

Fig. 3.1: IUE picket line scuffle in East Springfield, Massachusetts, in the 1950s. (from IUE Archives in Special Collections and University Archives)

CHARGED WITH ELECTRICITY: THE IUE ARCHIVES PROJECT

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On September 14, 1995, the Rutgers University Labor Education Center (LEC) hosted a reception to celebrate the unveiling of a commemorative exhibit marking the sixtieth anniversary of the birth of the CIO in New Iersey. In conjunction with the event, the Rutgers University Libraries honored William H. Bywater, International President of the International Union of Electronic, Electrical, Salaried, Machine and Furniture Workers. AFL-CIO (IUE), in recognition of his union's contributions to labor education and the preservation of labor history at Rutgers.¹ The IUE established a presence on campus during the 1950s through its participation in the Rutgers Summer Labor Institutes and support of the labor education program of the Rutgers Institute of Management and Labor Relations. In the early 1960s the union spearheaded a capital fund campaign to construct the LEC and establish the James B. Carey Library (named after the IUE's first International President). The IUE cemented its relationship with the university by designating the Rutgers University Libraries (RUL) as the official repository for its institutional archive and historical records in September 1965.2

The thirtieth anniversary of the IUE-RUL agreement of deposit (September 19, 1965) serves as a convenient reference point to discuss the current Special Collections and University Archives' initiative towards processing the voluminous records of the IUE, one of the preeminent institutional labor collections in existence. This article examines the nature and scope of IUE Archives Project, surveys the diverse subject content within the major record subgroups of the archives, and sketches the history of the IUE's formative era, 1949 to 1964, covering the internecine struggle with the communist-dominated United Electrical Radio and Machine Workers of America (UE) for ascendancy in the electrical industry, and the union's progressive political legacy in advancing civil rights and social reform during the 1950s and 1960s. It assesses the value of the collection as a primary resource for interdisciplinary studies which explore organized labor's larger social, political, and economic context in the evolution of modern American society. Such scholarship has transformed traditional perceptions of the research potential of institutional labor records in

documenting the lives of citizen-workers and their representative institutions.

Overview of the Archives and Their Research Potential

The IUE Archives span a wide spectrum of issues in industrial relations and the emergence of modern North American society from World War II to the present. Labor archives have become indispensable sources for tracing the rise of the modern corporate and national security state, and the complex administrative agencies and political structures which alternately shaped and were influenced by the course of industrial relations. Scholars and researchers have expanded the horizon of traditional labor history and labor studies—with their foci on the union's primary concerns of organization and bread and butter issues—to embrace the "new institutional history."

In a recent assessment of the value of labor repositories to the exploration of these themes, historian and archivist Robert H. Zieger noted:

... the flowering of archival enterprise in labor history has made available to students of the American state a rich lode of material as yet unused in their increasingly sophisticated studies of governmental institutional building. If students of the modern state are to establish an authoritative record of its twentieth-century development they will need to venture onto the historians' archival turf.³

Thus, a collection of the size and scope of the IUE Archives yields important primary source material for researchers in such diverse fields as labor and social history, labor studies, consumer studies, sociology, media studies, political science, business, economics, journalism, and the history of science and technology.

Chartered as an affiliate of the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO) in 1949 after a tumultuous split with its parent organization, the leftwing UE, the IUE evolved into one of the most influential trade unions in North America with a membership at its height of over 400,000 dues paying members. Its archives constitute one of the most significant and comprehensive institutional labor history collections existing anywhere in the United States. Containing over 1,200 linear feet of textual and non-textual records (audio tapes, films, photographs, original art, labor iconography and ephemera), the IUE Archives serve as the cornerstone of the Rutgers University Libraries' burgeoning labor and social history collections.

Dating from 1933 to 1982, the collection documents the full range and scope of IUE institutional activities: conventions and International Executive Board meetings; organization campaigns; strikes; negotiations, collective bargaining, and conference board meetings; contracts and wage agreements; IUE local, district, and national elections; National Labor Relations Board (NLRB) decisions, arbitration cases, and litigation;

legislative, political and social action programs; international labor affairs; research and educational activities; and IUE relations with other unions, labor federations (the CIO and AFL) and state and central labor councils. Among the major IUE executive bodies, offices, and departments represented are: the International Executive Board; IUE Board of Trustees; President's Office; Secretary-Treasurer's Office; Legal Department; Legislative Department; Research and Education Department; Publicity Department; and Conference Boards & Negotiations.

The papers of three IUE presidents—James B. Carey (1949-1965), Paul Jennings (1965-1976), and David J. Fitzmaurice (1976-1982)—and records generated by other key officers, department heads, and staff members comprise the bulk of the archives. Carey's presidential office records are by far the most extensive. They include collateral documentation of his tenure as Secretary-Treasurer (1938-1955) of the CIO, a post he held concurrently while president of the IUE. Other important IUE figures include: Secretary-Treasurer Albin Hartnett (1949-62), General Counsel Benjamin Sigal (1942-62), and Executive Assistants Les Finnegan (1949-1960), and George L-P. Weaver (1956-1960). Often these officials held other positions in the CIO and AFL-CIO, or worked for a variety of governmental agencies prior to joining the IUE. Records relating to their non-union activities and the institutions with which they were involved are also included in the IUE Archives.

Also documented is the union from which the IUE eventually split, the UE, from its founding in 1936 to its expulsion from the CIO in 1949. Many of the early leaders of the IUE had been active members and officers in the UE and transferred their personal files to the IUE after the schism. Their files contain important records on the early industrial union movement in the electrical manufacturing industry and the formative years of the CIO.

Provenance and Project Description

The establishment of the IUE Archives can be traced back to 1960. [For an historical account of the acquisitions of the IUE Archives and other labor archives at Rutgers, see Bernard Downey's article in this issue.] While the Institute of Management and Labor Relations Library initially took custody of the archives, by 1982 the stewardship of the collection was entrusted to the Special Collections and University Archives and the IUE Archives were transferred to the Libraries' Annex on the Busch campus.⁶

After preliminary processing was carried out between 1968 and 1971, limited resources and other staff priorities prevented further processing of the archives until the mid-1980s. Two factors accounted for the "rediscovery" of the IUE Archives: a renewal of scholarly interest in labor collections and archives with the emergence of the "new labor history," and the IUE's critical need to jettison the voluminous records of previous administrations

in order to reclaim vital space at its cramped international headquarters. The increasingly bureaucratic and litigious nature of union affairs over the preceding decades had created a need to establish a records retention and disposal program to administer the union's current office files and arrange for the orderly transfer of IUE historical files to the RUL.

