2-1932

Justice (Vol. 14, Iss. 2)

International Ladies Garment Workers Union (ILGWU)

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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.
The General Strike of the New York dressmakers is a foregone conclusion. It is now only a matter of days before the great walkout of the dress workers actually takes place.

The machinery of the strike is being geared for proper action. The strike committees have been elected, the halls have been hired, the advance mass meetings are taking place, and the strike literature is flooding the dress market streets.

Like nearly every other strike in the history of our industry, this general strike has been forced upon our workers. The dressmakers are going out on strike not for the love of striking. They know that a strike always, under the most favorable conditions, is a bitter struggle, and they know that under present conditions in industry, a strike entails suffering and hardship. But the dressmakers, actually swamped by the chaos into which their industry has sunk, have no other alternative. They must strike if they are to survive; they must fight if they ever hope to be able to make a more or less tolerable living in a dress shop in New York.

Half of the shops in the dress industry of New York today are sweat shops, and this myriad of sweat nests influences and degrades work prices and work hours in the rest of the trade. In the mad rush to outbid each other, under the lash of the jobber, the contractors have brought down labor prices in the shops to an unspeakably low level, and price settlements in the dress shops today are a blind gamble in which the worker invariably is the loser. It has become an auction block—with only this difference that in an auction it is the one who offers the highest bid who gets the product, while in the non-union dress shop it is the worker who is ready to make the dress for the cheapest price that gets the garment.

Let us not attempt here to forecast the duration of the strike. Let us not waste time in quibbling about the "genuineness" of the coming conflict, or the place and the time where and when it will be settled. All our strikes in the past had been genuine struggles, all had been waged at a great cost and sacrifice, and each of them had marked an imprint upon the history of the industry, and of our organization. We have no illusions concerning the impending general strike of the dressmakers. Our men and women in the dress shops will have no walk-over in this struggle; they will be met with bitter resistance from all sides. There is little doubt, too, that the gang of disrupters, the Communist scab outfit will seize upon this opportunity of a strike to render all possible assistance to the employers.

But we are certain of one thing, of one final result. The embattled dressmakers of New York will not return to the shops until they have won all the major demands they had put forward to the employers during the long negotiations for peace which the employers had so brutally rejected. The forty-hour, five-day week applied in every shop where dresses are being made in the metropolitan district; security against discharge through the whim of the employer; responsibility of the jobbers and manufacturers for standards and work conditions in their outside shops; and a uniform scale for price settlement on every part of the garment graded in accordance with wholesale market prices—these minimum labor terms, under the strict supervision and control of the Union, must become the governing law in the dress industry.

FROM NOW ON the eyes of our members will be turned toward the next big event in the life of their organization—the 21st convention of the International Union, to be held in Philadelphia, next May.

Three Months Hence—We doubt if ever during its long existence the rank and file, and the leadership, of our International were as eager for a convention as they are today. Nearly two and a half years have passed since the last convention in Cleveland, and that is an unusually long stretch of time between conventions in our organization. And during this intervening period we have passed through a number of crises, faced a number of disturbing conflicts, inside and outside the Union, which have ripened into organizational and industrial problems of first-rate magnitude demanding solution and adjustment.

A convention in the life of our Union serves more than one purpose. It is a parliament that enacts industrial policies and legislates into existence new laws governing organizational conduct. It settles disputes of judgment and responds to the mandate of the majority of the membership by placing at the helm of the organization those best capable to represent it. But a convention is also a clearing house where opinion of all shades and variety may freely be heard, where grievances may be aired unhindered and the true will of our workers take shape and form.

There has been a great deal of such difference of opinion in our ranks in the past two years that should frankly and fearlessly be exchanged on the floor of our convention. This contrast of judgment on tactics, principles and ways and means how best to conduct our Union and how to make it a more effective weapon to defend the interests of our members is, in our opinion, not irreconcilable. At bottom, we all have the welfare and the progress of our Union solely at heart. And in a critical period, like the one we are now passing, there should be enough intelligence and sound trade union judgment in our midst to iron
out the differences and to unite on a common course of action that would lead our industry out of the wilderness in which it is staggering and would pave the way to health and complete recovery for our Union.

THE CLEVELAND CLOAKMAKERS have come out of their recent grave controversy with the employers with their organization intact and with work conditions practically unimpaired in their shops.

Settlements in Cleveland and Toronto

There is hardly a doubt that the threat made by the Cleveland cloak manufacturers last fall into the Cleveland Joint Board that they would dissolve their organization unless the Union was ready to grant them a wage reduction of 20 per cent and give up the time guarantees and the employment insurance fund, constituted a serious menace. The employers did carry out their threat and dissolved their association compelling the Joint Board to negotiate individual agreements with the cloak firms. But the agreements—save for an unavoidable 10 per cent wage cut—retained every former work standard in force in the Cleveland market for many years past, including the time guarantees, the fund and the impartial machinery.

There remain unsettled three large dress shops, the owners of which still decline to sign the Union's agreement, largely because both sides catch on the matter of piece-price settlements. The leaders of the Cleveland Joint Board, however, are certain that, with the approach of the dress Spring season in Cleveland, the obstinacy of these employers will diminish and a settlement will be reached. If the deadlock continues, however, the Cleveland organization will not hesitate to call these shops out in strike in order to place these firms on a union work basis that will not be challenged in the future.

The settlement, last week, of the Superior Cloak Co.'s strike in Toronto is another event which will be hailed with a sense of satisfaction by the International as a whole and by the cloakmakers of that city in particular.

