Keywords
International Ladies’ Garment Workers’ Union, ILGWU, labor unions, clothing workers, textile workers, garment workers, garment industry, New York, United States

Comments
Justice was the official publication of the International Ladies’ Garment Workers’ Union ILGWU from 1919 to 1995. Editions of Justice were published in English, Italian, Spanish, and Yiddish. When compared side by side, the content of some of these different editions of Justice shows significant differences. This is the English-language edition of Justice.
Editorial Notes

The quarterly meeting of the General Executive Board of the I. L. G. W. U., just held in Philadelphia, has helped to clear the air of a lot of uncertainty and to steady the course of our Union on a number of vital matters. A brief recapitulation of what this meeting had considered and acted upon should serve to illustrate this.

The G. E. B. reaffirmed, without strings or qualifications, its stand taken at a special meeting in September, regarding the levying and the collecting of a tax of $3.75 per member—subsequently submitted to a referendum and carried by a majority of four to one—to relieve the emergency financial situation created for our Union by the closing of the International-Madison Bank, and to pay off half of the indebtedness on the Reconstruction Bond Loan of 1928. The Board ruled that this tax is mandatory upon all locals, and the administration of the International should take all steps necessary to enforce its collection.

The General Executive Board voted against holding a special convention in January, four months in advance of the date set for the regular convention. For the past few months a considerable agitation in favor of a special convention has been current in I. L. G. W. U. ranks. The expiration of the collective agreements in the New York dress trade by the beginning of next year and in the cloak industry next June, it was argued, required the advancing of the convention date. Against this contention the argument was raised that the present financial stringency made an earlier convention inadvisable. In January, the slack time of the year, many locals might find it impossible to send a full quota of delegates. And the current problems which the International and its joint boards are facing, the opponents of an earlier convention insisted, could be handled in the various markets satisfactorily until the regular convention, in May.

The meeting discussed broadly the acute situation in the New York dress industry and the rapidly growing sentiment for a general strike brought up concretely before the Board in the form of a request from a committee of the New York Dress Joint Board. And the Board empowered its New York members and the general officers of the Organization to take up this demand and act upon it with full authority.

Another matter, though in itself not of major proportions, but one that has caused no end of irritation for many years among the New York cloak locals, was the jurisdictional dispute between the Cloak Operators Local No. 1 and the Reefer Makers Local No. 17 over the control of a number of shops. The investigation conducted by a subcommittee of the G. E. B. of a large number of typical Reefer, cloak and mixed shops has finally supplied it with a reliable criterion for working out a practical basis for classifying the doubtful shops under local jurisdiction and for the final, let us hope, adjustment of this years-old squabble that has served as political yeast to raise "issues" entirely too long in our midst.

Of equal importance were the reports given by the general officers on the state of affairs in the International as a whole, and by the vice presidents summarizing situations in their various trades and markets.

General Secretary Dubinsky's comprehensive survey of the financial situation of the Union as it influences organizational activity in every branch, district, market and center of the I. L. G. W. U.; Vice President Nagler's graphic description of conditions in the New York cloak market; Vice Presidents Ninio's and Antonini's reports of conditions in our Italian cloak and dress organizations; Vice President Hochman's illuminating account of the situation in the dress industry of New York; the report of Vice President Charles Kreindler on the strained agreement negotiations in Cleveland, which are to decide whether there shall be peace or war in that market by the end of the current year; the account given by Vice President Morris Bials of the very significant, in view of the change from piece work to piece work, conditions in the Chicago cloak shops, and of renewed activity in the dress industry; the report by Vice President Israel Feinberg on the doings of the cloak workers in Montreal, and by Vice President Abraham Kirzner on recent changes and developments among our Toronto unions; the story told by Vice President Elias Reisberg of the new stirrings among the Philadelphia dressmakers, and by Vice Presidents Max Amdur and Philip Kramer of the struggles of the Boston dressmakers and cloakmakers; the report by Vice President Wander of the work of the Out-of-Town Department; the account rendered by the Unity House Committee of the very successful 1931 season of our Forest Park summer home—all supplied a composite picture of the fast moving life within our International, a true barometer of its pulsating activities.

And, finally, the extensive report given by President Schlesinger—his first personal account in many, many months of his work in the office—which opened the sessions of the meeting. President Schlesinger has not yet fully recovered all his former strength and vigor, but his report clearly indicates that he is back at the helm, back on the job to carry on with a firm grip the tasks of leadership of the International Union.
Within a few days, the dressmakers' organization of New York will begin to confer with the employers' associations in the industry for the renewal of the collective agreements.

On the Eve of Big Events in the Dress Industry

The condition of the dress workers for the past few seasons has been nothing short of desperate. Not only have they been hard hit by the general bad conditions which affect every wage-earner in the country—there they have been forced, at the threat of starvation, to accept work, even during the short, spasmodic periods of the "seasons," at prices unheard of in the industry even during its worst periods. Cutdowns in pay, always at the expense of the workers, have converted hundreds of shops in the trade into a veritable jungle, where even skilled mechanics are compelled to produce garments at prices that would not permit the eling out of a meagre existence.

The sum total of this debacle is that in the dress trade, the largest, fastest growing and one of the richest industries in New York, the workers are reduced to a state of penury. And the spirit of irresponsibility, of utter disregard for every written or accepted obligation with regard to the terms under which their workers are to be employed, has spread like a plague among the manufacturers who appear to believe that they could continue to ride roughshod over the dressmakers with perfect immunity.

Small wonder that the dress workers, on the eve of the expiration of the agreements, are seething with discontent bordering on revolt. The mobilization campaign which has been going on in the dress shops for months is now assuming definite shape, fast crystallizing into a strike preparedness movement. The hitherto quelled groan of the bitterly oppressed dressmakers has now become a cry for a general struggle. The workers in the dress industry are fully aware of the gravity of the situation which confronts them. They know the difficulties, the sacrifices and the hazards of a general strike. But the workers in the New York dress shops will not submit to conditions of semi-starvation. If they have no other alternative they will fight—no matter how heavy the odds and obstacles might be—and, once they enter the struggle, will not abandon it until their cause is triumphant.

The Collective Agreement with the Lingerie Manufacturers' Association of New York, ratified last week at a great meeting of underwear workers, members of Local 62, at Beethoven Hall, opens up a new and let us hope, great epoch for the fifteen thousand women and men employed in the making of silk, rayon, muslin and cotton underwear in the New York market.

This agreement comes as the culmination of a highly persistent, tireless and splendidly carried out organization campaign started about a year ago by Local 62, under the leadership of its new supervisor, Bro. Samuel Shore, with the wholehearted support of the International Union and of the Cutters' Union, Local 10. It need not be told here what immense difficulties an organization drive of such magnitude as the one just concluded in the underwear industry involves even in normal industrial times, in a trade staffed with working people who until now had been regarded as impervious to the call of trade organization. What obstacles the campaign of Local 62 had had to overcome in order to achieve the signal victory it has scored in a period of economic crisis, can, therefore, very well be imagined.

The collective agreement in the silk lingerie shops is on par with the best trade contracts our International Union has achieved in any of its major industries in New York and elsewhere. The contract reduces work hours in all shops to 42 hours per week in place of the 48 hours hitherto prevalent; it establishes minimum wage bases for piece workers and minimum wage scales for week workers, gaining general advances in earnings ranging from 15 to 20 per cent; it establishes the principle of equal division of work in the shops during dull periods; it provides for maintenance of full union conditions in outside shops and the registration of such shops with the Union prior to sending out of work; it calls for a dispute adjustment machinery and for an impartial arbiter; and it finally establishes definitely that only union people, holding union cards, be employed in the shops—a full union shop.

The signing of the agreement with the Lingerie Manufacturers' Association and the unionization of their shops, however, far from completes the great task which the Underwear Workers' Union has set out to accomplish. There are still a number of "independent" silk shops in this industry to unionize. Next come the rayon shops, the large number of still unorganized muslin shops, large factories run on the "inside" production system, where thousands of men and women still work under inferior conditions. Enthused by their fine success, Local 62, with the continued support of the International and of Local 10, the cutters, will press the drive for unionization into these fields without halting. And there is every hope to believe that they will be able to duplicate the success they have already achieved in the silk lingerie shops and introduce uniform union work standards throughout the industry within a comparatively brief time.

The whole membership of the International joins in congratulating the members and leaders of the New York Underwear Workers upon their magnificent victory. They have set a heartening example of what determination, indefatigable work coupled with working class idealism could accomplish even in a period of industrial stagnation like the present.

The New York Cloak sub-manufacturers' association has been forced to go into a court of justice to restrain the Brooklyn cloak contractors' association from "violating, rescinding or abrogating" an agreement which binds the Brooklyn group to maintain shops under the same terms of employment as prevail in the New York sub-manufacturing shops under its own collective agreement with the Union.

The Brooklyn cloak contractor situation has for the past few years been a grave problem to the Cloakmakers' Union. The Brooklyn contractors' association, though pledged to maintain union shops, to operate on the week-work system and to submit to shop control and discipline, has steadfastly defied both the New York parent association and the Union by breaking every essential obligation imposed upon it by the contract. The Brooklyn contractor shops, to all practical purposes, have, therefore, become non-union nests where piece-work is prevalent throughout and where workhours are violated and earnings fall far below the minimums established by the agreement for the industry. The Brooklyn group, moreover, has consistently striven to make the Brooklyn district a safe haven for every manufacturer and jobber who might wish to produce cloaks on a substandard, bootleg basis in destructive competition with legitimate producers in New York.