In 1987 Ronald L. Becker, now Head of Special Collections, met with IUE Personnel Director Walter Phillips to lay the groundwork for reviving the RUL-IUE relationship and developing the union's archives as a major research collection. Transfer of the remaining records to Rutgers (another 500 cubic feet) became a top priority and this was accomplished between 1987 and 1988. Though Special Collections provided limited access to portions of the archives which had been inventoried, the lack of descriptive work and an adequate finding aid hampered efforts to establish intellectual control over the collection. More problematical, the commingling of Carey's and Jennings' records in the second accession group thwarted their integration with the processed records of the original accession. A comprehensive and integrated strategy to arrange, describe, and catalog the present archive and future accessions required a new level of commitment in terms of financial resources and staff expertise.

To facilitate use of this important labor archives, Special Collections and University Archives initiated the IUE Archives Project in 1992 with grant funding provided by the National Historical Publications and Records Commission, the U.S. Department of Education (HEA Title II-C, Library Resources Program), and additional stipends from the IUE. This funding allowed for the hiring of staff including the project archivist and an assistant, Ralph Bingham, who worked from 1993-1995. In three short years the project's descriptive and reference work have garnered national recognition and solidified the Rutgers University Libraries' position as a major documentation center for the study of labor and industrial relations issues. Recognizing the importance of sustaining this effort on its behalf, the IUE assumed full financial sponsorship of the project in October 1995.

Since its inception the IUE project team has inventoried, arranged, processed, and described nearly 500 cubic feet of historical records covering the union's formative era, 1949-1964, under its first president James B. Carey. Comprehensive guides (containing series descriptions and box/folder listings) have been completed for core record subgroups which parallel the IUE's constituent departments and reflect the union's institutional hierarchy. An IUE Photo Archive is being established to centralize access to the union's collection of 2,000 photographic prints. In addition, a preliminary inventory of the original cartoons and illustrations of Bernard Seaman, a renown cartoonist for the *IUE News*, has been compiled as a complement to the IUE's collection of original artwork and graphics. Fragile documents, motion picture films, audio tapes, ephemera, and labor

iconography have also been identified for preservation and special conservation treatment. The IUE project is now entering its second phase which entails the processing of the Jennings-era material and the entry of series-level descriptions for Carey's records in the Archives and Manuscripts Control (AMC) format into the international bibliographic utilities, RLIN and OCLC, and IRIS, the Rutgers online catalogs.

Beyond the processing component of the project, the IUE archivist handles research and reference requests, participates in education and outreach activities, assists in the mounting of exhibits, prepares publications, and undertakes original research in the labor field. Users of the collection include faculty, graduate, and undergraduate researchers from a variety of academic disciplines; industrial relations specialists; labor lawyers; journalists; and representatives from the labor community. The project team assists IUE department heads, staff members and locals in the identification and retrieval of important records for administrative use, the compilation of research data on current and defunct local unions, and the transferral of legal case files to the IUE Legal Department pursuant to pending litigation. Such varied reference work requires the IUE archivist to have interaction with the IUE department representatives and a detailed knowledge of the union's institutional hierarchy.

History and Scope of the IUE Archives

Though the IUE Archives chiefly document the institutional history of the union since 1949, the collection contains primary source material on early industrial unionism and organization of the electrical manufacturing industry during the early 1930s leading to the formation of the United Electrical Radio and Machine Workers of America (UE) and the CIO. Carey's oral history transcript and the extensive historical reference files of his assistant, Les Finnegan, highlight the founding of first electrical (radio) local union in 1933 at the Philco plant in Philadelphia. There is also correspondence, minutes of meetings, reports, and typescript reminiscences covering the activities of early federal local unions (tentatively affiliated with the AFL), independent unions, machinery and metal workers organizations tied to the communist Trade Union Unity League and labor councils (National Radio & Allied Trades Labor Council) which represented electrical workers prior to the founding of the UE in 1936. These records touch upon the electrical workers' early struggle for recognition and collective bargaining agreements with the corporate giants GE, Westinghouse, RCA, Philco, and the Emerson Company. The archives contain a copy of the historic 1936 agreement between UE Local 103, Camden, New Jersey, and the RCA Corporation that ended a bitter and highly publicized strike. The RCA strike involved violence, injunctions. and the arrests of Carey and other UE officials. A settlement negotiated by

John L. Lewis galvanized the rank and file of the fledgling UE in its first major battle with an electrical corporate giant, and lent stature to CIO forces within the state.⁷

IUE-UE Split

Records pertaining to the UE's expulsion from the CIO, and the subsequent IUE-UE rift, chronicle one of the most intensive periods of ideological conflict over the role of communists and left-wing elements within the CIO during the postwar era. They spotlight the CIO campaign to rid its ranks of suspected communist party members and sympathizers, and IUE participation in government investigations and hearings involving the UE and communist infiltration of the electrical manufacturing industry. This struggle within the house of labor mirrored the frenzied anticommunist political environment in American society from 1946 to 1955.

Carey's unsuccessful efforts to oust the UE's entrenched leadership during the 1940s (following his defeat as president in 1941) is amply documented. As Secretary-Treasurer of the CIO, he enlisted CIO President Philip Murray and the financial resources of the labor organization to discredit and defeat the UE, particularly those UE leaders closely identified with the Communist Party of America and alleged front organizations—James Matles (UE Director of Organization) and Julius Emspak (UE Secretary-Treasurer). Carey's files contain correspondence with key anti-communist UE leaders at the local and district level, and reports and minutes of meetings involving such "right-wing" groups as the UE Members for Democratic Action (the anti-communist caucus of the UE rank and file) and the Association of Catholic Trade Unionists (ACTU) led by the Father Charles Owen Rice. The Finnegan Files contain correspondence, typescript reports, and notes concerning the political maneuvering of the UEMDA at the 1949 UE convention and its failure to defeat the incumbent UE President, Albert J. Fitzgerald. The momentous post-convention actions leading to the UE's expulsion and chartering of the IUE are documented in these files.8

The resulting IUE-UE split touched off one of the most bitter intraunion struggles in the annals of labor history, with broad implications for the labor movement and future labor-management relations within the large electrical-electronics chain corporations. Record series contained within the IUE's Publicity Department (Publications/Leaflets of Local Unions), the Secretary-Treasurer's Office (Organizing Campaign Files of Rodger Coyne), Legal Department (IUE/Company Litigation Files), and President's Office (Les Finnegan's UE Research Files) reflect the litigious nature of the conflict as both organizations vied for control of local union charters, assets, properties, the collection of dues check-off payments, and ultimately representation rights. Resolution of these "schism" cases

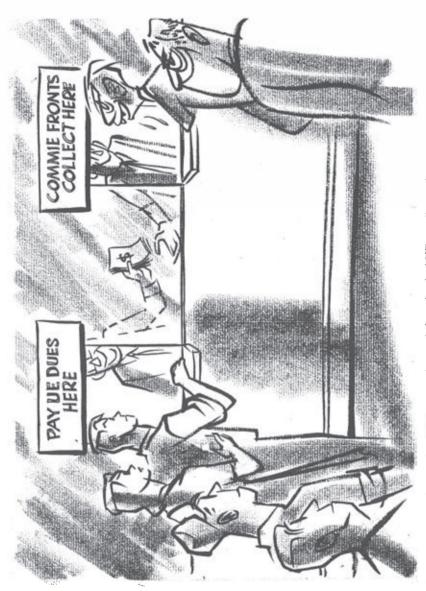


Fig. 3.2: Cartoon illustrating IUE's campaign to defame its rival UE as a "commic front" organization. (from IUE Archives in Special Collections and University Archives)

preoccupied the IUE's General Counsel and the staff of the Legal Department from 1950-1954, almost to the exclusion of other pressing legal problems and the depletion of the IUE treasury.

