' vigorous agitation. At a joint legislative hearing held in the Senate chamber on February 19th, State Federation officers led a large representative delegation of organized labor from all parts of the State in the bill's support.

The State Federation's agitation was complemented by Governor Roosevelt's support for the measure and expressed by a message to the Legislature urging the bill's enactment. As Roosevelt stated, "the present undoubted conditions of unemployment ... (have made it) highly desirous that the power of the state be directed toward the obtaining of employment for as many of its own citizens as possible." As the bill was locked in committee, local affiliated trade unions were urged to contact their senators and assemblymen demanding the bill's release and enactment. This immediate state wide support persuaded Governor Roosevelt to issue an emergency message "demanding the enactment of the Citizen Labor Preference Bill." Because of these messages, the labor bill was pushed through the Assembly and finally passed and enacted by a unanimous Senate vote. The success of this bill's journey was a proud moment for the State Federation as it demonstrated the extent of the power and the strength of its bond with the Governor.

On April 28th, Governor Roosevelt signed two bills amending the compromise forty-eight hours-a-week law of 1927. To combat employers' exploitation of workers, the new amendment stipulated a more satisfactory distribution of overtime whereby no women could be required to work more than ten hours a day or more than fifty-four hours a week. The bill was supported by the Women's Trade Union League. State Industrial Commissioner Frances Perkins offered her support as well as declaring "the enactment of the bill (as) necessary to assure the efficient administration of the law..." Another bill signed by FDR, one drafted by the American Federation of Labor as a model for all other states, permitted "states to exclude the products of convict labor coming from other states." Surprisingly, the bill received support from both the legislative minority and majority while enjoying a unanimous vote in both houses. Another bill signed by the Governor, not affecting labor directly, was the so-called Thayer-Cornaric bill regarding the development of electrical power sources on the St. Lawrence River.

The bill proposed to create a regulatory commission with the purpose of supervising production and distribution. Finally on April 10th, Roosevelt signed a bill to establish a state-wide old-age relief fund and the create a State Bureau of Old Age Security to distribute benefits.

Governor Roosevelt was re-elected in 1932 with organized labor's hearty support. Some four hundred bills were introduced that year which either directly or indirectly affected organized labor leading to changes in the Workmen's Compensation Law and State Labor Law that year. The Federation was successful in achieving enactment on some vital proposals in their legislative program of 1931. In his annual legislative message, Governor Roosevelt expressed his devotion to organized labor's cause stating that "although this state has taken the lead in labor legislation there are still certain requirements which are necessary to keep in step with the newest developments in industrial life." Another interesting comment suggested Roosevelt's desire for a progressive old age security plan that "should be based on the theory of insurance by a system of contribution commencing at an early age." Roosevelt was already initiating his plan of social security while New York State Governor.

While Social Security would have to wait some years before enactment, the 1930 Legislature saw a number of progressive proposals written into law. On April 20th, Roosevelt signed a Federation-endorsed revision to the 48 hour working law of 1930 for women employed in mercantile establishments. Drafted by State Industrial Commissioner Frances Perkins and approved by the Women's Trade Union League, the bill provided the first truly protective measure for women by stipulating that while employers could require up to ten additional working hours a year, they would have to grant the equivalent in "vacation time."

On April 27, the Governor secured enactment of a bill drafted by his Investigation Commission which created the New York State Power Authority to negotiate and supervise the construction of the proposed dam across the St. Lawrence River. Included in the plan was a \$3,000,000 appropriation for the immediate needs of construction. The bill also made the commission responsible for ascertaining a feasible method of energy distribution, be it private or public.

In legislation more directly related to labor, there were many improvements made to the Workmen's Compensation Law. These included extending the scope of the occupational diseases provision by "providing that the time limit for contracting diseases under this section shall not bar compensation in the case of an employee who contracted a disease on the job." At this time, the State Federation asserted its opposition to some amendments not yet approved but still under scrutiny. These included two bills which would have reduced compensation to many injured workers and their dependents and another that would have removed another group from coverage altogether. The Governor also supported other favorable labor legislation. A bill originated with the Building Service Employees Union of New York and then endorsed by the Federation required that building service employees "be given proper legal notice" before household eviction. Another law required the local fire authorities to submit reports of all factory and building fires in the hope of informing workers about fire safety and preventing future conflagrations. The Teachers Union of Greater New York gained a law to provide that vocational school teachers could include non-teaching work experience as pre-requisites for salary increases and retirement benefits.

Recognizing the Great Depression's increasing magnitude, a State Commission was created by joint resolution to study the causes of unemployment and report its findings. On March 25th, the Governor sent the Legislature a message

urging them to make his commission on stabilization of employment an official state body. He also recommended that legislators create a new commission to study and report on different forms of unemployment relief. This second proposal clearly reflected the State Federation's sentiment for a similar organization. As it turned out, the Governor was partially disappointed in the Legislature's action regarding unemployment, but recognized that it was still a progressive step. In Roosevelt's words, "the Legislature authorized a new commission (which) will, I am confident, study and report on the suggestions heretofore made in regard to unemployment insurance." On April 9th, the Senate and Assembly issued another joint resolution, issued by the Senate Committee on Education's Chairman Webb, which directed "the State Board of Regents to appoint a commission...for the purpose of making a study of the conditions surrounding the education of children in the public schools of the State."

Together with the State Department of Education, the State Federation worked for adoption of the study's recommendations.

These successes were accompanied by some defeats. A State Federation supported Unemployment Relief Fund Bill was rejected by both the Senate Committee and Finance and Assembly Committee on Ways and Means. This bill allowed adult unemployed citizens "a minimum of two days work a week at not less than five dollars a day" in non-competitive public work near their home. Senator Desmond's bill to apply the eight-hour workday to all state employees, regardless of position, was rejected as it proposed to create over a \$3,000,000 expenditure to compensate for additional state employees.

Industrial Commissioner Frances Perkins personally urged the bill's approval. This bill originated with the former Industrial Survey Commission. The State Federation combined with four railroad brotherhoods to lend support to the bill. The New York City government opposed the bill because it would abolish local regulation of commercial employment agencies which had supposedly eradicated most of the industry's "riff-raft." The unemployment relief measure generated strong State Federation support. Those present at a joint meeting included E.V. Chalmers of the State Association of Plumbers and Steamfitters, Joseph R. White of the United Textile Workers, E. Koveleski of the Hotel and Restaurant Employees Union, M.M. Merill of Schenectady Trades Assembly, and John Fitzgibbons of the Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen. Secretary O'Hanlon stated organized labor's support of the commission on unemployment but also emphasized that it "needed constitutional changes" to be effective as "present state constitutional restrictions prevent enactment of an adequate compulsory law."

Nearly two hundred trades and labor union representatives of the State assembled in the Senate Chamber on April 4th to advocate a bill to establish the five-day week in public work. Several present wore badges of the Building Trades Council of Greater New York and Vicinity. President John Sullivan's presentation offered the Federation's support for a measure which would have limited the work week to five days for each citizen employed on state or municipal work.

Herbert H. Lehman became Acting Governor in 1932, when FDR became the President of the United States. The chain of favorable labor legislation remained unbroken. The State Legislative session of this year was one of the shortest in its history. Many Federation-sponsored bills were enacted at this session. While the Federation was successful in securing enactment of a number of their most important proposals, its greatest accomplishment may have been the defeat of four destructive amendments to the Workmen's Compensation Law. On January 20th, Senator John W. Gates of Oneida and Assemblyman John S. Thompson of Medina introduced four bills in the legislature amending the Workmen's Compensation Law. One amendment stripped the State Industrial Board of its responsibilities in awarding compensation benefits in cases of death or total disability and threw such power to the courts. Another of these bills made it more difficult for a widow to claim compensation benefits by tightening the requirements for proving dependency on the deceased. A third proposal restricted the Industrial Board's ability to reopen a compensation claim case. Finally, the fourth amendment substantially reduced the benefits available to a deceased worker's dependents.

The State Federation's opposition to these amendments was both immediate and forceful. A joint hearing of the Senate and Assembly Committee on Labor and Industry attracted State Federation representatives from all affiliates as well as Industrial Commissioner Frances Perkins. Labor opposed the amendments on the grounds that they "struck at the theory and practice of the law and were entering wedges to destroy the principle and purpose of Workmen's Compensation." Despite heated opposition, both the Senate and Assembly reported the bills favorably. Again Labor's response was statewide and immediate. Urging affiliates to contact their senators and assemblymen, the State Federation was able to generate enough support to secure the defeat of all four bills before they were brought to a final vote in the Senate.

While some destructive bills were defeated, some favorable Workmen's Compensation amendments were included in the laws of 1932. One strengthened the rules governing the employer's obligation to sufficiently prove that his employees have been provided with compensation insurance. Two new amendments drafted by the State Department of Labor redefined the provisions of total disability and allowed self-insured employers to avert further liability claims after retirement.

The 1932 legislation also included some important amendments to the State Labor Laws. Increased fire and safety regulations in elevators and tenement houses was provided. Increased safety measures for laborers involved in excavation activities were enacted. The Slater-Saunders Bill was supported since it would make the five day work week for state and local public work permanent. A second bill proposed to give all highway construction and repair workers the benefits of the eight-hour day and prevailing rate of wage law on a permanent basis. The third State Federation supported proposal, the Hanley-Brietenback Bill, pledged to extend the weekly day of rest law to all occupations and "to provide a day of rest for all state and municipal employees with the provisions that the weekly wages of such public employees shall not be reduced."

Another important piece of legislation secured payment of wages on public works. Every state contractor and subcontractor was required to submit "a sworn statement" to the proper state financial officer disclosing the amount of wages due to any worker under his employment. A new section was added to the Civil Rights Law prohibiting any inquiry into the religious practices of any individual seeking employment in the State's public schools. Several bills opposed by organized labor but nevertheless enacted, were then vetoed by the Governor. These bills included the Mastick Senate Bill which would have weakened the provisions of the Education Law regarding school room ventilation and the Gates Senate Bill which would have weakened the Workmen's Compensation Law as to the illegal employment of minors in hazardous occupations. A third bill vetoed by the Governor was introduced to the Senate Finance Committee with the objective of requiring state employees enrolled in the State Retirement Pensions System to contribute an additional three percent of their wages to the retirement fund. In vetoing it, the Governor derided the bill as "one of the most unfair, unjust, discriminating pieces of legislation sent to me by the Legislature since I have been Governor."

In his first public message to the Legislature, in 1933, Governor Lehman recommended some familiar labor legislation goals. Citing the extension of the Workmen's Compensation occupational diseases, the establishment of an advisory minimum wage board for women and children, and the shortening of the work week, Lehman revealed both his allegiance to the former governor and the labor legislative agenda still unfulfilled. The State Federation's most vigorously supported bill at the legislative session of 1933 provided for more comprehensive unemployment insurance. Despite limited success in this area, the State Federation was able to achieve the enactment of seven new laws improving the working conditions on local and state public works. The five day work week provision on all state and local work until March of 1934 was extended. A bill redrafted at the request of the State Federation amended the State Labor Law's prevailing wage rate section by requiring that the actual rates "be determined in advance and made a part of the specifications and contracts for all state and public works." This so-called Wicks Senate Bill became Chapter No. 731 of the Laws of 1933. The Coughlin Assembly Bill extended the prevailing wage provisions of the State Labor Law to prevent contractors from breaking down local wage scales. A third important bill amended the Labor Law's Public Work section by providing highway construction and repair workers a guaranteed minimum wage rate.

Prior to signing these three bills, Governor Lehman advised the State Federation to re-examine their contents in regard to the extent of the favorable impact on public workers. After conferring in Albany, organized labor representatives from all over the state descended on the legislative conference offering their approval and support of the bills. Among those attending were Secretary-Treasurer O'Hanlon, General Organizer F. W. Leonard of the State's Plumbers and Steamfitters Union and William T. Bennis of the Building Trades Council. The Wick's Bill was supported as a facilitator of honest competition for public work.

Secretary Harry R. Hayes of the Highway Contractors Association offered his support of the minimum wage bill as a tool for ridding the industry of exploitative contractors. Finally, Industrial Commissioner Elmer F. Andrews urged the Governor to sign the Loughlin Bill. To combat opposition to these favorable labor bills, Secretary-Treasurer O'Hanlon recommended that a special bureau be set up in the Department of Labor to administer the working hour and prevailing wage rate provision for public work. Governor Lehman-expressed his support of this proposal.

On April 29, Governor Lehman signed the Ward Bill into law giving the minimum wage to all employed women and minors under twenty-one years of age. The Ward Bill was strongly supported by the State Federation with the Upholsterer's International Union, an affiliate with a large body of women workers leading the charge. The bill was also supported by Elinore M. Herrick of the Consumer's League, the organization chiefly responsible for the drafting of the bill, as well as representatives from the Women's Trade Union League and the National Consumers League.

The Workmen's Compensation Law was amended once again by the Laws of 1933. The Evans-Robinson Bill was probably the most important Workmen's Compensation Amendment to be secured in many years. This Federation bill gave the State Industrial Board sole authority "to reclassify injuries for compensation purposes either in pending or reopened cases." A watered-down version of this bill was enacted in 1927 and progressively amended through the years with little effectiveness. The biggest flaw was a time limit restricting the reclassification of injuries after a certain time. Throughout this period, organized labor had submitted legislation which would have removed the time limit. Since most such proposals had gone unheeded, the 1933 legislation was particularly gratifying to the State Federation. In the area of penal reform the Buckley-Livingston Bill was secured. This bill perfected the Law of 1930, which prohibited the "sale in this State of prison made goods produced in other states."

Chapter 442 amended the State Labor Law by providing increased pension and retirement benefits protection against depression-reduced pay for school district employees in any city, county or municipality of the state. The prohibition amendment was repealed by legalizing light wines and beers. The bill also created a state County Board of Control to administer the newly amended law. A state commission appointed by Governor Lehman on which State Federation President John Sullivan served as a member, initiated a prohibition study and recommended this amendment. This state commission later recommended a state convention to discuss repealing the Federal Prohibition Amendment. This convention was held on May 23rd with President Sullivan serving as Federation representative on the non-partisan Board of Repeal. After some deliberation, the delegates unanimously voted to repeal the Eighteenth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution.

A new state bond issue recommended by Governor Lehman for unemployment insurance passed the Legislature. While the issue would not be brought to the voters for approval until November, the Governor signed a measure making some of the funds immediately available in anticipation of the bond's approval. The State Federation again overcame a series of attacks against the Workmen's Compensation Law. Four Assembly bills sought to reduce benefits and place disabilities on beneficiaries. These proposals were quickly defeated. Governor Lehman also intervened to veto a number of anti-labor bills, which the Legislature had approved. One of the most destructive was a bill, vigorously opposed by the State Federation and Building and Common Laborer Union, which would have created "an unfair form of competition and discrimination against laborers not now on work relief rolls and whose principal occupation is the construction and repair of state and county highways." The Governor vetoed the bill on May 2nd.

During 1934's Legislative session, Governor Lehman again stressed the need to secure enactment of a greater number of progressive labor laws. While citing New York's "preeminent position in the field of advanced labor and social legislation," Lehman realized the critical nature of the times. In this vein, Lehman expressed his concern over the State's troubled housing situation. Lehman's strong interest in this subject was predicated upon a desire to relieve unemployment distress to initiate large scale new construction. As of the beginning of this session, both of his proposals aimed at facilitating the construction of low cost housing by granting cities the right to establish housing authorities had been rejected by the Legislature.

In the 1934 session, the State Federation was successful in securing enactment of a number of their most prominent bills. One made the so-called "kick-back system" illegal. Through the kick-back the employer would require an employee to pay him back a certain percentage of his legal wage, a tool usually utilized in public works projects. The bill was introduced by Assemblyman Ernest Lapparo who, after its passage, submitted a letter to the State Federation offering his appreciation for its vigilant support. Laws were enacted to empower "the Industrial Commissioner to regulate the minimum wages of all workingmen, mechanics and laborers employed by any public work" where the prevailing wage rate is unspecified. Another bill extended to 1935 the emergency laws of 1931, established a forty-hour five-day week on all public works. The prohibition of employment under 16 years of age in the erection, demolition and repairing of a building or structure was also passed.

Governor Lehman's opening arguments for the creation of a municipal housing authorities was answered favorably by a law granting any city of the state the right to accumulate finances for "the removal of its slum areas and the building of modern dwellings." The State Federation managed to secure a number of amendments to the Workmen's Compensation Law. One extended the occupational diseases under Workmen's Compensation. Another presented by Senator H. L. O'Brien, protected the special fund in instances of delayed death while still another amended the Workmen's Compensation Law, reducing the liability to an injured employee in third party cases.

The Labor Law was amended by establishing the fifty-four hour week and prohibiting night work for female restaurant employees in all cities with 50,000 member or more population. Two bills amending State's Hotel and Beverages Control Law were passed permitting alcoholic beverages to be served for consumption in bars. The culmination of a prolonged State Federation effort of civic reform was achieved by granting every state municipality the authority to own and operate power and energy plants. This new law complemented the state owned and state developed hydro-electricity authority.

## **THE MEANY YEARS**

On December 1, 1933, State Federation President John Sullivan, who had held the post since 1926, resigned take a position on the Alcoholic Beverage Commission which was created to oversee the liquor industry since Prohibition had just ended. Sullivan, and members of his union--the Brewery, Cereal, and Soft Drink Workers--had a great interest in jobs in the brewing industry. The Executive Council had the responsibility of filling the vacancy until the convention scheduled for August 1934. First Vice-President Emanuel Koveleski, a member of the Bartender and Hotel Employee's Union from Rochester and a twenty-five year member of the Executive Council, sought the vacant post as did Bronx plumber George

Meany. Koveleski beat Meany by a seven to six vote when one of the New York City Council members voted for Koveleski. There were six upstate and seven downstate members.

Meany decided to begin an all out drive to capture the State Federation presidency at the upcoming convention. He decided to use the issue of having one of the officers from New York City as a campaign theme and worked to get large numbers of New York City building tradesmen to the Buffalo convention. Meany's strategy paid off when in the caucus on August 29, 1934, he received 235 votes to 183 for Koveleski. The convention ratified the vote by acclamation the next day.

George Meany, from the Building Trades Council and the Plumbers Union, was the youngest man at 40 years of age to be president of the State Federation. The Federation was then boasting seventy-eight new affiliations totaling 850,000 members.

In Joseph C. Goulden's biography of Meany, he quotes Meany on his six years as president of the New York State Federation of Labor as saying: "I worked hard but I was damn lucky, I was very lucky. I came in at the depth of the depression. It is an amazing thing how the attitude of a state legislature toward labor could be influenced by a depression. During the so-called boom days in the twenties--the Coolidge and Hoover days---it was a rare thing to get two labor bills through the state legislature, but when labor was flat on its back it was a very odd thing [how things improved]. I suppose it was due to the fact that these people had to run for office and they knew that workers needed this sort of help.

"We got unemployment insurance, we wiped out the so-called yellow dog contract[which required workers to pledge, as a condition of employment, not to join a union]; we passed a companion bill to the Norris-LaGuardia Act, we set up a state labor relations board, we overhauled our Workmen's Compensation law. We put seventy-two new laws on the statute books in one year, 1935, out of 112 bills. But I had a governor who was without parallel in my boat in the field of public service--Herbert Lehman."