When the American Association, in the Spring of 1930,
after repeated futile attempts to make the Brooklyn group conform to the agreement, had decided to sever affiliations with it; the latter obtained an injunction against the American Association to prevent such expulsion. Later, a settlement was effected by the terms of which the injunction was dissolved, the agreement reinstated, and the Brooklyn group promised that it would reform its ways and cooperate in good faith for the well-being of the industry. Following this settlement, the Union entered the Brooklyn district and began organizing activity on a large scale. Virtually, however, before the ink had dried up on the signatures to the new pact, it became apparent that the Brooklyn association had never meant to carry out its "good faith" pledge. The old tactics of defiance, faithlessness and bootlegging were resumed in all shops—until, having exhausted its patience, the American Association has now filed a suit for a restraining writ.

It is only too evident that the Union is also interested in bringing the Brooklyn contractors to book. For months the officers of the Union had been confering, jointly with the American Association, with the leaders of the Brooklyn contractors' outfit in an effort to make them see the irrepressibility and error of their course. The unionizing effort of the Brooklyn cloak sector and indeed, a disgrace upon the entire New York cloak market that should be blotted out. Brooklyn must not be allowed to remain a scab district. The leadership of the Union will, therefore, watch with keen interest this attempt of the American Association to compel the Brooklyn cloak contractors to live up to their agreement, which directly also guarantees union work terms to the cloakmakers employed in their shops.

THE SETTLEMENT with the Hattie Carnegie firm, after a deadlock in the negotiations for the renewal of the agreement which threatened to result in a strike, is a distinct victory for the 400 workers employed in that shop and a creditable achievement for the shops and will make a strong bid for gaining back some of the ground it had lost after the unsuccessful strike of last Winter. 

THE BANK AND BOND Loan Liquidation Assessment was ratified by a vote of nearly four to one. Four thousand one hundred and ninety-six voted for it and 1,164 voted against it.

Collect The $3.75 Assessment! The $3.75 tax is, therefore, now a lawful obligation upon every member of the I.L.G.W.U. We are a democratic organization governed by the will of the majority. Every member of the Union, every local belonging to the International, is therefore in duty bound to pay the tax whether he voted for it or not. And those who were asked to vote, were offered every facility to vote at special meetings, and neglected to cast their ballot surely have no valid excuse to offer for their failure to take part in the referendum.

The referendum was carried through, it must also be kept in mind, not on the basis of locals but by individual count. It was a vote for or against no matter where the vote came from. In other words, the complaint that some of our bigger locals used to voice once upon a time that referenda are often decided against them by the combined vote of the smaller locals could not be raised in this balloting. There was no evidence whatever of a concentration of a negative or affirmative vote either in the bigger or smaller groups of locals.

Let us now quote from the letter forwarded by the General Executive Board to all the locals and joint boards of the International Union immediately after the returns had been received from all over the country. In part, the message reads:

"The collection of this assessment will enable the international to make two payments of 25 per cent each on its debt to the Bank and on the bonds. The first payment to the Bank must be made in the shortest time. The first payment on the bonds, which mature in December of this year, must be made in January, 1931.

As locals of our International you are duty bound to carry out this decision. We urge you to begin collecting this tax at once and thus make it possible for the General Office to meet these pressing obligations.

"Remember— speedy action is necessary and your closest cooperation is required."

WE HAVE BEFORE US a report of the last meeting of the New York Cloak Joint Board.

A few glaring facts stand out in this report, bringing into bold relief the daily struggles of the New York cloak workers' organization to compel the employers to live up to the provisions of the collective agreement in the cloak industry. During hard times, naturally, violations of union work rules are bound to occur with greater frequency, and the fall season that is now nearing its end has, indeed, kept the controlling force of the Union continually on the alert, investigating, checking and disciplining violators wherever discovered and found guilty.

In the contractor and sub-manufacturing shops, the Union's chief fight has been to combat the spread of piece-work. General Manager Nagler minces no words in picturing the growing menace of this evil and its undermining influence on all union work standards in the sub-manufacturing branch of the cloak industry. While in the "inside" shops only nine complaints of piece-work pro-
duction have been reported, out of a total of 391 for the past four months, the Joint Board office has filed with the submanufacturers' association, since the beginning of the current season, 170 complaints charging substitution of piecework for week-work. Out of this number of complaints, about 90 were sustained, and disciplinary measures were taken against both the offending firms and the workers employed by them under secret piece-work.

There is no truth whatever, Brother Nagler emphatically declares, in the rumors circulated by certain partisan elements in and outside the Union, that the Joint Board is not paying sufficient attention to the spread of piece-work in the contractor shops. The Union is leaving nothing undone to check and curb this evil, and if it does not succeed in all cases, it is not due to lack of effort but to lack of evidence. It is self-evident that in the overwhelming majority of piece-work cases the practice is carried on through collusion between workers and employers. It takes both sides to commit a violation of this nature, and collusion in such cases, as General Manager Nagler frankly points out, is most difficult of detection. And though it may be quite true that in most instances the workers in such shops are practically intimidated and forced into secret deals to work by the piece by the employers, once the collusive arrangement is made, fear of punishment, on the one hand, and the even greater fear of losing their jobs, on the other, seals tightly the lips of all the parties to the violation.

There is no question that the task of week-work enforcement in the New York cloak industry has always been beset with nerve-trying difficulties. Even under favorable industrial conditions, accompanied by the strictest shop control, there will be found in this industry contractor shops that will make attempts to get away with bootleg piece-work under cover. But week-work is the recognized standard system of production in the cloak industry of New York, and the Union will carry on unceasingly the fight against bootleg piece-work with every weapon at its command.

How the Locals Voted on the $3.75 Assessment

At a special meeting of the New York members of the General Executive Board, held on October 5, General Secretary-Treasurer David Dubinsky read the reports received from the locals which took part in the vote on the $3.75 assessment to pay off the debt which the International owes to the closed International-Madison Bank and the debt on the Reconstructing Bond Loan of 1925.

Local | For | Against
--- | --- | ---
New York | 87 | 10
Chicago | 221 | 221
Montreal | 137 | 1
Philadelphia | 224 | 0
St. Louis | 112 | 11
St. Louis | 23 | 7
Toronto | 57, 77, 84, 77, 171, of | 106
Long Island | 106

Several locals in and outside New York failed to call meetings on time.

MUTUAL AID LEAGUE
SEEKS MORE MEMBERS

The League for Mutual Aid, the only organization of its kind in the labor movement, has launched a drive for additional members to extend its activity and to broaden out its program.

This organization is made up of members joined together to aid each other in getting jobs and to lend money without interest. Founded in 1926 as a stay and support for the conscientious objectors of those days, it has continued as the place to which radical and liberal workers can turn when they are broke or out of a job. A revolving fund has been built up from returnable deposits. Unemployed members list themselves for vacancies as they occur. During the past year over 600 jobs were filled and $12,000 loaned. All this was done by a small organization of 600 members, operating on dues of $5 a year.

All those interested in joining the League for Mutual Aid may communicate with its office, at 104 Fifth Avenue, New York City. Members will be welcomed from all over the country.
Cleveland Ready To Defend Union Standards

By CHARLES KREINDLER
Secretary Cleveland Joint Board

Referees in writing the attitude of the Union in this controversy. On September 30, the Union sent a letter to the Referees which, in part, reads as follows:

"After August 10th, the Union sent a letter to the Association asking them to elect representatives and to set a date for a conference to meet the representatives of the Union to take up the Agreement for 1932. In answer to this letter the first conference took place and at this conference the Association placed the following demands before the Union:

What the Employers Demand
1) A reduction in wages; (2) Abolishment of the guaranty of employment; (3) Abolishment of the 2 Per Cent Unemployment Fund for the outside shops; (4) Abolishment of the holiday pay for all workers; (5) Abolishment of overtime pay for all workers; (6) Abolishment of extra pay for duplicates; (7) Abolishment of the guaranteed scale for piece workers; (8) A free hand to send work to non-union outside shops without interference; (9) Abolishment of benefits contained in the Agreement dealing with standards; (10) All these demands should be granted outright without going to the Referee.

The unreasonable attitude of the manufacturers in daring to make such demands upon the Union somewhat bewildered us. Nevertheless, we advised the representatives of the Association that, although we recognize that under the Agreement they have every right to suggest changes in the Agreement, nevertheless such demands, which would mean the nullification of the Agreement and also of all the gains for which we have struggled and made sacrifices, are beyond our comprehension.

"We explained to the representatives of the Association that we have a number of grievances against the Agreement. Recognizing, however, that this is not the time to bring hardships upon the industry, we stated that we would be willing not to raise our grievances, providing the Association would join us in a letter renewing the Agreement without change, but our proposition was finally rejected by them.

Fight for Arbitration Principle
"From the above we hope that the Referees will understand that the Union is not only fighting to maintain the present Agreement but is also fighting to maintain the most important principle of the Agreement, that is the principle of arbitration.

