

1 JOEL JACOBSON, Sworn.

2 EXAMINATION

3 BY MR. GOLDMAN:

4 Q Mr. Jacobson, would you please give us
5 your position in your present organization and summarize
6 your educational background and experience prior to
7 your present position.

8 A All right. I am President of the New Jersey
9 Industrial Union Council of the AFL-CIO, which in fact
10 is the old CIO prior to the merger of the AFL-CIO.

11 We have peculiar political problems in this state
12 and this is the nature in which it has developed.

13 I am a graduate of New York University, evening
14 classes.

15 I emphasize that, not that it enhances my educational
16 opportunities but at least it will show I think that I
17 wasn't born with a silver spoon in any part of my blood.

18 My entire adult life has been spent as a trade
19 union professional.

20 I was a member of the union prior to the war,
21 and upon my return from the Army became a professional
22 at it and have remained so until the present date.

23 Q Would you give us just some figures to start
24 with, to get an idea of what the problems and relationships
25 are, of what approximately is the total membership of the

1 **AFI-CIO unions in Essex County?**

2 **A** In Essex County?

3 **Q** Yes, in Essex County?

4 **A** I imagine there are somewhere in the neighbor-
5 hood of 100,000 members.

6 **Q** Could you also give us that figure for the
7 State of New Jersey?

8 **A** Yes. About half a million. These, of course,
9 very from time to time with the fluctuations of employment
10 but I think these are two round figures that are fairly
11 accurate.

12 **Q** Now do you have estimates of figures on the
13 percentage of Negro and Spanish-speaking groups within
14 that total, in each of these two totals?

15 **A** Typical with the old philosophy, we, of course,
16 have never taken any poll. We just don't know. But
17 from visual observation at meetings it appears to us the
18 Negro membership is in the neighborhood of 15 percent.

19 There are some industries in which, of course, it
20 is much higher. We have heavy industrial plants with
21 large foundries, and we find these are almost exclusively
22 Negro.

23 **Q** Would you say that these factories, before we
24 get to some of the industries are white but my guess is
25 around 15 percent Negro.

A I think Puerto Rican is perhaps 5 percent, maybe even

1 less. A: I would be very hesitant with you. I cannot say
2 that. Q: Now when you say 15 percent do you refer
3 to the state or to Essex County?

4 A: I would say both. The percentages are just

5 as in Q: You think it is about the same in each?

6 A: Yes. I can't vouch for the accuracy of this.
7 It is just an impression. We have nothing scientific
8 on it.

9 Q: The point is that, I take it from what you say,
10 it is very different in different unions?

11 A: Yes. In our particular union we have a much
12 higher percentage because we are industrial unions and
13 we do not have the problem that the building trades have.

14 Q: Now that is just what I want to get to.

15 You say the problem that the building trades have?

16 A: Yes.

17 Q: What is the problem as you would describe it
18 that the building trades have?

19 A: A combination of prejudice, past practices,
20 inertia, and inability to meet a problem where there is
21 a desire to do so.

22 Q: Would you say that these factors, before we
23 get back to this, that these factors are absent or
24 negligible in the industrial unions that you are associated
25 with?

1 A I must be very honest with you. I cannot say
2 that we are more noble than the building trade because
3 we don't have the problem.

4 I think in certain areas the prejudices are just
5 as intense but the nature of the employment is different.

6 First of all, we do not hire and fire. This is
7 done by the employer. The only requirement we generally
8 place is after a 30-day probationary period that the
9 gentleman then join the union.

10 We have made a big case of accepting Negro workers
11 as brothers for a variety of reasons.

12 Most of you know the old times when Negroes were
13 used as scabs. To eliminate that problem we have made
14 an affirmative declaration about brotherhood which
15 carries through our convention resolutions as much as
16 possible.

17 The truth is we do not have the opportunity to
18 discriminate, whereas in the building trades they do.

19 The hiring and firing in the building trades is
20 primarily in the hands of the business agent and I
21 suppose, as most of us, he looks to his neighbors and
22 his workers relatives for primary jobs and this is where
23 the pattern has developed over the years.

24 Q Now staying for a minute with the industrial
25 unions that you are associated with and have personal

1 experience in, what would you say, taking an honest look
2 at yourself, at your organizations, are the remaining
3 key problems in the industrial, more advanced, in other
4 words, union people?

5 A Well, first, I must say this: Where the
6 prejudice exists it is an outlaw product.

7 With the union it is official policy at all times
8 to insist upon equal opportunity regardless of race.

9 This is a well established pattern and is zealously
10 adhered to, no deviation from that.

11 Where an individual is prejudiced, I say it is an
12 outlaw thing and the problem has been in upgrading into
13 skilled jobs, where we find that in many instances the
14 Negro worker does not possess the skills required to
15 take that job.

16 We have made efforts to improve these skills by
17 on the job training, union courses, to permit him to
18 develop along his opportunities as a skilled worker.

19 Q Now I just want to get this straight.

20 When you say he doesn't possess the skills you
21 don't mean to imply that he couldn't acquire them?

22 A No. He. . .

23 Q That he just doesn't have them?

24 A Yes, and not all. I am talking about some.
25 We do find that the percentage of Negroes in the skilled

1 trades diminishes primarily because of this problem.

2 Q Has the union worked in any specific instances
3 or as a general practice with employers in concerted
4 programs to develop these skills, on the job training
5 and so on?

6 A With certain employers, yes, where we have
7 harmonious relations.

8 Q How extensive would you say is this practice?
9 Does it affect a lot of people or just a small number?

10 A I would say a small number. I don't think
11 it is wide-spread.

12 Q Would you say that it could be a legitimate
13 function of the union to initiate or take the initiative
14 on this score with the employers and really move instead
15 of the employers doing it by themselves?