When Meany assumed the presidency of the State Federation it was the largest in the nation comprising nearly a quarter of the total AFL membership. According to Goulden, Meany wore a variety of hats including labor's chief lobbyist in Albany, chief negotiator with the city, state and federal government on a wide range of issues, a labor politician who tried to maneuver union votes to candidates friendly to labor, a public relations officer giving numerous speeches and attending a variety of functions and as titular head of state labor, an opponent of fratricidal strife among the autonomous affiliated unions.

Meany made presentations on labor's goals to the platform committees of both major political parties immediately following his election. The Democrats endorsed six of the eight planks and the GOP two. Among the most important was one calling for an employer-financed unemployment insurance system. The State Federation thereupon endorsed Governor Lehman for re-election. Lehman's opponent was Robert Moses, a Democrat turned Republican who had served in Governor Al Smith's cabinet and who later became the "master builder" of New York State. With labor's support, Lehman won an overwhelming victory and the Democrats won control of both houses of the legislature for the first time in two decades.

Meany and Lehman developed a strong political and social relationship. In appreciation to Meany's friendship, Lehman attended the 1938 State Federation convention on crutches in an ankle-to-thigh cast supporting a knee smashed in an auto accident.

In preparation for the convening of the state legislature on January 2, 1935, Meany and State Federation Counsel Francis X. Sullivan met frequently with Lehman's chief legal advisor Charles Poletti. The Democratic leadership introduced forty-four bills within an hour of Lehman's State-of-the-State address. Senate leader John J. Dunnigan pushed Committee chairmen to move the legislation and thirteen of eighteen labor bills passed within twenty-four hours.

With the cooperation of Senator Dunnigan and newly elected Assembly Speaker Irwin Steingut, a young liberal Brooklyn lawyer, public hearings were arranged on labor's legislative agenda for the first time in history. According to Joseph Goulden's biography, Meany and Sullivan would set up two or three o'clock every night before a committee meeting preparing for the sessions by cramming Meany with details and trying to anticipate any question that might arise. On the morning of the hearings, Meany, Sullivan and Secretary-Treasurer John O'Hanlon would brief the large number of labor leaders and rank and file who could come on early trains, allocate speaking time and lead a mass march to the hearing room. Meany personally testified on 120 bills in three months, sometimes a dozen at a time.

The first battle Meany took on was reform of the Workmen's Compensation laws. A number of private insurance companies went bankrupt during the Depression and as a result, defaulted on payments to over 6,000 workers. Meany's goal was to provide protection against defaults in the future. The insurance industry opposed any legislation. The day set for the hearing saw a cavalcade of insurance representatives descend on Albany and pack the hearing room.

According to Goulden, Meany testified, "It requires a major operation to correct the abuses being perpetrated by the private insurance companies. We can't believe that the companies are sincere about being ready to take care of the situation. It is the duty of the state to protect the worker." Moving his arm at the galleries loaded with insurance men, Meany said, "*The private carriers say they don't make money on compensation insurance. Well, look at this turnout and the money behind it.*"

Meany was not worried about the hearing, however, because he and Lehman had a strategy planned to get the insurance companies to agree to a compromise--they would push for an all-inclusive state fund where employers would have no say. Both knew there was little real chance of passing it but they made out as though it would. The bluff worked and Lehman and Meany got the improvements they wanted: a one percent tax on compensation insurance premiums to pay off claims against the defunct companies and immediate transfer of the full amount of awards to a newly created state board.

The passage of an unemployment insurance program in New York was Meany's next main goal and he and Lehman again took on the insurance industry. The fight had national significance because no state had yet adopted a program for fear of competitive disadvantage with other states. Adoption of the federal Social Security Act, however, would provide a new opportunity for the state to take the lead. The business lobby, Associated Industries, saw the significance of the debate and did all they could to stop its enactment in New York State. Meany argued against the Associated Industries position that it would create a competitive problem but also argued that if unemployment insurance was defeated in New York, businessmen would use the argument against Roosevelt's Social Security Act.

Meany became the champion of the legislation. On March 20, 1935, the Assembly passed a bill by a vote 77-73 with the final vote 102-42 in favor including twenty-four Republicans joining a solid Democratic bloc. Tammany Democrats in the Senate threatened to kill the bill in an attempt to get Lehman to move on a reapportionment issue but ultimately relented and passed the Unemployment Insurance bill 30-16. In signing the bill, Lehman called the act "the most progressive and enlightened piece of social legislation enacted in this state in many decades." He gave the ceremonial signing pen to Meany along with the credit for the bill's passage. The federal Social Security Act passed Congress four months later and every state in the nation had laws similar to New York in two years. Meany told the State Federation convention later that year: "I feel that the passage of this law in the state of New York is responsible for the passage of the Social Security Act in our federal Congress."

The Meany legislative juggernaut rolled on during the session with sixteen of eighteen state federation bills enacted exactly as written and 62 of 115 bills supported by the State Federation passed into law. The yellow dog contract was outlawed, homework was restricted in the garment industry; a jury trial was granted for persons accused of violating labor injunctions; a maximum work week for women was limited to forty-eight hours; mandatory school age was increased from fourteen to sixteen years; a five-day, forty-hour work week was established for all public employees, from village to state level; working hours for boys sixteen to eighteen were reduced from fifty-four to forty-eight, and vacations were granted to New York City subway system hourly workers.

The State Federation publication, the State Federation boasted of "the most constructive and liberal annual session 'ever held'". These enactments established an achievement in social and industrial well-being for men, women and children that has no parallel in the legislative history of this or any other state on the American continent."

The victories of 1935 would mark the zenith of Meany's and the State Federation's legislative accomplishment since the Republicans captured both houses of the state legislature in the 1936 elections.

Support for the minimum wage legislation for men in 1937 was opposed by Meany, a position which may surprise many modern trade unionists. His reasoning, however, reflected a common view of the day--it was the role of unions to bargain for wages and if government performed trade union functions, workers would lose their incentive to organize. He felt a minimum wage law would lower union wages. He later changed his position. He did support minimum wage protection for women.

New York State's ratification of a constitutional amendment giving Congress the power to regulate working conditions and wages for persons less than sixteen brought Meany into opposition with the Catholic bishops in the state who opposed the amendment. The bishops argued that the amendment would give Congress too much control of what they believed to be a family issue. In lobbying for ratification Meany testified, "I do not think that there is anyone in this room who is in favor of children working in the mills, canneries, workshops, or factories of America at the age of ten, eleven, twelve or thirteen years. We whose glory lies in the name of Americans must of necessity feel a sense of guilt when we contemplate a system which allows, no, in many cases, compels children of tender years to slave for long hours while their parents remain in the ranks of the army of the unemployed." Ratification of the amendment failed and Meany blamed the Catholic bishops.

When not in Albany lobbying, Meany spent most of his time in his New York City "office" in the Central Trades and Labor Council Building at 265 West 14th Street. He never mixed family life and business and jealously guarded his time at home.

Because the Central Trades and Labor Council president, Joseph Ryan, a Tammany Democrat, did not get along with Mayor Fiorello La Guardia, Meany almost by default, became labor's liaison with the Mayor. La Guardia had been a strong supporter of labor while a Congressman and was elected Mayor on a Fusion-Republican ticket over a Tammany candidate in 1933. Through a largely informal arrangement, they were able to solve a number of labor problems in the city.

While president of the State Federation, Meany also won a successful "strike" when the federal government attempted to undermine union rates of pay on federal relief programs. Through clever maneuvering and brinkmanship, Meany was able to guarantee to New York's skilled craftsmen that they would receive their regular union rate which established a pattern nationwide.

Franklin D. Roosevelt's 1936 campaign for reelection created a new challenge for Meany as State Federation president. Roosevelt was concerned about carrying New York State because Norman Thomas, who, running on the Socialist line, drew nearly 200,000 votes in the 1935 municipal election, threatened to be a spoiler and siphon votes away from FDR. Roosevelt's strategy was to gain an additional line on the ballot. His plan was for an American Labor party whose electors would be listed separately and who would vote for him. FDR's chief political aide, Postmaster General James A. Farley was given the task of convincing Meany who was skeptical. Meany supported the Gompers philosophy of "Support your friends and punish your enemies" and not align with a political party or establish a third party. Meany finally relented, but on condition that organized labor's non-partisan committees for Roosevelt not be interfered with and that it would not become a permanent fixture.

Under Meany's leadership, the American Labor Party gained nearly 300,000 votes for FDR, and while FDR won in a landslide, it was an impressive display of labor's political clout. Meany kept his word and had no more to do with the party, which ultimately became the basis of the Liberal Party under the leadership of Alex Rose and David Dubinsky.

In 1937, Meany supported the reelection of Fiorello La Guardia over Tammany Democrat Jeremiah T. Mahoney. "Why do I care that La Guardia calls himself a Republican? He's been a good Mayor and we should support him," Meany said. La Guardia won by 453,374 votes. One product of this race was the Meany engineered defeat of Ryan as President of the New York Central Labor Council because of his support of Mahoney.

The 1939 State Federation convention was held in New York City for the first time since 1896 so delegates could go to the World's Fair, especially those from upstate. The convention opened with a huge parade of 100,000-120,000 union members that lasted from 10:00 A.M. to darkness. One account said that there were 178 bands, many of which rode the subway back downtown after passing the reviewing stand so they could march again. During the day, Meany joined La Guardia on a brief visit with FDR aboard the cruiser U.S.S. Tuscaloosa on the first day of a rest cruise.

During the convention, however, Meany blocked an endorsement of FDR by submitting a substitute resolution saying that the decision was properly that of the AFL. Meany later admitted he was opposed to a third term but did ultimately support FDR's reelection in 1940 after he had been nominated.

Meany was reelected by the delegates for another term as president but others had plans for George Meany. AFL Secretary-Treasurer Frank Morrison, who was seventy-nine years old and had held the office since 1896, was forced to retire and Meany was picked by influential AFL Executive Council members to replace him. At first reluctant, Meany agreed after Morrison agreed to step down. He was elected on October 12, 1939. In his nominating speech, John Coefield introduced Meany as "a young man who I think has made more progress in the last few years in the position he holds than any other labor representative I know of...George Meany--an honest plumber."

Not only was the State Federation involved in legislative struggles in the 1930's, it also continued work on creating committees within community organizations and through local affiliates. George Meany participated in a radio talk show to reach the people of the state and to educate them about the new legislation that had been passed. The workers had to learn the principles of the National Labor Relations Act and the State Labor Relations Act, the Unemployment Insurance Act and the new coverage of the Workmen's Compensation Act, to ensure their proper usage. The State Federation's affiliates' rank and file members participated on committees to investigate the unseen hazards of the workplace such as chemicals and dust in order to prevent accidents and to educate the workers and the Legislature about these new topics. The State Federation continued to expose the horrors of child labor and the necessity for stricter child labor laws and free compulsory education. Betty Hawley Donnelly, who was the first woman vice-president of the State Federation and held that post from 1921 until 1965, unceasingly worked to better the education system, apprenticeship training programs,

teachers' rights and child labor conditions. She accomplished her work through the activities of the State Federation and by participating in various Governor-appointed boards and committees on these subjects. Her magnificent work is only one example of the dedication of the members of the State Federation to improving workers lives in this state.

In 1936, with the support of the State Federation, the voters of the state approved a resolution calling for the holding of a constitutional convention to consider changes to the State Constitution. In 1938, the New York State Constitutional Convention was held in Albany. Due to the lingering impact of the Great Depression, the most significant debates centered around the theme of social reform and the ongoing efforts of the state to improve living conditions for its citizens.

In a speech to the delegates the second day of the Constitutional Convention, Robert F. Wagner said, "only by promoting democracy in the economic order, democracy in the political order can endure."

One of the minority leaders of the convention (92 Republicans, 75 Democrats, one American Labor Party), John I. Dunnigan (George Meany's brother-in-law) introduced a proposal for a labor "Bill of Rights." The proposal would add a new section, No. 17, to Article 1, which asserted that the labor of human beings was not a commodity nor an article of commerce; that employees had the right to organize and bargain collectively through representatives of their own choosing; and that the eight hour day, five day week, and prevailing rate of wages would be adhered to on all public work contracts except in an emergency.

"These principles are so well founded and so necessary to the well-being of the wage-earners of the state that I respectfully submit that they be enacted into the constitution so that no future legislation would deny these rights..." Dunnigan told the delegates.

On November 8, 1938, the voters of New York State approved the recommendation of the Convention for Amendment 6, the labor "Bill of Rights" by a two to one margin receiving the second most popular vote of any amendment. New York thus became the only state with such constitutional guarantees.

## **NEW YORK STATE CIO COUNCIL**

On September 16, 1938, the first New York State convention of the unions affiliated with the Committee for Industrial Organization was called to order. In his capacity as the permanent chairman of the convention, Allan S. Haywood, Regional Director of the New York State Committee for Industrial Organization, explained to the delegates the objectives of the new organization:

"This convention...serves notice upon all, that the progressive labor forces of our country are determined to carry on and hold high the torch of liberty and freedom. We stand for the right of our people to organize; this right we will never surrender. We are determined that the voices of the men and women who shall be heard in the affairs of government throughout the land whether they be workers of brawn or brain. We insist upon the right to work and security for all workers.

"...We are unalterably opposed to any form of racial or religious discrimination.

"...opportunity must be provided for those who can and want to work at wages in conformity with union standards.

"...This convention must insist upon improvements in the Social Security Act, Workmen's Compensation and occupational disease laws. Organized labor must be on its guard regarding the enforcement of the Fair Labor Standards Act, to prevent the minimum in wages from becoming the maximum. Women and minors engaged in industry must be given special protection. The fight for legislation protecting civil liberties must continue...

"Labor in this state must take a greater part in the political affairs of the State and nation. We must educate and prepare our people to the necessity of taking a greater part in the affairs of government, so that when they go to the ballot box they can support labor's program intelligently and effectively..."

Haywood's statement revealed the basic social-economic orientation of the founders of the new organization. It was a clear departure from the "pure and simple trade union" theory. It was an expression of a philosophy going far beyond bread and butter issues, a philosophy geared to the basic needs of all the people, expressing labor's moral and social responsibility in relationship to the local community, to the state community, and ultimately to the world community.

Resolutions adopted by the First State CIO Convention drew the blueprint for that kind of dynamic, principled labor movement. They covered a wide range of problems and issues: preservation of American democracy and its political institutions, freedom of the press, endorsement of the Roosevelt Administration, support of the National Labor Relations Act, minimum wages, higher working standards, collective bargaining, and the merit system for civil servants, extension of Social Security to seamen, State CIO representation on the advisory board of the Division of Placement and Unemployment Insurance, extension of the State Labor Relations Act, establishment of a State University in New York, legislation that would prohibit sale of products made by non-union labor, passage of the Child Labor Amendment to the Constitution, improvement of workmen's compensation, an adequate health insurance program, an accelerated housing program, extension of unemployment benefits, labor movement unity and so on.

The convention elected Allan S. Haywood President and Gustave A. Strebel, organizer of the ACWA, Secretary-Treasurer of the new organization.

Their task was not an easy one. A penniless and obscure organization had been called to life during one of the most troublesome times in the history of our state and nation. The peoples of Europe then stood on the edge of disaster, while the grave economic problems confronting America were so far from solution.

There were still in the Empire State hundreds of thousands willing and anxious to work but unemployed, hundreds of thousands of people forced to accept the lowest standard of living while the factories stood idle, not producing the goods that people and their families needed to live. At the same time all of the social welfare legislation of the New Deal, both federal and state, was under attack.

Insurance interests claimed the Social Security system "was communistic", unemployment insurance alien to American ideals of "free enterprise". Big business continued its attack on the Wagner Act and Little Wagner Act in the State and in session after session of Congress and the legislature attempted to force passage of crippling amendments which would kill the law. Numerous bills were introduced in Albany to outlaw sympathetic strikes and prevent unions from contributing to political parties, to curtail labor union activities, provide a spurious form of collective bargaining for the Transport Workers Union, and so on.

And so the young, inexperienced and still growing New York State CIO plunged into the political and legislative arena, although legislation was in the words of the then Secretary of the Legislative Committee "not the primary weapon of labor." Its responsibility primarily lay in the field of organization, to serve as a center for information, advice and mutual assistance in the great mission of bringing industrial unionism to the workers in the mass production industries.

In the five years after its 1938 convention, the first significant divisions within the new organization began to appear. They concerned international matters, domestic matters, State CIO matters.

In 1939, Haywood was appointed organizational director of the national CIO and the second convention of the State CIO in New York elected Gustave A. Strebel President and Hugh Thompson, Secretary-Treasurer. At the time of the 1940 convention in Rochester a deep split was seen over labor's attitude towards the Roosevelt administration, the questions of his foreign policy to "quarantine the aggressor" and aid to anti-Axis nations. The officers elected in Rochester, Gustave A. Strebel, President, and John McMahon, of the Textile Workers Union of America, Secretary-Treasurer, were apparently unable to compose the differences.

Disputes developed at the State CIO convention in Rochester were a subject of long hearings before the Executive Board of the national CIO, meeting in Atlantic City in November, 1940, resulting in a plan for the eventual settlement of the matter through another convention, with a committee of three persons (Thomas Kennedy, of the United Mine Workers, Gustave A. Strebel, Hugh Thompson) to act as administrators.

The next convention, held in Syracuse in 1942, could not entirely heal a breach that had opened in the organization, but nonetheless was marked by considerable progress toward its strengthening. The new officers elected unanimously, (Gustave A. Strebel, President, Harold J. Garno, of the UAW, Secretary-Treasurer) were confronted with problems very similar to those first faced by the first officers of the State CIO in 1938 after the first convention. Soon, however, President Strebel resigned because of serious illness and the Executive Board unanimously elected Louis Hollander, of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, to fill the unexpired term.

The war crisis confronted labor with tasks which overshadowed all others; in the initial stages of the war the State CIO wanted to play a leading role in pressing for programs to make the conversion from peace to war production speedy and complete.

In hundreds of communities throughout the State, members and officers of the State CIO took their places on management-labor production committees, price and ration boards, civil defense committees, in war bond and relief

campaigns and scrap drives. The State CIO went all out in support of the nation's war effort. And later it solidly backed UNRRA, the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Agency, and exhorted its members to aid war stricken families with CARE packages.

Various resolutions of the State CIO and its affiliated unions and speeches by State CIO officers were implemented by speedy action in many sections of the State to assure full production of arms and other defense materials as State CIO's contribution to defeating fascism in Germany, Italy, and Japan. The 1943 Buffalo convention was marked by the glowing tribute offered to the State CIO's war effort contribution by Major General Thomas A. Terry on behalf of the Army and Rear Admiral Clark H. Woodward on behalf of the Navy.

The delegates listened to the greetings Franklin D. Roosevelt extended to the convention in Saratoga Springs on August 24, 1944, in which the President praised the war efforts of the State CIO:

"The job which the million members of your organization have done as soldiers on the production line has earned and won the gratitude of all Americans. Their loyal and unremitting effort and that of their fellow workers throughout the nation have made possible the great victories our armed forces are winning today in this war of liberation."

