

# 'Louis Stulberg Chair in Law



## Garment Industry—Crucible for Social Experiments

By LOUIS STULBERG

GATHERED HERE TONIGHT UNDER THE auspices of one of the youngest centers of higher learning in our country are my family, my friends, my colleagues, and a great leader of the American people who has served them as well as legislator and executive. Here, too, are men whom I have faced across the bargaining table and with whom I have contended for another dollar or another hour of leisure on behalf of the garment workers.

It is my personal good fortune that they have found in me the symbol of something precious in our way of life. They have chosen to honor it by establishing a chair in a university for the further advancement of study and knowledge. No finer honor could come to any man. It is a wonderful "fringe benefit" that comes with being president of a great union. But only in our lifetime have such honors come to men of labor. Until our time, universities honored men of capital, captains of industry, representatives of corporations.

The chair now being established in the name of the president of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union honors—on the one hand—the operators and the finishers, the cutters and the pressers, the shipping men and the floor workers of the garment industry—and on the other hand, the enlightened employers, with whom and for whom, they work. Others have already noted how fitting it is for a university named after Louis D. Brandeis to honor the president of the ILGWU.

Next year will mark the 60th anniversary of

### Text of Citation

Brandeis University salutes Louis Stulberg on the occasion of his induction as a Fellow of Brandeis University. He devotes his life to improving the lot of his fellow man and adds his adopted University to the host of noble causes enriched by his efforts.

an event which links that man and this union forever in the annals of organized labor in America.

IT IS NOT MY INTENTION HERE TONIGHT to retell the story of the sweatshop and the role of Brandeis in fighting it. Our dear friend here has already given us an account of the Protocol of Peace which ended the historic strike of the New York cloakmakers in 1910.

But I stand here tonight, the recipient of a great honor, only because of what the trade union movement has been able to accomplish during the years since Brandeis came to New York to try to settle that strike. In little more than half a century the unions of this country have changed the world in which working men and women live and labor. In a very real sense, Brandeis and the Protocol announced the beginning of those changes. Both proclaimed that workers ought to share in determining the conditions of labor, that instruments of reason and bargaining had to replace the use of force in the settlement of disputes and—far in advance

of the New Deal—that the health and well-being of the workers must be a concern of the community and the state.

TODAY, ORGANIZED WORKING MEN AND women enjoy the conditions and the benefits which were only dreams in 1910. The right to organize for bargaining purposes has been transformed from conspiracy to public policy. Law now sets the limits of the work day and minimum pay, children of workers go to college and not to sweatshops. And a living wage must be decent and not just subsistent. Workers endure illnesses with security and anticipate retirement with confidence.

It is easy—and absolutely wrong—to say that such progress was inevitable, that things get better by themselves. Only because trade unions organized and demanded and insisted and fought for these changes did they come about. The unions of this country were the propelling force which in our time changed the conditions of the workers' lives and the quality of American life in general.

The peculiar nature of our garment industry made us the crucible for experiments in social innovation. In our industry, worker and boss suffered the same physical plight of the shop. They confronted each other daily and directly. They shared common immigrant, ethnic and cultural origins, and therefore had no problems of absentee ownership or communications. In the midst of strife, Brandeis perceived these assets. He articulated an awareness of common industrial goals and needs. One result has been that out of this most difficult and competitive industry of ours has come a great body of labor innovations and jurisprudence.

HERE TONIGHT WE BEAR WITNESS THAT beyond the interests of contending parties in our free society are the interests of the total community. Decent wages as well as financial solvency contribute to the strength of the community. We live in a time when conflict and confrontation shake our basic institutions. What an anguished need there is for some vast new Protocol to spread Brandeis' cure for irrationality in our society!

It is my fervent hope that the chair bearing my name, honoring my union, supported by the industry, saluting the garment workers in our shops, as well as the young people in the wonderful university, will provide opportunities for further progress.

The life of America and its workers is a thing of endless improvements. In the challenging days ahead let this chair become the instrument for further probing and applying the spirit of Brandeis' pioneer efforts—efforts first made in partnership with the workers and the employers of the ladies' garment industry more than half a century ago.



With former Vice President Hubert H. Humphrey standing by, Brandeis Pres. Abram reads citation after placing academic cowl on Pres. Stulberg.

# Law and Politics' at Brandeis University

ILGWU PRES. LOUIS STULBERG WAS INDUCTED AS A FELLOW of Brandeis University at a dinner on March 6 that was attended by about 1,000 friends, colleagues and industry representatives. The gala event at the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel also marked the establishment of the Louis Stulberg Chair in Law and Politics at the young university in Waltham, Massachusetts.