16 A How would you say this could best be moved up and
17 speeded up?

18 A Let me tell you what we are doing now and we
19 are doing this with independent employers and we are
20 starting at the bottom rung of the ladder.

21 We have unskilled labor now who are employed mainly
22 as porters and related jobs, mostly Negroes and minority
23 group members.

24 These men have at least for them the fact that they
25 are working now, have been holding a job and in some cases

1 with long seniority, indicating they have adapted them-
2 selves to the job market.

3 But they do not now possess skills which permit
4 them to be upgraded.

5 The union is now instituting a rather massive
6 training program for these men to acquire the skills to
7 enable them to be upgraded, doing two things, permitting
8 them to advance and secondly, creating vacancies at the
9 lower rung of the ladder so new unskilled workers can be
10 brought into the job market and this is something that
11 the U.A.W., the steelworkers and the I.U.E. are currently
12 working on in conjunction with the Institute of Labor-
13 Management Relations at Rutgers.

14 Q Who funds this?

15 A We work with Rutgers. Primarily it is the
16 institute that has been doing most of that.

17 Q Now when this thing gets going fully, this
18 project, how many people would you envisage would get
19 into it?

20 A Well, I couldn't guess. All I can tell you
21 is as many as we can.

22 Q In the thousands?

23 A I would hope.

24 Q Tens of thousands?

25 A I would hope.

1 Q We have had testimony to the effect that
2 frequently the finest pronouncements and even the best,
3 honest intentions on the part of top management-- when I
4 say management I take it in the broad sense, I mean the
5 unions or business-- of the top leadership breaks down
6 in the implementation when it gets down to the personnel
7 department and into the guts of the operation.

8 Now we all know about Walter Reuther and what he
9 stands for and what his social philosophy is, et cetera,
10 et cetera, but we have also read or heard on occasion
11 about some of the problems you have discussed that
12 undoubtedly exist in his own unions or maybe even his
13 own innermost union, the U.A.W.

14 I would like to have your view of that possibility
15 of a breakdown along the line and your ideas, if you
16 have any, of how these breakdowns could be avoided or how
17 implementation and follow-up could better be guaranteed.

18 A All right. I don't ordinarily quote him but
19 I think a quotation at this point would be appropriate.

20 I am talking about George Meany.

21 He was once accused of having a union which was
22 not only lily white but absolutely segregationist in its
23 approach.

24 It happened to be a union in the southern part of
25 the country.

1 object Neany said "You know, it's a funny thing, when we
2 organize a union in the South its members turn out to
3 be southerners."

4 U.A.W. What I am really saying is that the union is an
5 influence on the membership.

6 I personally wish it was a much stronger influence.
7 There have been times when it has been strong. But when
8 we go up against such problems as basic and congenital
9 prejudices, it is a very difficult thing to break down.

10 When we have these lapses, I can think of individuals
11 who live in the North who are as prejudiced as Lurleen
12 Wallace and her husband.

13 Nothing I or the union could do or say would ever
14 change that.

15 What we can do and have done, for example, is
16 where a group of white workers-- this has happened many
17 years ago, and it happened-- a group of white workers
18 had upgraded into their job structure a Negro and they
19 walked off on strike or an illegitimate strike, a wildcat
20 strike.

21 The union said "You go back to work or the company
22 will fire you and we will not process a grievance against
23 the company."

24 And they went back. So the full strength of the
25 union in this instance, of course, was in support of the

1 objective. That occurred in Hastings High School many
2 years. Now this is rare. It hasn't happened lately.
3 by I dare say by and large that the members of the
4 U.A.W., for example, those who are activists, because
5 of the long history of the unions preaching of brotherhood,
6 are perhaps least prejudiced than any other segment of
7 the white working population.

8 I cannot deny we do have problems.

9 Q Now turning to the building trades unions,
10 which are probably the biggest problem not only in terms
11 of prejudices--

12 A Also my problem.

13 Q Not only in terms of prejudice but also in
14 terms of the potential of employment when it comes to
15 rehabilitation of housing, construction and so on, which
16 is the heart of the ghetto, business or industrial
17 activity that we look forward to, what do you see there
18 in the way of possibilities, practical possibilities
19 of really making a difference?

20 A Let me say this: First, a bit of background
21 because I think you have to weigh what I am going to say
22 against what I am going to tell you now, that internally
23 these are my political enemies.

24 As a matter of fact, the reason the Industrial
25 Union Council of New Jersey exists is because of the

1 situation that occurred in Barringer High School many
2 years ago where the building trades were being picketed
3 by the Civil Rights groups because of the charge of
4 discrimination of employment.

5 The building trades responded as every anti-labor
6 employer we ever condemned in the past.

7 They went into court to seek an injunction to
8 restrict the right of picketing and this was just about
9 as much as I could stand and I then issued a public
10 statement together with 17 other industrial union leaders
11 blasting this.

12 This led to the split in which the building trades
13 then threw me out and the Industrial Union Council was
14 formed.

15 I think my credentials are in order and I am
16 concerned with the problem.

17 Now in spite of that I must tell you that the
18 building trades or several of their leaders have come to
19 the realization that they can no longer perform business
20 as usual and in some instances there are sincere,
21 intelligent attempts to resolve these problems.

22 I can think of one, for example, that your Commission
23 might very well want to get first-hand detail on.

24 The Painters Union in Newark under the leadership of
25 Peter Yablonski has started an on the job training program

1 geared specifically toward Negro and Puerto Rican workers,
2 where they go out into the street and solicit men to come
3 to work.

4 They start at a fairly low rate but they are paid
5 immediately and after 6 months or a year's progression,
6 they are making fairly good wages and at the conclusion
7 of the apprenticeship they are guaranteed jobs with
8 salaries as high as \$9,000 and \$10,000 a year.