The intensity of the struggle at the local level is vividly captured by the wealth of organizational literature (including broadsides, leaflets, and newspapers) generated by both unions in conjunction with NLRB election campaigns in many key locals: East Pittsburgh (Local 601, Westinghouse); Schenectady (Local 301, GE); Erie (Local 506, GE) District Five (Canadian campaign in Peterborough and Brockville, Ontario). Both the IUE and UE engaged in smear tactics to discredit the other, with IUE labeling the UE as "the Communist Party masquerading as a labor union," and the UE claiming that its rival had negotiated "sweetheart contracts" with management. Insights into IUE organizational strategy and tactics against the UE can be gleaned from Les Finnegan's extensive UE files that include reports and correspondence received from field organizers and local officers regarding the status of campaigns and the activities of their UE counterparts. Finnegan compiled copious notes and dossiers on UE district and local officers, staff members, and business agents suspected of having ties to the Communist Party of America. 10

IUE efforts to facilitate the demise of the UE and co-opt its membership are highlighted in Carey's and Finnegan's extensive subject files on the UE. These files contain correspondence, memoranda, and notes on meetings and contacts between IUE representatives and UE district and local officers who contemplated defection to the IUE. Prominent figures include Leo Jandreau (UE Local 301) and James MacLeisch (UE District 4). There are also related files on IUE jurisdictional struggles with other unions (the International Association of Machinists and International Brotherhood of Teamsters) which fomented secessionist movements within several UE locals and districts.¹¹

Collective Bargaining

Labor historians interested in the long-term ramifications of the IUE-UE split on collective bargaining and organization within the electrical industry can find much data within the archives. Preoccupation with winning labor's cold war diverted the precious financial and organizational resources of both unions at a time when a united front might have provided an effective challenge to the anti-union policies of GE and Westinghouse. IUE rejection of various UE "unity programs," which proposed IUE-UE cooperation in negotiations with GE and Westinghouse, enabled management to play off both unions to its advantage.

IUE impact upon pattern bargaining within the electrical-electronics industrial complex, and the innovative institutional mechanisms devised by the union to advance the economic interests and welfare of its

membership, are amply documented in the IUE Conference Board and Negotiations record subgroup. The conference board represented the union's functional and democratic response to the complexity of bargaining with large, decentralized electrical manufacturing firms (GE, Westinghouse, GM, RCA). They united all affiliated locals within their respective corporate chain to formulate a uniform bargaining agenda and achieve the objective of industry-wide standards with respect to wages, benefits, and working conditions. By evolving democratic procedures for framing contract demands and building a consensus toward negotiations, the IUE leadership blunted management's ability to employ divisive strategies against locals.

In the 1960s the IUE, under the aegis of the AFL-CIO Industrial Union Department (IUD), pioneered "coordinated collective bargaining" to attain even greater negotiating leverage. This device entailed the pooling and coordination of resources and information by several unions in framing their bargaining demands with a common employer. Through a Coordinated Bargaining Steering Committee (composed of representatives of each union), several unions adopted a uniform negotiating strategy and capitalized on their collective strength to thwart management's divide-and-conquer tactics.¹²

Other significant materials in the IUE archival related to collective bargaining are proceedings, minutes, reports, and correspondence generated by the respective IUE Conferences Boards (representing locals of the major electrical firms—GE, Westinghouse, GM, RCA); industry councils (representing manufacturing sectors—Radio, TV, Lamp, Battery); and occupational groups (Optical, Professional and Salaried, Engineers). These records include negotiations material and documents (bargaining proposals, counter proposals, transcripts, wage data) produced by the IUE Negotiating Committees and management. These records are supplemented by the IUE Research and Education Department's extensive compilation of comparative wage and contract data and statistical information on corporate profits, providing an economic context for IUE bargaining demands.¹³

Collectively, these sources cover basic bargaining issues: wages, dues check-off and union security, job classification, seniority, grievance procedures, and pension, health, and insurance provisions. In addition, they highlight the IUE's concern with employment security and the formulation of new initiatives—guaranteed annual wage, supplemental unemployment benefits—to ameliorate the effects of periodic recessions, runaway shops, and layoffs. Extensive coverage is given to IUE efforts to combat repressive anti-union tactics and "take it-or-leave-it" bargaining strategy devised by GE Vice President Lemule Boulware (known as "Boulwarism"). The Conference Board and Negotiations record subgroup documents the IUE's involvement in major strikes, lockouts, work stoppages, and boycotts.

There is a substantial body of research and reference material devoted to the national strikes against Westinghouse (1955-1956) and General Electric (1960).¹⁴

Internal Politics

Internal union politics are the staple of institutional labor history and IUE archival records on this subject are both thorough and insightful. Ample primary source material exists on Carey's successful bid to recall IUE Secretary-Treasurer Albin Hartnett from office in 1962, and the disputed Carey-Jennings election of 1964-1965 that sealed Carey's demise. Both events are well documented in self-contained record series and in the proceedings of the IUE Executive Board. The period of 1960-1965 marked Carey's denouement as a nationally significant labor leader. His arbitrary use of power in implementing union policies, inability to tolerate dissent, and ultimately his mercurial behavior alienated national officers, District Council presidents, staff and field representatives, and the IUE International Executive Board.