Establishment of the chair named for the ILGWU president was announced to a cheering audience by Morris B. Abram, president of the university. He also described the establishment of the university in 1948, and the spirit in which it since has grown from an initial enrolment of 107 to a present student body of some 2,600.

\* \* \*

THE EVENING WAS COLORED BY THE MEMORY OF ILGWU events and history evoked by the name "Brandeis." All speakers who, in addition to the union and the university presidents, included Hubert H. Humphrey as the main speaker, Honorary Pres. David Dubinsky, Fred Pomerantz who opened the dinner and Carl Rosen who chaired it, touched on the significance of Louis D. Brandeis in connection with the progress of organized labor, but especially the part he played in the historic 1910 cloakmakers' strike.

As Pres. Stulberg stood in the bright spotlight while Pres. Abram put

the hood of scholarship over his head and onto his shoulders, many took the action as a symbol of recognition—personal and institutional—for the great achievements of the garment workers.

In a short talk, Honorary Pres. Dubinsky also pointed out the significance of the honor both as personal testimonial and as a salute to the achievements of the garment workers and their union.

\* \* \*

IN A STATEMENT DESCRIBING THE STULBERG CHAIR, THE university declares: "A measure of distinction at colleges and universities is the academic chair. It is a tradition as old as the concept of higher education itself. In modern terms, a chair is a fully endowed professorship and is a gift of unusual perception. Friends and associates underwrite the sum necessary to provide income to support the chair.

"Such a chair has two great advantages. It frees badly needed sums for other important areas. And it attracts to the faculty the most eminent and respected educators in their respective fields.

"The Louis Stulberg Chair in Law and Politics will be incorporated into the university's School of Legal Studies, soon to be created on the campus. It will focus upon the problems of government and society."

## Commitment to Ordered Change

By HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

TONIGHT I SHOULD LIKE TO TALK ABOUT the education of Brandeis.

I do not intend to talk about the kind of education that Brandeis University offers, although this young school has already proven its worth in the world of American learning. I should prefer to say a few words about the education of the great jurist for whom this distinguished university has been named—about the education of Louis Dembitz Brandeis.

I choose this theme because of the circumstances in which we gather tonight. We are in the presence of two significant institutions that contributed meaningfully to the education of Brandeis—the apparel industry and the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union.

The tie that binds the name of Brandeis with that of the needle trades runs back for more than half a century—to the time of sweat and tears in an industrial jungle. This world of poverty stricken and exploited immigrants, laboring endless hours for a few pennies, in the shops of desperate employers who were themselves just a few dollars from poverty—this world of the sweat shop was not the universe of Louis Dembitz Brandeis. It was a world he had to learn.

ALTHOUGH BRANDEIS IS KNOWN AS A great liberal dissenter in the Supreme Court, he did not come from the background of toil and trouble in which progressive ideas normally take root. His was of patrician origin, a family of wealth, growing up in Kentucky, far from the teeming tenements of New York's East Side.

Brandeis' entry into the world of the needle was not through the door of a shop. He entered as a representative for employers, as a spokesman for management. He discovered life in the shop at a later moment of turmoil when, in 1910, the cloakmakers of New York City rose in their Great Revolt to establish the first firm foundations of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union.

BRANDEIS RECEIVED A GREAT EDUCATION in those troubled days. He was not the kind of man who could be content with second hand knowledge; he had to see for himself. He came. He saw. He learned.

1910 was a crucial year in the education of Louis Brandeis. He learned about the sweat shop. He learned about the causes of discontent. He learned that justice was more than a matter of law: law had to be rooted in economic justice.

Out of the Great Revolt of 1910 issued the Protocol of Peace, a landmark in industrial relations in America. Here was a first attempt to establish a rule of reason, instead of a reign of riot, in labor-management relations.

If there was a grievance, there was a way to express that grievance. If the parties could not agree, there would be an impartial and respected tribunal before whom the matter could be argued. Worker and boss would cooperate to establish the rule of law in the industrial jungle.

This very early effort at arbitration that started with Brandeis and the garment industry was the beginning of a movement that has swept across the American economy. Today, a system of arbitration is the hall mark of the labor contract in this land.

LOUIS BRANDEIS WAS A QUICK STUDY, WITH a sharp eye, and a sensitive mind—the kind of man who could learn by himself. But in 1910, he had a good and great mentor, a counsel of the ILGWU, a scholar, a statesman, a recognized leader of the international Socialist movement. I refer to Morris Hillquit.