9 It is a very intelligent program that at least
10 indicates a desire to break through the old prejudices.

11 Now that's 1.

12 Now this is the best one I can think of is the
13 Painters Union.

14 Now you take some of the unions like the Plumbers
15 Union, Mr. Meany's own union and Mr. Murphy's own union.

16 Up to now it has been lily white. The only way
17 you can get in is to be a blood relative and there aren't
18 many who have blood relatives who are Negro.

19 Even they have realized that they can no longer
20 continue along this path. They have opened, for example,
21 their apprenticeship lists which heretofore were closed.

22 This they have done. They are making movement
23 in that direction and I for one would strongly counsel
24 against any attacks on the building trades.

25 We ourselves have stopped that because there are

1 attempts being made to make progress.

2 As a specific suggestion the AFL-CIO has a man in
3 charge of their Civil Rights Department named Donald
4 Slainen. He has been in and out of New Jersey in an
5 attempt to resolve some of these problems.

6 He is intelligent and he knows his business.

7 There are limits within which he can go, however,
8 and still retain his position.

9 If there were to be something meaningful attempted
10 here with the building trades I would strongly suggest that
11 you call him in and let him be sort of a quarterback as
12 to how far you can go.

13 What I am saying is that you can make progress.
14 You are not going to bust these old barriers overnight
15 but progress can be made.

16 Q Would you say that the top leadership of the
17 AFL-CIO, without wanting to mention names, a change in
18 the top leadership of AFL-CIO might make a difference?

19 A Well, I was disturbed by a statement I saw
20 Mr. Neany make the other day. He made the usual pro-
21 nouncement that we must open our ranks to all, which is
22 fine, and in the next sentence he said "We will not lower
23 our requirements for apprenticeship, eligibility require-
24 ments" which could be interpreted as saying we are still
25 going to make efforts to keep out undereducated and under-

1 privileged people. These were just general statements.
2 These were just general statements.
3 I don't see any clarion calls sparking direction.

4 There might be other problems by a change in top
5 leadership but the unfortunate problem is that we are
6 losing the battle of the actuarial charts.

7 Q When you talk about the apprenticeship program
8 isn't there a conflict right now on the Ironworkers Union
9 concerning apprentices at the Rutgers Law School construction
10 project?

11 A I don't know anything about it.

12 Q You don't know anything about that?

13 A No.

14 Q Do you know something about the Sheetmetal
15 Workers and the charges that they have been without any
16 Negro workers?

17 A My information on all of these cases has
18 come from reading the newspapers. I have no first-hand
19 information about it.

20 Q Now in other places unions have engaged actually
21 in running training programs on their own, even without
22 direct participation of management except in link with
23 management as absorbers of the people they train, District
24 65 in New York, you may have heard about it.
25 The Teamsters are in the Job Corps Training Center

1 in Kilmer and so on where they are an integral part of
2 the training program and actually either run it or are
3 responsible for placement.

4 Now is anything like this, on that scale, like a
5 District 65 Program, underway in New Jersey or if not,
6 why not, and it is conceivable?

7 A Two years ago we officially endorsed such
8 a program with attempts to become funded and develop
9 precisely that sort of thing.

10 We didn't. I don't try to offer lame excuses but
11 we used the old system of first things first and there
12 is always something else that is on our mind to demand
13 our attention, our manpower and our money.

14 We are at this level horribly understaffed and
15 horribly underfunded.

16 Contrary to the popular view about the millions
17 possessed by the labor movement, these funds are not
18 put in the hands of state or local leaders.

19 Our operation is almost laughable.

20 Q When you say first things first, would you
21 agree that in the light of last summer perhaps the
22 priority of what is first is going to change a little
23 bit in people's minds?

24 A Oh, yes. I wish it would change in the mind
25 of our President too.

1 MR. LEUCHTER: Mr. Jacobson, is there
2 a conflict in the building trades industries
3 between union requirements in the construc-
4 tion field and this self-help concept of
5 urban remodeling for ghetto dwellers where
6 federal funds can be used using people in the
7 core area to remodel their own buildings?

8 Is there an essential conflict there?
9 If so, if there is a conflict, how can it be
10 resolved?

11 THE WITNESS: Well, Mr. Neany charac-
12 terized that just this past week. He has
13 no objection to this type of program being
14 employed but when you take these people in
15 you must pay them union wages.

16 Now that would be the conflict.

17 I must say from a union point of view
18 I can understand the desire to protect the
19 wage structure.

20 On the other hand, I can also under-
21 stand the desire to bring some of these
22 new men in to teach them the skills.

23 But you asked if there is a conflict and
24 I think there is.

25 MR. LEUCHTER: It has been said that it

1 becomes unrealistic cost-wise to remodel
2 some of these dwellings and re-do them if
3 you have to pay union scale.

4 Is that a reasonable assertion?

5 In other words, what is the basic dif-
6 ference between paying these people a non-
7 union scale since obviously they are not
8 trained people, you are in the process of
9 training them, or what is the basic cost
10 differential between using self-help for its
11 very definite psychological advantages
12 as well as training advantages?

13 What is the difference in cost between
14 that and using union people?

15 First of all, are there enough-- well,
16 of course, there aren't enough union personnel
17 available to do this fantastic amount of
18 reconstruction that is needed, is there?

19 THE WITNESS: If it were to be launched
20 but what is currently on the boards can be
21 handled by the union.

22 As a matter of fact, they complain
23 about a surplus of union people not working.

24 Now you have a question here on intent.

25 I must say that I am somewhat cynical

1 too, without any reference to obviously the
2 gentlemen here but I am talking about business
3 in general.