Growing disenchantment with Carey had surfaced in the late 1950s over such issues as proposed dues increases, redistricting, and his failure to address charges of internal corruption involving expense padding by IUE field representatives. However, the IUE president's mishandling of the 1960 GE negotiations and national strike galvanized significant opposition among rank and file members. Emboldened by these developments, Hartnett attempted to assert greater control over staff and field appointments and cultivated political alliances at the district and local levels to position himself for the IUE presidency. Carey charged that Hartnett's actions violated the union's constitution and initiated a petition movement to recall the secretary-treasurer. The Carey-Hartnett dispute created much rancor within the national headquarters and further divided members of the IUE Executive Board. During the controversy, Carey dismissed many Hartnett loyalists in an effort to buttress his political base within the IUE.¹⁵

Hartnett's removal was but a prelude to one of the most bitter union elections in recent memory. In 1964 Paul Jennings (IUE District 3 Secretary) mounted an aggressive challenge to Carey resulting in the union's first contested presidential election. After a vitriolic campaign and election, Carey emerged as the initial winner. Jennings' forces, however, cited evidence of election fraud involving the miscounting of ballots by IUE Trustees and initiated legal action to nullify the election. A subsequent investigation and recount conducted by the U.S. Department of Labor substantiated Jennings' claim and he was declared the victor. Included in the archives are the candidate's respective campaign files which include election leaflets and pamphlets; the final report of the U.S. Department of Labor Investigation; affidavits, testimony, contested ballots, election lists;



Fig. 3.3: Seventh Constitutional Convention of the CIO in Chicago, November 1944. From left to right, Sidney Hillman (President of Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America), Henry Wallace (Vice President of the United States), Philip Murray (President of CIO and United Steelworkers of America), and James B. Carey (CIO Secretary-Treasurer and President of IUE) (from IUE Archives in Special Collections and University Archives)

and collateral records generated by two IUE Executive Board committee investigations of the election.¹⁶

Public Relations

For labor journalists and media specialists the IUE's Publicity Department files and audio-visual holdings offer substantial documentary sources on labor's use of modern media and mass communications techniques to inform the rank and file membership and shape public opinion on important labor issues. The Publicity Department played an activist role in union election and strike campaigns, as well in the effort to demonize the UE. Scholars can trace the professionalization of trade union journalism and the growing effectiveness of labor's news and information gathering network. The expanding role of the IUE publicity/communications directors and public relations in general is amply documented within the archives. Included in the collection are bound editions of the union's official organ, *The IUE-CIO News*, local union newspapers, bulletins and news releases, and organizational and strike literature. These sources highlight the intense public relations battle waged between the IUE and GE for the hearts and minds of workers within corporate-dominated communities.

The IUE's heritage is preserved and embodied in its diverse audiovisual holdings that serve as potential sources for documentaries on the IUE, organized labor, and civil rights. These include audio tape recordings of speeches by major civil rights and labor leaders, interview segments with prominent political figures, excerpts from the McClellan hearings on labor corruption, radio programs (*IUE Pipeline*), and IUE conferences and conventions; motion picture films; and television and radio transcripts.

AFL-CIO Merger

The IUE Archives contain extensive files on the AFL-CIO and its various boards, departments, and committees. Particularly noteworthy are sources on the merger agreement between the CIO and AFL in 1955 and the tenuous relations existing between industrial union affiliates and their craft brethren in the immediate post-merger period. Carey's Industrial Union Department Files trace his working relationship with Walter Reuther and the activities of the department in shaping the affairs of industrial union affiliates. As Secretary-Treasurer of the IUD and an AFL-CIO Vice President, Carey clashed with President George Meany over raiding and jurisdiction issues, civil rights policy, and the conduct of labor's international affairs. There is also material pertaining to Carey and Reuther's campaign to oust the Teamsters, Bakery Workers, and other corrupt unions from AFL-CIO during the late 1950s. Correspondents include such labor officials as Meany, Walter and Victor Reuther, Lane Kirkland, Boris Shishkin, and William Schnitzler.¹⁷

International Initiatives

The IUE's internationalist orientation is reflected in its diverse records on international labor affairs, diplomacy, and global workplace issues. Carey's International Affairs Files document his union's affiliation with many international labor bodies and prominent national organizations active in foreign affairs. As Secretary-Treasurer of the CIO, he led the organization's withdrawal from the communist-dominated World Federation of Trade Unions and participated in the founding of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions to advance free democratic trade unionism abroad. Carey represented the AFL-CIO and IUE at meetings and conferences of the following organizations: the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, the International Labour Organization, International Metalworkers' Federation; the Organization for Inter-American Trade Unions (Latin America); and foreign electrical unions— Denkei Roran (All Japan Federation of Electrical Workers) and the Electrical Trades Union Council (Great Britain). Carey's files trace the union's cooperative relationship with AFL-CIO, U.S. Labor Department, and State Department in establishing labor education programs abroad and fostering democratic trade unionism within underdeveloped countries. Extension of the cold war to the international labor arena is a predominant theme.18

Les Finnegan's research files also document divisions within the AFL-CIO leadership over financial support to international labor organizations and the objectives of American labor's foreign policy. Particularly noteworthy is Carey's and Walter Reuther's disagreement with AFL-CIO President George Meany's involving funding of the Industrial Union Department's International Solidarity Fund to support International Confederation of Free Trade Unions programs abroad. Carey's disenchantment with Meany's chief international affairs advisor (the leftist Jay Lovestone) ultimately led him to resign his position on the AFL-CIO International Affairs Committee.¹⁹

George L-P Weaver's International Confederation of Free Trade Unions Files constitute another important source on international labor affairs within the IUE Archives. Prior to joining IUE, Weaver served as an ICFTU regional officer in Singapore with chief responsibility for monitoring labor developments in Asia and the Pacific Rim. His reports and correspondence focus extensively on communist insurgency, political repression, and neocolonial corporate policies which hindered developing labor movements in Southeast Asia, Malaysia, and the Hindered. The impact of multinational corporations upon international labor standards is given much attention.²⁰

Legal/Administrative Structures

There has been a growing interest among labor historians and labor studies specialists in assessing the postwar impact of the National War Labor Board, Wage and Stabilization Board, Wage and Hour Division of the Department of Labor, and Atomic Energy Commission upon the institutional growth of the IUE and other unions as well. Administrative and agency records deposited in the IUE Archives are vital to an historical discourse regarding the degree to which labor law, wartime expedients, and postwar NLRB decisions alternately empowered and hampered organized labor. Moreover, the disparity between codified practices (embodied in contracts, work rules, and governmental regulations) and the shop-floor reality of labor-management relations will be put in sharper focus.²¹

Legal scholars specializing in industrial relations law will have access to the IUE's rich litigation and NLRB case files which document the Legal Department's handling of the union's legal affairs and the impact of board decisions in defining the parameters of employee and employers' rights within the electrical industry. These files also contain substantial legal research material compiled in conjunction with the preparation of cases. Critical legal studies which trace the historical evolution of legal doctrines operating within the workplace have involving the historical interpretation of legal doctrines impacting upon the workplace are also becoming increasingly visible in law and historical journals. Such studies have focused on such issues as the concept of job rights, employment at will doctrine, worker's rights and plant closure, informational picketing and free speech; and the rights of striking workers.²²

Furthermore, IUE records facilitate an examination and assessment of the legacy arbitration mechanisms, and role of federal agencies in dealing with such issues as defense production and mobilization, labor corruption, domestic communism, and enforcement of civil rights within the workplace. The archives includes relevant material on the ramifications of the Taft-Hartley Act (1947), Landrum-Griffin Act (1959), federally mandated equal opportunity provisions of Civil Rights Act of 1964, and the Occupational Safety and Health Administration during the 1970s.