"Notwithstanding the fact that our industry has been very slightly affected by the depression, our manufacturers are trying to take advantage of this to capsize the depression fund for the purpose of getting things to which they are not entitled. However, we are ready to cooperate with the employers as we did until now and to bring about a low unit cost per garment, providing the minimum scales will not be touched. This was done for the purpose of maintaining peace in the industry.

"It appears to us that the manufacturers have not only made unreasonable demands but that in effect the terminating the Agreement is a declaration of war and a challenge to the Union. The only recourse open to the Union is to prepare for a general strike at the expiration of the present Agreement, and all preparations will be made to meet the challenge of the employers.

"However, we do not intend to deviate from the principle of the Agreement which gives the Referees full power to call the contending parties into conference and to decide upon the issues involved."

Union Raises Defense Fund

This letter was unanimously approved by the Agreement Committees and by the officers of the Union. At the same meeting, the question of preparing our Union financially was discussed. Everyone present realized that the situation is such that a defense fund be raised. In the meantime, the General Executive Board decided to levy a tax of $1.75 for the purpose of enabling the International to meet its obligations.

On Monday, October 5, a meeting of all the delegates to the Joint Board, all Executive Board members and shop representatives was held. Brother Friend presided at this meeting. Brother Katerasky explained to all present the status of the pending negotiations with the employers. The matter was thoroughly discussed and the stand of the leaders was approved by all present, only one voting against it. The second question at this meeting was financial preparedness. The Committee realized that we couldn't come to the members with an assessment for the international and a separate assessment for Cleveland. It, therefore, decided to combine the two into one and..."
recommended that the assessment should be on the following basis:

Brother Berkman, chairman of Local 42 and member of the Agreement Committee, recommended that every member be assessed with one and one-half day's pay. He argued that by doing so every worker would contribute according to his ability to earn. The members, thereupon, adopted the recommendation of Brother Berkman, which means a day and one-half assessment for all workers in the industry. Due to the present emergency, it was decided that one day's wages of this tax be collected during the fourth week in October.

Locals 25 and 27, the operators, practically unanimously accepted the assessment, only four members voting against it. At the meeting of Women's Local No. 25, the recommendation was accepted by a good majority. Cutters Local No. 42, Pressers Local No. 37, and Tailors Workers Local No. 24, adopted it unanimously.

Ready for Peace—

and War

So, as you see, our membership has fully realized the seriousness of the situation and has acted as good and loyal union workers should. There is no doubt in our minds that those manufacturers who are building their hopes on the poor financial situation of our Union, will take notice of this and will realize that the members of our Union are ready for peace but they can also prepare for war, if necessary.

A conference between the employers and the Union is scheduled to be held within the next few days. We expect that our manufacturers, who were always constructively minded, will realize the danger of disturbing the industry at the present time and will make up their minds that a fight with the Union will do no good to either of the parties concerned.

WORKERS' DAYTIME CLASSES

Columbia University Extension

Miss Ethel Worthington Smith, director of the Allied Summer Schools for Women Workers in Industry announced plans for two new classes in economic history to be given this winter.

These courses, known as Workers' Daytime Classes, under Columbia University Extension Department, are open to all interested men and women workers irrespective of previous schooling. As in other years two courses are offered, one advanced and one elementary scope, and the cost of tuition will in all cases be covered by scholarships.

The instruction will be given by Mrs.

Union Health Center News

By PAULINE M. NEWMAN

The Union Health Center wishes to announce to readers of "Justice" that clinics for general examinations will henceforth be held on Fridays from 11 A.M. to 1:30 P.M. Heretofore, there were no clinics on this day—Fridays being the doctors' day off. But there has been a great demand on the part of many unions to have a clinic on Fridays, and the Union Health Center is glad to be able to accommodate trade unionists and their families who wish to come on Fridays for a general examination. The Dental Department is open every day except Sundays, from 10 A.M. to 7 P.M.

Look After Your Children

"School Days," said Health Commissioner Wuyse, "and health days should go hand in hand." Parents have been urged to have their children looked over by a physician before they return to school—or soon thereafter. All health authorities advise the importance of having your children's eyes and teeth examined, and to see whether they are in as good a physical condition as they ought to be.

The Medical as well as the Dental Departments of the Union Health Center invite you to make use of their well equipped facilities and bring your children for an examination. The cost for a physical examination is only one dollar, and examinations in the Dental Department are made free of charge. A visit now may prevent much pain, trouble and expense later on.

Periodic Examinations

Several unions, especially such as have provisions for sick benefits, are planning to have not only their new members examined by the Union Health Center, but to have yearly examinations of all members. Unions are invited to discuss this vital question with the directors in charge.

Mary R. M. Griffiths of the Bryn Mawr Summer School and Mr. Walter Sassa- man of the Bryn Mawr Summer School and of the Walden School.

Classes will be held at 14 East 37th Street where registration commences Tuesday, October 15th at 7 P.M. As large an increase in registration is expected as last year showed over the previous year. There is every sign of a growing public interest in study for its own sake without the incentive of degrees and credits.

Present plans include many necessary improvements in the Medical Department. There will be more clinics during the day in order to accommodate those who work at night. The Union Health Center Alliance—composed of men and women who wish to see the Health Center grow and expand—is planning to raise a fund for the purpose of helping the people, the unemployed and sick. Membership in this group is open to all those interested in the Union Health Center.

statement of the ownership, management, circulation, etc., required by the Act of Congress of August 24, 1912, of "Justice," published monthly at 10, Montgomery Street, Brooklyn, N. Y., for October 1, 1921, State of New York, County of New York.

Before me, a Notary Public in and for the State and county aforesaid, personally appeared David Dubinsky, who was duly sworn according to law, depose and say:

1. That the name and address of the publisher, editor, managing editor, and business managers are: David Dubinsky, International Ladies' Garment Workers Union, 217 Mont-gomery St., Jersey City, N. J.; 3 West 18th Street, New York City, N. Y.; Managing Editor, none; Business Managers, none.

2. That the owner is: International Ladies' Garment Workers Union, 217 Montgomery St., Jersey City, N. J.

3. That the known bondholders, mortgagees, and security holders owning or holding one per cent or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages, or other securities are: None.

4. That the two paragraphs next above, giving the names of the owner, stockholders, and security holders, if any, contain not only the list of stockholders and security holders as they appear upon the books of the company but also, in all cases where the stockholder or security holder appears upon the books of the company as trustee or in any other fiduciary relation, the names of the person or corporation for whom such trustee is acting is given; also that the said two paragraphs contain statements embodying all facts, knowledge and belief as to the circumstances and conditions under which stockholders and security holders who do not appear upon the books of the company own or hold the stock and securities in a capacity other than that of a bona fide owner; and this affidavit has no reason to believe that any other person, firm, or corporation, direct or indirect, in the said stock, bonds, or other securities than as stated by him.

David Dubinsky.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 15th day of Oct., 1921, S. L. Hamburgher. (My commission expires March 30, 1922)
Union Problems in Toronto

By ABRAHAM KIRZNER
Vice-Pres., Joint Board Manager

November, 1931

Readers of "Justice" are, quite likely, aware of the fact that Bro. Bernard Shane, who for two years had been the International representative in Toronto, has now been assigned by the G. E. B. to direct the dress organizing campaign in Chicago.

Before Bro. Shane had left Toronto, we arranged for him and Mrs. Shane a farewell dinner to which more than a hundred of his friends and associates in the cloak and dress organization were invited. Bro. S. Krausman acted as toastmaster, while a score of speakers praised Bro. Shane's work in Toronto and expressed their regret over his departure and good wishes for his future work in Chicago. He was also given a gold wrist watch by the Board, and a traveling bag by the dressmakers as tokens of happy associations and memory.

Fall Cloak Season Poor

Immediately after Bro. Shane left Toronto, our Joint Board held a special meeting, and the writer was appointed to assume management of the local organization. Our first and foremost handicap here is our financial stringency, due to the loans which the Joint Board had been compelled to make during the three months' dress strike last winter. The repayment of these obligations now imposes upon us a very heavy burden.

In addition, the cloak season has been very poor here, though we are still hoping that with the arrival of cooler weather work in the shops will become stimulated. At any rate, under the conditions, we may hardly expect regularity in dues payment for the time being until conditions improve. We have been also carrying on a fight here against the Bell Cloak Co. since early in May after this firm had locked out its union workers. The shop has been picketed all these 22 weeks; we have had a number of court cases growing out of this strike, and still have five such cases pending. We are paying strike benefits—$12 to married people and $8 a week to single folks—a hard task for us at this time, no doubt, but we intend, nevertheless, to see this fight through at all costs.

The Next Agreement

And now we are face to face, with another problem. Three months after we had signed the local collective agreement last February, our employers disrupted their association and practically destroyed the collective pact. This, however, did not disrupt our union within the shops. On the contrary, our business agents control the factories now as before, dealing with the employers individually, settling complaints, maintaining shop and price committees and forcing the firms to live up to the requirements of the contract.