4 I have not seen the type of honesty that
5 would lead me to believe that certain business-
6 men wouldn't use this as an attempt to lower
7 wages for the union worker, that they would
8 try to exploit this for precisely that purpose
9 with no concern for the social benefit to
10 be derived from it and as a result of that
11 I for one just wouldn't go along.

12 I can understand some of the building
13 trades objecting to it.

14 Now if there were sincere desires, if
15 it could be proved that there were really
16 these, but this desire to do that and to help, there
17 might be movement.

18 But again, I can't speak for the building
19 trades.

20 MR. LEICHTER: How do groups such as
21 ours or any group that might make recommendations
22 along this line, how do we prove innocence
23 instead of guilt?

24 How do you prove your intent?

25 THE WITNESS: It is difficult. That's

1 that I say, when you deal with the building
2 anybody who trades I would strongly recommend you take
3 in George Meany's name, any movement you intend
4 to make in the state and involve him in it
5 because if he can move he will move with
6 Meany's endorsement and that is significant.
7 Now I am sure you are not implying this
8 but I do have a rather strong feeling that
9 it is not only the building trades that hold
10 together the key to this problem.

11 Q On this building trades, coming for a second
12 to one other question, we are going out there on Thursday,
13 Mr. Lilley and a group of us, to Bedford-Stuyvesant, and
14 I understand that in the rehabilitation and construction
15 projects that are contemplated and partly already underway
16 there, building trades unions have been persuaded to
17 establish a new job classification such as rehab worker,
18 I believe it is called, under which unskilled workers
19 would become sort of associate members of the unions in
20 that new classification with a good chance and preference
21 to become full union members as they acquire skills.
22 Have you heard about that?

23 A No, but that would make sense to me. That
24 would be an extension of their apprenticeship system.

25 Instead of determining who is the apprentice by

1 their previous means, they would just open this to
2 anybody who could qualify.

3 Q If this came about-- and we are going to
4 look into that on Thursday in more detail-- if this came
5 about, undoubtedly it had something to do with the fact
6 that the political leadership in the city over there,
7 meaning Senator Kennedy, Senator Javits, Mayor Lindsay,
8 the business community as represented on the Development
9 and Service Corporation and so on, all sort of banded
10 together and probably put, by the mere power that was
11 gathered together there, so much pressure on that building
12 trades had to give way.

13 Do you see any possibility of rallying this kind
14 of power together in this state to achieve something
15 similar, if indeed what we have heard is the pattern
16 that is emerging?

17 A I would think so. I don't know that you
18 necessarily require the political support of the men.

19 If this is an established pattern in Bedford-Stuy-
20 vesant, with the union's approval this Mr. Slainan could
21 merely pick it up and bring it right over here and urge
22 the unions here to adopt it.

23 He may have a little more difficulty here than he
24 had in New York.

25 Q You say you don't think it is necessary to have

1 all the political power?

2 A I wouldn't think you might have to but
3 your first step should be through Don Slainan.

4 If they are using a program in New York that is
5 approved by the union, he would certainly be free to
6 come in here and say "You fellows ought to do it too."

7 MR. LEUCHTER: Why do you say he might
8 have more difficulty here?

9 Is there something special about New
10 Jersey's union situation that we ought to
11 know about?

12 THE WITNESS: It is just the personalities
13 that are generally involved, that is all.

14 MR. LEUCHTER: Does this imply a lack
15 of sympathy with the disadvantaged minorities?

16 THE WITNESS: I would say Yes.

17 MR. LEUCHTER: That is a relevant
18 factor in this Commission's work as to why
19 we had violence this summer.

20 Is there basically in the union leader-
21 ship field or at least in the building trades
22 field a lack of concern for these people?

23 THE WITNESS: My labor patriotism is
24 stirred at this point.

25 I don't really think you can ascribe the

1 violence to the building trades, as much as
2 I criticize them myself.

3 MR. LAUGHTER: I certainly did not
4 imply that.

5 I only meant is there a contributing
6 factor that we should know about or a factor,
7 whether it is contributing or not?

8 THE WITNESS: There are denials of
9 opportunities to Negroes in the building
10 trades because of the prejudices of certain
11 individuals.

12 This is a fact.

13 MR. DRISCOLL: Would it be fair to say
14 that in New Jersey, particularly in the
15 large municipalities you had a greater
16 inclination on the part of the leadership,
17 union and non-union, political and non-political,
18 to maintain the status quo rather than an
19 aggressive discriminatory attitude?

20 THE WITNESS: Right.

21 Governor, the way we characterize
22 that is don't rock the boat.

23 You come in in the morning, there are
24 no letters, no telephone calls, fine, just
25 leave the office before trouble starts.

1 I think we have that in some unions.

2 I know we have it in City Hall in some
3 cities.

4 CHAIRMAN LILLEY: To get you away from
5 building trades unions which are a thorn
6 in lots of sides, we have had some testimony
7 by knowledgeable people that where jobs exist
8 and training programs exist, the Negroes
9 in the ghetto have, it was said, that little
10 faith in business that they still won't come
11 forward for the jobs.

12 It seems like the making of a tragedy.
13 The job is there and the opportunity.

14 In your union activity do you have any
15 views on this?

16 Have you sensed this?

17 You might as well expand and perhaps
18 unions could help here.

19 Business obviously is being asked to
20 help.

21 I would just like to hear your over-all
22 views on the feeling that the Negro feels
23 the whole establishment and I presume this
24 means union, management and everything, just
25 doesn't care and he won't come forward and

1 get mixed up in this strange thing.