Social, Political, and Economic Issues

Beyond IUE bread and butter issues, the archives document the larger social, political and economic forces impacting upon the workplace and American society in general. Among the significant subjects covered are: government loyalty and security programs associated with McCarthyism and the Red Scare (HUAC); labor problems within the atomic energy industry (Atomic Energy Commission); Korean War defense mobilization and economic stabilization programs (Wage Stabilization Board); senate investigation of the electrical manufacturing industry for price fixing and non-competitive bids; implementation of wage and price controls during the Nixon administration; automation and technological displacement; the emergence of the post-industrial service sector economy; and the

repercussions of the growing trade imbalance and outsourcing of production overseas.²³

The IUE Archives are invaluable for charting the convergence of the union's growing concern with public policy and social welfare issues and its commitment to political action. Through its affiliation with the CIO Political Action Committee (CIO-PAC), the AFL-CIO Committee on Political Education (COPE), and close ties to the Americans for Democratic Actions (ADA), the IUE rallied its members' collective political strength to the ballot box in support of Democratic Party candidates, the framing of Democratic Party platforms, and liberal legislative initiatives from 1950 to 1982. Deposited within the collection is Carey's correspondence with Presidents John F. Kennedy, Lyndon B. Johnson, prominent legislators, such as Hubert H. Humphrey, George McGovern, Wayne Morse, Harrison Williams, and Stuart Symington, and notable liberal figures including Eleanor Roosevelt. The IUE Legislative Department records contain significant historical material chronicling IUE lobbying efforts to secure passage of the Great Society anti-poverty programs and opposition to President Nixon's domestic policies and federal appointments. Labor's declining political fortunes during the 1970s (beginning with divisions over the Vietnam War and the McGovern campaign) and legislative setbacks involving full employment (Humphrey-Hawkins Bill) and common site picketing legislation can be traced within this record subgroup.²⁴

Social historians and sociologists will also find in the IUE Archives extensive materials on community and work culture. Like most CIO affiliates (with their emphasis upon organizing mass production workers), the IUE encompassed an extensive geographical expanse, enlisting a heterogenous membership toiling in a variety of manufacturing processes loosely incorporated under the electrical and electronics industry. The process by which the union mediated the clashing interests of diverse ethnic, racial, and generational groups (with varying skill and occupational levels) within its rank and file membership is of central concern to sociologists specializing in the study of work place culture. The primary source material in IUE records chart patterns of shop floor behavior and important workers' control issues (i.e., resistance to employer-imposed job evaluation and wage incentive systems). Because of its balanced blend of national, departmental, and local union records, the IUE Archives permits social scientists to examine the implementation and efficacy of civil rights and social action directives from the national office down to locals. Alternately, studies of communities where IUE membership was heavily concentrated illustrate the importance of locale in shaping the industrial union experience of workers.25

The IUE's political legacy illustrates the contributions of organized labor to the passage of the most significant progressive legislation since



Fig. 3.4: IUE President James B. Carey with Lyndon Baines Johnson at the IUE 11th Constitutional Convention in 1964. (from IUE Archives in Special Collections and University Archives)

1950. Political scientists, by examining the union's comprehensive Legislative Department records, can glean the union's orientation toward anti-communist liberalism (embodied by the IUE's affinity with the Americans for Democratic for Action) and its ties to many of the outstanding national organizations promoting the legislative initiatives of the New Frontier and Great Society programs, especially the advancement of civil rights, fair employment practices, and women's rights. Political historians will find the union's political action programs, such as the CIO-PAC (Political Action Committee) and the AFL-CIO COPE (Committee on Political Education), exemplify the union's historic support for Democratic Party candidates, through its lobbying, fund-raising, and campaign activities.²⁶

For business and economic historians, the IUE's extensive corporate research and collective bargaining files will provide aboundant primary sources, including records that constitute the most extensive collation of electrical and electronics trade industry publications, reports, and financial profile data existing outside the GE and Westinghouse corporate archives. The origins of the growing trade imbalance, "rustbelt" cities, and the rise of the service sector economy are also documented in the collection. Contracts and wage agreements, Conference Board Files, and employment survey sheets deposited within the IUE's Research Department records can be used by labor economists to analyze wage, productivity, and employment patterns within the electrical industry. The IUE Archives is also an invaluable source for tracing the impace of technological (automation) and managerial (corporate personnel policies) innovations upon the workplace.

Civil Rights

The IUE Archives illustrate organized labor's pivotal role, and the IUE's exemplary record, in advancing civil rights. The union established and administered one of the most ambitious civil rights program of any American labor organization—extending from the national office down to the local level. Carey had served as a member of the AFL-CIO Civil Rights Committee (he had previously been Chairman of the CIO Committee to Abolish Discrimination) and his AFL-CIO files and Subject/Reference files reflect a life-long dedication to civil rights and racial equality. The IUE implemented and enforced non-discrimination clauses in its contracts, sponsored educational conferences devoted to civil rights and human relations, initiated social action programs to eliminate racial discrimination and segregation, and led the fight for fair housing. Virtually every IUE department committed staff and resources to the cause.²⁷

These activities are amply documented in the Secretary-Treasurer's Office records of Albin Hartnett, who served as Chairman of the national IUE Civil Rights Committee. This committee formulated the union's civil

rights program, established parallel district committees to oversee and enforce policies at the local level, and published the *IUE Civil Rights Bulletin*, the official civil rights organ of the union. Hartnett's files include District IUE Civil Rights Committee records that amplify the relationship between IUE locals and grass-roots civil rights organizations in advancing civil rights. There are collateral records pertaining to the civil rights activities of New Jersey's IUE membership in District 1 (Camden and southern New Jersey) and District 2 (Newark and northern New Jersey). New Jersey's African-American union leaders planned many of the IUE's early civil rights programs and conferences and served as a vital link to other state organizations—New Jersey Chapter of the NAACP, Urban League of New Jersey, New Jersey State CIO Industrial Union Council—active in struggle for social and political equality.²⁸

William Gary and Gloria Johnson of the IUE Social Action and Education Departments laid much of the groundwork for the union's educational work in the civil rights field. Their work is documented in the IUE Civil Rights Conference Files which contain civil rights conference kits, educational material, reports, and memoranda which provide detail on IUE planning and objectives in mobilizing its membership. The Legal and Research Departments assisted IUE local unions with the drafting of non-discrimination clauses for inclusion in their constitutions, and fair employment practices provisions in contracts with employers. Corporate race relations practices were closely scrutinized, especially during representation elections and organization drives. In one landmark NLRB case involving the Northern Electric Corporation (1957-1959), the IUE successfully contested the use of race-baiting tactics by the employer to intimidate workers from joining the union. This ruling had important implications in southern organizing campaigns conducted by the IUE.²⁹