At the same time, the role of the organization in the community began to take shape. Its concern for community well-being from now on was expressed in every aspect of its activity; it took the form of legislative and political action, cooperation with civic and governmental bodies to work out answers to specific problems and of support of social welfare agencies working to meet the needs of victims of illness, hardship, and catastrophe in communities and elsewhere.

The tenets which have guided the organization were established in one of the statements on behalf of the CIO that the worker is first and foremost a citizen of his community; that as a citizen he has a responsibility to that community and should actively participate in its affairs; that what helps the community helps the CIO; and that the community, in turn, has an obligation to all of its citizens -- including workers and their families.

Because CIO recognized its community responsibilities, its legislative activities were not limited to measures directly concerning organized labor, nor even to State Government. Any measure which was against the welfare of the community was opposed by the State CIO in Albany or in Washington. Even when the State CIO failed to achieve the major objectives established by the convention or the Executive Board, its efforts were consistently effective in bringing important issues to the attention of the public, thus laying the ground-work for their solution in the years ahead.

This was demonstrated in developments which came out of the resolution on "Supplementing Federal Old Age Annuities" adopted by the Convention in Saratoga, 1949. The State CIO's proposal that the state supplement Federal Social Security payments, so as to bring the income of their recipients up to at least \$100 monthly, very shortly became the subject of front page articles and editorials in newspapers throughout New York and even other states.

The attention given State CIO's pension proposal in the press generated public discussion of the problem and aroused public interest. State CIO representatives were asked to present the organization's views on the air and at such public functions as the New York State Publisher's Association Convention in Albany.

Aroused public concern and broadened understanding of a specific problem was often an effective weapon in Albany against potent forces of reaction, consistently making attempts to destroy the principles of social legislation or, at best, make them unwieldy or financially unsound.

Year after year, bills were introduced at the legislative sessions in Albany aimed at the destruction of the social progress hard won by labor in the New Deal and Fair Deal era.

Some of these attacks were beaten. The 1952 session bills aimed at making it impossible for unions to engage in political activity and termed by the State CIO "an effort to put labor into a political concentration camp" were shelved in the face of a storm of protest led by the State CIO.

A two-sided attack by Associated Industries of New York, Inc., and private insurance companies aimed at scuttling Workmen's Compensation and fattening the profits of insurance companies broke down under the counteroffensive started early in 1952 by the State CIO. In a special study printed in booklet form and distributed in tens of thousands in the 62 counties of New York, the State CIO showed how profits and commissions of private insurance interests added hundreds of millions of dollars to the cost of compensation, how benefits paid to workers had gone downward in relation to rates and how the proposal of the Associated Industries for a Workmen's Compensation Court of Review was actually a plot to strangle the whole program. The booklet "Don't Let Them Scuttle Workmen's Compensation" cleared the air about the real costs of workmen's compensation and took all the wind out of the sails of enemies of the program.

There were also numerous other bills introduced in the Legislature that were a reflection of anti-union, anti-worker, anti-security movements throughout the country, and, one by one, they were opposed, exposed and beaten.

The Hughes-Brees amendments to the Unemployment Insurance law, adopted in 1951, will be recorded in history as the most reckless giveaway to big business ever engineered in our State. It took more than \$650 million out of the reserves and divided it largely among a handful of profit-swollen huge corporate enterprises. It exposed the weaker industries to substantially increased financial burdens. It prescribed new conditions for worker eligibility for benefits, resulting in denial of this minimum aid to scores of thousands of needy claimants.

The State CIO in the following years undertook a drive to repeal the Hughes-Brees amendments with the same vigor and determination with which it opposed their passage in 1951. In cooperation with the State AFL, it enlisted the support of small businessmen, farmers, professionals and other groups in the repeal drive.

With millions of families caught between a deepening housing shortage and a mounting drive to wreck rent controls in the State, the New York State CIO has made continued effective controls a major issue during the sessions of the Legislature and during election campaigns for the Legislature and Governor.

State CIO leaders from all parts of the State converged on Albany with demands that the Legislature hold the line on rents. Local councils, unions and individual members backed up the statewide CIO drives to preserve controls with telegrams, letters and personal visits to their legislators.

Nevertheless, the demands of the real estate lobby took precedence. Among the concessions granted to landlords was a provision permitting rent increases up to 15 per cent, provision for raising rents so as to assure a net profit of at least 6 per cent of the assessed value of the property, decontrol of apartments in one-and two-family houses and local option on decontrol.

However, much steam had been taken out of the decontrol device by the State CIO offensive. Its persistent and strong position in favor of effective rent control was a decisive factor in granting to the great majority of the urban population of the state quite stringent safeguards against the pressure of rent increases.

The struggle for the establishment of a fair and equitable minimum wage is written in the annals of the State CIO. The passage in 1937 of a bill creating a minimum wage law as a "declared public policy" of the State of New York was considered a forward step toward the CIO's concept of the government's responsibility to protect working people, but it was patterned after the so-called "wage board" plan and originally covered women and minors only.

Soon after the United States Supreme Court ruled in 1941 that such legislation was constitutionally applicable to men, the State CIO successfully fought for a "supplementary protection" amendment forbidding employers to pay adult males less than the minimum established for women and minors.

At the same time the State CIO was pressing for coverage of more workers by the minimum wage, it worked constantly to raise it to more realistic levels.

The extension of coverage and establishment in New York State of a minimum wage similar to that used by the federal government were always at the top of the State CIO's legislative program. It never lost sight of the necessity for modification and improvement of the minimum wage legislation until its ultimate goals were achieved.

The State CIO was a force behind the bill enacted in 1946, designed to improve the machinery for establishing the minimum wage structure for workers in industry, bills extending coverage to workers in the amusement and recreation field in 1951, and covering building service workers and camp counselors in 1953.

Meanwhile the State CIO was actively engaged in the successful battles for the modernization of Federal minimum wage law. In testimony presented to Congressional committees, as well in conferences with the New York State Congressional delegation, the State CIO steadily pressed for the increases in the Federal minimum wage from \$0.25 an hour in 1938, to \$0.40 by 1943, to \$0.75 in 1949 and to \$1.00 in 1956. A State CIO spokesman, summarizing his case for a \$1.25 minimum declared:

"It is morally right because there is no excuse for the payment of sweatshop wages in an era of atomic energy and automation. It is economically sound because an expanding economy requires an ever-rising consumer income to match our ever-rising productive power."

In 1958, about one million workers in unions affiliated with the State CIO and the spread of collective bargaining had raised wages and secured welfare benefits which have given workers a greater sense of security and enhanced their

dignity and importance as individuals and citizens.

Average weekly earnings of workers in manufacturing industries were \$24.71 in 1938. They rose to \$81.57 in 1957, more than three times the average of twenty years before. Not all of this rise was real, of course, since the cost-of-living increased, too, between 1938 and 1958. But the improvement in the buying power of average hourly earnings of factory workers had been impressive--a gain of approximately 62 per cent in twenty years.

State CIO-supported legislation also provided a degree of built-in strength and stability for the state's economy in the 1940's and 1950's. The unemployment insurance, workmen's compensation, disability benefits and social insurance programs have provided some measure of family income for the unemployed, disabled, sick, or retired.

Throughout its 20 years, the State CIO in action as well as in words implemented its Constitution which stated that one of its objects "shall be...the repeal of all laws inimical to ...civil rights of members." When President Roosevelt appointed the Fair Employment Practices Commission in 1941, it immediately received endorsement and wholehearted support of the State CIO. That year, the State CIO resolution called for action to eliminate all manifestation of racial and religious discrimination wherever it occurs as contrary to the spirit and purpose of our democracy" and the convention urged "our own affiliates to use all the resources at their command to stamp out discrimination."

Over the years, the State CIO continued to support fair employment practices in industry and pushed for a state fair employment practices law. At conventions pro-civil rights resolutions were adopted year after year.

The State CIO played an important contributory role in 1945 in enactment of the Ives-Quinn no-discrimination-in-employment bill and in the creation of the State Commission Against Discrimination (SCAD) to enforce this measure. This was not an easy accomplishment. Forces in the state united to oppose the bill.

The New York State Chamber of Commerce, as reported in the New York Times on February 12, 1945, in a letter to Governor Thomas E. Dewey and to all members of the Legislature, stated that this bill if enacted would make New York State "an undesirable place for employers...and would furnish fuel for intolerance and tend to foment rather than eliminate the possibility of race riots, pogroms and the evils associated with the Ku Klux Klan and Silver Shirt organizations."

The State CIO took the lead and mobilized all labor organizations in this state for the bill. In fact, to quote the New York Times of April 10, 1945, "The (State) CIO has virtually made this bill its own."

The State CIO fought incessantly to wipe out racial and religious discrimination in all its forms and to strengthen SCAD. The victories which ended the restrictive covenants in housing, the abolition of discriminatory practices in the hotels and vacation resorts and the extension of jurisdiction of SCAD were markers on the road toward eventual achievement of full civil rights for all.

Problems of education were in the forefront of the State CIO's thinking throughout its 20 years. The fundamental credo which caused the State CIO to support our schools, colleges, universities, and the adult education programs was given as follows by its representative at a conference on Labor and Higher Education before the American Council for Education in Chicago on October 12, 1956:

"In our American system, we believe, first of all, that education is one of the chief functions of a democracy and that only an educated democracy can be a true democracy.

"Second, we believe that the genius of America has rested upon the assumption that education of the people and government by the people run parallel. Consequently, all criticisms are entitled to equality of educational opportunity, regardless of race, creed, color, or economic status.

"Third, we believe that with the world moving with its present pace, education is a continuing process and means so much more than formal classwork work or formal training. Thus public schools, elementary or secondary must be considered only as the beginning of education, as a tool for acquiring education, but not as an end in itself.

"Fourth, we believe that the American labor movement now shares with business, agriculture and the professions a partnership in shaping the destiny of the Nation. It should therefore share in the responsibilities of this new status with the aid of all the modern tools of knowledge and understanding that are available to other groups of our society."



Samuel Gompers, 1886 (*Harper's Weekly*).

SIGNING OF THE MERGER AGREEMENT  
COMMODORE HOTEL, NEW YORK  
DECEMBER 9, 1958



**Seated left to right:** Herman Gray, Counsel of former State CIO; Raymond R. Corbett, Legislative Chairman, State AFL-CIO; Harold C. Hanover, President Louis Hollander, Chairman, Executive Council; Harold J. Garno, Secretary-Treasurer; Edward A. Maguire, Counsel of former Federation of Labor.

**Standing left to right are Vice-Presidents:** Moe Rosen, Isadore Nagler, Charles Kerrigan, Jack Rubenstein, Andrew McMahon, Jack Suarez, John Sullivan, Ellis Van Riper, and John Tierney.

In the framework of this view of education, the State CIO consistently urged implementation of its principles through a program of adequate school housing, a democratically administered school system; statewide compulsory school attendance laws; free textbooks for all children in the elementary and secondary public high schools, a curriculum so varied and enriched as to assure to each child the fullest development of his personal capacity.

It urged classes small enough to enable the teacher to teach each child effectively; schools staffed by professionally qualified and well paid teachers who through a program of coordinated support from government at the local, state and Federal level.

The State CIO also supported expansion of the lunch program; development of library services in suburban and rural areas; higher education equally available to all young people regardless of their economic and social status; opposition against the use of propaganda for any special private group in or through our schools and against any partisan attempt to control the curriculum by any special interest group, and its proper representation of labor on state and local boards of education.

Cooperating with other progressive groups, the State CIO was successful in broadening and improving educational facilities in the State. Its efforts in this field were well known; they made the condition of the schools in every section of the state --whether in industrial centers or rural hamlets--a matter of prime concern; they demanded establishment of the State University and fought to eliminate every kind of discrimination in institutions of higher learning.

As a result of State CIO activities, its representatives were called upon to an ever greater extent to assist educators in solving school problems, not only their physical and financial problems, but academic problems as well. Education authorities were becoming increasingly aware of the value of State CIO's advice in their efforts to adapt their program to meet the needs and interests of the state's children.

Proposals and messages were delivered by State CIO speakers at numerous public functions such as conferences on adult education, juvenile delinquency, Association of Secondary School Principals, Regents' Convocations, Regents' Citizen Advisory Council on Readjustment of Higher Education, Apprenticeship Training Conferences, the Board of Trustees of Cornell University, the State Education Department and the State University and the White House Conference on Education. These messages received public attention and often became the subject of numerous exchanges between the officers of the State CIO and educational authorities.

In the early years of the State CIO there was an emphasis on organizing the unorganized, job security and decent working conditions. Of fundamental concern was the conviction that workers should insist on being accepted fully as citizens; that they should reject the indignity of being treated as the second-class citizens; that, conversely, they could expect to win acceptance as full fledged citizens only as themselves acted with the responsibility and courage requisite for such status.

From this basic philosophy came the State CIO's recognition that the gains which a union may win through economic action can be protected, implemented and extended only if labor develops a progressive program of legislation and secures its enactment through effective participation in the political life of the community.

The CIO had early given expression to its interest in political activity by supporting the re-election of President Roosevelt in 1940. Labor's votes contributed heavily to the overwhelming Roosevelt victory that year in New York and demonstrated for the State CIO the value of political action. The CIO went into the shops and the homes of the state to conduct its campaign. It also helped elect Mayor Fiorello La Guardia in New York City in 1941.

However, this was just a beginning. The first major approach by labor to politics was actually the action of the 1944 Saratoga convention in setting up the New York State Political Action Committee based on principles formulated by the national CIO convention in Philadelphia in November, 1943. Sidney Hillman's leadership as head of the national PAC dramatized that labor would no longer submit to second-class citizenship in the political life of its country.

From that day in 1944 when the State CIO convention delegates in Saratoga approved the resolution establishing PAC, the State CIO was in the front ranks in the political activities of the state.

At the beginning of the 1944 presidential campaign, New York State CIO's PAC began to take shape and immediately went to work on registration and voting. Posters were printed, pamphlets were written, radio scripts were put on discs, buttons and stickers were made and distributed, public relations programs were developed. State CIO leaders urged the members to register and help in the registration campaign. Indeed, the State CIO's PAC had started to prove its worth.

In succeeding election years, getting people to register to vote became the job on which the State CIO was to concentrate most of its time, money and effort. However, it did not view a registration campaign as its exclusive responsibility. In such a campaign, the State CIO worked closely with national and international unions. In turn it urged every local CIO council and every local union to have its own active Political Action Committee and to carry its policies and programs home to every rank and file member.

The second phase of the State CIO political activity was an education campaign on major issues. This has been a vital activity for the State CIO from its very beginning, on the basis that there is a direct relationship between understanding by the citizens and the strength of democracy and that the belief that democracy can only be as healthy as its enlightened citizens enable it to be.

To bring about a healthy body politic, the State CIO sought to inform its membership of the issues actually at stake. As election time approached there was intensive scrutiny of all candidates, including their voting records. At statewide and local conferences discussion of the issues was encouraged and candidates heard in an effort to search out their real beliefs and attitudes on major domestic and international issues.

The State CIO sought to ensure that the platform of the political parties reflected the needs and aspirations of all the people. It encouraged entrance of able, honest, and enlightened candidates into the primaries and worked for the election of those candidates who appeared best qualified on the basis of their record and their party's program to fulfill the responsibilities of the office they were seeking.

The State CIO had neither expected nor sought special treatment in return for political support. It shied away from becoming a narrow, special *interest* pressure group, it did not expect jobs or patronage. Neither did it expect the elected representative to run errands for it in the halls of Congress, in the Legislature or the executive mansion. It supported candidates for political offices because its members felt they had an obligation as citizens to be active in the democratic country.

Special statewide conferences on major issues such as rent control, unemployment, civil rights, juvenile delinquency, education and labor legislation were another important aspect of State CIO's political education activities. To such conferences were invited many well-known personalities, often from both political parties, to address the delegates and present the issues as they saw them.

These "political picket line" actions as they were once called in the parlance of the State CIO, were not a sideline but were part and parcel of the whole basic effort of the State CIO to improve the well-being of its members and of the community as a whole. They were carried forward vigorously and with constantly increasing effectiveness in the successive election campaigns for President, Governor, Legislature, and the more important local offices.

During these years it was the State CIO's traditional policy to follow the independent line and to avoid entangling alliances with any other group or partner. It had often endorsed Democratic party platforms, but it has often found it necessary to criticize the party sharply for much of the pre-convention maneuvering and for overlooking some of its strongest potential candidates.

The State CIO's political action policies were stated clearly and openly in the Officer's Report of the 1951 convention:

"The (State) CIO is not a political party. We are in politics only because we are interested in good government. The kind of government we have affects the daily lives of all our members. Therefore political action is part and parcel of the whole basic purpose of our organization, which is the protection and advancement of the well-being of the American worker.

"We have never attempted to prevail on the political parties of our state to nominate 'labor' candidates, but we will always oppose anti-labor candidates and those who are unfriendly to labor.

"We must make clear to the political parties that the State CIO is in nobody's political vest pocket. We will not accept candidates C.O.D. If we are not consulted in the selection of candidates, we have no obligation to support those candidates. In such cases, we will choose our own course as best serves the interests our members."

The State CIO knew the importance of cooperation and understanding among many different groups and organizations. It was this faith in cooperation as a powerful asset of democracy that had been the basis of the State CIO's entire community activities program.

This program brought the State CIO into cooperative action with farmers, consumers, social welfare workers, health officials, educators and the general public to learn more about one another and to work together for the betterment of

the whole community. It led the State CIO to participate in dozens of public agencies or semi-public organizations, ranging from US Surgeon-General's National Health Council to the Regents Industrial Education Council and the Blue Cross. It has led to generous State CIO response to calls for material aid in time of emergency or catastrophe. The State CIO has, for example, not only contributed to flood relief funds, but also has supported legislation to eliminate the conditions which make floods inevitable.

The community activities program also emphasized strong support for all health and welfare programs, civil defense activities and services for the benefit of the armed forces and veterans.

As will be developed fully later on, in 1958, the New York State CIO and the New York State Federation of Labor agreed to merge and to end in this state the division in the ranks of labor that has existed here since 1935. The story of the New York State CIO Council is an important chapter in the history of the state labor movement.

## **A MOVEMENT IN CONFLICT, A NATION AT WAR**

Although the 1930's was one of the most exciting times for the labor movement, it was also a time of confusion and conflict within the American Federation of Labor (AFL). All of this new legislation and the pro-labor spirit of the nation set the stage for a new type of organizing which split the labor movement asunder. In 1935 a group of labor leaders whose unions believed in the organizing of workers on an industrial basis rather than a craft basis organized themselves into a Committee of Industrial Organization within the AFL. This committee began organizing workers in the rubber, steel, automobile and mining industries on an industrial or plant basis. This created a problem because many of the skilled workers in these industries were already members of craft unions within the AFL. It was impossible for industrial unionism to be successful without encroaching on the jurisdictions of the AFL affiliates. And it was the failure of the AFL to solve this problem, more than anything else, that led to the civil war within the ranks of labor and to the formation of the Congress of Industrial Organization. Although the AFL recognized the necessity for industrial unions to organize the unorganized masses of unskilled workers, they could not convince their craft based affiliates to relinquish their jurisdiction nor could they convince the strong-willed CIO leaders to work within the AFL structure. In 1937 the CIO was expelled from the AFL and the New York State Federation followed suit upon the order of their national organization. Although there were many resolutions in the 1936 State Federation convention imploring the ranks of labor to stay unified, the State Federation had to comply with the AFL's rules. One resolution introduced at the convention resolved that "This convention of the New York State Federation of Labor, having at heart the interests and welfare of organized labor, appeals to the executive council of the AFL to take such measures as may, even at this time, help preserve the unity of the trade union movement." Throughout the early 1940's the State Federation offered to meet with the State CIO to see if they could reach an agreement. However, the organizations could never find a compromise. They remained split until 1956 when the national AFL and CIO merged under the guidance of George Meany and Walter Reuther and the state bodies followed their example. In December of 1958, the State Federation and the 'State CIO Council merged to form one united labor movement.