Within a few weeks, this problem of reaching a method of settlement with the Toronto cloak manufacturers will have to be placed squarely on our agenda. We expect to have some trouble with a few firms, no doubt. It is not unlikely that some manufacturers will attempt to take advantage of the hard times by trying to cut wages. We are, however, on guard here against this danger, and only last week forced a firm which made an effort to cut down ten per cent of its cutters' wages, to rescind from its stand. That same week, our cutters' local held a well-attended meeting, at which it was decided to tolerate no reductions and to punish heavily all members who would dare to enter into any collusion with their employer involving a "voluntary" reduction.

The Sweat Nests Must Go!

With the last few weeks we have got rid here of a few so-called "corporation" shops, the kind that it is impossible to organize, and which manage to compete with the better, unionized shops. We hope that we shall soon be able completely to eradicate these sweat-nests from our market. Not only are they bad for the effect that they are having on the trade in general, they are a bad and demoralizing influence on the workers, and the sooner they disappear from our midst the better.

And in concluding I want to say a few words to our members as a whole: Times are bad now, and every wage earner is hard put to it. But you, of course, realize that without a union things would have been immeasurably worse. Despite adverse times, we have, nevertheless, succeeded in keeping up union conditions in nearly all shops. In preventing discharges of men without cause and in dividing the available work equally among all the workers.

The Union is doing all it can for its members. It is up to you now to make a supreme effort to keep the Union functioning. Pay your dues, pay it regularly, and see to it that your organization is thereby equipped to carry on its task of safeguarding the interests of all Toronto cloak workers.

The Intellectual Progress of Capitalism

Drawn for LABOUR by John R. Rea

BUSINESS IS BAD
WE MUST CUT WAGES

1790 1873 1893 1907 1921 1931
Run O' The Month

By MAX D. DANISH

The Vancouver Convention, after having voted down the proposal for unemployment insurance, has put forth a
temperate program for the abolition of un-
employment. Frankly, we might even forgo the demand for unemployment insurance, it once might show how this
program could be realized.

Take, for instance, the suggestion that
each of the three million employers in
America engaged two additional workers
it is an excellent proposal. It would at
once do away with about six million of
the idle leaving only a normal fringe of
jobless people. Yet, the disturbing
thought pops up: How can we make
these three million employers accept
this plan?

The five-day work week, the shorter
working day, maintenance of wage stan-
dards, equal division of available labor,
prohibition of child labor, stabilization
of industry and commerce—so that the
progress of machinery and technical in-
tections might not throw multitudes out
of work with heartless regularity—all
marvelous proposals, loaded with inestimi-
able propaganda value. But how would
you materialize these splendid plans?

The Federation proposes that Presi-
dent Hoover call a conference of em-
ployers and labor to deal directly with
these demands. But is it rational even to
anticipate that, unless assured of a pro-
ponentar influence, employers of labor
would participate in with any degree of
sincerity in a congress which might see
them of their vested privileges and ser-
iously threaten profits? And should even
an industrial confab pass such or
similar measures, what power of en-
forcement would it have unless clothed
with the sanction of State or national
legislation?

And once we come to the point of
legislation, it becomes at once clear
that such a far-reaching economic pro-
gram could never be put across through
political lobbying or begging. It will
require political fighting to secure social
and economic justice for the workers.
And the leadership of the Federation
should not be long in recognizing that the
strongest weapon in such a fight lies
along the road of independent political
organization.

FORMER SECRETARY OF LABOR
Davis motioned up at the A. F. of L. con-
vention in Vancouver as another im-
placable enemy of unemployment in-
urance as an economic measure "not in
keeping with the spirit of the United
States."

Davis, who is now a senator from
Pennsylvania, a Mellon-Aeternity prop-
erty in the Eastern part of the United
States, spoke with some heat about the
wage reductions recently made by the
Steel Trust and other big corporations.
He failed, however, to mention that those
selfsame wage-cutting companies, oper-
ating on a big scale in his own State.
have for generations worked hand in
glove with the Republican oligarchy of
Pennsylvania, his own party. His solu-
tion for the industrial crisis is contained
in the advice to "turn back to the Golden
Rule and away from the law of the
jungle" in business and finance. What
this counsel actually means is probably
whether he or any of the delegates who
listened to him would venture to explain
in simple English.

Somewhere one fails to recollect any
robust example of the "Golden Rule" that
Davis himself as head of the Department
of Labor had practiced during his ten
years in office — unless it be the policy
of ruthless deportation of "undesirable
aliens" — which he pursued with such
an answering zeal and with which his
successor is now trying so faithfully to emulate.

DR. MAYO, of surgical fame, has said
a lot of wise, convincing things the
other night at a Brooklyn community
health meeting.

We are paying enormous toll at the
gate of modern civilization. Half of our
hospital beds is filled with the mentally
afflicted, insane, idiotic, the feeble-minded
or senile. True, life is being pro-
longed at both ends, and man-destroying
diseases have largely come under con-
trast. But the rapid pace of a mechanized
aged is breaking us mentally before
we reach the zenith of life.

Worry, says Dr. Mayo, not work is
the keynote of modern existence, insecure-
ness is its bane and tormentor. It
saps the brain, taints our outlook on
life, colors our relations towards our
fellow men. Worry over the next day's
subsistence, worry over one's job, in
ninety-nine of a hundred cases control-
ed and owned by others.

Dr. Mayo's analysis may not be perfect,
but what of a care? The great surgeon
is silent over that. If modern civilization
holds out nothing but the prospect of
a world going mad with insecurity of
living under an insane and outworn econ-
omic system, what about supplanting it
with a system which worry should play
the least important role? It is in the world
we live and work only five per cent of
the people at the age of sixty-five have
independent means while the other nin-
ety-five must fall as a charge upon public,
private or family doles, isn't such an
economic and social system basically
vicious and bankrupt?

The Hoover Emergency pool for fi-
ancial relief may primarily be a bank-
ners' enterprise, as some observers are
prone to view it, a move to check a
serious threat to the stability of the
collar abroad, on the one hand, and an
effort to halt the movement for with-
drawal in gold of American investments
by large British investors, on the other.

Yet, without going far back of this
bank discount fund, it may be con-
tended that it will, in all likelihood, loosen
credits to some business groups and help
in stabilizing some shaky banks. It is
quite obvious, however, that this cred-
itor pool will not return the vast army of
the jobless to jobs. Certainly, it offers
no permanent cure for the tragedy of our
constantly recurring economic crises.

Manufacturing and commerce in the
United States has not been hit primarily
because of shortage of credit. The tight-
ening of credit came on later, after the
crisis had already set in. The in-
dustrial break is chiefly the result of stag-
ger underconsumption of commodities,
both industrial and agricultural, which
gets the domestic market, and which we
are unable to export. As long as we
produce more than we are permitted to
consume, these crises must recur with
over greater frequency and virulence.

Wage cuts and even credit pools will
give us nowhere. Only a shorter work-
day and high wage standards that would
leave the purchasing power of the work-
ing masses of the country unimpaired
would pull us out of the economic morose
into which we are sinking.

HITLER AND HIS PARTY make no
secret that they are planning to instigate
a civil war in Germany and capture the
government. If they succeed, even for a
short time, they would make short
shrift of the German republic and of all
the gains of the German revolution.

Those "revolutionists" who maintain
that the German workers should have
voted against the democratic coalition
which is holding up the republic against
the Fascists and monarcholes on the
ground that they "have nothing to lose,"
need only take a look at what has be-
come of the once powerful Socialist and
Labor movements of Italy since the Fascists
seized power in that country, to
convince themselves what a valuable ally

...
Union Items from Montreal

BY ISRAEL FEINBERG,
Manager Montreal Joint Council

Conditions in the Montreal market are pretty bad at the present moment. And when I say that, you probably realize that it means: there are little cloaks being made in our shops.

Our people here have had a very disappointing season. We know, of course, that it was not much better anywhere else, which may serve as some sort of a mental consolation but doesn’t mean things in a material sense. Nevertheless, our cloakmakers are not at all disheartened. As a matter of fact, we have been having very nice local meetings with fine attendances and with a display of keen interest in the proceedings.

Contract Renewal Near

As you might know our contract with the employers expires in January. Consequently, we have already begun to make all required preparations for the impending conferences with the manufacturers. And right at this moment the cloakmakers of this city are beginning to realize the value of an organization, for it is admitted on all sides in our circles that without a union today we would have been faced with a disastrous situation. For, while it is true, that due to the economic depression we are forced, from time to time, to overlook some things with regard to agreement enforcement, we have been trying very hard and with a considerable amount of success to prevent the employers from taking advantage of bad conditions. We are continuously hammering and explaining to our employers that any attempted reductions of labor standards would not make for a greater volume of business, as workers are not only producers but are also consumers, and if you reduce their earnings you are at the same time reducing their purchasing power. It appears to me that by this time quite a few of our employers have recognized this fact.

A handful of men, with their spare cash, could buy the output of all the gold and silver mines of North America, and many a sovereign state has a smaller increase in the net profits of a single industrial magnate.

A political democracy is to the working class the world over.

By its support of the Bruning coalition the German Social Democrats are defending the German republic and the interests of the German working class. If the German Social Democracy were to follow the counsel of facous hotheads who had advised them to vote against Bruning, it would have only played into the hands of the ultra-reactionaries and the Jew-baiters of the Hitler camp.

Until now it used to be the spokesmen of the downtrodden and of the exploited in America who would occasionally issue a threat of revolution to the master class. The order has now been reversed. The terrible unemployment situation is now forcing many outstanding politicians and statesmen to issue warnings that unless the misery of the suffering masses is relieved society may be threatened with revolt.