On the national legislative front the IUE Legislative Department lobbied for fair employment and equal opportunity legislation, the Voting and Civil Rights Acts of 1964 and 1965, and various anti-poverty and social entitlement programs. It established important contacts with prominent liberal figures in Congress and coordinated its work with national civil rights organizations such as the NAACP, CORE, the National Urban League, the American Civil Liberties Union, and the American Jewish Congress. Influential correspondents include Roy Wilkins, Whitney Young, A. Phillip Randolf, Herbert Hill, and Thurgood Marshall. In addition, the IUE audio tape holdings include speeches by such major civil rights figures as Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr., Rev. Ralph Abernathy, and Dr. Modecai Johnson, in conjunction with the Prayer Pilgrimage For Freedom (May 17,1957) and various civil rights conferences.³⁰

The Government Contracts Committee files of George L-P. Weaver trace organized labor's efforts to combat racism and employment discrimi-

nation in the workplace. Weaver (an executive assistant to Carey) served as a CIO-appointee to the Review and Enforcement Subcommittee of the President's Committee on Government Contracts, established by the Eisenhower administration to oversee government contracts and monitor compliance with fair employment provisions. This committee undertook industrial surveys, received petitions, and reviewed complaints concerning charges of discriminatory hiring and employment practices in industries. His files also illuminate the tension between the Industrial Union Department leadership and the craft union affiliates of the AFL Building and Construction Trades over the failure of the latter to abolish discriminatory practices.³¹

Women's Rights and Gender Equity

From its inception the IUE addressed and advanced women's rights and gender equity issues in the workplace and lobbied for progressive legislation (equal pay and comparable worth, equal rights, maternity leave) affecting women. The locus of power within the IUE for advancing gender issues was centered within the Legal and Social Action Departments. Among the IUE Legal Department records are litigation files and court documents used in the landmark Martha Gilbert Case before the Supreme Court. This case, involving a suit against GE for non-payment of maternity benefits under the company's disability benefits program, had important implications for the advancement of women's maternity leave and job rights. Also documented is the union's cooperative relationship with the National Equal Pay Committee and other women's organizations in their campaigns for the Equal Pay Act of 1962, the Equal Rights Amendment, and the Pregnancy Disability Act of 1978.³²

The IUE's Social Action Department records highlight the union's education programs and conferences devoted to women's issues. Its Director, Gloria Johnson, established many of the union's early women's programs. She served as Secretary-Treasurer of the Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW), an organization composed of prominent women trade unionists to advance feminism within the labor movement. The personal correspondence and litigation files of IUE Associate General Counsel Ruth Weyand also yield valuable historical and evidentiary information pertaining to the handling of sex based grievances by the union and the advancement of women's rights on the legal front. These women forged important coalitions outside the labor movement to advance the feminist agenda. Researchers have begun to comb these files in order to understand how labor unions functioned as institutional agents of social change.³³ In addition, the Secretary-Treasurer's Office records include correspondence and reports received from women field representatives that describe the hardships and pressures of organizational work.³⁴

Conclusion

Completion of the IUE archives processing project will enable researchers to undertake a definitive and critical study of work, labor and life in the electrical-electronics industries in the post World War II era. To date, no scholar has written a comprehensive institutional history of the IUE. The lack of a critical biography on James B. Carey, the union's first and arguably most important president, is most glaring. An historiographical survey of the literature devoted to the IUE-UE split reveals that the United Electrical Workers continues to be the dominant union of scholarly attention. The refinement and opening of the IUE Archives will be the first step in redressing this imbalance.

As IUE archival records are made more accessible they will contribute greatly to understanding labor's vital role in promoting the economic, social and political advancement of working people during this period. Their sheer volume and wealth of information on a wide range of topics transcend any narrow definition of industrial relations. The IUE's impact upon mass politics, governmental economic policies, civil rights, and gender equity exemplifies trade unionism as one of the most important social movements in this century. Development of this valuable scholarly resource by the Rutgers University Libraries and the IUE represents a unique partnership in service to education and research.

NOTES

- 1. "CIO's 60th Anniversary to be Commemorated with Exhibit at Rutgers," *The Times*, 15 September 1995; American Labor Museum and Botto House National Landmark, *The Birth and Formative Years of the CIO in New Jersey*, 14 September 1995, commemorative handbill in author's reference files.
- 2. James B. Carey, "Labor's Decisive Decade," Address delivered at New Jersey State Summer School and Labor Institute, Rutgers University, New Brunswick, NJ, 2 August 1956; Dr. Herbert Levine to James B. Carey, 20 August, 1956, in IUE Archives (IUEA) RG-1, President's Office, Box 2017A:27; Carey, "Dedication of Rutgers Labor Education Center," Rutgers University, New Brunswick, NJ, 20 October, 1962, IUEA RG-1, President's Office, Box 2018A:39; Paul Jennings to Dr. Donald F. Cameron, 16 September 1965; Cameron to Jennings, 21 September 1965, IUEA RG-2, President's Office, Box 160:29; The Rutgers University- Dr. Herbert A. Levin File, IUEA RG-2, President's Office, Box 160:29, is the best source documenting the historic relationship between the IUE and Rutgers. Dr. Levine served as the Labor Education Program Director for IMLR and later as an educational consultant to the union. His file contains extensive correspondence with IUE officers and staff (especially executive assistant Al Loewenthal) regarding the union's role in planning the early labor institutes and labor education programs associated with the university.
- 3. Robert H. Zieger, "Labor and the State in Modern America: The Archival Trail," *Journal of American History*, 70 (1988), p. 185.
- 4. A survey of major labor depositories in the United States can be found in Daniel J. Leab and Philip P. Mason, eds., Labor History Archives in the United States—A Guide for Researching and Teaching (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1992). This book includes narrative descriptions of the labor holdings of 40 libraries, archives, and historical societies (including the Rutgers University Libraries) considered among the leading institutions for the preservation of labor history and archives. Among the top-tier institutions are The George Meany Memorial Archives of the AFL-CIO, which house the AFL-CIO institutional records, and the Archives Of Labor

History and Urban Affairs, Walter Reuther Library, Wayne State University, which contains the institutional records of the CIO, eight major international unions (including the UAW), and the files of major CIO leaders —Walter P. Reuther, Victor P. Reuther, and James B. Carey. The Wisconsin Historical Society has major collections of records from the AFL and 12 national labor organizations, in addition to the John L. Lewis Papers. New York University's Robert F. Wagner Labor Archives houses the historical records of New York City's largest labor unions and federations. NYU also maintains extensive radical history collections which are deposited in the Tamiment Institute/Ben Josephson Library. Among the holdings of Cornell University's Labor-Management Documentation Center, Martin P. Catherwood Library, are the records of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America and the archives of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union. Institutions comparable to Rutgers in terms of collection development and scope of labor holdings include: Penn State University's Historical Collections and Labor Archives, home of the United Steelworkers of America and United Mine Workers archives; the United Electrical Workers archives at the University of Pittsburgh; and the University of Maryland's Historical Manuscripts and Archives Department which has acquired the records of the Industrial Union of Marine and Shipbuilding Workers, the Cigar Makers International Union, and the Bakery, Confectionery and Tobacco Workers International