2 THE WITNESS: Perhaps I can tell you
3 a story that might somehow answer the ques-
4 tion.

5 I am on the staff of the U.A.W. As
6 Mr. Goldman indicated, we really think we are
7 the best.

8 Immodestly we think we are the best.

9 Immediately at the conclusion of the
10 riots in Newark we found out that there are
11 some 1,600 members of the U.A.W. who live in
12 the South and Central Wards of Newark and
13 the thought came up, my God, is it possible
14 that these people were rioting?

15 Why don't we call a meeting and find
16 out what is on their minds, which we did.

17 We rented a room at the Essex House and
18 we sent out letters, on our computer system,
19 to all of these 1,600 people and some 400
20 showed up which I thought was a fairly good
21 percentage.

22 We put the question to these members,
23 what happened?

24 What do we do now?

25 I learned several things from that

1 meeting.

2 First you have to understand that
3 these are men who are currently employed
4 making \$125, \$150, \$200 a week, all of them
5 living in the ghetto.

6 They came forth with 3 or 4 problems
7 that were on their minds and they voiced them
8 freely.

9 We had a wide open evening that night.

10 Obviously they weren't concerned with
11 jobs because they were all working.

12 The four things that were on their
13 minds that led to this alienation that you
14 referred to and the order in which they
15 mentioned them and as I took notes I myself
16 characterized them as 1, 2, 3, 4, was the
17 police problem, the housing problem, the
18 schools and certain what I call here financial
19 discrimination, inability to get loans or
20 mortgages.

21 Each one of these things would seek to
22 alienate this man from the power structure
23 of the establishment.

24 They were even critical of the union
25 but as I appraised what they had to say, this

1 was a minor irritant to them, some of them.

2 The major thrust of their criticism
3 was what we would call the power establishment,
4 the police, lack of housing, schools and
5 other problems along that line.

6 CHAIRMAN LILLEY: Joel, do you have any
7 theory on why these 1,500 U.A.W. men, which
8 are a pretty proud outfit and well paid,
9 why 1,500 others living in the ghetto wouldn't
10 get the idea from them that there were
11 jobs and come forward for them?

12 This is what the problem seems to be
13 if I sensed it yesterday.

14 THE WITNESS: Why our men couldn't get
15 the unemployed in?

16 CHAIRMAN LILLEY: Why their neighbors,
17 just seeing the example of your men, your
18 U.A.W. members having good pay and so on,
19 why they don't come forward when it is known
20 there are opportunities in business?

21 THE WITNESS: Well, one reason could
22 be that despite the fact that they are
23 working they are still living in the same
24 ghetto.

25 One man told a story-- I am pretty hard-

1 boiled and I wasn't crying but I felt very
2 bad.

3 He has a wife and two kids, an obviously
4 intelligent man, extremely articulate.

5 He told a story of trying to move out
6 of the ghetto.

7 He has a few bucks now so he wanted to
8 buy a house.

9 Of course, he ran into all sorts of
10 discrimination, the real estate agent trying
11 to conform with the law very politely telling
12 him you can't move in here.

13 When he finally picked out a place he
14 tried to get a mortgage and the bank wouldn't
15 give him a mortgage.

16 So he said "To heck with it and I will
17 stay where I am and I don't have to subject
18 myself to these indignities."

19 MR. LEUCHTER: May I amplify that?
20 I was about to ask you the question, number 1,
21 can you tell us, without being completely
22 accurate-- off the top of your head you can't--
23 but of the 1,600 men that you are referring
24 to how many of them work within the boundaries
25 of Newark and how many of these jobs are out

1 of Newark?

2 THE WITNESS: Most of the big plants
3 here are the General Motors Assembly Plant
4 in Linden, the Wright Aeronautical plant
5 in Paterson, the Ford Metuchen plant, the
6 Ford Mahwah plant, these are the big assembly
7 plants in the area.

8 They all have cars and it is a ½ hour
9 commutation.

10 MR. LEUCHTER: I think we can assume
11 quite obviously that the majority of white
12 employees at these plants did not live in the
13 City of Newark?

14 THE WITNESS: Right.

15 MR. LEUCHTER: Therefore we can ask
16 why the 1,600 Negroes who work at these plants
17 continue to live in Newark and therefore is
18 it because they simply cannot get housing
19 as white people can in the other parts of
20 North Jersey without subjecting themselves
21 to, as you say, indignities?

22 THE WITNESS: More often than not that's
23 the problem.

24 MR. LEUCHTER: Therefore, the anti-
25 housing discrimination that we have in the

1 state, while it may be effective in terms
2 of rental housing as we read of complaints
3 being taken up before the State Division
4 Against Discrimination, where a Negro applies
5 for an apartment and is turned down, more
6 often than not it is not effective in the
7 private home sales field or laws?

8 THE WITNESS: I must deduct that from
9 what I heard that night.

10 CHAIRMAN LILLEY: I am really seeking
11 help here.

12 The Negro really can't think of moving
13 to the suburbs until he gets a job and this
14 mysterious thing is that there are Negroes
15 in the ghetto who will not come forward to
16 be exposed to training in jobs that are
17 there, which has been brought out to us
18 and it is puzzling.

19 THE WITNESS: You take an alienated
20 unemployed Negro youth and he sees this other
21 fellow who he might characterize as that
22 dumb slob going to work everyday, "He is
23 no better off than I am, look where he is
24 living. Look where he lives."

25 MR. LEUCHTER: You by-passed the question

1 that you yourself asked at the beginning.

2 Did any of these 1,600 participate
3 in any violence?

4 THE WITNESS: This was a great question
5 on my mind.

6 Now obviously I couldn't say "How many
7 of you guys looted? How many of you went
8 out and stole?"

9 My impression was that they did not.
10 Nobody would own up to it but the nature of
11 the criticism, because there was a great deal
12 of criticism of fellow Negroes from this
13 group, led me to believe that perhaps they
14 didn't.