“If you don’t provide the starving idle with bread this winter, they will be forced to help themselves,” Senator Borah in so many words served notice upon his own party, the Republican Party, in his Labor Day speech. “The present crisis puts the capitalist system to a final test,” his party ally, President Batter of Columbia University, admonished the American public recently demanding national planning for the chief industries, a five-day work-week and unemployment insurance. “If you don’t give the unemployed food and shelter this coming winter you will have riots and disorders on your hands,” former Governor Alfred E. Smith bluntly told an audience of relief workers in New York City the other day.

We are convinced, however, that the warnings of the Barahs, Butlers and the Smiths will fail to penetrate deeper than the skin of the hard-boiled leaders of American industry and finance. But leadership is still more concerned today with engineering wage-cuts and the decimation of the wage-earners “high” standards of living than with fundamental social changes that might seriously threaten their profits.

The “constructive” wage cuts initiated last month by the Steel Trust and General Motors are already showing their wicked effect. In a dozen cities, it is reported, these wage slashes have slowed up all business and broken thousands of small stores. Yet, we are told by the master minds of industry that further wage “adjustments” would help to restore prosperity.

Obviously that is the best the leadership has and immediately bankrupt system may offer us in this panic of plenty. There seems to be too much of everything everywhere except buying power. Back of it all is the explanation that too much of the national income goes into the hands of a few. In 1929, according to government figures, 36 men had a net income greater by many millions than the entire sum paid that year to 418,000 workers in the mills producing cotton goods. In the same year, 504 men—including the 36—made enough clear profits to buy the entire wheat and cotton crops of the United States in 1930 at farm prices.

Human beings cannot spend such incomes. They pile up to clog the economic system. And to cure this congestion, our economic doctors propose to bleed those who already are half starved.

We have called within the last few weeks several meetings of active workers, and so far we have no cause to complain. These brothers have given us a good deal of cooperation, and, as a matter of duty, I deem it necessary to mention their names in our journal as they well deserve it: They are Brothers Freedman, Eaton, Fagan, Fossett, the two Aizens, Salfert, Zipper, Kayser, Titleman, Ostrow, Berman, Feldman, Segal, Geoffs and Goodman. And in mentioning these names I wish to say that we have here quite a number of other intelligent workers who could make themselves very useful to the organization and whose names I hope to be able to mention in the honor roll in my next story in "Justice." There is no doubt that we are now passing through a period when it is absolutely essential that every class-conscious and alert worker should rally to the banner of his or her union so that we might be able to preserve intact the conditions we have gained and be able later, when the opportunity presents itself, to make use of it to improve our conditions.

Will Approve I.L.G.W.U. Tax

By the time this report is printed, all our locals will have voted on the $3.75 tax levied recently by the G. B. B. It should be stated to the credit of our local workers that they realize, despite the hard times, that the International Union is in honor bound to pay up the debts incurred by the organization and I am convinced that our members will approve of and vote for the tax. And as soon as conditions improve they will pay up this tax to a man.

In conclusion I want to appeal once more to the Montreal cloakmakers to keep up their heads. In a short time, I am sure, they will find out that by sticking together they will eventually succeed in making their lives happier and more contented than in the days when they were disorganized and were drifting along without any hope for the future.
The "Dole"--British Relief for Jobless Workers

How the System Originated
How It Works

By JAMES E. GORMAN

The development of unemployment relief has been no matter of mushroom growth. Public conscience and public intellect alike have been groping for many years to find a plan to prevent actual starvation to the many able-bodied workers thrown out of employment through no fault of their own. Charles Booth in his book, "Life and Labor of the People," published in 1886 focussed direct attention on the seriousness of this problem.

This problem, besides, was aggravated by the decline of England's commercial and industrial supremacy. Many reasons were accountable for this, but the one to which it is principally due is the rise of industry in other countries which cut deeply into the exports of British manufactured goods. To relieve the destitution which the decline had brought about minor relief works were started under municipal and governmental auspices; but the results were meagre. Indeed, the situation became so grave toward the end of the 19th century that the vast body of unskilled workers began openly to rebel against a system which condemned them to a lifetime of misery and semi-starvation. At this point, it is interesting to recall that at one of the many mass meetings held in the eighties Cardinal Manning declared that "he would sooner steal than starve."

First Act Tainted
By Pauperism

In 1905 was passed the Unemployed Workmen's Act. This failed, however, to solve the problem of effective relief. It did not work satisfactorily, because of the dearth of pauperism attached to it. However, it pointed to the next important reform: the establishment of Labor Exchanges. The Labor Exchanges, besides bringing the unemployed worker in contact with the employer were enabled to collect more or less accurate information relative to the amount of unemployment. The Labor Exchanges, however, were local in application, and the feeling became prevalent that the matter of unemployment was more of a national problem, and finally this sentiment was legislated into law in 1912.

The first Unemployment Insurance Act was experimental in character. Seven trades were selected, and these, because of their subjection to seasonal and cyclical fluctuations, were: building, construction of works, shipbuilding, mechanical engineering, foundry, vehicle construction and sawmilling. About 2,500,000 were thus compulsorily insured. The financial contributions of the three parties: State, worker and employer were relatively small, and it was quickly noted that the rates were inadequate to take care of the pressing needs. Between 1912 and 1913, seven major acts were passed increasing the contributions respectively, thus providing greater benefits to the beneficiaries, and also extending the periods of relief. By 1919, Unemployment Insurance had become universal, and over 12,000,000 workers were compulsorily insured. The employers waged a tremendous fight for a contracting-out clause, which would have seriously weakened the structure of Unemployment Insurance if successful. Their efforts, however, achieved a few exemptions which did not produce any important change.

Employers Fight Insurance

The great employers' organization known as the Federated British Industries, meanwhile, kept peering away at the principle of state compulsion, and when the Baldwin (Conservative) government succeeding the first Labor government, the time appeared opportune to emasculate the Insurance Act.

Almost immediately, the Baldwin government commenced to undermine the Unemployed Insurance Act, and this in spite of the fact that the Amendment Act of 1920 was passed to stem the tide of fierce discontent. In the House of Commons debate George Lansbury said that the law on unemployment insurance in its present form was introduced in 1920 "not so much in order to safeguard the lives of the workers and their families as to use the words of Lord Derby—"in order to prevent revolution." "In 1922," continued Lansbury, "all the workers serving in the army were included in the number of those insured because the government was at that time not quite sure that those who had not turned the rifles in a direction not to the liking of the government." Very strong language, indeed, for Lansbury, but anyone with real knowledge of the situation knew that he was making no exaggeration. The Conservative attack was centered not on amendment of the Act but rather to its total repeal, because it was well known that unemployment insurance strengthened the opposition of the workers to any further lowering of wages.

Notwithstanding public opinion, many attempts have been made to amend it so as to render it as ineffective as possible compatible with the safety of the nation.

Five Million
Spent Weekly

Great trouble has arisen since the 1920 Act. It was believed by many industrial and financial experts that Britain's industrial depression would soon be over. To the contrary, the depression continued, and at the present time it appears to be as bad as ever. Today, over 3,000,000 workers are officially certified as unemployed. Consequently, the fund set up by the separate contributions has long been depleted. This State, therefore, has been compelled to fuel the machinery of unemployment. It is estimated that the cost to the Exchequer for 1930 will amount to nearly 200 million dollars, and for 1931. 150 million dollars weekly.

It must be borne in mind that all unemployed workers between the ages of 16 and 65 must take out unemployment insurance. The 1929 Act calls for the following contributions:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Male between the ages of 16 and 65</th>
<th>14 cents weekly</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Employers</td>
<td>16 cents weekly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>State</td>
<td>15 cents weekly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Men between 16 and 21</td>
<td>12 cents weekly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employers</td>
<td>14 cents weekly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>State</td>
<td>13 cents weekly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boys under 16</td>
<td>7 cents weekly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employers</td>
<td>8 cents weekly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>State</td>
<td>7½ cents weekly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women between 16 and 65</td>
<td>12 cents weekly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employers</td>
<td>14 cents weekly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>State</td>
<td>13 cents weekly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Girls under 16</td>
<td>6 cents weekly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employers</td>
<td>7 cents weekly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>State</td>
<td>6½ cents weekly</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

When these insured persons are unemployed they draw weekly rates of benefits as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Male between 16 and 65</th>
<th>$4.25 weekly</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Men between 17 and 21</td>
<td>3.50 weekly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boys between 17 and 18</td>
<td>3.25 weekly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boys under 17</td>
<td>1.50 weekly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women between 16 and 65</td>
<td>3.75 weekly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Between 16 and 21</td>
<td>3.60 weekly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Girls between 17 and 18</td>
<td>1.87 weekly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Girls under 17</td>
<td>1.25 weekly</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In addition to the above payments, allowances are made of nine shillings for adult dependents, and two shillings for each child. Many enlightened employers are setting up separate shop employ-
CONCENTRATION IN AMERICAN INDUSTRY, by Dr. Harry W. Laidler, published by Thomas Y. Crowell, New York.