"Today we are at war," proclaimed the State Federation's President Tom Lyons of the Teamsters Union Local 800, at the 1942 convention. "Meeting in the first war time convention in a quarter of a century, we must assume and discharge even greater obligations than have fallen to our lot in the past. The one and a half-million AFL members and fifteen hundred local unions in this state are looking to us for leadership and accomplishment. Also looking to us are the great mass of unorganized citizens whose welfare is so closely identified with the social, economic and humanitarian aims which form the reason of our very existence. Everything we do here this week must be geared to winning the war. Everything we do here must measure up to this test." That is exactly what the State Federation did. For two years prior to the United States entrance into World War II, the AFL and the State Federation were preparing themselves and the workforce for the production needs of a nation at war. They entered a "No Strike" agreement with the government and industry and were successful in honoring this agreement except in cases where employers were using the national emergency as a means to exploit workers. They entered a time of full production of defense materials. President Tom Lyons patriotically expressed labor's efforts in his speech to the 1942 state convention as, "Organized labor, as represented by the AFL, will spare no effort, no hardship to bring defense production to its maximum strength. Labor will make every sacrifice necessary...All responsible elements of Organized Labor recognize clearly that it is their patriotic obligation to see that the wheels of defense industry are kept spinning at top speed."

In resolution after resolution throughout the State Federation conventions of the early 1940's, the members condemned the totalitarian forces taking over Europe and pledged their full and complete support to protect England and the United States and the democracies they represented. The State Federation was involved in programs to move workers from their jobs in New York to jobs in states where war production facilities needed workers. They also began apprenticeship training programs to teach skills to new workers and to reskill older workers with the new technology. They opened more programs for women to enter the workforce. Many members of the State Federation joined the armed

forces and fought throughout Europe and Asia. Meanwhile, the members that remained in the United States participated on local War Labor Boards, local rationing and draft boards and gave support to the State Employment Practices Committee, as well as many other activities. The trade unionists of New York helped the state exceed its war bond quota of \$160 million by \$5 million by their purchases of bonds and payroll deduction plans.

When the United States entered the war, labor voluntarily gave up the right to strike for any work related to the war. However, labor saw this right as a fundamental right that cannot be taken away by the government but can only be voluntarily relinquished by the workers, and then only when there is a promise from employers to deal fairly with their workers. Therefore, they opposed any kind of compulsory anti-strike bill that would have made it illegal to strike at any time during the war emergency. The State Federation also continued its involvement in legislative issues. They proposed and helped set up the National Defense Mediation Board to help settle any problems. Also the War Labor Board was set up, with Labor, Industry and Government equally represented and working together to maintain the industrial peace with conciliation, arbitration and mediation.

The State Federation also fought to protect the jobs of workers who joined the armed services so that they could continue to receive a much-needed salary for their families and they would be assured of a job when they returned from the war. They fought for the Unemployment Insurance and Workmen's Compensation laws to be amended to provide the same rights and benefits to men and women discharged from the military service as they would have received if they were working. The State Federation and the AFL had to make sure that they could protect all the gains they had made in the 1930's and come out of the war with their rights intact. As President Thomas Lyons wrote in his annual report, "The New York State Federation of Labor has persistently cooperated with our parent body, the AFL, in fighting against unjust attacks by the daily press and in vigorously opposing legislation to scrap legally established labor standards and the national policy recognizing the right of workers to organize and bargain collectively."

The State Federation was also faced with current and future employment worries. Even though war production created many new jobs in the nation, New York State experienced high scale unemployment during the 1940's. The State Federation continually lobbied the legislature and Governor Lehman to develop the New York industries and to encourage the authorities in Washington to send more war production and civilian goods contracts to New York City. Organized labor looked ahead to the times after the war when, "Our economy will be dislocated. Taxes will be heavy. Millions and millions of demobilized soldiers will be seeking reemployment. Labor standards will need to be upheld."

In 1940, David Dubinsky, one of the original founders of the CIO, brought his union, the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, back into the ranks of the AFL. Their New York State locals were welcomed back into the State Federation. In 1943, the leadership of the State and the State Federation changed hands but not their direction towards winning the war. Thomas Murray, from the Bricklayers Union Local 37, became president of the State Federation and held that post until he died in 1957, and Thomas Dewey became Governor of New York. In 1945 the annual State Federation convention was cancelled due to wartime restrictions on travel, however, it was able to conduct three major regional meetings to inform the members about the legislative agenda for the year and to allow all the locals to submit resolutions and proposals for the 1946 legislative program.

The 1946 convention was involved with finding jobs for returning veterans and keeping the present workers employed. The convention set up a Division of Veterans Affairs in the state with 220 counselors to arrange for schooling and training for returning veterans. In the 1946 convention proceedings, the Executive Council reported on the formation of the School of Industrial and Labor Relations, located at Cornell University. The school was created by a bill in the New York State Legislature sponsored by Assemblyman Irving Ives, with the object of, "improving industrial and labor conditions in the state through the provision of instruction, the conduct of research and the dissemination of information in all aspects of industrial, labor and public relations, affecting employers and employees." Irving Ives was elected the first dean of the school and Thomas Murray was elected a trustee, a position held by other presidents and members of the State Federation since then.

By 1945, the war had ended and peacetime conditions had set in, however, not for the labor movement. "The heroes of the production line had suddenly become transformed into villains and conspirators against the national welfare. The halls of Congress and local legislatures rang with abuse and denunciation of the simple aspirations of the working men and women of this country. The editorial columns of our most influential newspapers hurled invectives daily at organized labor and called for shakling legislation which would nullify the hard-won economic gains of the last hundred years," noted President Murray in his 1946 convention report.

A reactionary climate swept across the nation and the labor movement experienced the brunt of the change. In New York State, the State Federation was able to hold these anti-labor onslaughts off for a year. It successfully lobbied against bills inimical to labor. Progress was made in fields closely identified with the interests of organized labor, such as state aid to central schools, emergency housing, control over residential rents, technical institutes programs, improvements in the Workmen's Compensation law, and studies to establish a state university.

However, by 1947, the Federal Government had enacted the Taft-Hartley law. President Murray claimed in his speech to the 1948 State Federation convention, "June 23, 1947 will go down in labor's history as one of the blackest days of the American Republic. On that day, the evil forces of the 80th Congress of the United States, the forces of reaction in alliance with elected representatives from both major political parties enacted, to their everlasting shame, the Taft-Hartley Act over the veto of the President. This law returns to the federal courts power to regulate and control labor by injunctions. It turns back the pages of history fifty-eight years." Not only did it give the power of injunctions to the courts, the Taft-Hartley Act established "union unfair labor practices" prohibiting such things as "union discrimination in representation, a refusal by the union to bargain in good faith, coercing employees to join a union "and many others. All of these "unfair labor practices" have been used to the employer's advantage in union organizing drives and to prolong contract negotiations. The Taft-Hartley Act made the closed shop illegal and it extensively regulated union picketing and secondary boycott or strike activity.

The State Federation began its counter attack immediately. It devised a "Battle Plan for Labor Freedom" which began with the establishment of the Labor's League for Political Education of New York State. The league was comprised of the officers of the State Federation and representatives of the central labor councils in each congressional district. They began disseminating information on their "Battle Plan" to defeat the Taft-Hartley and the legislators who voted for the bill. The State Federation called for immediate action and close cooperation in all the locals and central labor bodies in the state. Their plan was to elect legislators to Washington who would vote for the repeal of the new law and to defeat all the legislators running for reelection who voted for the law. They formed local committees to plan the action, coordinated the members, disseminated and publicized information and participated in wide-scale canvassing to make sure every worker was registered and voting. The campaign was run on a completely non-partisan basis since both Democratic and Republican legislators had voted for the bill. Even though one of the first measures introduced to the new 81st Congress was a bill calling for the repeal of the Taft-Hartley, the Act was, unfortunately, not repealed and it became a permanent amendment to the National Labor Relations Act, renaming the whole legislation the Labor-Management Relations Act. Organized labor continued their non-partisan political activity and set up a permanent office in their Albany office for the League for Political Education.

The 1948 convention was not only concerned with the Taft-Hartley Act. There were many other internal and external concerns for the State Federation. The 85th convention of the State Federation (1948) elected their first black vice-president to the Executive Council, Tom Young. Tom Young was the secretary of the Building Service Employees Union Local 32B. This election attracted coverage from all the major newspapers including the New York Times. Tom Young declared in an interview that this was one of the most exciting events of his distinguished State Federation career. Organized labor during 1947 and 1948 continued its support for the victims of World War II. It showed this support through resolutions asking the United States to open its doors to the new immigrants and criticizing Britain's closed door policy on Jewish immigration to Palestine. In 1948 when Israel was declared a state and the United Nations voted its approval, the labor movement also voted support and pledged continued interest in this new democracy.

The 1948 State Federation convention also reflected the political changes the world had been going through. At the close of World War II the Cold War began. By 1948, the Soviet Union not only ruled the Baltic region; Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania, but Czechoslovakia, Poland, Rumania, Bulgaria, Albania and Yugoslavia were all "ground down under the heel of a totalitarian philosophy." Resolution after resolution proclaimed organized labor's opposition to Communism. Internally, the labor movement felt a more direct threat from the Communists. Some union leaders were members of the Communist party in the United States. At the 1948 convention, the State Federation adopted an amendment to its constitution reading, "Any member belonging to the communist party, or any other party whose objectives are the overthrow by force of the form of government of the United States of America, shall not be eligible to serve as a representative, officer or delegate to any conference or convention and shall be barred from holding any office in the New York State Federation of Labor." As a result of this new amendment and investigation by the Credentials Committee, twenty delegates elected to the convention were unseated and charged with being Communists. There were arguments for three days on the convention floor for and against the committee ruling. Many members criticized the State Federation for its lack of democratic action by not allowing the unseated delegates to defend themselves to the convention body. However, the majority of the convention favored the committee's ruling and voted to uphold their decision. Typical of the violent language used in this fratricidal period of labor history, Joseph Tuvim, the chairman of the Credentials Committee, expressing the majority sentiment said, "Communists in the labor movement are those who profess to be leaders of organized labor, yet are the very termites who eat away at the strength and base of organized labor... the history of Communists since 1916 and 1917 shows their only purpose is to undermine and to create dissension." The split over Communist leaders in the CIO in the late 1940s was of major significance within the organization.

## **A UNIFIED MOVEMENT**

During the early 1950's the State Federation continued its fight against the Taft-Hartley Act and the passage of other reactionary bills. The state legislators continually attacked the Unemployment Insurance program and the low income housing programs. With President Eisenhower's election in 1952, the country continued a period of Red Scares with Senator Joseph McCarthy at its head. The labor movement (the AFL and the CIO) was forced to defend itself from these attacks and at the same time to pledge its support to the government and the Korean War effort. The Congress passed the Defense Production Act which placed an inequitable burden of sacrifice upon the workers and consumers while giving immunity to certain influential groups. Labor sought recognition and a vehicle for its ideas within the government. The United Labor Committee, set up by President Truman, became the spokesman for labor during the Korean War. The Committee's members devoted their energies to speeding up war production so that "Communist aggression may more quickly be repelled." Labor also gained a voice on the National Advisory Board on mobilization policy.

New York State was faced with high taxes, a high and constantly rising cost of living, wage controls and critical material shortages which created high unemployment and inflation. The State Federation was represented on the State Defense Council in order to work with government and industrialists in combating the Communist threat. The Labor's League for Political Education played a very important role in keeping labor unified and strong during these years. Continually the State Federation and the State CIO council joined to beat back the legislative attacks on labor. They fought together to defeat legislation to prohibit political action by unions, as well as many measures aimed at weakening unions through anti-strike and anti-picketing bills, automatic injunction bills, and others designed to cut into protections against a return of child labor and measures to eliminate or reduce rights accorded workers for many years under the basic social law.

As was the case at the end of World War II, the end of the Korean War brought no peace to the labor movement. State Federation President Tom Murray said in his speech to the 1953 convention, "The recent session in the New York State Legislature proved again that we of labor must not let down our guard. Once more the State Federation and its friends were forced to repulse legislative attempts to destroy labor and social gains of the past. Fresh attempts were launched to place the interests of certain favored groups above those of the public welfare." In New York State the progressive rent control bill was watered down considerably from its original intent and the once progressive minimum wage laws were lagging far behind many other states. The State Federation's job increased as the political trend in the United States started to shift power from the federal government to the state governments. By 1953, ten states already had "right-to-work" laws prohibiting closed shops. For organized labor this had become an ever increasing threat to union security. New York also began experiencing the large scale flight of industry from the northern to the southern states where unorganized labor was cheap. And foreign imports were steadily threatening industries in the United States such as the textile and garment industries. To fight these threats to labor, the national organizations of the AFL, under the presidency of George Meany and the CIO under Walter Reuther, began negotiations for a merger. This historic merger would in 1955 unite the national labor movement and increase its effectiveness in working for the welfare of members.

## **THE MERGER**

When the national AFL and CIO merged it was expected that the state organizations would follow suit. Continuous attempts were made by various government officials, politicians, and employer associations to take advantage of the difference of tradition and approach and to play one labor organization against the other. Lack of unity sometimes resulted in the two groups supporting different candidates for important federal and state government positions. New York began negotiations in 1956, but did not reach an agreement until 1958. In a press release issued by the State CIO, "the merger terms were agreed to by the two negotiating committees sitting with President George Meany without any strings attached. The CIO's Executive Board likewise approved these merger terms without any strings attached, because we believe that the speedy creation of a single united labor movement in this state can best serve not only the interests of the workers but of the entire community...Merger has been made mandatory by the National AFL-CIO and there can be no reason for delay."

The merger brought together more than 2,000,000 members of AFL-CIO unions whose locals are affiliated with the two organizations. Each body met for its final convention on December 8, 1958 and the merger convention took place December 9, 1958. Harold Hanover, from the Carpenters Union, led the State Federation, as their president, into the merger, succeeding Tom Murray who died in 1957 right after delivering a speech to the Senate on labor legislation. Raymond Corbett, of the Iron Workers Union Local 40, was elected secretary-treasurer to take Hanover's place. The State CIO council was represented by Louis Hollander, its president from the Amalgamated Clothing Workers Union, and by

Harold Garno, its secretary-treasurer from the United Auto Workers. It took many more months of negotiations after the agreement to merge to hammer out a constitution and merger agreement that satisfied both parties. Each organization had a merger committee of about 10 representatives.

Peter Brennan, the head of the State Federation's merger committee and now the president of the Building and Construction Trades Council, claimed in an interview that the merger took two years mostly because of bickering over top positions in the merged organization. The CIO was a younger organization and it had to make sure that they had equal representation and that they were not treated like a "kid brother." Another difficulty in the merger was cross jurisdiction in many crafts. The State CIO and Federation represented workers in the same industries. In order to settle jurisdictional arguments and confusion many international unions representing the same job classifications merged together. The most difficult part about the merger, according to Brennan and other members of the State CIO and Federation merger committees, was that they were dealing with strong personalities in both organizations that did not want to give up any authority. State CIO merger committee members agreed with Brennan about the equal representation of both organizations. As Jack Suarez from the Electrical Workers Union (IUE) explained, the CIO wanted to base its representation on how many actual members it had in the organization that were paying per capita dues to the CIO. However, the State Federation based its membership numbers on the total membership of affiliates who paid a token amount to the organization as per capita dues. These and many other concerns were discussed and finally worked out by the parties. They reached an agreement on December 3, 1958, and became the New York State AFL-CIO, "with 2,500 affiliated local unions, central bodies and councils representing more than 2,000,000 union members." The new executive board consisted of Harold Hanover as the new president, Ray Corbett, as the legislative chairman, Harold Garno as the secretary-treasurer, Louis Hollander as the chairman of the Executive Council and chairman of the State Committee on Political Education. The State Federation had fifteen vice-presidents on the executive board and the State CIO council had ten. All of the past members of the State AFL-CIO executive board that were interviewed agreed that after a few years all differences between the two organizations disappeared and the talented leadership of both organizations worked to build the strongest state AFL-CIO in the nation.

Tom Murray during his last year as president of the State Federation stated, "The merger of the AFL and the CIO was not a measure of desperation.., rather, it was the case of two vigorous and flourishing organizations calmly assessing their respective strengths, recognizing that they had a common purpose and deciding how best to achieve that purpose under our changing economy." That is exactly what happened. The State AFL-CIO was stronger than ever after the merger. It continued to fight for workmen's compensation, compulsory education, unemployment insurance, better housing, sickness and disability benefits, safety and health regulations and other beneficial laws for the entire New York community. The merged organization set up a Committee on Political Education (COPE) in order to reaffirm its dedication to non-partisan political activity in the interests of its members. Louis Hollander stated, "We are merging to mold a strong unified labor movement in this state, to be a constructive force not only for the men and women of labor but for the whole state community, because no labor organization can isolate itself from the community." The New York State AFL-CIO continued to be, as Joe Collins from AFSCME described it, "ahead of the rest of the nation in progressive reforms for the largest unionized state in the nation."

At the final convention of the State CIO Council, Jacob S. Potofsky, the president of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America told the delegates "The merger of (the) AFL and CIO is a landmark in the history of organized labor in New York State. When (the) AFL and CIO merged in 1955 on a national level, merger in New York State was inevitable."

Mayor Robert F. Wagner told the CIO at the same session, "There are two developments in the world today that make unity mandatory, and a divided house of labor is a luxury we cannot afford. Twenty years ago, everyone who worked for a living knew the value that in union there was strength. You must imbue in the younger generation the enthusiasm that fired the imagination of us all in the opportunities given us twenty years ago. This spirit that encouraged my father to push through the Wagner Act in the State and Nation was carried forward by all of you."

The first convention of the newly merged organization was held on December 9, 1958. The CIO delegates totaled 1058 delegates and 169 alternates--from 28 internationals, 831 locals, 30 joint boards, 8 district councils, 15 industrial union councils, and 4 local industrial unions. There were 1268 delegates and 347 alternates from the AFL. They came from 1410 locals and 68 councils.

Harold Hanover, the president of the new organization said, "I find this both a solemn and moving occasion. As I stand before this great assemblage of delegates, it is brought home to me most forcibly that we are participants in perhaps the single most important event in the history of organized labor in this state.

As I said yesterday at the 95th and final convention of the New York State Federation of Labor, we are crossing a threshold--what lies on the other side of this threshold is entirely of our own making. Never before have we been presented with such a great opportunity.