15 MR. GIBBONS: I think you may have
16 answered my question.

17 In this group which would probably be
18 as representative of the Negro middle-class
19 as you could find, was there an attitude
20 of strong condemnation against the participants
21 in the civil disorder or was there an attitude
22 of tolerance?

23 THE WITNESS: They condemned them.

24 MR. GIBBONS: These are mostly older
25 persons, I would assume?

1 THE WITNESS: Yes. The men are in
2 their 30's and 40's.

3 It is true they condemned them but
4 let me say very honestly they condemned the
5 police and the other problems much more
6 vigorously and with greater priority than
7 they did the rioters.

8 MR. DRISCOLL: When they condemned the
9 police was it a condemnation of the use of
10 unnecessary force over a period of years
11 culminating in some little spark that set
12 the matter off?

13 THE WITNESS: Yes. If you asked me to
14 prove that there was police brutality I
15 couldn't do that but they think there is and
16 sometimes what they think is almost as
17 important as what is.

18 MR. GIBBONS: Mr. Jacobson, in this
19 meeting or in any other contacts that you
20 have had with union members who live in the
21 central cities, have you heard any complaints
22 about the cost of automobile liability
23 insurance?

24 THE WITNESS: Oh, yes. I have heard
25 that from whites too. We have been interested

1 in that and we had universal complaints about
2 the indiscriminate cancellations, gap in
3 the rates.

4 I would not say this is a racial
5 problem though. It is a universal problem.

6 MR. LEUCHTER: Is there anywhere in
7 the field of organized labor any type of
8 program in which union funds are used as a
9 substitute for existing lending institutions?

10 In other words, is there any possibility
11 anytime in the future of the union investment
12 funds being set up on a revolving fund basis
13 to provide let's say home mortgages for members
14 of the union who cannot get them from estab-
15 lished sources by virtue of their race, for
16 example?

17 THE WITNESS: Well, since the passage
18 of the new housing bill in New Jersey there
19 have been 4 or 5 unions with heavy welfare
20 funds who have evidenced an interest in
21 building homes under the new statute.

22 We have had several meetings with Com-
23 missioner Ylvisaker and others and there
24 already is in progress two huge unions with
25 large minority membership who are seeking plots

1 in Newark to build homes and they seem to
2 run into a problem where there isn't much
3 land left.

4 Mr. Parker has it all tied up. They
5 will give you a place down in the meadows
6 which are not particularly perfumery or a
7 place near the Passaic River where you have
8 a lovely bridge for a view, but there is
9 this attempt being made to build houses for
10 these members.

11 MR. GIBBONS: Do you think it is wise
12 to build them in Newark, particularly if
13 they are going to be occupied substantially
14 by minority groups?

15 THE WITNESS: We have wrestled with this
16 a great deal and one of the unions decided
17 against it.

18 One of the unions is going out in the
19 suburbs.

20 Many of us were born and raised in
21 Newark, as I was, and we would like to do
22 something to rehabilitate the city and the
23 thought was if we had some housing projects
24 somewhere in the community which would permit
25 our people to live and walk around without

1 the problems it would be a contribution to
2 the city.

3 MR. GIBBONS: It would still leave them
4 with a fairly long automobile commute to
5 where they work, particularly in the case of
6 the U.A.W.

7 THE WITNESS: Yes. They don't seem
8 to mind that.

9 MR. LEUCHTER: What type of housing
10 were you considering?

11 THE WITNESS: I am glad you mentioned
12 that because I have another question here.

13 Another problem was brought up at this
14 meeting. One fellow got up and he said
15 "Yes, you talk about family responsibility
16 for my kid. Maybe my kid was rioting.

17 "I don't know. How can my wife tell?
18 I am at work. She is living on the 13th
19 floor.

20 "How is she going to watch that kid when
21 he is running around the street?"

22 How do you answer that? They have
23 these High Park Gardens here, they are
24 delightful and everybody wants to live in
25 those, at least up to the second floor, but

1 here was a man who was raising a crucial
2 question.

3 The answer to your question is I think
4 they prefer garden type apartments if you
5 have the land.

6 MR. LEUCHTER: Are you talking about
7 rental type housing in each case?

8 I was wondering whether or not there is
9 the possibility of a home ownership feature
10 where the fellow can just pay off his mortgage
11 to the union and ultimately own his own home.

12 THE WITNESS: The housing I talk about
13 now is rental housing but I am sure that
14 these unions would consider that.

15 CHAIRMAN LILLEY: With all the statistics
16 you have would you know what percentage of
17 U.A.W. members own their own house?

18 THE WITNESS: There was a national
19 poll taken.

20 I assume it would apply to New Jersey.
21 I think between 50 and 75 percent own their
22 own homes and live in the suburbs and complain
23 about taxes and mortgages and school bussing
24 and everything else.

25 They are very severe problems in the union.

1 then and in a way We have become a victim of our own
2 success.

3 MR. LEUCHTER: The point is they do
4 have at least the pride of their own home.
5 They may complain about all the things
6 which people complain about but at least it
7 is their castle and they own it.

8 THE WITNESS: Right.

9 Q Getting back to the question that Mr. Lilley
10 raised a minute ago, let me try and get at it this way:
11 In light of the problems that you say were raised at
12 this meeting of the 1,600, police, housing, schools,
13 at cetera, is it perhaps right to assume that the
14 leverage, assuming that these people want to influence
15 the youngsters who, as you said, say "Well, he doesn't make
16 it, he's got a job, he is working, the dope, but he is
17 not any better off than I am", is it perhaps correct to
18 assume that the leverage of these people, assuming they
19 want to influence the youngsters in the right direction,
20 is lessened if not cut out from under them completely by
21 the existence of these factors and that therefore they
22 are reluctant to exert that influence? you listened to

23 A Sure.

24 Q And that therefore, not exerting it the
25 youngsters will simply assume that they sympathize with

1 then and in a way therefore abet what they are doing?