Here was an immigrant boy, who had worked in the needle trades, who studied law, who mastered many languages, who rose to international fame. He was the man who helped translate Brandeis' humane sentiments into clauses for a contract.

It is indeed fitting that several years ago a chair in the name of Morris Hillquit should have been established at Brandeis University through the efforts of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union. May I also add that it is equally fitting that this chair should presently be occupied by Dr. John Roche, a dedicated liberal, a close colleague, who served with such distinction as a White House aide to President Johnson.

But the tie with Brandeis does not come to an end with any one act by the people in the garment industry. The school has, since its founding, been enriched by leading employers in this industry who have served on its boards. They have enriched it with their genius for getting things done and with their repeated generosity. And now this industry—both management and labor—moves once more to enrich the heritage of the Brandeis tradition.

THE CHAIR WE HAVE COME HERE TO ESTABLISH will be in "law and politics." At times, I think this is almost a contradiction in terms. Law is based on a social contract; politics is based on social conflict. Yet opposite as these concepts appear to be, they are opposites that must attract if a society or an industry or a world are not to fly apart.

In politics, we express our personal preferences: our programs. In a sense, when labor and management confront each other at contract time, they are

engaged in a kind of political struggle, where each party expresses its views and values.

But in the Brandeis tradition this confrontation takes place within the spirit of law—the commitment to ordered change.

A chair in law and politics then, is a continuation of the tradition that encourages people and parties in a dispute to express their views openly while insisting that the encounter shall ultimately promote social peace and progress.

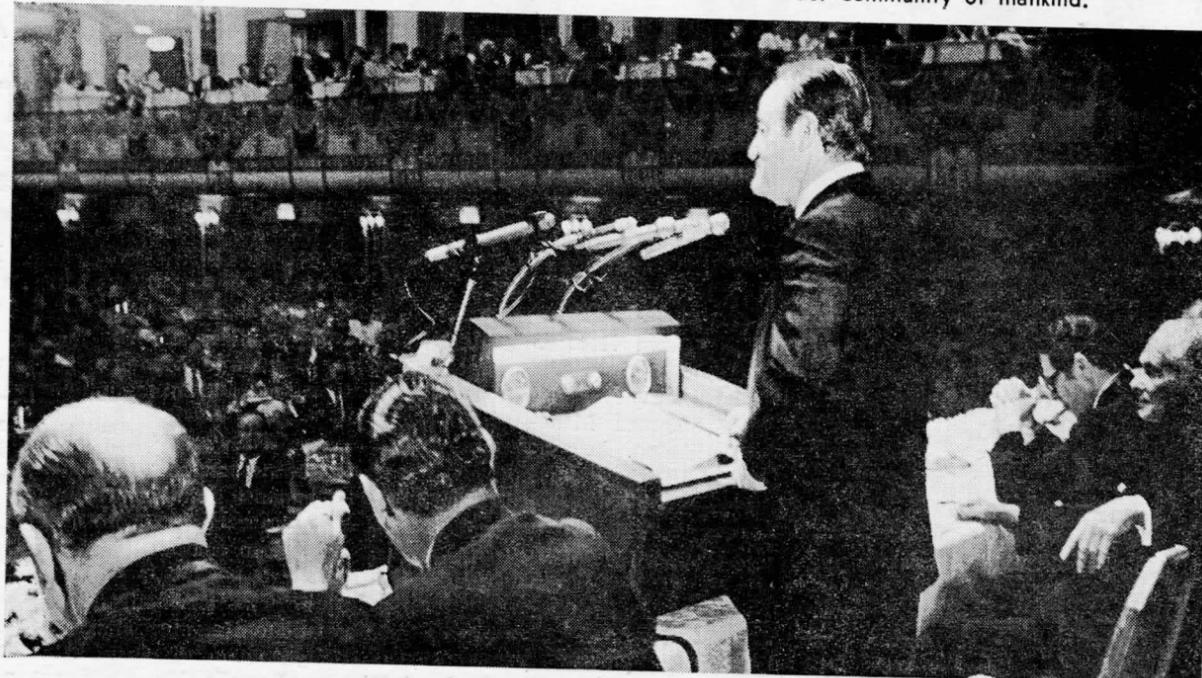
IT IS MOST APPROPRIATE THAT THIS CHAIR be named for the president of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, an organization that has proven over many decades its deep concern not only for its own members but also for the industry in which they labor and for the country in which they live.