We both have reason to be proud of the records of our respective state organizations. But this is not a time for reminiscences or for basking in past glories. The challenge of the future will allow us no such luxury. We must look ahead, not backward."

Hanover went on to say that the merger that was being entered into was a symbol of the need to adapt to changing times. Even though the merger agreement and the constitution were ratified, those alone would not make the New York State AFL-CIO the "vital, live, effective, powerful body we all want it to be...From here on in, there is only one label, that of the New York State AFL-CIO, and that dash between the AFL and the CIO in our name is not a barrier but a bridge."

Raymond Corbett, the newly selected Legislative Chairman told the delegates, "Today, we have merged the two largest state labor organizations in the nation. That is indeed a great accomplishment. But this is not the time to sit back and boast...Armchair dreamers may sit back and reflect on these problems, but for us in the labor move-merit---we, who represent the working people of this State, here and now--we are already in the midst of a rush of events that will profoundly affect us--now--and in the future. The primary objective of the New York State AFL-CIO as is clearly stated in the constitution--is to advocate the enactment of those measures that will be beneficial to the working men and women of the State."

Even though no great strides were made at the 1959 Legislative session, there were AFL-CIO endorsed bills that passed. These included measures to extend Workmen's Compensation and sickness disability coverage to shops of three or more, of unemployment insurance to shops of one and reenactment of rent controls.

The legislative and financial operations were centered at Albany while the executive offices, with the COPE, public relations and research activities, were located in New York City.

In mid-May the New York City offices at 265 West 14th Street and at 101 West 31st Street were consolidated in new quarters at 200 Fourth Avenue, at 17th Street. The Albany office moved from 15 South Hawk Street to 1 Columbia Place. A certified public accountant was called in to survey the bookkeeping practices and records of both organizations and to set up new books and accounts in line with modern accounting procedures. Funds of the two organizations were brought together under the name of the merged body, and financial operations and accounts of the former State CIO Council were transferred to Albany and combined with those of the Federation in the new books and records. All accounts were audited at the close of the fiscal year on June 30, 1959. Also, a new system of monthly per capita billings was instituted.

Through the work of the executive officers and vice-presidents, sixty-two new local union affiliates were added that year.

In the field of political education, the merged state organization reaffirmed its dedication to the principle that labor should be non-partisan in its approach and that it should act solely to protect and further the legitimate political and economic interests of the men and women who make up its membership.

COPE called upon all its affiliates to give maximum support in carrying out the policies and programs of the State COPE. A statewide meeting of leaders adopted a ten *point* program of action, to include setting up a speakers' bureau, a special women's division, publication by the labor press of COPE articles and voting records, a year-round registration campaign and the creation of card-punch index of voters for use at the precinct and election district level in future campaigns.

In the July, 1959 copy of the AFL-CIO American Federationist, it was stated, "We are fully aware that to reach legislative goals labor must wage its initial fight at the polls, to elect to office those whose record and whose inclination clearly indicate that they will seek enactment of such measures as will benefit the people as a whole, rather than the special interest of any group."

In 1960, on the job safety improvement was one of the most important phases of the State AFL-CIO'S service to its affiliates and members. President Hanover called a two-day storewide conference on job safety at Cornell University in May. About one hundred job and shop stewards and union safety personnel had the dimensions of the problems outlined and heard proposals of the experts in the field from federal and state governments and from labor for measures that can and must be used to combat unsafe working conditions through collective bargaining, education, training, and legislation.

The president was also a delegate to the President's Conference on Occupational Safety in Washington, D.C.. Also during that year, many union officials reported a "lack of understanding of new young union members of the history of labor's struggle, of labor's present-day effort on behalf of the general interests of workers, and even to some degree, the need for militant action not only in negotiating contracts but in public affairs and in the political field..."

There was also the view that many middle and high school students received biased teaching on the view of the labor movement. President Hanover blamed a large part of it on the fact that teachers themselves are not fully informed, and he was determined to change that. A conference was held of students and teachers in social studies and economics classes in February, 1960. President Hanover was subjected to close questioning by the students and teachers. The students revealed their opinions of unions by questions about "railroad featherbedding," "labor union crimes," and "abuses of union members" and also by reactions to answers and explanations given.

Secretary-Treasurer Harold Garno began a program of contacts with unaffiliated locals that had the basic purpose of "making the State organization more vigorous by bringing in an increasing number of active union locals and members, who can both strengthen the hand and voice of the state body and at the same time directly and indirectly benefit as a result of the strength." The result was 126 new affiliates.

The 1960 legislative session was one of the largest sessions up until that time. A total of 8,662 bills were introduced in the Legislature---3,934 in the Senate and 4,728 in the Assembly. Of the 1,389 bills passed by the Legislature, Governor Rockefeller approved 1,089 and vetoed 300.

Some of the major actions of the session included an increase of Workmen's Compensation and disability benefits maximum weekly rate from \$45 to \$50, extension of Workmen's Compensation and disability benefits coverage to firms with two employees, including non-profit organizations, passage of \$1.00 per hour statewide minimum wage law, reduction of the Workmen's Compensation waiting period if the disability lasts twenty-eight days instead of thirty-five, strengthened group health insurance protection for the elderly, increased state aid to education, rejection of the Pierce-Mason Bill which would have undermined safeguards against abusive use of injunctions in labor disputes involving farm products, the governor's veto of a proposal for a one-year residency requirement to qualify for public assistance, and mandate of special classes for mentally retarded children.

In the COPE Department, the Executive Council approved the appointment of Mrs. Betty Doto as Women's Activities Director for COPE. With the cooperation of the central labor councils she set up initial card files of members so that they can be checked against lists of voters to determine, for each individual local union, the extent of the job in getting non-registered members to put their names on the books.

The proceedings from the year 1960 state, "No subject has received more attention or caused greater concern during the months since the 1960 convention than Workmen's Compensation, in particular, the dangerous developments in the administration of this law since the new chairman took office at the beginning of 1959." In March, 1961, a statewide conference of compensation representatives of the AFL-CIO's affiliates evaluated the situation. At a meeting with labor officials September 28th in Buffalo, the Governor's attention was directed to the complaints which had been made concerning the administration of the Workmen's Compensation Law.

To help solve the recurring problems of unemployment, a statewide conference was held in Albany on March 9. The conference was called "Operation Back to Work" which was attended by representatives of central bodies and local union affiliates from every area.

Public support was given to proposals that the State provide scholarship incentive gains to students in our colleges and increase the number of public scholarships being made available to high school students.

The state federation also published a pamphlet titled, "Safety on the Job" which was made available to every affiliate along with an offer of more copies for distribution as requested. The pamphlet provided a guide for the reduction of work hazards and the means available to be used in improving safety in conditions in various industries and crafts, through labor-management cooperation, education and training, and amendment of safety codes.

Also in 1961, the Legislative Chairman urged the repeal of the harmful Condon-Wadlin Act. Favorable legislative actions included extending Workmen's Compensation and Disability benefits coverage to single employee firms and extension of the unemployment insurance benefit period from 26 to 39 weeks on a temporary basis. There were also migrant labor recruitment safeguards established (including wages, housing, and working conditions), and protection against discrimination in employment was extended to 40 year olds. The Industrial Commissioner was given specific authorization to initiate actions for wage underpayment, whether or not the worker has assigned a claim to him. Financial aid was increased for students and their families through scholarship aid, a scholar incentive program, and expanded student loan program. There were also increased funds for college building construction.

Much of COPE's activities in 1960 was supporting John F. Kennedy in his campaign for the Presidency. Time for major TV and radio programs was obtained, facilities were arranged, and literature, buttons, and other materials were ordered. Preparations were made for campaign distribution. State COPE provided a thirty minute live TV network out of Syracuse in late September for an appearance and major address of the presidential candidate. It was carried on TV in New York City, Buffalo, Utica, Binghamton, Rochester, Schenectady, and Watertown. 2,000,000 items of campaign materials were

produced, including 300,000 campaign buttons, 50,000 lapel tabs, 550,000 pieces of literature, plus bumper and window stickers, posters, window cards, voting records and plant gate flyers.

The activity of State COPE and the endorsement of Kennedy's legislative program was deeply appreciated by the victorious President Kennedy. A letter by a member of his administration to COPE stated:

"The President asked me to express his deep appreciation to you and your associates in the N.Y.S. AFL-CIO COPE for your forceful and effective support

"The President is indeed grateful for all of your efforts and has asked me to extend to you and your members his warmest good wishes."

Improvement to the safety laws of the State was an important milestone in 1962's achievements. During that year the State AFL-CIO participated in many conferences with the Labor Department, the Education Department, also the Boards of Standards and Appeals, Labor Relations Board and other agencies of the State of New York in giving assistance to the affiliated organizations who sought help. As a result of the emphasis the New York State AFL-CIO has placed on occupational safety, stiffer penalties for careless employers were put into law. Also, a greater latitude for safety inspectors in the performance of their duties was expected to reduce the accident rate of workers a great deal. Governor Rockefeller and Industrial Commissioner Martin Catherwood substantially increased the number of inspectors in recognition of the great necessity of policing construction sites, factories and nuclear power plants. At the request of the national AFL-CIO, President Hanover presided at a ceremony on June 26, 1962, in presenting a series of films entitled "Americans at Work" to the New York State Education Department. This was the first of a new series of educational films presented to the State Education Departments for use in schools. The forty-seven films were provided without cost to TV stations across the nation as a public service by the national AFL-CIO and were claimed to be of substantial value by teachers and students.

Also in 1962, the State AFL-CIO completed the sale of its old building, located at 15 South Hawk Street, Albany. The building was sold to Council 50 of the American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees.

Favorable actions of the Legislature in 1962 included a minimum wage increase, a veto of a bill that would exclude certain groups from the Minimum Wage Law, the prohibition of employers' requiring job applicants to pay the cost of a medical examination, greater protection for migrant farm workers, expansion of the number of benefits for the needy aged, and an increase in disability and death benefits in Workmen's Compensation.

Much of the effort of the COPE department in the year 1961 centered on the re-election campaign of Mayor Robert F. Wagner. He was denied renomination by his party for reelection. A group of New York State COPE Committee members from the city organized and called themselves the Labor Committee for Wagner. The chairman of the committee was Charles H. Kerrigan, Director of District 9 of the United Automobile Workers. The Labor Committee set up headquarters in the Astor Hotel and started work. Its first publication was a leaflet that presented the Mayor as labor's candidate for reelection and pointed to his record in office as the reason that labor was for him.

This leaflet and the others that followed were widely distributed by the hundreds of thousands to unions in the city and by them to their members and to others. Posters were printed and time was purchased on radio and television. On election night Mayor Wagner stopped off in a union headquarters on West 44th Street, where the Labor Committee for Wagner was receiving the returns, and publicly acknowledged his debt to the Committee for its support.

## **THE CORBETT PRESIDENCY**

Raymond Corbett was elected President of the New York State AFL-CIO in 1962. He began his career in 1937 as a journeyman iron worker in Local 40 of the Iron Workers. His first job was as a connector. He later became a member of a riveting gang at LaGuardia Airport. Even as he worked at his trade he remembered becoming more and more impressed with the challenge of union leadership and the fact that union leadership over the years has demanded more and more knowledge and experience. Just as ironworking is a specialized field, so too, he felt was union leadership.

Corbett stated "It used to be that steel buildings would be erected with almost no regard for the worker's welfare. The iron work would go up far ahead of floor construction; no provision was made for temporary floors. The result was that a riveter or a connecting man, failing off a steel beam, would drop---usually to his death---down the whole distance to the ground. When I started, it had just been made mandatory to install floors two floors below the highest level of the steel framing. From then on if a man fell he'd drop a floor--two floors at the most. He might break a leg, at the worst."

In seven years, Corbett was elected vice-president of Iron Workers Local 40 in New York City. Within a year, he was elected vice-president of the New York City Central Labor Council.

In December 1950, after some years of showing active interest in union affairs, Corbett was elected to represent the members of Local 40 in their negotiations with employers. This start as a business agent made him a professional union administrator from then on. Since he was first elected, he was re-elected to the post for thirteen years.

In 1957, Corbett was elected secretary of the New York State Federation of Labor. In the following year, he was elected the legislative chairman of the New York State AFL-CIO. Four years later, he was elected president. While president, he continued to serve his local union as an elected official and chairman of Local 40's negotiating committee. He did this without pay. In January 1970, he instituted the first program of home mortgage loans for iron workers.

He served as advisors to Governors Nelson Rockefeller, Malcolm Wilson, Hugh Carey, and Mario Cuomo. He established Local 40's James V. Cole Scholarship Fund which provides college scholarships for sons and daughters of Local 40 members.

Reform of the Workmen's Compensation Act has always been a legislative priority ever since it was enacted into law and 1963 was no exception. In that year's proceedings, Corbett wrote, "The sad situation in our Workmen's Compensation system unfortunately didn't improve in the past year and the present administration of the Workmen's Compensation Act continues to be a problem." On April 25, the Chairman of the Workmen's Compensation Board submitted to Corbett (who was a member of the Workmen's Compensation Advisory Committee) a text of proposed revisions in indexing standards and asked for his review and comments. After looking over the revisions, Corbett and his advisors found them "totally inadequate and incommensurate to the need for the urgent remedies clearly shown by the report of the Governor's Review Committee." Unfortunately, very little was changed in the Workmen's Compensation Act that year. As a result of this lack of action, a conference was held to make the members of the State AFL-CIO aware of the inadequacies of the Workmen's Compensation Law on February 21, 1963, and was titled "The Crisis in New York Workmen's Compensation." Speakers at the conference included President Corbett and Professor Duncan MacIntyre of the Industrial and Labor Relations School at Cornell University. There was also a panel discussion led by Clinton Fair, Legislative Representative of the national AFL-CIO.

There was also a statewide educational conference on employment and unemployment insurance held in Buffalo on July 10, 1963. The purpose of the conference was to "make a critical analysis of the unemployment picture in the State, possibilities for job expansion and training under the Area Redevelopment Act and Manpower Development and Training Act, and the effectiveness of our unemployment insurance system to meet this crisis."

In the field of civil rights, President Corbett documented a major victory for the State AFL-CIO. Legislation was enacted to prohibit discrimination in the sale or rental of all houses except rooms in owner-occupied apartments, and two family dwellings where the owner resides in one of the apartments.

To ensure unbiased teaching of industrial and labor relations, the collective bargaining aspects of unions, the administration of unions and the role unions play in the community, a special summer credit course in industrial and labor relations for high school social studies teachers was established in 1962. All reports from participating teachers were that it was outstanding.

Administratively, the Albany and New York City offices of the State Federation were better integrated. Both offices moved to new locations in 1964.

In November, 1963, New York was the host to the national AFL-CIO convention. This convention was significant because there was an address by President John F. Kennedy. He was assassinated only a week later, and news of it shook the whole nation and the labor movement in particular.

Also during this year, President Corbett testified and submitted statements to Congressional and Legislative committees and various administrative agencies on many bills and issues. These issues included medical care for the aged, air and water pollution, abolition of the New York Waterfront Commission, Blue Cross premium rate increases, health insurance, dental care for state employees, prohibition of the use of strikebreakers, extension of unemployment insurance coverage to employees of non-profit organizations, election laws and related statutes, gaining Workmen's Compensation for farm workers, raising the tax base in unemployment insurance and labor's program proposals for the Democratic party in 1964.

In an address concerning Workmen's Compensation, Corbett again urged reform. "It is fruitless and probably dangerous, to fall into the temptation of evaluating a program whose job must be done in 1964 and thereafter in terms of 1914. For social legislation cannot be justified in terms of past achievements, it must earn its fight to life and respect each year in terms of current needs and current actions..."

Also in 1963, the COPE department considered it its "#1 duty" to make sure President Johnson was elected. Much of its activity in 1964 was devoted to getting members to understand that they have to vote in order to create a favorable political atmosphere in the state, and ultimately the nation. A January 1964 COPE newsletter stated "We all pay for letting the other fellow vote the other fellow candidate's into office. Those elected in that way...become office holders who consistently ignore the will of the American people." With strong help from the State AFL-CIO, Johnson carried the state by an overwhelming margin.

In 1965, the State AFL-CIO worked hard to defeat the Ribicoff Amendment to the Higher Education Act. The amendment would have provided for educational tax credit on a graduated basis. Their position was that the amendment would not help the most needy but would only encourage schools to raise tuition. The amendment was defeated.

Another major success for labor was securing legislative action on measures dealing with Workmen's Compensation claims for silicosis and similar dust diseases. These include removal of the time limit on silicosis claims and action to compensate partial disability plus halving the unpaid waiting period for benefit claims.

President Corbett was also the recipient of the 1964 Brotherhood Award of the National Conference of Christians and Jews.

In 1966, a major task facing the State AFL-CIO was to implement the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965 in the state. Literature was distributed to affiliates that encouraged local central bodies to develop community wide programs to eliminate discrimination in public schools, housing and hotels. The State AFL-CIO also cooperated with the Federal and State Departments of Labor to develop programs that would enable minority group workers to find opportunities in skilled trade occupations.

A major disappointment of the 1966 Legislative session was the failure to repeal the Condon-Wadlin Law and have it replaced with legislation that would enable amicable public employer-employee relations on the basis of free collective bargaining. Instead, the Senate and Assembly each passed different bills. At the end of the transit strike in New York City, Governor Rockefeller announced that he was turning over the problem to a group of professors with labor relations experience. The group was led by George Taylor of the University of Pennsylvania.

The Taylor Report listed proposals that left control of representation status to public employers, failed to require employers to bargain, contained no safeguard against interference and coercion, provided for unlimited financial penalties against union, decertification and dues checkoff loss, required a no strike pledge by public workers and their unions, and continued the ban on the right of public workers to withhold their services as a last resort. The Governor's office proposed a bill based on the Taylor Report. The only labor support for the bill came from the CSEA and the New York State Teacher's Association. In the last month of the legislative session, there were numerous attempts to get the State AFL-CIO to accept some form of the Governor's bill. It was "invited" to submit almost any version they wanted, as long as the punishment and no-strike sections were retained.

That offer was rejected immediately and the Federation demanded legislation that allowed free collective bargaining. The State AFL-CIO felt that public employees should "have the right to join unions of their own choosing; that they should be protected and encouraged in the exercise of that right; that if the majority of the workers do join a union, the employer should be required to bargain collectively with the union as to conditions of employment; that in collective bargaining the employer and the union should be left free to work out their own terms of agreement; that workable machinery should be established to protect the public interest and at the same time to ensure the public worker a fair deal; and that while no one likes strikes, the right to strike is fundamental to collective bargaining and to the preservation of a free society."

Also in the 1966 legislative session, a minimum wage bill was passed that raised it to \$1.50 and then to \$1.60 if the federal minimum reached that figure. Another endorsed piece of legislation that was enacted extended coverage under the State Labor Relations Act to hotel and restaurant employees of non-profit organizations.

The year 1967 proved to be an eventful for labor. This was the year of the State Constitutional Convention and President Corbett served as a delegate. At the 1967 convention, Bill VandenHeuvel, a vice-president of the Constitutional Convention, was quoted as saying "I don't know if labor had any other designated spokesman in this Constitutional Convention, but I can tell you from my own point of view it didn't need any others...He spoke not only for the vested interests of labor, but he spoke for the future interests of labor. When nobody else was willing to listen to the cause of the migrant laborer, it was Ray Corbett who forced the delegates to that convention to convene in a room and watch slides of the conditions of life that the migrant laborers of this state had to live under, so that we would have some feeling of what labor's future fight had to be."