- Rutgers University Libraries, "Exploring Special Collections and Archives—IUE Archives," RUL Report (Spring 1994), 2-3; For a comprehensive survey of Special Collections and University Archives labor history holdings see Ronald L. Becker, "Labor History Resources at Rutgers University," Labor History 31 nos. 1/2 (Winter/Spring 1990), 67-70. This piece also appeared in Leab and Mason, 83-86.
- 6. William Miller, "IUE Records-Progress Report," 15 January 1969; Memorandum from Bernard Downey to Herbert A. Levine, 25 November 1970; Elaine R. Cusker and Roslynne Gabrielsky, "Final Report on IUE Archives to Head, Special Collections and University Archives," 30 June 1971; Memorandum, "On Transfer of IUE Records to Library Annex," from William Miller to Ruth Simmons, 6 May 1982, all contained in William Miller Reference Files, Rutgers University Special Collections and University Archives.
- 7. For a concise historical overview of early organizational efforts within the electrical manufacturing industry before the formation of the UE see Ronald L. Filippelli, "The United Electrical Radio and Machine Workers of America, 1933-1949: The Struggle for Control" (Ph.D. diss., The Pennsylvania State University, 1970), pp. 1-47; Minutes of National Radio and Allied Trades Council- 1935 (Incomplete), in UE Research Files of Les Finnegan, IUEA RG-1, President's Office, Box 2022:2; Memorandum of Agreement—RCA Manufacturing Company, Inc., and UE Local 103, 20 July 1936, in Carey Subject Files, IUEA RG-1, President's Office, unprocessed box.
- 8. Correspondence, reports, and documents generated by the UEMDA and its key leaders, Harry Block and James Click, can be found in the extensive UE Research Files of Les Finnegan, IUEA RG-1, President's Office, Box 2026. His files include material on the UEMDA's Dayton Conference of 1949 and counterattacks by the UE. The most authoritative studies covering the split within the ranks of the UE and the subsequent IUE-UE struggle are: Ronald L. Filippelli and Mark McColloch, Cold War in the Working Class: The Rise and Decline of the United Electrical Workers (Albany, NY: The State University of New York Press, 1995), and Ronald W. Schatz, The Electrical Workers: A History of Labor at General Electric and Westinghouse, 1923-1960 (Urbana, Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 1983); and Stephen Rosswurm, ed., The ClO's Left-led Unions (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1992).
- IUE District and Local Cases- Assets and Affiliations, IUEA RG-1, Legal Department, Boxes 2146-52.
- IUE Publicity Files for Organizing Campaigns, IUEA RG-1, Publicity Department, Boxes 19-24.
- 11. UE Local and District Files of Les Finnegan, 1941-1950, IUEA RG-1, President's Office, Boxes 2020-22; Carey's ties to right-wing members within UE local 301 and efforts to unseat Business Agent Leo Jandreau (an alleged communist party member) is well documented in the UE Local 301 Files. See Frank Fiorillo to Carey, 7 January 1949; "Carey Group Is Trying to Wreck Local," Electrical Union News-Local 301, 11 November 1949, in Box 2021:35; The Carey-Jandreau rapproachment and Local 301's subsequent affiliation with the IUE in 1954 can be traced in correspondence, memoranda, reports, and meeting notes contained in the UE Local 301- Affiliation with IUE files. Box 2030A:6-7.

- 12. David Lasser, "A Victory for Coordinated Bargaining," reprint from AFL-CIO American Federationist (April 1969), 1-6, in IUEA Reference Files.
- 13. The IUE-GE negotiations of 1958 and 1960 are given extensive coverage as well the events leading to the national GE strike in 1960. See GE Conference Board and Negotiations series in IUEA RG-1, IUE Conference Board and Negotiations (IUE CB&N), Boxes 4-6; The IUE-Westinghouse Corporation collective bargaining history can be traced in the Westinghouse Conference Board and Negotiations Series of the same subgroup, Boxes 6-8; These records are supplemented by the General Electric and Westinghouse Research Files-1949-1954, in IUEA RG-1, Research and Education Department (R&E), Boxes 17-21.
- 14. "Preparations for GE Negotiations— Brief Overview & Memoranda on History of GE-IUE Negotiations during the Early 1950s," typescript report in GE and Westinghouse Research Files, n.d., IUEA RG-1, IUE CB&N, Box 20:5; Minutes of IUE-GE National Level Negotiations, 21-22 October 1960, GE Conference Board & Negotiations series, IUEA RG-1, IUE CB&N, Box 6:14; "Major Issues Between Westinghouse and IUE-CIO," circular report from Carey to Officers of All IUE-CIO Local Unions, 24 October 1955, Westinghouse Conference Board and Negotiations series, IUEA RG-1, IUE CB&N Box 8:6; The Westinghouse Picket, 31 October 1955- 19 March 1956, bound issues in IUEA RG-1, Publicity Department.
- 15. "Financial Corruption in IUE Being Probed by Federal Grand Jury," UE News, 22 October 1962; IUE Trustees' Report on Hartnett Recall, 29 December 1963, in Carey Subject Files, IUEA, RG-1 President's Office, unprocessed box; Carey Report on Hartnett-Click Conspiracy Prepared for IUE Executive Board Meeting, 2-3, May 1962, IUEA RG-1, IUE Executive Board Files, Box EB3:26.
- 16. U.S. Department of Labor, Interim Report on IUE Mail Referendum Election—1964; U.S. Department of Labor, Labor-Management and Welfare Pension Division, IUE Ballot Count, in Carey-Jennings Election Dispute Files, IUEA RG-1, President's Office, Box C/J4:29.
- 17. Jurisdictional Files of Carey, IUEA RG-1, President's Office, Boxes P1-P3; See Carey-Meany Correspondence in AFL-CIO and Industrial Union Department Files, IUEA RG-1, President's Office, Box A1:15-20; Minutes of Meeting of Ex-CIO Labor Leaders, 11 November 1962, AFL-CIO/IUD Files of Carey, IUEA RG-1, President's Office, Box A8:30.
- International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, ICFTU 10 Years: Report of the Sixth World Congress (Brussels, Belgium: 3-11 December 1959), in International Affairs Files of Carey, IUE RG-1, President's Office, Box IA-1:34; Carey speech, "Review of ILO Activities," 39th Annual Meeting of International Labour Organization, Geveva, Switzerland, 26 June 1956, Box IA-2:35.
- 19. Memorandum on Career of Jay Lovestone, from Victor Reuther to Carey, January 1957; Victor Reuther to Walter Reuther and Carey, 15 January 1957, in UE Research Files of Les Finnegan, IUEA RG-1, President's Office, Box 2026:6.
- 20. See George L-P Weaver and Thomas S. Bavin correspondence, 1956, in Weaver Personal Files, IUEA RG-1, President's Office, Box 2043:5-7.
- 21. *Ibid.*, 186-87; Zieger, "The CIO: A Bibliographical Update and Archival Guide," *Labor History* 31 (Fall 1990), 413-22.
- 22. A comprehensive study of the impact of New Deal-World War II legal rulings and the administrative structures governing labor-management relations in the postwar period is provided by Christopher L. Tomkins, *The State and the Unions: Labor Relations, Law, and the Organized Labor Movement in America, 1880-1960* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985).
- 23. The IUE archival holdings on defense production and mobilization during the Korean War are voluminous, particularly with regard to the government's wage stabilization program and cases before the Wage Stabilization Board. See Defense Mobilization Files in IUEA RG-1, President's Office, Box 2010:20-31; Wage Stabilization Board Files, IUEA RG-1, Research and Education Department, Boxes 21-27; Wage Stabilization Board Files, IUEA, RG-1, Legal Department, Boxes 2192-2197, 2197A-2197E. The latter series includes WSB minutes, regulations, and historical clippings compiled by IUE General Counsel Benjamin Sigal who served as a CIO labor representative on the board from 1951 to 1953.
- 24. Political Issues Files of Carey, IUEA RG-1, President's Office, Boxes 2009-2013; The best source for tracing the union's legislative and lobbying activities during the 1950s and early 1960s are the Legislative Files of Directors John J. Flynn and Kenneth Peterson, IUEA RG-1, Legislative Department, Boxes 8-19. IUE legislative and political files dating after 1962 are still being processed with the bulk of the Jennings era records; For IUE political action activities see: CIO- Political Action Committee (CIO-PAC) Files in IUEA RG-1, Legislative Department,