The United States, according to the author, has just passed through the third and most extensive period of concentration in the history of the country. In mining and manufacturing alone over 7,000 firms were merged in the post-war period from 1919 to 1928. In the public utility field, only 22 mergers were noted in 1919. Seven years later, in 1928, the number exceeded 1,000. The mergers in the banking field have been outstanding.

Two-hundred non-financial corporations now control over 45 per cent of the assets of the country's non-financial corporations.

In our public utilities, one corporate system controls three-fourths of the nation's telephones, one corporation possesses about three-fourths of the telephone business, another dominates the field of radio. A few great holding companies and investment trusts are now dominating the electrical field. In our natural resources, one corporation owns more than half of the iron resources of the country. One corporation controls over 90 per cent of the mining of manganese in the world. Another, the Aluminum Company of America, possesses over nine-tenths of the nation's bauxite, raw material used in the production of domestic aluminum. Four great concerns control the major part of the country's copper; eight concerns, closely allied with the railroads, own about eighty per cent of our anthracite coal.

In manufacturing, the United States Steel Corporation and the Bethlehem Steel possess 52 per cent of the country's steel capacity. In 1930, Ford turned out 40 per cent of the automobiles produced in the United States and the General Motor Corporation, 34 per cent. Between them they produced three out of every four cars made in that year. In food packing, two corporations handle over 50 per cent of the meat entering interstate commerce. One corporation and its affiliates do a large proportion of the sugar refining business of the country. One corporation dominates practically all of the sleeping cars. Three corporations divide the locomotive field among them. The chemical and other industries are becoming increasingly concentrated.

In money and banking, the last few years have seen the development of the two billion dollar corporations and the decrease in the number of banks by over 5,000. Already one per cent of the banks of the country hold resources almost equal to the other 99 per cent. The large investment trusts, the large private banks and chain and branch banking, have led increasingly to concentration of control in this important field.

When Moody wrote his book about the trusts, practically no trends were to be noted toward the development of the great corporation in retail distribution. At present, however, the author points out, there are no less than ten great corporate units which do a business of more than $100,000,000 a year. One of these, the Great Atlantic and Pacific Tea Company, has an annual turnover in its stores of over 16,000 stores of over a billion dollars. Even in agriculture, the mammoth farms in the northwest and southwest, the development of the chain and factory farms, and the growing dependence of the farmer on big business for everything that he buys and sells, indicate that the large corporation has not neglected this field.

Dr. Laidler sees this trend toward large scale production and monopoly increasing as the years go on. He is unable to discover any effective movement on foot to "smash the trusts" as in the old days, and feels that society is being forced increasingly to the alternative of public regulation or public ownership. He analyzes the defects in much of our regulatory machinery as applied today to public utilities and observes a trend toward public industries of the type of the New York Port Authority, a public corporation which is able to combine a social purpose with marked efficiency.

The volume is thoroughly annotated and supplies a suggestive bibliography. Dr. Laidler's book, according to Professor Charles A. Beard, "is simply indispensable to all advocates of rugged individualism and of social planning—which includes about everybody."

The Freedom for Tom Mooney Movement

In response to the request of Tom Mooney a permanent "Tom Mooney Conference" was formed in New York City to join a country-wide movement to free labor's martyrs, Tom Mooney and Warren Billings, from the California dungeon where they have been incarcerated for the last fifteen years.

The first action of this committee was the calling of a conference, which was held on September 24, that was attended by representatives of about a hundred labor organizations, and the holding of a successful demonstration on Union Square on October 16. Resolutions were adopted at that meeting to stop patronizing California products and the Olympic Games to be held in that state next year. It also approved the sending of messages to President Hoover, asking him, as a California resident, to use his high office in helping to free Tom Mooney and Warren Billings, and a resolution was sent to Governor Rolph of California.

Byrd Kelso, Mooney's personal representative, read a message from him, pleading that the workers forget their differences of opinion and unite in a movement to free the working class prisoners.

A Tom Mooney conference of the Middle Atlantic States will be held in Washington in February. The date will soon be announced.

The local unions of our International are taking a prominent part in this movement. Our International is represented on the Executive Committee by Vice President Luigi Antonini and by Fannie M. Cohn, Secretary of Educational Department.

The second Tom Mooney conference of representatives of the labor movement will be held on Friday evening, November 20, in the I. L. G. W. U. Building 8 West 16th Street.

Local officials are called upon to send delegates.
With the N.Y. Dressmakers' Union, Local 22

BY MAX BLEUSTEIN,
Secretary-Treasurer, Local 22

The Season is Over:
Back to—Idleness

The long awaited and much heralded fall season has come and gone. It barely lasted four weeks. The members of our Union who had been kept idle for months preceding the season, are now back at their old job—idleness. Just how they are going to pull through the next three months is more than what we can tell. Their earnings were so meager that even during the four busy weeks of the season, many of them were unable to earn a living.

All Hope is Not Lost

The only remaining ray of hope in this distressing hour is the thought that the Union will, at the expiration of the present agreements, force the employers to unionize their plants and pay an adequate wage that would provide a livelihood to the men and women employed in the dress industry.

Encouraged by the more active elements within our local, and driven by the needs of the hour, our Executive Board spent its last two meetings in discussing a set of demands to be presented to the employers when the time comes for the renewal of the agreement. The following is a brief outline of these demands, presented to the general membership at a meeting held on October 22, 1931:

Outline of Tentative Demands and Modifications

"The present state of our Organization and its membership are largely attributable to the following causes:

1. Inability to settle prices for piece workers because of the absence of a basic schedule of pay for piece workers.

2. Irresponsibility of employers with regard to the sending out of work to outside shops.

3. Excessive measure of freedom enjoyed by Association employers, which renders our Union helpless in the face of flagrant abuses and violations.

With a view toward lessening these evils and placing our organization on a basis that would enable it at all times to be in a position to defend properly the interest of the workers, we recommend the following demands to be presented to the employers:

1. Basic Rate for Piece Workers

The establishment of a basic rate for piece workers on the principle of a fixed price for a definite amount of work, varying, of course, in relation to the different grades. This proposition is better known as the "schedule" rate.

2. Settlement of Prices

Joint Price Committees, consisting of all contracting shops together with the inside shop—in the case of a manufacturer—shall settle prices and the prices thus settled be applied to all the shops working for the particular manufacturer or jobber.

3. The Right to Strike

We must not surrender the principle weapon known to trade unionism—the right to strike in extreme instances—particularly whenever and wherever the employers have violated the agreement and have taken the law into their own hands.

4. Definite Guarantee of Minimum Scales

In addition to the minimum scales, provided for in the agreement, and for the protection of these minimum scales, it is necessary that we add the following clause:

"Should a worker earn below such minimum, the employer shall pay him the difference between his earnings and the established minimums."

5. Limitation of Contractors

We must insist upon the limitation of contractors by each jobber or manufacturer, for the purpose of eliminating competition in the industry and through rapid growth and expansion of small shops, which are ruining the industry and starving its workers.

6. Equal Distribution of Work Among Contractors

Such a demand, if made part of our agreement, will prevent the competition between the workers of one shop and another. It will put a stop to the unfairness and injustice which are frequently visited upon one set of workers in preference to another.

7. No Saturday Work

The five day work week has been boasted of by us as our greatest achievement. This achievement must not be permitted to remain as an ornament in our agreements. We must insist that no work be permitted on a Saturday, whether it be in the season or during the slack. The argument that our is a seasonal industry has no meaning today, in view of the tremendous unemployment.

8. Extra Compensation for Overtime

We can lengthen the season; we can provide more work for our unemployed members, if we will do away with the overtime work. The only manner in which we can eliminate overtime is by insisting upon extra compensation.

9. Unemployment Insurance

Our workers must not be thrown upon the public charities for their very subsistence in times of stress. The industry at which they are engaged must make provision to help those of its workers who are forced into idleness by no fault of their own. We demand, therefore, the establishment of the unemployment insurance fund, to be solely financed by the contribution of employers on the basis of their weekly payrolls.

10. Abolition of Paragraph 20

Abolition of the clause in the existing agreements which requires the Union to return to work, within 24 hours, the workers who had made stoppages. We recognize that stoppages are made only in extreme cases and we do not want to be compelled to return such workers back to the shop until all their grievances had been properly adjusted.

11. The Right to Visit Our Shops Without an Association Clerk

For the purpose of enabling our business agents to attend to the complaints and investigations promptly and efficiently, we demand the right for them to visit the shops without being accompanied by a representative of the employers.

12. Limiting the Right of Discharge

We demand a modification of the discharge clause to the end that no worker may be discharged for any cause whatsoever before due notice had been given to the Union and the facts properly investigated.

13. No Work Before Settlement of Prices

No work on any garment should be started unless and until the prices on same have been agreed by the Price Committee. Under the present arrangement, it happens quite often that by the time the Price Committee is ready to settle the prices, the garments are already out of the shop and there are no more left of the same lot. Our members must know before they start working the price of the garment being made.

Program

Well Received

The meeting was very well attended, as all our member meetings have been during the past few months. The mem-
Philad., Dressmakers Expand Union Activity

By ELIAS REISBERG,
Vice-President, Manager, Local 50

The fall season in the Philadelphia dress trade has just come to an end. Never in the history of this market was the season so poor and so unsteady as this last one. It affected not only the silk dress shops but the cotton and jersey shops as well. It is sufficient to say that, with the exception of a couple of shops, all the dressmakers worked part time, and there were quite a number of workers who were idle throughout the entire season.