Corbett made history when he wrote and put into the proposed Constitution a Labor Bill of Rights, which won the support of every delegate of the Convention. There was also a community development article put into the Constitution, which at the time was considered "the greatest progressive social measure any state constitution has ever considered." Regrettably, state voters rejected the proposed constitution.

Also, in 1967, \$10,000 was appropriated by the Executive Council for the improvement in farm worker conditions. A special committee was established to oversee the state AFL-CIO's activities in this area. The first formal meeting of the State AFL-CIO Farm Worker Special Committee was also held that year.

The one-hundredth anniversary of the system of free public schools in New York State was also observed. To celebrate the event, a committee was established that included President Corbett, Secretary-Treasurer Hollander, and Israel Kugler of the Empire State Federation of Teachers. Extending compulsory education to eighteen years was included as a legislative priority.

With the repeal of the Condon-Wadlin Act in 1967 came the Taylor Law. It was said by the State AFL-CIO to be "completely in violation of the basic principles that should govern labor-management relations." The proposed law was the same as the one the Governor proposed earlier. To put a stop to the proposed legislation, the State AFL-CIO published a statement that read "It makes no sense at all to replace the automatic job-death penalty in the old law, which everyone agrees made Condon-Wadlin totally unworkable, with a new set of reprisals equally drastic in their effect on the union representing the employees." It also stated "The right of the workers to withhold their labor as a final resort when every other avenue to agreement has been closed is fundamental, as fundamental as and stemming from the constitutional right against involuntary servitude." When the bill came up for a vote, there were enough Democrats in favor of the bill to ensure its passage. It passed the Senate with the help of seven Democrats and the Assembly with twenty-six Democrats voting for the bill.

The State AFL-CIO's opposition memorandum stated that "Any public employee labor relations bill that is tied to penalties instead of being based solely on collective bargaining rights is doomed to prove just as unworkable as a strike preventive measure as Condon-Wadlin has in the twenty years it has been in force. Such a bill, if enacted into law in this state, will make New York the pioneer among the fifty states in punitive measures aimed at controlling public employees...Any bill with a penalty for striking would prove as fully unworkable as Condon-Wadlin." Governor Rockefeller congratulated the Legislature for passing the bill and signed it into law. Its provisions went into effect September 1, 1967.

On May 23, 1967, District Council 37 of AFSCME, Local 2 of the UFT and Local 100 of the Transport Workers Union sponsored a rally at Madison Square Garden to "protest against the new law and to pledge raising a war chest of \$4-5 million to cover penalties that may be imposed for exercising the constitutional right to withhold their labor and for political action at the next election of the Legislature." The rally was attended by close to 22,000 people.

The Legislature adopted and supported Governor Rockefeller's proposal for a \$2.5 billion bond issue to finance \$1.25 billion for highways, \$1 billion for mass transportation, and \$250 million for aviation development. It was set for a vote at the election polls in November and was passed with the State Federation's support.

The tenth anniversary of the founding of the state AFL-CIO was celebrated in 1968. At the 1968 convention, President Corbett discussed how substantial gains had been made during this period, especially in the area of social justice. The minimum wage has been raised from \$1 to \$1.60 an hour and maximum benefits had increased from \$45 a week in unemployment insurance and disability benefits to \$65, from \$45 to \$85 for total temporary disability and \$70 for partial and permanent disability in Workmen's Compensation.

The State AFL-CIO mourned the loss of Senator Robert Kennedy in 1968. He was elected senator in 1964, with the full support of the State AFL-CIO. He was forty-two years old when he was struck down by an assassin's bullet while running for President.

April 4, 1968 marked the assassination of Martin Luther King. He was in Memphis helping about seven hundred union members obtain recognition for their union from the city's government. His loss was also mourned by the State AFL-CIO since King had long championed the rights of workers to organize and bargain collectively. He saw the labor movement as one of the most effective vehicles to improve the status of black Americans.

Beginning early that year, the New York State AFL-CIO joined in a total boycott of all California grown table grapes, which proved to be considerably successful.

Originally, it was a boycott of one vineyard. Grape workers of the Giumarra Vineyards Corporation of Delano, California staged a strike that included one thousand union members. The owner obtained a strike-breaking injunction from an area court and brought in hundreds of other workers from Mexico. When a boycott was launched against the

Giumarra grapes, an arrangement was made with about seventy other California vineyard operators to use Giumarra's label so that grapes from there couldn't be distinguished from other California grapes. At that point the boycott of all California grapes was started. The City of New York, which normally bought approximately fifteen tons of grapes a year for institutional use announced that it would not buy California grapes for the duration of the grape worker's strike.

An organizing campaign for New York State migrant farm workers was financially supported by the State AFL-CIO. Paul Sanchez and Joseph Garcia, two national AFL-CIO organizing department representatives, were assigned.

The first year the Taylor Law was in effect proved its harmful nature in the eyes of the State AFL-CIO. On November 15, 1968, Governor Rockefeller announced his official position in respect to negotiating units for state employees. He set up three units ---one for the professional employees of the State University, one for the members of the State Police, and a "general unit" made up of all other state employees-124,000 of them. At the same time the Governor announced his recognition of the Civil Service Employees Association to negotiate for the new employees in the general unit. In his announcement the Governor said the basis for the recognition was the fact that the CSEA had 74 per cent of all state employees as dues payers. His actions were vehemently opposed by the New York State AFL-CIO.

A number of unions and employee organizations which also represented state employees, including the affiliates Council 50 of AFSCME, Local 30-D of the Operating Engineers, and Local 223, SEIU, promptly filed challenges with the Public Employee Relations Board against the Governor's designation and acted to stop negotiations between the State and CSEA. PERB's decision, on November 30, was to uphold the challenging unions against CSEA. The Board ordered that the State Negotiating Committee, appointed by Governor Rockefeller, refrain from negotiating with CSEA on an exclusive basis pending a final PERB determination, after full hearings, concerning representation. Even though the hearings began promptly, the subject matter became extremely complicated and more than thirty individual challenges were filed by groups, some affiliated with the State AFL-CIO. They were all seeking to be designated as the exclusive bargaining agents for specific units of state employees. The Court of Appeals decided that the Taylor Law permitted the public employer to designate any organization the employer chose as the bargaining agent of the employees. The employer was then free to negotiate a contract with that organization and to treat it as the exclusive bargaining agent of the employees until, after hearings, PERB might make a contrary decision. In the meantime, CSEA was the exclusive representative. Shortly after this Court decision, negotiations began between the State and the CSEA.

On December 28th, the New York State AFL-CIO Public Employees Council was established to coordinate organizing and collective bargaining activities of its affiliates who represent state government workers. Participating union included: AFSCME, SEIU, OPEIU, Transport Workers Union Local 100, IBEW Local 3, and the state organizations of the Operating Engineers and the Carpenters.

The 1967 New York City teachers' strike and the 1968 sanitation strike both showed the Taylor Law ineffective as an instrument to prevent strikes. The New York City sanitation strike resulted in uncollected garbage and trash that accumulated at 10,000 tons a day. After a little more than a week, 100,000 tons of refuse accumulated on the streets. Health officials declared the city's first health emergency since 1931. Because of these circumstances, the Governor reappointed the Taylor Committee in order to "develop legislative proposals to protect the public against illegal strikes against the government while protecting the rights of government employees."

Unemployment insurance and non-occupational disability maximum benefits were increased from \$55 to \$65 per week. A new law was established providing payments to supplement totally disabled workers and widows of workers killed on the job.

In other legislation, a long-sought goal of the State AFL-CIO was reached when a bill that assured labor relations rights to workers employed by non-profit organizations was enacted. This gave these workers the same status granted to other workers by the Wagner Act.

The New York State AFL-CIO urged a veto by Governor Rockefeller of the "loyalty" bill that "indiscriminately and without proper safeguards" disqualified for public employment anyone participating in subversive activities. Under the terms of the bill, anyone accused could be suspended without pay until final determination of charges against him without limitation as to how long it would take. The bill was vetoed.

In the annual COPE report, the committee listed as its main goal the defeat of Richard Nixon in his campaign for the Presidency. The New York State AFL-CIO endorsed candidates for the Presidency and the vice-presidency, Hubert Humphrey and Edmund Muskie, won the state's forty-three electoral votes. Senator Jacob Jayits, another endorsed candidate, was reelected to his third term, defeating Paul O'Dwyer. The majority party of the Assembly changed in 1968 from Democrat to Republican, and as a result, Assemblyman Perry Duryea was elected Speaker of the Assembly.

The year 1969 marked the second full year that the Taylor Law was in effect. On August 28, 1969, the PERB Director of Representation, Paul Klein, recommended that the "general unit" of state employees be divided up into five units for collective bargaining purposes. This recommendation came after extensive hearings. PERB began a review of the occupations involved in the units. Before a final decision was reached, Governor Rockefeller announced that the State would continue to negotiate with the CSEA, on behalf of the general unit, even though PERB was given the responsibility for bargaining unit designation under the Taylor Law. The Governor's decision broke two of his promises---that he would abide by the PERB decision and his earlier announcement that CSEA would be the employees' representative for one year only. As a result, a work stoppage was called at several mental hospitals by non-professional employees represented by Council 50 of AFSCME. They charged that their right to an election to determine who should represent them was being ignored or denied.

On November 27, PERB announced its decision to establish of five negotiating units for state employees and ordered the State Negotiating Committee, which was meeting with CSEA, to halt the talks. The state's Office of Employee Relations began preparing a list of job titles in each unit for submission to all parties which had sought representation of state employees in order to hear and decide any objections to its designations. Council 50 ended its work stoppage immediately after the PERB decision and order. However, Local 69 and two representatives of the Council were found guilty of contempt of the court injunction that barred a strike. The local was fined \$1000 and the two representatives were sentenced to jail terms and fined. Robert Fuller, Local 69 president, was sentenced to twenty days in jail and fined \$125. Lillian Roberts, the organizing director of Council 50 and later New York Commissioner of Labor was sentenced to thirty days in jail and subjected to a \$250 fine. An appeal was turned down in the State Supreme Court.

There were new penalties added to the Taylor Law that year. For one day's absence during any strike, there was a loss of two day's pay, plus loss of job tenure, and a one year term of probation. In addition to these penalties, fines on the union, formerly limited to \$10,000 a day, were expanded to make them co-extensive with a union's treasury and assets. The former maximum eighteen-month loss of checkoff of dues was also made limitless. The State AFL-CIO printed a half page newspaper advertisement stating labor's opposition to the new penalties.

Also in 1969, an appropriation of \$1000 was voted by the Executive Council of the New York State AFL-CIO as a contribution for organizing among faculty members of the State University of New York by the New York State American Federation of Teachers College and University Council. According to Dr. Israel Kugler, who headed the AFT Council, a number of locals had been organized on campuses of the State University.

The failure of New York City officials to guarantee job security and protection against violence for union teachers in the Ocean Hill-Brownsville experimental school district resulted in the third work stoppage of the 1968-69 school year. The 1968 convention of the New York State AFL-CIO went on record in support of the UFT on its insistence that its members be permitted to teach without threats and intimidation. On November 18, after a twenty-seven hour negotiating session, agreements were reached to assure an end of interference and threats to teachers. With the experimental district under state trusteeship, more than 1.1 million pupils were able to return to school. President Albert Shanker, head of the 50,000 member Local 2 of the AFT and a vice-president of the State AFL-CIO was given a fifteen-day jail sentence and the local was fined \$220,000 under provisions of the state Taylor Law.

A bill that was strongly endorsed by the State AFL-CIO was passed in 1969 that totally banned the discharge of workers because of garnishments of their wages. This eliminated wage garnishment entirely as a basis for discharge. Another piece of legislation that the State AFL-CIO was instrumental in passing was extending minimum wage coverage to farm workers. This was a great victory for labor. Payment of less than the minimum wage, failure to keep records of wages and hours and discrimination against an employee for instituting proceedings under the articles were established as misdemeanors.

The year 1970 was the year of the historic General Electric strike. It began when GE refused to change its "best offer first" method of bargaining. This was often referred to as "Boulwareism." An emergency meeting of the State AFL-CIO led to the contribution of \$10,000 to the GE strike fund. The council approved a program for a boycott of GE products as a form of protest against Boulwareism. The boycott also included letters to managers and owners of stores and the distribution of 100,000 shopping bags through local central bodies urging the public to withhold economic support of GE by not purchasing its products. Representatives from twenty-one of the twenty-nine local central bodies in New York State attended a special GE products boycott meeting called by President Corbett on December 12. President Corbett was quoted as saying "This GE strike will be the test of the labor movement of this nation as a whole. It will settle - and it must settle - the question whether this company can get away with continued defiance of the Federal labor law or whether it will sit down and bargain fully and fairly with those unions which represent its employees."

The strike lasted 100 days. Despite the most strenuous public relations-advertising efforts by GE to persuade the workers to return to the job and accept its offer enabling them to retain the Boulware system, the concerted efforts of labor brought an end to Boulwareism, later deemed unlawful by the National Labor Relations Board.

Betty Hawley Donnelly, a fifty year leader of organized labor died in 1970. Mrs. Donnelly had participated in the 1969 State AFL-CIO convention in Buffalo and had addressed the delegates in her capacity as chairman of the convention's Education Committee, a panel she headed annually at state labor conventions. Education had been the center of her activity, particularly during the forty years she had served as executive secretary on the Advisory Board on Industrial Education.

Donnelly was a major participant in the establishment of the Aviation Trades High School in Long Island City, Thomas A. Edison Vocational High School in Jamaica, Automotive Trades in Brooklyn, Central Needle Trades School (now called the High School of Fashion Industries), New York School of Printing, and Food and Maritime Trades School.

A major legislative victory that year was in Workmen's Compensation. A law was enacted that provided additional compensation for injury involving 50 percent or more loss of use of a member.

Coverage was extended to domestic workers, regardless of the location of their employment. Benefits under the act were increased.

There was an increase in the minimum wage from \$1.60-\$1.85 with the provision that if the federal minimum goes up to \$2, the state minimum would go up to that amount.

In the beginning of December, the New York Plan was signed formally by city and state Government representatives, and the building trades and construction employers. The New York Plan provided special training for members of minorities in the various building trade skills.

The State AFL-CIO helped in preventing the denial of public assistance to many families of workers on strike against GE after the April 26th decision that persons on strike may not be legally denied welfare benefits.

Other important legislation included extending the minimum wage law to domestic workers and inclusion of the disease byssinosis (brown lung disease) as an occupational disease for Workers' Compensation.

A bill endorsed by the State AFL-CIO to ensure "orderly use, development, and preservation of both private and publicly owned forest land in the Adirondack State Park boundaries" was passed by the Legislature.

The State AFL-CIO was successful in leading a fight to kill a bill that would curb the scope of collective bargaining for public employees and also would have affected pension agreements. In addition to those harsh measures, the bill would have limited negotiations to wages and salaries. This bill had been prepared in absolute secrecy.

The 1970 Convention proved to be one of the more memorable in State Federation history.

The Executive Council recommended the endorsement of Nelson A. Rockefeller for re-election as Governor against former Supreme Court Justice and Secretary of Labor Arthur Goldberg. The convention was split with most of the building trades supporting Rockefeller and public sector unions such as AFSCME supporting Goldberg.

President Corbett put the vote to the convention delegates and announced that Rockefeller had been endorsed.

The 1970 proceedings tell the story.

"CHAIRMAN CORBETT: The Executive Council recommends that the New York State AFL-CIO endorse and support the reelection of Nelson A. Rockefeller as Governor of New York. (Boos, applause).  
"(Raising his voice above the din.) The ayes have it.

"(A surging shout goes up. Babble of voices, some whistling. A slow rhythmic hammering on tables with small ball-ended wood mallets begins, becomes louder as some delegates shout in chorus to the rhythm: "We want Goldberg, we want Goldberg.' The chairman gavels for order. Other delegates join the chant but make the last word "Rocky." The drumming--chanting continues four minutes, slackens for a short while, then is resumed. It stops in the sixth minute. Babble of many voices, shouts. A minute later the drumming----chanting starts again and in the ninth minute, suddenly quickens in tempo, with the chant changing to repeating the word: "Goldberg, Goldberg.' The chairman has rapped the gavel several more times and at the tenth minute, after another repeated gaveling by the chairman, the hammering--chanting begins again, at a still quicker tempo, but half a minute later, the chairman rapping for order, it stops.)

"This meeting is adjourned. (The rhythmic drumming and "we want Goldberg" chant resumes. Missiles---glass ash trays, water glasses, some of the wooden mallets--are hurled from where the drumming-chanting centers, at those on the dais. Boos, in chorus, are shouted. The meeting was adjourned at 10 p.m.)"

Rockefeller went on to defeat Goldberg in the general election. The convention has become popularly known as "The Ashtray Convention". To this date, cardboard ashtrays have replaced glass ones at conventions of the State AFL-CIO.

In 1972, the National Education Association affiliate, the New York State Teachers' Association merged with the United Teachers of New York State, an affiliate of the American Federation of Teachers, AFL-CIO. Ultimately named the New York State United Teachers, it became the largest teachers' union in the nation and brought more than 700 new locals and 105,000 new members into the New York State AFL-CIO and its local central labor councils. Thomas Y. Hobart, Jr. of Buffalo and UFT's Al Shanker were elected as co-presidents. Later, Hobart became President and Shanker Executive Vice President.

"Register and vote" was the theme of the 1972 convention. President Corbett realized that voting was the member's source of greatest power. It was up to them whether a candidate who was sympathetic to the needs of the worker would be elected. Another point that Corbett raised was that the members should not elect a candidate solely because of party affiliation. There should be a focus on "the election to our law-making bodies of men and women who are truly responsive to the needs of the little people"--men and women who can realize what is wrong and do something about it in the interest of all the people."

In 1973, there were a number of court *decisions* that were victories for labor. PERB decided that a public employer may not unilaterally change terms or conditions of employment during negotiations with its employees. This ruling came from a case involving Local 1369 of AFSCME. The Court of Appeals held that the right of workers to unemployment insurance must not be affected when they refuse to cross another union's picket line at their place of employment even though the picketing wasn't against their employer.

In 1974, six out of seven endorsed candidates won their races including Governor Hugh Carey, U.S. Senator Jacob Javits, State Comptroller Arthur Levitt, Attorney General Louis Lefkowitz, and Lawrence Cooke for membership on the Court of Appeals. The State AFL-CIO's support was critical in Carey's victory over Malcolm Wilson who succeeded Rockefeller as governor and who was seeking a full four-year term.

A major labor victory occurred in 1975 when Governor Hugh Carey decided to withdraw the state plan for occupational safety and health and to turn over primary responsibility to the federal government. Governor Carey also said that he would see to it that New York strengthens the federal program. The savings of the state will be \$2.5 million in 1976 and \$3.5 million every year afterward. Laws were passed to begin a state safety program in 1976, and to tie the wage rate to the date of work done instead of the date the contract is let, even if the project extends a year or more.