2 A I think that happens, yes.

3 CHAIRMAN LILLEY: I want to ask another
4 question and I want to put it in the broadest
5 category I can.

6 It is obvious that in the housing area
7 and there were a lot of people don't want to have a Negro
8 living next door to them.

9 THE WITNESS: Right.

10 CHAIRMAN LILLEY: Would you say that
11 union people are any different than any other
12 people in this respect?

13 THE WITNESS: Most, no. I think some,
14 a larger percentage than the general public
15 would say Yes.

16 MR. DRISCOLL: Just one more question,
17 if I may.

18 On your list as I remember it was
19 such thoughts to test their
20 education, is that right?

21 THE WITNESS: Right.

22 MR. DRISCOLL: Did this have to do with
23 the quality of education as you listened to
24 appraisal off the top of your head and I know it is
25 difficult for you but could you give us an appraisal
of the quality of the various writings and placement
THE WITNESS: Well, I think it had more

1 to do with just the physical surroundings
2 of the school.

3 MR. DRISCOLL: The facilities?
4 how effective they are?

5 THE WITNESS: The facilities and so on.

6 I was born and raised in Newark and
7 in 1933 I was going to South Side High School
8 and they were overcrowded and so they sent
9 my class to Charlton Street School as a
10 junior high school.

11 That was 1933. That school was abso-
12 lutely decrepid then.

13 As a kid I remember that. That school
14 still exists today.

15 They complain primarily about the
16 physical facilities.

17 I don't think they give much thought to
18 the question of integration or the quality.

19 I honestly don't think they have given
20 much thought to that other than to think
21 that anything different than what they do
22 would be better which would probably be true.

23 Q Let me ask you this: Could you give us an

24 appraisal off the top of your head and I know it is

25 difficult for you but could you give us an appraisal

of the quality of the various training and placement

1 programs, and there are a whole raft of them in this
2 city, public supported, most of them, federal and state,
3 how effective they are from a union point of view?

4 A I couldn't give you an accurate response
5 to that. I would hesitate to offer any.

6 Q One more question: Do you see some real
7 promise beyond highest declarations and good intentions
8 from organizations such as urban coalitions that are
9 building around the country both national and local?

10 A Well, if you ask me to solve this problem,
11 which obviously I can't, at least I would make several
12 recommendations and I suppose the simplest one, the one
13 that obviously everybody thinks about is if we had lots
14 of money we could do lots of things.

15 You obviously have seen A. Philip Randolph's freedom
16 budget and it is a nice goal and I think we ought to
17 start moving toward it.

18 I am not going to get to the question of the war,
19 whether we could have guns or butter, but if you ask me a
20 question it is obvious that a lot of money could do a
21 lot of things.

22 Even barring money I just thought I would jot
23 down a couple of things that I thought could be done of
24 a relatively minor nature but they would help.

25 For example, the ombudsman.

1 We have this in our union. Each department has
2 a shop chairman. We have a grievance committee.

3 A guy has a squawk, he has an avenue for letting
4 it out. He doesn't riot. There is a procedure.

5 I don't know why there couldn't be a grievance
6 procedure for the aggrieved citizen in the community.

7 Why does he have to feel the futility of going down
8 to City Hall and getting a complete run-around, the help-
9 lessness of fighting City Hall?

10 Why couldn't there be in the community some means
11 whereby there could be a pulse-taking of his problems,
12 someone to lend a sympathetic ear, perhaps even to
13 help?

14 Something like this I think would be of great help.

15 Another thing, and this may be highly visionary
16 but it works in our union and why can't it be applied to
17 the community, the resurrection of the old Town Hall Meeting?

18 Our local meeting is, contrary to public opinion,
19 wide open and we have a lot of crackpots and we take an
20 awful lot of abuse from crackpots, but there are a lot
21 of intelligent, articulate positions developed at
22 these meetings.

23 Why can't we have Town Hall Meetings where these
24 people just get up and spout off?

25 You would be surprised what we would learn.

1 This meeting of the 1,600 was precisely that. We
2 had a couple of nuts there. Most of what came out of
3 it was pretty good.

4 Again an avenue for giving vent to emotions and
5 suggests as to how they could be helpful.

6 CHAIRMAN LILLEY: Just to clear my
7 thinking, how would you relate the meetings
8 on the medical school and the canine corps
9 and things like that to that?

10 THE WITNESS: Right. The extremists
11 took control of that and they were brought
12 downtown where they had to make a big show
13 and maintain their militancy and demonstrate
14 their position in the community.

15 If there had been real attempts to
16 get the pulse of the community, if there had
17 been fair questions posed to them we might
18 have eliminated some of that.

19 Leroi Jones is going to scream no
20 matter what you do.

21 He doesn't want to build. He wants to
22 destroy. We understand that.

23 I think the vast majority of decent
24 citizens that live in the ghetto would have
25 this opportunity to express themselves, it

1 might relieve them of some anxiety and
2 pressures.

3 MR. DRISCOLL: Would your suggestion,
4 which it seems to me has merit, imply the
5 possibility of decentralizing these meetings
6 so that you wouldn't have the overcrowding
7 that apparently you had in the City Hall so
8 you might have ward meetings or section
9 meetings or something of that kind?

10 THE WITNESS: Precisely. That's exactly
11 right.

12 You know, we all condemned Tammany Hall
13 for the purposes to which they put their
14 power but the manner in which they derived
15 their power was significant, turkeys on
16 Christmas and concern for the person who was
17 out of a job, the service to the community.