- Box 13:12-11; Elections and Campaign Series, IUEA RG-1, Legislative Department, Boxes 26-27; AFL-CIO Committee on Political Education (COPE) material in Secretary-Treasurer Albin Hartnett's General Files, IUEA RG-1, Secretary-Treasurer's Office, Box 2056-2057; Finnegan's and Carey's extensive subject files also contain transcripts and proceedings of many government and congressional hearings on a variety of legislative issues relevant to the IUE and organized labor in general.
- 25. For an analysis of worker-control and shop-floor issues involving the IUE and UE see Mark McColloch, "The Shop-Floor Dimension of Union Rivalry: The Case of Westinghouse in the 1950s," in *The ClO's Left-Led Unions*, Steve Rosswurm, editor, (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1992), 183-99; Joshua Freeman's forthcoming monograph, *Working-Class New York*, 1945-1989, has incorporated IUE archival material in his study of New York workers, their institutions, and mass politics in the post-war era. Gerald Zahavi's research on the electrical industry and its workers in Schenectady, New York, has also relied upon IUE archival material. He uses organizers' correspondence, IUE Civil Rights Committee material, and Women's Auxiliary files to trace race, gender, and ideological struggle in the nascent working-class movements in and around Schenectady during the Cold War era. Lizabeth Cohen's use of the IUE archives for her study on the emerging post-war consumer culture and the shaping of working-class political views is profiled in her informative interview included in this issue of the journal.
- 26. Historian Susan M. Hartmann of Ohio State University has conducted research in the IUE archives to write a history of organized labor's role in advancing progressive social legislation and women's rights in the post-war era. Her study is forthcoming.
- 27. See supplemental Civil Rights and Conference files of Flynn and Peterson, IUEA RG-1, Legislative Department, Boxes 1-7.
- 28. IUE-CIO Civil Rights Committee Files, Box 2055: 14-32; IUE District Fair Employment Practices and Anti-Discrimination Committee Files, Box 2055:1-11, in General Files of Secretary-Treasurer Albin Hartnett, IUEA RG-1, Secretary-Treasurer's Office.
- 29. IUE Civil Rights Conference Files, 1952-1962, in Legislative and Civil Rights Conference series, IUEA RG-1, Legislative Department, Boxes 6-7; NECO Electric Products Case #15-CA 1093, 1957-1960, NLRB Case Files, IUEA RG-1, Legal Department, Box 2180:49-52.
- 30. See CORE and NAACP files in Carey Subject Files, IUEA RG-1, President's Office, Box 2007A:15,34; "Prayer Pilgrimage for Freedom," Remarks by Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., audio tape recording in IUEA RG-1, Audiovisual Collection, Box 27: Tape #8.
- 31. President's Committee on Government Contracts subseries, Personal Files of George L-P Weaver, IUEA RG-I, President's Office, Boxes 2044-2047. Herbert Hill Correspondence, 1953-1959, General Reference Files of Weaver, IUEA RG-I, President's Office, Box 2051:21. Weaver provided Hill, the NAACP Labor Secretary, with information regarding the status of committee investigations and discrimination complaints filed by minorities within labor unions.
- 32. Gilbert vs. GE- USDCEVD Case 142-72-R and USSC Case 74-1589 Files, in IUEA RG-II, Boxes 241-45, 287-90; The implications of the Gilbert ruling are examined in Salley J. Kenney, For Whose Protection?: Reproductive Hazards and Exclusionary Policy in the United States and Great Britain (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1992), 151-155; James B. Carey, "Statement on Equal Pay Legislation," 3 February 1956, typescript position paper in Political Issues Files of Carey, IUEA RG-1, President's Office, Box 2013A:37.
- 33. The IUE archives have served as a valuable primary source for women's history, more specifically, gender-based studies on women in the workplace. Established scholars and graduate researchers have examined IUE wage and contract policies with regard to the elimination of wage differentials, sex-based job segregation and classification, and the handling of sex discrimination cases by the union's grievance machinery. See Dennis A. Deslippe, "Women, Unions and the Law of Equality, 1945-1980" (Ph.D. diss., University of Iowa, 1994); Rutgers University graduate students specializing in women's labor history have utilized the collection for writing seminar papers and portions of theses. Their work has been shaped by themes developed in the scholarship of Dorothy Sue Cobble and Alice Kessler-Harris of the Rutgers University Department of History. See Dorothy Sue Cobble, Women and Unions: Forging a Partnership (Ithaca, NY: ILR Press, 1993) and Alice Kessler-Harris, Out To Work: A History of Wage-Earning Women in the United States (New York: Oxford Press, 1982).
- 34. "First Women's Conference Is An Outstanding Success," *IUE AFL-CIO News* v.8 no.13 (24 June 1957), 6-8, 11; Ruth Weyand, "Statement on Campaign to End Discrimination Against Pregnant Workers," typescript press release in IUEA RG-II, Box 287:2.