Governor Carey, President Corbett, and Donald Gaudtan issued a combined statement of economic principles and goals for New York State that was published in the May 1975 issue of Fortune magazine.

The major focus for labor's legislative activity in 1976 was to secure passage of a package of seven bills to improve and update the New York State Worker's Compensation Law. The package included an increase in Worker's Compensation benefits, an increase in funeral benefits, moving the age up to 25 for eligibility of survivor's benefits, complete workers' compensation coverage of all public and private employees, extraterritorial workers' compensation coverage, eliminating sex discrimination in worker's compensation, and increasing wage expectancy for youths. Unfortunately, the bills were not passed.

A full time expanded program for COPE and the funds to support its activities were provided for after the 1975 convention. Chosen as State AFL-CIO COPE Director on March 3rd was Sy Cohen, manager of the Hudson Valley Joint Board of the Textile Workers Union of America and a Vice President of the New York State AFL-CIO.

The State Legislature overrode the Governor's veto of a bill that would prevent public education in New York City from being subjected to an increased share of the budget cuts. The first veto override in 104 years exemplified the growing clout of the merged teachers' union.

A measure of major concern to public employee unions and building tradesmen was enacted with the strong support of the New York State AFL-CIO in 1976. The new law amended Section 220 of the Labor Law (the prevailing wage section) by providing for the filing of a single labor law complaint by a certified representative of a group of workers, for the purpose of obtaining the prevailing rate of wages.

The Executive Council on May 12th, set up for the relief of the victims of the Northern Italy earthquake a fund was in the amount of \$10,000.

1976 was also the year that Harold Hanover passed away. He was the first *president* of the New York State AFL-CIO. He was Secretary-Treasurer and legislative chairman from 1945 until May 1958. Hanover was a specialist in legislation. He was a member of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners.

For the first time in over 100 years, a Democrat was elected in the 39th Congressional district. Stan Lundine was elected in a district that had a three-to-two enrollment favoring Republicans. He won the election by a margin of 20,000 out of 90,000 votes cast. COPE worked for Lundine in every facet of his campaign. This included funding, special manpower, volunteers, get-out-the-vote, and printed materials.

During the 1977 legislative session, substantial increases were made in the benefit levels in Workmen's Compensation and Unemployment Insurance. There were also improvements in disability benefits for pregnancy.

At the end of the 1977 legislative session, one of the primary goals of the New York State public employee unions was met when agency fee legislation was passed. A bill was signed into law that provided for the automatic deduction of a fee equivalent to regular union dues of union members for all state employees within the same certified bargaining unit.

The State AFL-CIO was able to stop passage of a bill establishing the creation of the New York State Management Advisory Board. The Federation also backed a bill that would authorize the State Labor Department to use available federal funds to establish service centers for displaced homemakers around the state.

A law passed the Legislature and was signed into law on June 19, 1978 that provided for a proper redetermination of prevailing rates and supplements by making it clear that redetermination is the sole responsibility of the fiscal officer as designated in Section 220 of the Labor Law.

On March 2, 1977, Dr. Ludwig Jaffe was appointed the Legislative Director for the New York State AFL-CIO. Dr. Jaffe became the Research Director for the New York State CIO Council in 1952 and after the 1958 merger, he was named to head the research department for the State AFL-CIO. He preferred to be known and addressed simply by his name-- Ludwig Jaffe. He had thrice earned the title of Doctor, but it was others who insisted on prefixing the title to his name.

Yet no account of the century and quarter of the New York State AFL-CIO and its predecessor bodies could be complete without recounting his highly skilled, tireless, thorough and painstaking research work in the vineyards of organized labor here over a span of thirty-two years.

Slight of build and of medium height, his manner was mild yet direct. A gentle modest man, he could become a relentless tiger in defense in pursuit of the rights of workers. Yet in contrast to the previous subject matter he daily dealt with, he had a lively, near pixyish sense of humor, with an apparently endless fund of stories to illustrate a point or relieve the tedium or tension of the work at hand.

Born May 13, 1903, he was the son of an ethnic German civil service worker in the Silesian area of what is now Poland. The family was Jewish, yet like all children in Poland at the time, the grade school he attended had as part of the curriculum, Catholic religious instruction. He was bi-lingual from the start, in German and Polish. As his education progressed, he added Latin and Greek, then essential parts of classical training.

His legal studies were at the Universities of Lvov and Cracow, and he earned doctorates in law, the history of law, and canon law, of special value in Catholic Poland. He served on the faculties of the Universities of Cracow and Vienna. Service as a judge was then an element in becoming a lawyer in general private practice.

In addition, he held a lieutenant's commission in a regiment of Polish cavalry. But in September, 1939, when the Germans blitzkrieged their way deep into Poland he was cut off and unable to join his unit in the nation's defense.

Besides that he was a marked man by the Hitler Gestapo because of his religion and as an intellectual, for he was secretary of his area bar association, and by Stalin's NKVD because as a member of a three-judge court, which had twice, as mandated by Polish law, had to impose the death sentence on a Communist found guilty of the murder of a Polish policeman.

Either enemy, if they had found and identified him would have certainly executed him out of hand.

His only recourse was to take on a new identity, complete with carefully forged documents plus committing to memory every available detail of the likeness and family background the Catholic whose identity he had assumed. Twice

again he had to obtain other identity documents and learn the family details of that individual, so that if questioned, he could substantiate that he was who he claimed to be.

During one period of some six months, when his hiding place was a small cupboard in the home of a woman who had been a domestic with his family, he somehow obtained books and taught himself to read and write both Hebrew and English. Only later, when it became possible did he hone his pronunciation in both languages.

So respected was he that he was secretly tipped off by a German army officer at one point, that he was listed to be seized and deported to a concentration camp the next day. That night he made his escape across country and, while in company with another man in flight, was spotted and fired on by a German military guard, whose aim was poor, or his flight and life would have ended then and there. He spoke little of other harrowing incidents of his life in ensuing years. As the war in Poland was reaching a critical point he took to flight once again, now with his wife Ludwika. They were successful in crossing into Italy when it had been occupied by allied forces; they were traveling as stateless persons. Finally reaching Rome, his background and training led to his becoming director of the Organization for Rehabilitation and Training (ORT), a Jewish agency to teach useful marketable skills to refugees being relocated. Here he became fluent in Italian. He also had some capability in Russian, Spanish, and French, though it was for the Italian tongue he had a special love.

It was during the ORT period in Rome that his son, George, now a Cornell-trained electrical engineer, was born. But so strong was his desire that George enjoy the privileges and protection of US citizenship that he resigned what was an excellent post, financially, at ORT, to come to this country, settling in New York City. Initially he was briefly with the Research Department of the ILGWU, then through Louis Hollander, the State CIO Council president, he became in 1952 Research Director with the State CIO.

With merger of the two state labor bodies, he became the Research Director, later to be named Legislative Director of the State AFL-CIO, until 1984. He was constantly on the cutting edge of the struggles to improve the social insurance, economic and other protections of workers as well as in scores of successful efforts to better the lot of all New York State workers through legislation. He was incapacitated in his 81st year by serious illness. Death came on April 18, 1984. In those years whenever the Legislature was in session, so was Ludwig. No bill, introduced or amended, went unread or unanalyzed. And a steady stream of pro and con memos flowed to all in that body who could affect the outcome. Literally tens of thousands of memos, some repeated as needed, flowed from the State AFL-CIO office to the Hill. They were clear and forceful and, in the end, effective as the year-by-year record show.

In an Executive Council resolution at the 1984 convention his "extraordinary talents" and "incalculable contribution" to the well-being of the working men and women of New York State were acknowledged and a laminated copy of the resolution was presented to his wife, Ludwika Jaffe.

Another key person in the Corbett and early Cleary administration was Dick Torrey. An ironworker and later a teacher, Torrey had organized Local 3583 of the AFT. He was on the State Federation staff from 1975 through 1987, and assisted Jaffe in day-to-day work with affiliates on their legislative agendas. He researched legislative issues, prepared testimony, wrote speeches, among other duties. He made the transition to the Cleary administration in which he was promoted to Associate Director of Legislation. In 1987 he was appointed by Governor Cuomo to the State Mediation Board.

On June 4 and 5 both the State Senate and Assembly memorialized him in special resolution acknowledging his contribution to the legislative process.

On March 2, Richard O'Hara, a member of the law firm known then as Doran, Colleran O'Hara, Pollio and Dunne was named as the counsel for the New York State AFL-CIO. In January, 1978, the Director of Public Relations, Joseph P. Murphy, retired. He held that position in both the State AFL-CIO and the State CIO for close to 22 years.

The New York State AFL-CIO operation was successful in numerous Congressional and State Legislature races in 1976. The State AFL-CIO's efforts were also instrumental in carrying New York's 41 electoral votes for Jimmy Carter who was elected President.

In 1978, the State AFL-CIO's support also proved instrumental in the re-election of Governor Hugh Carey.

Also between the years of 1977-78, the state COPE's record of success was six percentage points ahead of the impressive record of the national COPE department.

During the years of 1979-80, two bills were signed into law that authorized the Industrial Commissioner to require interest to be paid on monies due the worker when prevailing rates were not adhered to. He also gained the power to

impose a civil penalty, payable to the State or municipality of up to 25 per cent of the amount due. This helped curtail violations of Section 220 of the Labor Law.

There was also legislative approval for the construction of a \$375 million convention and exhibition center in New York City. The New York State AFL-CIO strongly endorsed the proposed center and they were assured that the work would be performed in accordance with Section 220 of the Labor Law. This guaranteed the prevailing wage plus low-bidder competitive bidding.

In the area of Workers' Compensation, the State AFL-CIO re-started a campaign to establish an exclusive state fund to administer the Workers' Compensation program. In the 1977 study, it was found that more than 51 per cent of every Worker's Compensation premium dollar went to cover the overhead costs of the insurance carriers. Over \$434 million was spent for litigation, acquisition costs and profits in order to deliver \$410 million in medical and cash benefits for injured workers and their families. States with their own funds only paid eight to nine percent of premiums for administrative expenses. The study was successful in bringing to light the merits of an exclusive state fund.

With the aggressive support of the State Federation, the Transportation Bond Act was approved. It authorized the creation of a \$500 million fund to improve local streets and highways, rapid transit, commuter passenger, and rail freight capital facilities and equipment. The act also approved \$400 million from the capital construction fund to the Department of Transportation for the acquisition and rehabilitation of urban, commuter and intercity rail passenger and rapid transit systems and rail freight capital facilities.

Also, the State AFL-CIO was successful in having a bill enacted into law which applies the principle of equal pay for equal work to domestic and farm workers. This measure extended to these workers the prohibition against differentials in pay rates because of sex.

President Corbett urged Governor Carey to ban the J.P. Stevens Company from participating in bidding on state contracts. Corbett called Stevens "the most flagrant labor violator in the United States." He also said, "A complete halt in state purchases of goods manufactured by Stevens will go a long way toward providing justice for all Steven's workers." The action that the Governor took in response to Corbett's statements was directing all state agencies to take into account the labor records off all companies bidding on State contracts.

On March 21, 1979, the US Supreme Court upheld the New York State law that provides unemployment insurance benefits to strikers. This was an important victory for the New York State AFL-CIO which is the only state currently to have such a law.

The 1980 election was a difficult one for organized labor with Ronald Reagan winning the White House and carrying New York State in the process. The Republicans also captured control of the United States Senate with the election of Republican Alfonse D'Amato from New York contributing to the majority.

January 10, 1980 marked the death of George Meany. He was eighty-five years old. On January 28, Corbett gave the eulogy at the memorial mass for Meany.

"A short while ago, this nation, in a wonderful display of affection, mourned the passing of labor's greatest spokesman; one who fought corruption and communism constantly. None can deny that he was one of the great benefactors of the poor, or that God gave longevity to Brother Meany, allowing him to pursue His service to the workers of the world.

"This memorial mass today has a special significance; it takes place in New York, the state he loved dearly, where he worked as a plumber, married, raised a family and worshiped his God. Organized labor in this Empire State can stand proudly. It was they who recognized the talents of George Meany early in his career. They also knew it was only a matter of time when they would be sharing his talents and deeds with the nation and the free world. It was in New York that George nurtured his vision of a world with social and economic justice. His visions were many.

"He dreamed of a free quality education for all children.

"He dreamed of a decent job with fair wags for all who sought work.

"He dreamed of tender quality care for the sick, the disabled, the disadvantages, the elderly and the unemployed.

"George Meany did not just dream; he knew that service to a just cause rewards the worker with more real happiness and satisfaction than any other venture of life..."

In 1981, a basic reform of the Taylor Law was passed that established that it is an improper employer practice to refuse to continue all the terms of an expired agreement until a new agreement is negotiated.

On June 29, 1982, five thousand union members assembled in Albany to take part in a jobs rally sponsored by the New York State AFL-CIO. The purpose of the rally was to "to send a message to government leaders that New Yorkers need and want jobs." The participants marched, sang labor songs, and stood in heavy rain for over two hours to make the politicians aware that their empty promises were not going to be tolerated any longer.

Despite drastically cutting aid to public education, the Reagan administration in 1982 proposed a tuition tax credit bill that would cost taxpayers nearly \$6 billion a year. The legislation would provide for a tax credit for parents who send their children to non-public schools. The State AFL-CIO contacted each member of Congress and informed them of organized labor's strong opposition to tuition tax credits. The central labor councils were asked to contact their individual congressmen to give them the same message.

Senator D'Amato and Senator Moynihan were also urged to oppose the position on tuition tax credit legislation in the U.S. Senate.

Also in 1982, the COPE department sponsored a three-day school to train and educate up to one-hundred COPE volunteers on procedures for updating computer sheets, and setting up and operating phone banks.

The 1982 State AFL-CIO Convention delegates were faced with a choice for governor in the Democratic Party between New York City Mayor Edward I. Koch and Lieutenant Governor Mario M. Cuomo. Koch was leading Cuomo in the polls by 34 points at the time of the Convention. Following a long debate, the delegates voted to endorse Cuomo---a decision that proved to be the determining factor in turning around this candidacy. Cuomo defeated Koch in the Primary, and with strong support from the State Federation, went on to edge millionaire Republican-Conservative Lew Lehrman in the general election.

While the gubernatorial race was one of the closes in history, the other three statewide races were won by much greater margins. U.S. Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan, Attorney General Robert Abrams and Comptroller Ned Reagan all won big victories with COPE backing.

COPE endorsed candidates won in 22 of the State's 34 newly structural Congressional Districts. Two important races centered on newcomers Robert Mrazek (D) who unseated Arch-Conservative John LeBoutallier in the Third Congressional District and Sherwood Baehler (R) won was successful in the 25th Congressional District with COPE support.

State AFL-CIO support was also the key to passage of Governor Cuomo's \$1.8 billion Rebuild New York Bond Issue in 1983.

## **THE CLEARY ADMINISTRATION**

On January 17, 1984, Raymond Corbett retired as State AFL-CIO president. He continues to serve his local union as its business manager and also as the Chairman of the Board of Trustees of the pension, health, vacation and annuity funds for IronWorkers Locals 40, 361, and 417. Through his leadership, the package of wage and fringe benefits in the New York metropolitan area is the biggest in the country and continues to grow.

To fill the vacancy, the Executive Council elected Edward J. Cleary, a 53 year old electrician from IBEW Local 3 in New York City.

After completing his five-year apprenticeship as an electrician, Cleary worked as a journeyman and foreman in the trade. In 1958, he was elected an officer of Local 3 and in 1961, he was elected Vice President and appointed Assistant Business Manager in charge of the electrical manufacturing and electrical wholesale division of the local. He was elected president of the local in 1964, a post he held until 1973 when he was elected Secretary-Treasurer of the New York City and New York State Building and Construction Trades Council. He also served as a Vice-President of the New York State AFL-CIO and an executive board member of the New York City Central Labor Council.

Retiring along with Corbett were two key staff members, Dr. Ludwig Jaffe, Director of Research and Legislation and the Director of the Committee on Political Education (COPE), Sy Cohen. Richard Winston, a lawyer and experienced

lobbyist from AFSCME District Council 37 became the New Legislative and Research Director and Paul F. Cole, a member of the Board of Directors of the New York State United Teachers and Vice President of the American Federation of Teachers, was appointed COPE Director. Cote, a teacher from Lewiston, New York, was serving as assistant to NYSUT President Thomas Y. Hobart, Jr. at the time of the appointment.

Cleary acted quickly to move on both the legislative and political fronts with the legislative session just beginning and the state's Presidential primary three months away. He called a meeting of all labor lobbyists to establish labor's legislative program, which was formally introduced at the State Federation's legislative conference.

Victories from the 1984 legislative session included funding to hire additional inspectors to enforce the state's prevailing wage law, elimination of a proposal to charge fees to unions for utilizing the services of the State Mediation Board, major increases in aid to elementary, secondary and higher education, enactment of a "whistleblower" protection law that prohibited retaliatory action against public and private employees who disclosed information about illegal employer actions which present a substantial danger to the public health and safety, pension supplementation for public employees, establishment of civil penalties for violations of the state Child Labor laws, and a law prohibiting age discrimination in employment.

In January of 1984, under its new leadership, the State AFL-CIO began immediately preparing for the April 3rd Presidential primary in New York. Following the New Hampshire primary, AFL-CIO endorsed candidate Walter Mondale was facing a stiff challenge from remaining Democratic contenders Gary Hart and Jesse Jackson in what the media termed "the shoot-out at the OK Corral." Recognizing the importance of the race for both Mondale and the labor movement, Cleary and COPE Director Cole organized a comprehensive and aggressive plan to ensure a Mondale victory. Using COPE computers, over 600,000 pieces of direct mail were sent to union members who were registered Democrats, thousands of phone calls were made at labor phone banks, millions of pieces of literature were distributed, rallies were held, thousands of posters put up and a highly successful shop stewards one-on-one campaign implemented. In addition, assistance was given to delegate slates throughout the state that were, in most cases, already established. Coordinators were appointed in every congressional district to assist labor councils and affiliates. Many affiliates conducted highly sophisticated efforts among their own members.

Walter Mondale not only won an important victory in New York but the win catapulted him to victory in succeeding states and allowed him to capture the Democratic nomination in San Francisco in July.

According to the New York Times, the Mondale victory "represented a major triumph for the State's labor unions." According to exit polls, labor union households accounted for a whopping 40 percent of the entire primary vote.

Thirty-three State AFL-CIO members were elected as delegates or alternates to the Democratic National Convention with COPE backing. State AFL-CIO members were also members of the Rules, Platform and Credentials committees. Under the leadership of President Ed Cleary, the delegation played a major role at the convention.

Following the primary, COPE launched a massive voter registration project to enroll 200,000 voters. The drive was officially kicked off at a press conference in Albany attended by State AFL-CIO President Cleary, Assembly Speaker Stanley Fink, Assemblyman Clifford Wilson, Chair of the Assembly Elections committee, and representatives from Senator Warren Anderson's and Secretary of State Gall Shaffer's office at which time an official proclamation issued by Governor Cuomo was read.

The closing of the polls on Tuesday, November 6, 1984 marked the culmination of a year of hard work on behalf of labor's endorsed candidates by thousands of trade union leaders and members across the state. While the Mondale-Ferraro ticket failed to carry New York State, polls showed that union households voted for Mondale over Reagan by a 61 per cent to 39 per cent margin or 20 per cent more than the vote Mondale received nationally.