As a result of the scarcity of work, the conditions in our shops were considerably affected and the Union found itself with an uphill fight on its hands to preserve the standards in the union shops. It stands to reason that, under such circumstances, we were not able to expand our activities along organizational lines. Psychologically, too, the times were against such an expansion of activity, and we, therefore, concentrated on only one point—to maintain the conditions we have. However, in one branch of the trade, in the pressing craft, we were successful in enlarging our membership.

Two-Thirds of Pressers in Union

In a recent article in "Justice," we have told of a movement for organization started among the Philadelphia dress pressers after the presser members of Local 6 had been transferred to Local 71, the regular presser's organization in this city. As we stand at present, we can boast of a 75 per cent organization among the dress pressers already. Local 71, working under the leadership of its executive board and its organizer, George Rubel, are spreading out to all the dress shops. Every week new members are enlisted, and although industrial conditions are still adverse some improvements in prices were, nevertheless, affected in a number of shops. This, in itself, has served as a stimulant for attracting and gaining more members almost daily.

Dress Presser Division Installs Officers

Elections for an executive board of the Dress Division of Local 71 were held recently, and a delegation of five, to represent Local 71, the Board of Local 50, was also elected. We have thus at present two functioning joint boards in Philadelphia, one for the cloak trade and another for the waist and dressmakers.

An installation meeting was held on October 19, at which the majority of the union pressers in the dress shops were present. Committees from all the locals affiliated with the I.L.G.W.U. in Philadelphia came to greet the new organization of dress pressers. Congratulations were extended by all concerned, and the first meeting of the new officers was held.

Old Age Pension System Economical

"Old age security legislation has proved a more economical method of dealing with the individual aged indigent person than the poorhouse whose eventual abandonment these days are causing," says Abraham Epstein, executive secretary of the American Association for Old Age Security. "In a survey of the operation of old-age pension laws in the seventeen States where they are now effective, 'Old-age pensions have not proved burdensome to the taxpayer,' continues Epstein. "The conditions of the aged in the old-age pension States have been considerably improved. This legislation has proved beneficial in the present crisis."

"In New York State, in spite of the fact that the average pension is as high as $33 in the city of New York, the average pension for the State as a whole is still about $5 a month cheaper than the cost of institutional care."

"Epstein said the dire prophets made by opponents of old-age pensions that large numbers would seek the bounty of the State were disproved by the facts he had gathered. "That old people are, on the whole, scrupulously honest and give all the information to the investigators is evidenced by the fact that of about 7,000 applications acted upon during the first year in California, less than 100, or only about six in every hundred, were denied."
In Chicago Dress Market

By BERNARD SHANE
General Organizer

I arrived in Chicago on September 29, on orders from the General Office, to take charge of the dress trade preparatory campaign. Being quite a stranger to the local situation, I, naturally, decided, before even outlining to myself the plan of organization work, to spend a little time in investigating affairs and observing local conditions in and outside the shops.

My first impressions, I confess, were not altogether encouraging. I found that there are in the Chicago dress shops a lot of obstacles in the way of a successful organization drive. I learned that many of the workers who had gone through the last general strike here—-in 1882—were still disillusioned, some of them even nursing grievances against former officers of the Union. The internal struggle which the Chicago dressmakers had to live through also left its mark upon many workers. I also discovered that due to the disorganized condition of the industry and the inability of the Union to help the workers in the past few years, there had grown up among the dress pressers a so-called “independent” club to which a considerable number of pressers belong. And while this club is supposed to be a sort of a neutral organization, I, nevertheless, found out that it has been for some time under the influence of the organizer of the local Communist clique. It became therefore obvious to me that it would be impossible to do effective organizing work among the pressers unless this club is eliminated.

A Fertile Field Despite Obstacles

Yet, despite all these obstacles, I have reached the conclusion, after close observation for several weeks, that we have in Chicago a fertile field for organizing activity with substantial prospects for success. More than that: we believe that some of these apparent hindrances might even prove to be of help in our campaign. If we adopt the proper strategy and use the situation to our advantage.

For example, the crisis we are going through. The dress employers in Chicago, who are just as disorganized as the dress pressers, for instance, have cut wages to the bone. The best dress operators here can no longer earn more than $2.50 or $3 a day. Finishes are working for as low a piece as $7 or $8 per week. Pressers who used to get thirty-five and forty cents for a dress are now getting 10% to 15 cents per dress. Cutters’ wages have been slashed, in the past two years, from ten to fifteen dollars per week, and some of them are not getting paid for overtime, let alone getting time and a half as in the past. The cutter is never sure of his job as a great many of them work overtime while many others are idle. The unemployed are always on the lookout for a job and they are not particular, it seems, if some one is forced, to make room for them. In many shops the employers themselves, or their salesmen, shippers and sweepers, are cutting up material, displacing in this manner a lot of former cutters.

These intolerable conditions, we expect, are bound to stimulate the workers to seek protection under the wing of a strong union, the only visible means of defense at their disposal.

The employers, on the other hand, are not well off either. Since the chaos in the industry has forced upon them a cut-throat competition, true at the expense of the workers, but largely not much to their own benefit. It has only developed in this market, as I suppose it has in other dress markets, a frantic race between manufacturer and manufacturer to outsell each other at cheaper and ever cheaper prices.

The Drive is On in Earnest

The disillusionment, the critical and the chronic complainers should have learned by now what it means to work under non-union conditions. We have all the reasons to believe that they will join the Union in large numbers after the Union has carried on some active agitation. That our optimism is not exaggerated is given support by the already successful beginning of the campaign. Within the short time of my stay here we have had a couple of well-attended meetings of Local 100. A number of non-union people came to these meetings and they promised their support. We also had two meetings of the dress cutters union, which was well attended by union and non-union workers alike. Every one of those present not only promised to become a member of the organization but pledged in addition to solicit every cutter in their firm to the Union.

We were also successful in forming an organization committee of members from all the branches of the trade consisting of over sixty people. Dressmakers have begun coming to the office daily to pay up their dues or initiation fees, made rather reasonable as long as the drive lasts, some of them asking to be placed on the organization committee, which proves to all of us here that the organization spirit is fast reviving among the Chicago dressmakers. I also addressed meetings of the Joint Board and of several Chicago cloak locals, at which I received assurances of loyal and generous support. It is, perhaps, needless for me to add that the office staff of the Joint Board is doing everything possible to help us in this drive.

Two campaign circulars issued and distributed among the dressmakers have not only been favorably accepted, according to reports, but have created a lot of interest in the shops. Small wonder that I am inclined to optimism with regard to our present work. It would not surprise me if, within a comparatively short time, we shall be able to report in our publication that Chicago has a strong influential trade among the dressmakers ready to carry out its mission—to improve the lot of the man and woman for years mistreated and underpaid in the local dress shops.

Hymen Bros. Workers Tender Flowers to Organizer

Here is an illustration of the revival of union sentiment in Chicago among the dressmakers. The workers of the Hymen Bros. dress shop, about one hundred people, decided to celebrate the beginning of the organization drive in the dress trade and the arrival of the writer, as ILL.W.U. organizer for that special task, by arranging a party in the office of the Union.

On Tuesday evening, October 13, all the Hymen Bros. workers assembled at headquarters and, between sandwiches and warm talks, presented the new organizer, meaning myself, with a bouquet of flowers. All pledged themselves to join the organization drive by giving all their spare time to the Union, by soliciting new members for the local. Need less to say that I was greatly moved by this fine genuine union sentiment and by their apparent willingness to help form a strong dressmakers union in Chicago.

Readers of Justice

In case you move from your present quarters, please notify your local office of your new address. We shall then forthwith put your new address on our mailing list.
The Month in Local 10

by Samuel Perlmutter

Emergency Assessment Unanimously Adopted at Big Meeting

In accordance with the communication of the international, requesting that a special meeting be called for the purpose of ratifying the proposed emergency assessment of $8.75, the Executive Board, decided to recommend to the body that this assessment be accepted.

A special meeting for this purpose was held on Monday, Sept. 28. At 8 P.M., the lower hall became so crowded that it had to be abandoned and the large upper hall was secured to accommodate the unusual crowd that assembled to act upon this matter.

Manager Perlmutter told the assembly of the circumstances which led up to the decision of the General Executive Board. It was called attention to the Union’s indebtedness to the International-Madison Bank which dates back to the disastrous general lockout in 1916. At the beginning of that strike, Brother Perlmutter declared, a loan of $450,000 was made by the bank to the Joint Board. Since then the loan was reduced by the International to $145,000, and it was hoped that in the course of another three years this debt would be paid in full. Unfortunately, however, the International-Madison Bank was closed by the New York State Banking Department and we were ordered to pay up the balance at once.

Another important obligation the International is faced with, and which must be paid if the dignity and reputation of our Union is to be maintained, Brother Perlmutter explained, is that of the bond issued floated by the International shortly before the general strike of the cloakmakers in 1919. During that period, Brother Perlmutter continued, the International, as a result of the many financial burdens inherited from the Communist administration of the Joint Board, was rendered penniless, and this bond loan had to be issued to make it possible to rebuild the Union. Various local, joint boards, as well as thousands of members and many outside labor organizations and individuals sympathetic to the cause of labor, subscribed to this bond loan. Local 10, in particular, subscribed to a large share, over 706 of its members having subscribed cheerfully to about $30,000, leading every other local affiliated with the International in this respect.