18 If we could take this type of service
19 and channel it in a constructive vein, again
20 it would be helpful.

21 I have a couple of more suggestions for
22 whatever they are worth.

23 This is just a feeling. I offer this in
24 the hope that it will be constructive.

25 There is a discrimination here. The

1 pillars of the community, the very epitome
2 of respectability and the ghetto resident,
3 one specific incident, the jetport in Morris
4 County.
5 A tremendous hue and cry goes up against
6 the construction of a jetport in Morris
7 County.
8 There is no objection to having the
9 jets fly out over the heads of the Newark
10 residents. There is no objection to building
11 highways right through the heart of Newark
12 and dislocating that community so that the
13 residents of Morris County can ride the jets
14 over the heads of the Newark people but there
15 is this basic discrimination in approach that
16 has to have an impact.
17 It had an impact on me and I don't
18 think I have been rioting.
19 I must tell you one other story. I
20 hope I am not talking too long.
21 At the end of the riot I myself was
22 absolutely appalled by the looting and the
23 rioting, no justification for this, I said.
24 Yet I recall, gentlemen, in 1944 I
25 looted.

1 I hadn't had anything to eat for a week.
2 I was filthy and dirty and my animal instincts
3 consumed me.

4 I was in Italy and I came across a
5 house and there was nobody in it and I went
6 right through that house.

7 I am proud to say all I stole was a
8 mattress so I could sleep more comfortably
9 but I looted and under the proper provocation
10 even the most respectable of us might be
11 susceptible to this.

12 You cannot ignore a provocation in an
13 instance such as this.

14 The other suggestion I wanted to make
15 was concerning private industry.

16 We run into a problem that we have had
17 comparable at Rutgers University where Rutgers
18 has a procedure for determining eligibility
19 for its incoming students.

20 At a certain level students are admitted,
21 at a certain level below students are kept
22 out.

23 We know of the students admitted some
24 15 percent at the end of the first year flunk
25 out and we also know that many of the students

1 who were not admitted had they been admitted
2 would not flunk out so there is something
3 wrong with the system.

4 I have always said that we hope we could
5 develop in this state what they have in other
6 states where any graduate of a high school
7 is admitted and let him prove himself in the
8 school.

9 If he is no good throw him out then
10 but at least give him a chance to prove him-
11 self.

12 It appears to me that private industry
13 might also apply the same technique, where
14 they have application blanks with certain
15 requirements concerning education, et cetera,
16 that automatically disqualify an individual
17 from assuming employment without giving him
18 the opportunity to prove himself and perhaps
19 unless we are discarding business as usual
20 there might be attempts made along these
21 lines to give a man the chance to prove him-
22 self on the job.

23 MR. GIBBONS: Have you given any thought
24 specifically to the problem of the question
25 about arrest records on job application forms

1 and the extent to which that operates as
2 a built-in discrimination against ghetto
3 residents?

4 THE WITNESS: I might not be accepted.
5 I have been locked up 3 times for picketing.
6 I certainly would think that would be
7 a factor.

8 CHAIRMAN LILLEY: Along the line you
9 were just talking about, seniority very
10 rightly seems a lot to unions and maybe I
11 am reading too much into what you said.

12 You wanted to see the colleges give
13 youngsters a trial.

14 I thought you said industry ought to
15 do the same.

16 THE WITNESS: For employment.

17 CHAIRMAN LILLEY: Is it conceivable
18 that unions that look upon seniority very
19 strongly after a man had been on the job for
20 a year and simply didn't work out, would
21 they go along with some kind of a pre-set
22 deal that he could be let go?

23 THE WITNESS: Probably not because
24 if you do that it might solve this one problem
25 and perhaps in fairness somebody might even

1 concede this, but it would open up so many
2 other difficulties you just couldn't do it.

3 Q. CHAIRMAN LILLEY: I realize this is
4 the difficulty.

5 A. However, this does work against trial
6 and error because some percentage of those
7 will and I am not advocating it but I
8 wondered what you thought about the problem.

9 Q. THE WITNESS: I am speaking about
10 employment of the new personnel and this
11 would not affect the seniority setup although
12 you are making a parallel.

13 Q. CHAIRMAN LILLEY: Say at the end of a
14 year you might have someone that had more
15 seniority than someone that was in 6 months
16 where you had that was doing a good job.

17 A. That's what I was thinking about.

18 Q. THE WITNESS: If we could reach the day
19 Director of where we trust management, perhaps, but I
20 must tell you in all honesty that day has not
21 yet been arrived at.

22 Q. CHAIRMAN LILLEY: Well, I think you are
23 right but if in our current problem we could
24 have the confidence that labor and management
25 has reached in 30, 35 years, I think we will

1 have made progress.

2 you would like: THE WITNESS: We have done pretty well,

3 yes.

4 It's much better than it used to be.

5 CHAIRMAN LILLEY: Any other questions?

6 MR. DRISCOLL: I think you have been

7 very helpful.

8 CHAIRMAN LILLEY: Thank you very much

9 for coming.

12 LOUIS DANZIG, Sworn,

13 EXAMINATION

14 BY MR. GOLDMAN:

15 Q Mr. Danzig, would you just briefly tell us
16 where you reside, what your official position is and
17 your earlier professional background.

18 A My name is Louis Danzig. I am the Executive
19 Director of the Newark Housing Authority since 1948.

20 I reside at 330 Hobson Street, Newark, New Jersey.

21 I am married, have a wife and two children. I am
22 a product of the Newark schools and lived in the riot-torn
23 area in the City of Newark for a long period of my youth.

24 By profession I am a lawyer.

25 May I read a statement?