In Congressional, State Senate and State Assembly races, 88 per cent of the candidates endorsed by the State AFL-CIO were successful, including several incumbents in marginal districts.

At the Twenty-third constitutional convention of the State Federation, AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland said "I want to extend congratulations and deepest thanks to the trailblazing leadership of the New York labor movement. I can think of no important gain won by workers in the last century in organizing and bargaining, in the development of new approaches in legislative and political action that was not first pioneered in New York State. Despite all of the economic and demographic changes, yours remains the biggest, the strongest of all the AFL-CIO state bodies, and we are very proud of you."

In his first speech as governor, to the 1984 Convention, Mario M. Cuomo thanked the delegates stating, "The simple truth is I would not be here today as Governor without you and your support. And I won't forget." He went on to cite the accomplishments of his first two years in office and lashed out at the Reagan administration's failures.

The convention elected Edward Cleary to his first full two-year term and Paul F. Cole as Secretary-Treasurer to replace retiring E. Howard Molisani.

Molisani had served in the number two post of the State Federation since 1976. He attended Fordham University and graduated from Brooklyn Law School, receiving an LLB in 1934 and LLM in 1937. He worked as a garment worker while attending Fordham and was hired as a staff member of the Joint Board, Cloakmakers Union, while he attended law school. Following service as an officer in World War II, Molisani served as Educational director and Counsel for Local 48 of the ILGWU. From 1948 to 1955 he served Local 48 as Executive Secretary and from 1956 to 1973, as Manager-Secretary. In 1956, he was elected Vice President of the ILGWU and as First Vice-President in 1958. He was elected Vice-President of the State AFL-CIO in 1959. From 1973 to 1978, he served as General Manager of the New York State Joint Board of the Cloak, Dress, Rainwear, and Allied Garment Workers' Union. He was again elected a Vice President of the State AFL-CIO following his retirement as Secretary-Treasurer in 1984. He died later that year.

A holder of a B.A. in Political Science from Marquette University and an M.S. from Canisius College, Paul F. Cole spent 23 years as a high school social studies teacher in the Lewiston-Porter school system in Niagara County. He served as president of his local, the Lewiston-Porter United Teachers, and negotiated its first contracts under the Taylor Law. He was elected to the Board of Directors of New York State United Teachers which was the newly merged state organization affiliated with both the American Federation of Teachers (AFT) and National Education Association (NEA) in 1972. In 1973, he was elected to the NEA Board of Directors and in 1974 was elected an AFT Vice President. In 1978, he began to coordinate New York State AFL-CIO COPE activities in Western New York on a part-time basis.

Under President Cleary's leadership, the programs and activities of the New York state AFL-CIO began to grow rapidly. Delegates to the 1984 convention adopted a resolution calling for the establishment of a Community Services Department to reaffirm the State AFL-CIO's commitment to strengthening communities in the areas of health, welfare, and recreation by encouraging affiliates and members to carry forward a variety of community services programs and activities. Sal Ingrassia, Vice-President of the State AFL-CIO since 1978 and President of District 3, IUE, was appointed by President Cleary to chair the Community Services Committee and Assistant COPE Director Colleen Crawford was appointed Community Services Director. The State AFL-CIO helped create the New York State Community Services Agency to provide staffing and overall funding for labor community service programs statewide and to assist central labor councils to develop or improve programs.

The State Federation concluded an agreement with the United Way of New York State as a cooperative effort to pioneer new methods and approaches to expanding community service throughout the state. President Cleary was elected to the United Way of New York State Board of Directors in 1985 and was succeeded by Secretary-Treasurer Cole in 1989. The Community Services Program was successful in obtaining a variety of grants from the New York State Division of Alcoholism and Alcohol Abuse (DAAA), the State Division of Substance Abuse Services (DSAS), the State Department of Labor and the New York State Education Department. A formal agreement has also been established between the New York State AFL-CIO and the United Way of New York State. Programs include an Employee Assistance Promotional program, a Substance Abuse Education and Referral program, a Safety and Health Education program, a Displaced Homemakers program, and a Workplace Learning Program. The Community Services Labor Agency increased its staff to twelve professionals and five support staff by 1990.

Activities have included the promotion of a highly successful peer counseling program with over 300 peer counselors trained throughout the state. Cooperation with the United Way has resulted in major increases in local United Way campaigns and the State Employees Federated Appeal (SEFA) because of increased involvement of State Federation affiliates. Scores of local Employee Assistance Programs throughout the state, hundreds of referrals by Drug and Substance Abuse Counselors, a series of highly acclaimed health and safety workshops, the successful reentry into the workforce of many women as a result of the Displaced Homemakers efforts, a very successful statewide awards program and newsletter, and an innovative and successful softball tournament for affiliates were established.

The Agency also hosts a statewide Community Services Conference every two years and sponsors a wide variety of meetings and forums on topics and issues relating community services.

In 1984, President Cleary also established a Pension Investment Policy Group (PIPG). The purpose of the PIPG was to explore ways pension funds could become a major force in the economic revitalization of New York State. It developed a statewide of policy and a set of procedures for evaluating investment proposals. PIPG's objectives were to identify prudent investments in New York State for union pension funds that also provide social benefits including affordable housing for working people and job creation. Its first successful effort included pension investments in the Brooklyn Ecumenical Cooperative's "New Communities" Housing Program.

As a result of action by delegates to the 1984 convention, President Cleary also established, in 1985, the New York State AFL-CIO Labor Coordination (LCP) using Title IIA funds from the Job Training and Partnership Act. The LCP is labor's link to the State Job Training and Partnership Council. The primary purpose of the LCP is to assist dislocated workers to find reemployment in good jobs and to assist individual unions affected by plant closings and major layoffs. The LCP also works closely with labor members on Private Industry Councils (PIC's) and various state agencies including the Department of Labor.

The 1985 and 1986 sessions of the New York State Legislature included several important victories for labor. The enactment of a strong toxic tort law was a major breakthrough in protecting workers who are victims of injuries and illnesses resulting from a "a slow starting diseases." The legislation permitted those already ill or their survivors one year to bring lawsuits and future victims the ability to bring lawsuits within three years from the time they discover their injuries or illnesses.

In 1985, the State Federation was successful in getting the OSHA Training Fund Bill enacted which established a state training and education program on occupational safety and health and created a \$2 million fund administered by the New York state Occupational Safety and Health abatement Board. As a result of this law, New York became the first major industrial state to fund a safety and health training program through assessments against providers of Worker's Compensation insurance rather than public funds.

Another labor priority, the prevailing Wage Enforcement Bill was signed into law. It strengthens Section 220 of the Labor Law which required the payment of prevailing rates on public work construction projects.

The State AFL-CIO also strongly supported the Corporate Takeover Bill which protects employees and shareholders of corporations which are incorporated in New York State or which have their principal offices and significant operations in the State, from the harmful effects of hostile takeovers.

Other important legislation included a "shared work" program, several improvements in Worker's Compensation, an asbestos removal law, and a host of successful bills covering a range of concerns to affiliates.

In October, 1985, the State Federation moved into a new building at 100 South Swan Street in Albany. The three-story structure was completely renovated and currently houses the President's Albany office, the office of the Secretary-Treasurer, the Department of Legislation, COPE and Community Services, the Labor Coordination Program and offices of the New York State Building and Construction Trades Council, the New York State Conference of Operating Engineers, a lobbyist for IBEW and a public relations firm.

The new Albany headquarters includes a new computer system, a print shop, mail room, and conference facilities. It is located across the street from the State Capitol and the Legislative Office Building.

The New York City offices were moved to 48 E 21st Street in November 1986. The refurbished offices contain the President's New York office, the Departments of Research and Education and the Public Employee Division. It also has a conference room.

The political activity of the State Federation focused early in 1986 on the Presidential primary. Since there was no AFL-CIO endorsed candidate, the goal of COPE Department under COPE Director Denis Hughes was to maximize labor's influence at the Democratic National Convention by getting as many delegates as possible elected, the basic concept was to organize a planned and coordinated program to avoid having labor candidates competing against one another. The program was a major success with an all-time high in the number of delegates and alternates sent to the Democratic Convention in Atlanta, Georgia in July, 1986. There were 75 labor delegates and 13 alternates, the largest labor delegation in the nation. The labor delegation from New York was larger than the total number of delegates in 30 states and the District of Columbia.

The year 1988 was a boom year for COPE activities. While the Democratic nominee, Michael Dukakis lost the election for the presidency, New York was one of ten states that he carried. A large proportion of Dukakis' success in New York State can be attributed directly to the coordinated efforts of the labor movement. In this campaign, over 20 AFL-CIO phone banks were in operation with a total of 180 phones. More than 100,000 "hard identification" calls were made. Over 250,000 Dukakis tabloids were distributed statewide at key work sites. Using targeting information, 75,000 pieces of mail from the phone banks were mailed to high Democratic areas. Over 6,000 volunteers participated statewide. Labor's efforts made a significant difference in Dukakis' margin in New York. In addition, the New York AFL-CIO targeted two congressional races. In the first Congressional District, George Hochbrueckner won by a narrow 51 to 49 per cent margin. Organized labor also scored an upset victory in the 20th congressional district with anti-labor incumbent Joseph DiGuardi beaten by Nita Lowey with the AFL-CIO's assistance.

The year 1989 saw the development of the State Federation's own in-house polling operation. The COPE Department conducted over 20 polls that were both accurate and cost-effective. It has the capability of conducting polls for individual unions on organizing, membership, or collective bargaining, in addition, it can poll union members only, or the population at-large.

A major development from 1988 to 1990 was the use of targeting data. Through the National Committee for an Effective Congress, targeting is made available to the New York State AFL-CIO from a statewide level down to individual election districts.

The year 1989 saw the historic election of labor-endorsed candidate David Dinkins for Mayor of New York City. Dinkins won in the primary against incumbent Mayor Ed Koch by 50 percent to 42 percent. The general election saw Dinkins pull out a squeaker against Rudolph Giuliani (51 percent-49 percent) that could not have been accomplished without labor's efforts. Over 100,000 phone calls were made to union members, and over 150,000 get-out -the-vote postcards were mailed out. The election day operation saw over 5,000 union members distribute 1.2 million pieces of Dinkins literature in targeted districts, while the margin of victory was under 50,000 votes. Clearly, the labor movement's involvement made the difference in this close election.

In the spring of 1990, COPE Director Denis Hughes was appointed Executive Assistant to President Cicary. Associate Director Suzy Spilker Ballantyne was named the new COPE Director.

In November, 1987, Ed Donnelly, chief lobbyist for the 60,000 member Public Employee Federation, replaced Richard Winsten as the State Federation's Director of Legislation. Also in 1987, the New York State AFL-CIO created the Public Employee Division co-chaired by State AFL-CIO Vice-Presidents Stanley Hill of AFSCME District Council 37 and United Federation of teachers President Sandra Feldman. Arthur Wilcox, who served as president of Firefighters Local 589 in Newburgh, an officer of the Orange County Central Labor Council, and Secretary of Cornell University Faculty Federation, AFT, was appointed Director.

The PED's goal is to coordinate the efforts of the growing public employee affiliates. It sponsors an annual conference, researches and disseminates information to PED members, monitors public employee related legislation, and acts as a coordinator on specific issues and concerns of public employees. A major success was the establishment of a Task Force on Public Employee Pensions that issued a comprehensive and influential report entitled "It's Our Money." PED works closely with public employee affiliates on a wide range of issues affecting them from commercial driver's licenses problems to VDT legislation.

During 1987, the State AFL-CIO witnessed the affiliation of the Civil Service Employees Association (AFSCME Local 1000) and the International Brotherhood of Teamsters as well as numerous new local affiliates from other internationals.

In an effort to increase the State Federation's effectiveness with the New York State Congressional delegation and the AFL-CIO's national legislative effort, President Cleary appointed CSEA's political director, Thomas Haley, as his assistant early in 1988. Haley worked to implement a program to improve communications with the state's two Senators and 34 Congressmen. An annual breakfast is held in Washington for the New York delegation hosted by the top state federation leadership. Legislative Action Committees are also being established in Congressional districts. Haley's office has also been equipped with a computer link to the AFL-CIO's Department of Legislation to ensure instant communications.

Delegates to the 1988 State AFL-CIO convention adopted a resolution calling for a voluntary one cent per member per month to fund a "Union Yes" program to supplement and extend the successful "Union Yes" campaign of the AFL-CIO. State Federation officers Edward J. Cleary met with representatives of the AFL-CIO's Labor's Institute of Public Affairs (LIPA) to map the campaign's goals and strategies.

The highly successful program was launched in the Utica-Rome area in 1989 with radio and cable TV ads, billboards, and a variety of other means to tell labor's message. Polling done by the COPE Department prior to and following the one month blitz showed an increase in public support for organized labor and its goals. The program focuses on different parts of the state on a quarterly basis.

As the 1989 legislative session opened, New York State faced a projected budget deficit of \$2 billion. The deficit was the result of a tax cut enacted in 1986 to coincide with a federal tax cut and it resulted in a major shortfall of revenues to the state treasury. Under President Cleary's leadership, the State AFL-CIO helped to launch the Coalition on Economic Priorities (CEP), a voluntary statewide coalition of organizations representing more than 50 labor, education, human service, cultural, civic, local government and religious organizations. Co-chairs of the coalition were President Cleary, Edwin L. Crawford, executive director of the New York State Association of Counties and Rev. Dr. Arleon Kelley, executive director of the New York State Council of Churches.

The coalition was successful in blocking implementation of the last phase of a state tax cut that would have resulted in the loss of billions of dollars to the state and in protecting vital state services.

The 1989 Legislative session saw significant gains for organized labor. Unemployment Insurance benefits were raised from \$180 to a maximum of \$245 a week, the first increase since 1983. Annual increments will allow claimants to keep pace with the cost of living by raising the maximum benefit to \$300 a week in 1992 close to labor's goal of 50 per cent of the state's average weekly wage.

Other victories included securing funding for a displaced worker's center, training money targeted for health care professionals, increased funding for employment and training programs, permanent funding for the state's Occupation Health clinic and a guaranteed role for labor in training and counseling of dislocated workers. The State AFL-CIO supported a wide array of successful bills sought by its affiliates including clarification of the state's Ethics law, improvements in public employee pension systems, and registration and inspection procedures to help combat sweatshops. A major disappointment in the 1989 session was the Legislature's failure to adopt a comprehensive Workers' Compensation package.

On Labor Day, 1989, the State AFL-CIO was honored when President Edward J. Cleary was selected Grand Marshall of the New York City Labor Day Parade. President Cleary, joined by Governor Cuomo, and other labor and political leaders, and followed in the line of march by over 100,000 working men and women, and their families, floats and bands and more than 400 affiliated locals. The nation's first Labor Day parade was in New York City in 1882.

With an increasing number of state and national reports citing increased child labor law violations, the State AFL-CIO launched a two-part program to strengthen existing child labor laws and to major child labor law education program throughout the state.

The State AFL-CIO joined a number of other unions and state agencies to develop a curriculum guide entitled "The Working Teenager" which was sent to more than 2,000 teachers in every high school in the state. The teacher's guide included lessons on basic rights and privileges in the workplace, rules governing the employment of minors, minimum and prevailing wage rates, prohibited occupations, unemployment insurance and workers' compensation.

The State Federation also plays an important role in supporting the AFL-CIO's International Affairs Program. The State AFL-CIO has sponsored seminars on international affairs, hosted foreign trade unionists and sent officers and staff abroad to represent the AFL-CIO. President Cleary has visited Ireland, the Phillipines, the Far East and Central America. Secretary-Treasurer Cole was a member of a trade union international observer team during the Chilean plebiscite that rejected its dictator Augusto Pinochel. Cole also attended meetings of the Trade Union Advisory Council of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) in Paris. Along with Colleen Crawford Gardner and William McSpedon, Cole participated in study tours of Western Europe. Ed Donnelly, Art Wilcox, Richard Winsten, Ralph Catroppa and Denis Hughes also visited other nations at the request of the AFL-CIO. Three state legislators, Thomas Catapano, Joseph Crowley and Herman D. Farrell, Jr. participated in labor sponsored trips.

On September 17, 1989 the State Federation hosted a historic welcome for Solidarnosc leader Loch Walesa of Poland. Union leaders throughout the state were invited to meet Walesa. Governor Cuomo used the occasion to announce the State's Lincoln on Democracy Project, which was supported by the State AFL-CIO.

The New York State AFL-CIO is a member of the Northeast AFL-CIO Council which represents ten state federations from Maine to Maryland. The Council, comprised of the state federation officers, meets quarterly to discuss issues and problems of mutual concern. President Cleary served as president of the Northeast Council in 1989 and was instrumental in initiating the Council's First Annual Summer School which was held in Bourne, Massachusetts in July 1990.

The state's first Dislocated Worker Assistance Center opened officially on February 26, 1990. The unique, cooperative venture between the New York State AFL-CIO and the New York State Department of Labor was a major priority of President Edward J. Cleary. The concept of the center is to bring under one roof all of the services workers who find themselves out of work need including assessment, counseling, and job placement services.

Emma K. Deeble was named Director of the Education Department in January 1989. The department promotes "Labor in the Schools" projects which seek to inject labor materials into the schools' curriculum. The department encourages central labor bodies to step up education committees and promotes workplace literacy programs. In 1990, it carried on education work in the unions, especially those with substantial Black and Latino memberships, on the significance of a full count for New York's political and economic future.

In May 1990, a historic conference was held at Texaco's corporate headquarters in White Plains when the New York State AFL-CIO and the Business Council of New York State jointly sponsored a symposium on a unified agenda for education reform in the Empire State.

The conference produced a joint report entitled "Schools for the Future: An Agenda for Change" that called for a fundamental restructuring of the state's schools in order to better prepare students for the changing and more challenging workplace. President Cleary and Texaco CEO and Business Council Chairman James W. Kinnear were invited to make a joint presentation to the full New York State Board of Regents in July.

In the spring of 1990, the State AFL-CIO further expanded its services to affiliates by establishing a Retiree and Health Care department and appointing Edward Panarello as its director.

From a staff of thirteen when he assumed the presidency in 1984, President Cleary had increased its size to nearly fifty by the time the last decade of the twentieth century began. The six short years witnessed dramatic expansion of programs and activities and new offices equipped with the latest computer technology and printing equipment to support the new initiatives

A historic legislative victory was won in July 1990 when the State Federation, capping a three-year drive to gain major changes in the Workers' Compensation Law, scored a decisive breakthrough.

The amendments will raise weekly benefits by hundreds of dollars for injured workers in New York, up from near-poverty levels. Those forces in the business community that had long blocked progress by raising the red herring issue of the Dole v. Dow case were outmaneuvered by labor's lobby. The notorious "gap", --the difference in benefits paid to totally and partially injured workers, a source of endless delay and litigation--will be eliminated in a year. Finally, the new law will set up a Temporary State Commission to study how the insurance cartel in the State sets the premiums it charges to employers.

The challenge for the New York State AFL-CIO in the future is to continue to grow internally and in the community. The men and women who make up the present 2-3 million membership will continue to speak with one voice.