Following Manager Perlmutter’s detailed introduction, a discussion ensued in which several members participated, among them, Chas. Stein, Isidoro Goss and, last but not least, the Secy-Treas. of the International, David Dubinsky.

Bro. Dubinsky States Case for Tax

Brother Dubinsky pointed out the fact that even during this time of depression, when stocks and bonds issued by various enterprises have become worthless, the International feels a moral obligation to the thousands of members who so marvelously rose to the occasion when their Union was in danger, to pay back this loan in full.

This assessment, Brother Dubinsky states, would be used exclusively for the liquidation of the two debts, 60 per cent of which would be paid off within the next 8 months, and that the International convention would have to devise further plans to pay up the balance.

Upon the conclusion of Secretary David Dubinsky’s address, the recommendation of the General Executive Board was submitted to a rising vote. There being no negative votes, President Jacobs declared the $3.75 tax unanimously carried by the 900 members present at the meeting.

In accordance with this decision, members of Local 10 are hereby apprised of the rule which provides that taxes take precedence over dues, and that no dues will be accepted before the $3.75 tax is paid.

Miscellaneous Cutters Ratify Pact with Underwear Employers

At an unusually well attended meeting, the members of the Miscellaneous Division assembled on Tuesday, October 27, to ratify the tentative agreement reached between the representatives of the Union and the underwear employers’ association.

About a year ago, Local 10, in conjunction with Local 62, representing the underwear trade, launched an organization campaign to establish union work standards in the trade. Local 10’s campaign met with unusual success. About fifteen outstanding underwear shops, employing close to 100 cutters, were unionized within a month and union conditions established in them.

While this campaign was going on, Local 62, under the supervision of Brother Samuel Shere, and Brother Samuel Perlmutter of Local No. 10, began to confer with some of the leading union underwear employers concerning an agreement that would establish union standards in their factories. Negotiations followed, and subsequently about fifty of the largest manufacturers in the underwear market, employing from 10 to six thousand workers, elected a committee to work out terms of a tentative agreement governing wages, work hours and the recognition of the union as a factor in the shops and in the industry.

Cutters to Get Minimum of $42 and $35—Five Day Week

Brother Perlmutter, in the course of his report, stated that he had encountered stern opposition from the employers on questions of wages, legal holidays and the trial period. At times it looked almost certain as if the negotiations would be broken off and a general strike would become inevitable.

The employers, however, finally decided to concede the demands of the cutters’ representatives and agreed to establish the $15 and $45 minimum wage scales, which means a 10 per cent flat increase in wages, a minimum of $35 per week for assistants and of $45 for mechanics, a 5-day week and six and a halt legal holidays with pay, as prevailing in the cloak market.

The tentative settlement was thereupon unanimously carried.

Fisher & Reiter Remit $400 Back Pay

Among the many unique cases that come up before our Executive Board, the case of Fisher & Reiter is worth relating.

The cutters of this firm were summoned before the Executive Board charged with having worked on Saturday, September 19, as late as 7:30 P.M., and all the men pleaded guilty to this charge. They assured the Board, nevertheless, that they were being paid at the rate of double time. The Executive Board, however, had doubt their testimony with regard to the pay.

In order to ascertain the exact situation Manager Samuel Perlmutter stationed himself, with some of the other active members of Local 10, in front of the building in which these cutters are employed and waited for them. When the cutters came out, Manager Perlmutter tapped their pay envelopes and discovered that they were all paid at the rate of single time for overtime. Yet, even after this evidence, some of the cutters, for a while, attempted to deny the charge. Manager Perlmutter, however, filed a complaint and called upon a firm with the chief clerk of the Association, demanding a remittance of back pay. The firm immediately admitted the charge made by Manager Perlmutter, but claimed that they had paid the single rate for overtime because they had no room where ...(Continued on next page)
The Month in Local 10

(Continued from preceding page)

NAME

ATTENTION

Cutters of Local 10

The meetings for the following
months will take place in the order
as herein arranged.

1. Regular Membership
   Meeting, Monday, November 9, 1931.

2. Special Membership
   Meeting, Monday, November 30, 1931.

All the above meetings will be
held in ARLINGTON HALL, 29 St.
Mark's Place, at 7:30 P. M.

Cutters are urged to attend these
meetings without fail.

Books will be exchanged
signifying attendance and the $1.00 fine for
non-attendance will be strictly en-
forced.

William Badger Forced
To Reopen Factory

The firm of Wm. Badger, quite a promi-
inent concern in the cloak market, had
on several occasions in the past given
up, manufacturing and entered the Job-
bing business. Quite recently, too, on
October 15, they forwarded letters to the
chairman of their shop and to all work-
ers individually, declaring that they are
giving up the factory and advising them
to secure other jobs. Following this
announcement, the firm sent its resigna-
tion to the Industrial Council.

Upon receiving information of the
firm's action, the Joint Board ordered all
the workers to cease work; cutters also
were ordered by Manager Perlmutter to
stop. After the workers were out for a
few days, Mr. Badger agreed to meet the
representatives of the Union, and after
some negotiations, agreed to reopen the
factory provided the firm was granted
a 10 per cent reduction of wages.

claiming that this reduction would make
it possible to offset the weekly losses
in the factory. The Union, however, in-
formed Mr. Badger that it would not enter
into any arrangement involving a
reduction of wages, and the firm finally
agreed to reemploy all the workers under
former conditions.

Equal Division of Work
Presents Odd Problems

As the fall season is speedily coming
to an end, cases of unjustifiable dis-
missals, improper pay for overtime and
unequal division of work are beginning
to crop up in the offices.

There are cutters working overtime
who do not seem to think it advisable
to inform the office regarding rates of
pay under the new conditions. It stands
to reason that in the slack period it is
more difficult to get a proper settlement
than during the busy season. The office,
however, in practically all cases, suc-
cedes in obtaining satisfactory results.

The office, nevertheless, again caution-
the members not to wait until the end of
the season and to bring the necessary
information to the office before overtime
work starts.

It can also be said with regard to di-
vision of work that this rule likewise is
enforced to the strict letter of the law
in nearly all cases. There are odd prob-
lems, however, that require special atten-
tion. We refer to such cases as ap-
peared lately in the office involving the
firms of Ben Gerashel, Delmonte & Hickey,
Philip Marques, Jacobs & Jacobs, and
others. The Delmonte & Hickey case pre-
sents such a typical complication.

This firm employed a head cutter and
head trimmer. The cutters appeared
in the office recently claiming that the
head trimmer, Aaron Gottlieb, was
working on stock while the other trim-
mers were idle. They also complained
that the head cutter, Hyman Davidoff,
was cutting cloth. Brother Perlmutter
summoned Brothers Gottlieb and Davi-
dow before the Executive Board and in-
structed them to restrict themselves to
the cutting of samples only, and that, un-
less they would adhere strictly to the
rules of the Union they would have to
divide work with the rest of the cutters
in the shop.

Following these instructions, Mr. Del-
monte took exception and informed
Manager Perlmutter that Gottlieb has to
be in the shop permanently as he is the
only one able to supervise the trimming
department. The same thing, he stated,
applied to the head cutter. Perlmutter,
however, declared to Mr. Delmonte that
while the office has no objection to Bros.
Gottlieb and Davidow staying in the shop
permanently, they could not cut stock
or duplicates, stressing the fact that
now more than ever, during this time
of depression, greater equity among the
workers should be enforced. The firm,
unfortunately realizing the soundness of
the argument presented by the Union, com-
plied with this request. A meeting of the
cutters of Delmonte & Hickey was again
called, at which Brother Perlmutter
repeated to Gottlieb and Davidow the
instructions of the office.

Dress Joint Board Making
Preparations for Agreement
Renewal

The agreement between the Joint
Board and the various associations in the
Dress Industry is about to terminate.
The Joint Board leadership is now mak-
ing preparations to modify the agree-
ment so as to best suit the conditions
affecting the workers in the trade.

Accordingly, the Joint Board had a joint
executive board meeting on October 14,
at which Brother Hochman, general man-
ger of the Dress Joint Board, gave an
account of present conditions in the dress
industry and made it clear that, from all
appearances, the various employers' asso-
ciations, the contractors particularly, are
planning to defy the Union and to wage
a fight against it. The Union, therefore,
must be prepared against any emergency
that may arise upon the termination of the
agreement in January, 1932.

After a fruitful discussion the matter
was referred back to the executive
boards of the various locals comprising
the Dress Joint Board, which are now
deciding on definite plans of prepara-

ATTENTION

Cutters of Local 10

A Special Member
Meeting

for the purpose of nominating offi-
cers for the ensuing term of 1932,
will be held on

Monday, November 30
at Arlington Hall
23 St. Marks Place
at 7:30 P. M.

Our nomination meeting will be
always very well attended and it is
anticipated that this meeting will be a
typical Local 10 nomination
meeting.

The cutters are, therefore, in-
structed to live up to their tradi-
tions and be sure to be present at
this meeting on time.