Although Louis Stulberg likes to refer to himself as a rookie president, he is no rookie leader of labor. He embarked on his presidential voyage as an experienced captain. He knows the sea of this industry. He knows how the winds blow. He knows his destination.

In the few short years of his presidency, Louis Stulberg has carried the union message to every corner of this nation. He has elevated earnings. He has extended vacations. He has improved health and welfare benefits. He has not been content to rest on the well earned laurels of the union's past. He has added his own laurels in the great and continuing tradition of this remarkable union.

And in the process, Louis Stulberg has won the regard and the respect of the other captains—the captains of this industry. The endowment of this latest chair at Brandeis University is a testimony to the dream of Brandeis: an industry where contending parties could also cooperate for a common good.

And in these days of confrontation and conflict, we must recognize the importance of this testimony—not just to the world of labor and management but to the wider community of mankind.



Former Vice President Hubert H. Humphrey addresses Brandeis convocation.

Carl Rosen  
Abe Shraeder  
Fred Pomaantz  
Lucas Stullberg  
Howard Molisoni  
Nat Berishkin

REMARKS

THE HONORABLE HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

LOUIS STULBERG - BRANDEIS DINNER

NEW YORK CITY

MARCH 6, 1969

Tonight I should like to talk about the education  
of Brandeis.

I do not intend to talk about the kind of education  
that Brandeis University offers, although this young ~~school~~ community  
has already proven its worth in the world of American learning.

↳ Tonight I should prefer to say a few words about the education  
of the great jurist for whom this distinguished university has  
been named -- about the education of Louis Dembitz Brandeis.

↳ I choose this theme because of the circumstances in  
which we gather tonight. ↳ We are in the presence of two

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significant institutions that contributed meaningfully to the education of Brandeis -- the apparel industry and the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union.

↳ The tie that binds the name of Brandeis with that of the needle trades runs back for more than half a century -- to the time of sweat and tears in an industrial jungle. ↳ This world of poverty-stricken and exploited immigrants, laboring endless hours for a few pennies, in the shops of desperate employers who were themselves just a few dollars from poverty -- this world of the sweat shop was not the universe of Louis Dembitz Brandeis. ↳ It was a world he had to learn.

↳ Although Brandeis is known as a great liberal dissenter in the Supreme Court, he did not come from the

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background of toil and trouble in which progressive ideas normally take root. His was of patrician origin; a family of wealth, growing up in Kentucky, far from the teeming tenements of New York's East Side.

↳ The young Brandeis was educated in some of Europe's finest schools, then Harvard, and then he moved on to become a highly successful and wealthy practitioner of corporate law.

↳ There was nothing in Brandeis' early years to hint at his liberalism -- except his middle name.

↳ Louis D. Brandeis was born Louis David Brandeis.  
↳ He changed his middle name on his own, identifying spiritually with his uncle, Louis Dembitz, a scholar statesman who was a Presidential elector for the Great Emancipator, Abraham Lincoln.

↳ Brandeis' entry into the world of the needle was not through the door of a shop. ↳ He entered as a representative for employers, as a spokesman for management. ↳ He discovered life in the shop at a later moment of turmoil when, in 1910, the cloakmakers of New York City rose in their Great Revolt to establish the first firm foundations of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union.

↳ Brandeis received a great education in those troubled days. ↳ He was not the kind of man who could be content with second-hand knowledge; he had to see for himself. He came! He saw! He learned.

↳ 1910 was a crucial year in the education of Louis Brandeis. ↳ He learned about the sweat shop. ↳ He learned about the causes of discontent. ↳ He learned that justice was more than a matter of law: law had to be rooted in economic justice.

↳ Out of the Great Revolt of 1910 issued the "Protocol of Peace", a landmark in industrial relations in America. Here was a first attempt to establish a rule of reason, instead of a reign of riot, in labor-management relations.

↳ If there was a grievance, there was a way to express that grievance. ↳ If the parties could not agree, there would be an impartial and respected tribunal before whom the matter could be argued. ↳ Worker and boss would cooperate to establish the rule of law in the industrial jungle.

↳ This very early effort at arbitration that started with Brandeis and the garment industry was the beginning of a movement that has swept across the American economy.

↳ Today, a system of <sup>Voluntary</sup> arbitration is the hall mark of the labor contract in this land.

↳ Louis Brandeis was a quick study, with a sharp eye, and a sensitive mind -- the kind of man who could learn by himself. ↳ But in 1910, he had a good and great mentor, a counsel of the ILGWU, a scholar, a statesman, a recognized leader of the international Socialist movement. I refer to Morris Hilquit.

↳ Here was an immigrant boy, who had worked in the needle trades, who studied law, who mastered many languages, who rose to international fame. ↳ He was the man who helped translate Brandeis' humane sentiments into clauses for a contract.

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Ladies' Garment Workers' Union. May I also add that it is equally fitting that this chair should presently be occupied by Dr. John Roche, a dedicated liberal, a close colleague,<sup>friend+</sup> who served with such distinction as a White House aide for President Johnson.

↳ But the tie with Brandeis<sup>to man + the democracy</sup> does not come to an end with any one act by the people in the garment industry.

↳ The school has, since its founding, been enriched by leading employers in this industry who have served on its Boards. They have enriched it with their genius for getting things done and with their repeated generosity. And now this industry -- both management and labor -- moves once more to enrich the heritage of the Brandeis tradition.

The chair we have come here to establish will  
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 confront each other at contract time, they are engaged in  
 a kind of political struggle, where each party expresses its  
 views and values.

But in the Brandeis tradition this confrontation takes  
 place within the spirit of law -- the commitment to ordered

change!

Oh how necessary for  
 Today.

↳ A chair in law and politics then, is a continuation of the tradition that encourages people and parties in a dispute to express their views openly while insisting that the encounter shall ultimately promote social peace and progress.

↳ It is most appropriate that this chair be named for the President of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, an organization that has proven over many decades its deep concern not only for its own members but also for the industry in which they labor and for the country in which they live.

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↳ He knows the sea of this industry. He knows how the winds blow.

↳ He knows his destination.

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# # #

~~Proposed First Draft~~  
~~HHH m m a c h e~~

*Remarks*  
*The Honorable HHH*  
Louis Stulberg Dinner  
New York City  
March 6, 1969

Judy Kaplan  
Brandeis  
60 E 42nd St Suite 2212

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Brandeis <sup>received</sup> got a great education in those troubled days. He was not the kind of man who could be content with second hand knowledge; he had to see for himself. ~~He came; he saw; he learned.~~ He came; he saw; he learned.

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The chair we have come here to establish will be in "law and politics." At times, I think this is almost a contradiction in terms. Law connotes order; politics connotes <sup>conflict</sup> disorder. Law is based on a social contract; politics is based on social conflict. Yet opposite as these concepts appear to be, they are opposites that must attract if a society or an industry or a world are not to fly apart.

In politics, we express our personal preferences: our programs. In a sense, when labor and management confront each other at contract time, they are engaged in a kind of political struggle, where each party expresses its views and values.

But in the Brandeis tradition this confrontation takes place within the

spirit of law. —

*the commitment to ordered change*  
*then*

A chair in law and politics, <sup>in 1966</sup> is indeed a continuation of the tradition that encourages people and parties in a dispute to express their views <sup>openly</sup> while insisting that the encounter shall ultimately promote social peace and progress.

It is most appropriate that this chair be named for the President of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, an organization that has proven over many decades <sup>its</sup> that it has a deep concern not only for its own members but also for the industry in which they labor and for the country in which they live.

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In the few short years <sup>of his presidency</sup> that Louis Stulberg has been at the helm, he has moved his ship of state. <sup>He</sup> has determined to <sup>carry</sup> carry the union message to every corner of this nation. He has elevated earnings. He has extended vacations. He has improved health and welfare benefits. He has not been content to rest on the well earned laurels of the union's past. He has added his own laurels in the great and continuing tradition of this remarkable union.

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From personal experience, I can also testify that Louis Stulberg is a man whose vision goes beyond the horizons of his own important industry. He is concerned with his community--whether it be his city or his country. As a campaigner, I can tell you that Louis Stulberg is no mean campaigner. He is a dependable doer to whom we all owe a debt of gratitude.

(OVER)

*these days of conflict and uncertainty*  
*compensation this lesson*

W

Dear John,

Enclosed is a first draft for HHH for the Stulberg affair, March 6.

You will have to add: a) intro, depending on who is there and what is said; b) a close depending on what HHH is supposed to do, like making some sort of presentation.

I figure the speech for about 10 minutes. With intro and close it will go longer.

On page one, I have Brandeis growing up in Tennessee. I think that's right, but I don't carry my reference library with me to Florida where I now sit. So check it for safety. If it isn't Tenn it's Ky.

I will be back at my office February 24th, if there is anything more to talk about in re the enclosed.

Excuse typing: I did it myself.

Gus



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