This strike, in a key factory in the local market, lasted for nearly three months and had stirred deeply the I. L. G. W. U. organization in Toronto. Since it signed a collective agreement with an association of cloak manufacturers some two years ago, the Toronto Joint Board has had a great deal of rough sledding—what with the dissolution of the employers' association, the severe economic crisis, and the numerous shop strikes the Union has had to wage continually in order to keep up control in the cloak shops. The strike in Superior factory which broke out toward the end of the Fall season, in particular, proved to be a trying affair and a heavy strain on the Union's resources.

This settlement, regarded by the Toronto cloakmakers as very satisfactory, is especially gratifying in view of the approaching expiration of the agreement term in Toronto when new contracts will have to be negotiated with all the other cloak manufacturers. With the Superior firm setting the example, it is expected that the market will soon fall in line and contractual relations guaranteeing union conditions will be renewed in the local cloak industry.

Mr. Dudley Field Malone, recently named counsel of the Association of Dress Manufacturers, Inc., is advising his clients, the dress submanufacturers and contractors, to take a leaf out of the Union's book and declare a strike, or as he terms it a "lockout" against the dress wholesalers, the jobbers, to force the latter to concede to them a fair margin of profit. Only after obtaining, with the aid of such a "lockout," price guarantees from the wholesalers, says Mr. Malone, will the contractors be in a position to make any agreement with the workers bearing on labor costs.

Frankly, we fail to observe anything novel in Mr. Malone's suggestions. The idea of dress contractors banding together on the eve of a strike to force the jobbers to guarantee to them fair-profit prices is not a discovery in jobber-submanufacturer relations in the New York dress industry. It had been tried before with a measurable degree of initial success only to become deflated and to lose punch shortly after the sacred convent had been solemnly agreed upon. The trouble with these contractors has been right along that, instead of holding together in an association and sticking rigidly to its rule of conduct, they would, with characteristic irresponsibility, slip back into their old free-lance ways, stepping viciously on each others toes to cut prices to the bone, violating work rules in their shops and thereby making it possible for the wholesalers to play contractor against contractor and to break down production standards in the entire industry.

Just the same, several of Mr. Malone's observations with regard to the contractor-jobber situation in the dress industry are quite realistic. When he says that the contracting branch is 100 per cent overcrowded, that the industry could support about 1,200 to 1,500 contractors of the nearly 3,000 at present located in the New York market, he states the truth. Neither are we inclined to quarrel with Mr. Malone's remark that "highly organized and well paid workers are as necessary to the prosperity of the contractors as highly organized and prosperous contractors are necessary to maintain labor standards."

Mr. Malone, however, fails to advance any practical suggestion for the weeding out of the bootleg element of contractors in the dress industry. It is all too plain that no stabilization of the dress industry is thinkable with such a reserve army of fly-by-night contractors constantly offering destructive competition to the more legitimate shops. Mr. Malone obviously places the cart before the horse when he lays most of the weight of his argument on the "prosperity of the contractors" and fails to emphasize the fact that the most constructive and effective factor in carrying out a stabilization program in the dress industry is the workers' organization, the labor element.

Without decent working conditions in the shops honestly abided by and lived up to by the contractors and without a strong workers' control over such conditions, any effort at stabilization, however well meant at the start, is bound, we are afraid, to prove abortive.

A T THIS WRITING, the New York Cloak Joint Board is still not fully organized for 1932. Brother Isidore Nagler, its general manager, duly elected by all the locals, is not yet inducted into office.

In the New York Cloak Joint Board

Brother Nagler, who refused to accept renomination for the office of general manager, a post which he had filled with singular distinction for more than three years, declines to resume his managerial duties unless he is given positive assurance of harmonious cooperation on the part of all the constituent locals of the Joint Board. Brother Nagler declares that he had reconsidered his decision not to accept office as manager on the strength of a pledge signed by all the managers of the locals affiliated with the Joint Board of "harmonious cooperation" and "the lending of every assistance when he returns as pilot of our ship."
Now, Brother Nagler states, even before he has reentered the Joint Board, he is denied by some of the locals a free hand in organizing his staff and filling departmental posts with men who, in his opinion, are best qualified to serve in these positions.

This inconsistent attitude on the part of these local representatives appears as a rather strange demonstration of "wholehearted cooperation" to which they had pledged themselves when they voted to call Brother Nagler back to the helm of the Joint Board. The Joint Board is facing a truly gigantic task within the next few months, a task which will require every ounce of strength, every shred of collective experience and ability that the cloakmakers' organization could muster. In the face of this overwhelming emergency, petty bickerings and puny reckonings of the kind placed in the way of Brother Nagler's return, seem altogether ill-advised. The locals, all of them, have summoned Brother Nagler back to the post of general manager, and he should, therefore, be given a free mind and hand in organizing the force with which he believes he could best carry out the obligations and the trust imposed upon him.

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**The Auction Block**

What the Dressmakers of New York Will Strike Against

This Sweat Shop System, 1932 Model, Must Go!
A General Strike of Dressmakers—
There Is No Other Way Out!

By BENJAMIN SCHLESINGER,
President, International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union

The collective agreement between our international
Union and the three dress employers' associations in
New York, had been extended on January 1st for a month
in the hope that, given more time to confer on the issues
in dispute, the four parties to the agreement might succeed
in reaching an understanding and avert a general strike in
the industry.

The hope, however, has not materialized. The many
conferences we have held with the associations have brought
no results.

We demanded a few concessions from the employers.
We submitted facts and evidence to prove that our workers
are employed at starvation wages. The representatives of
the employers' associations had to admit that we were
right; nevertheless, they told us in unmistakable terms that
they would pay even lower wages in the future.

Not only that. They demanded the right to "reorganize"
their shops, to fire 10 per cent of their workers each
year, and to put into force a number of other repressive
rules in their shops. The demands of our Union they re-
 fused even to consider.

There Are 3,000 Dress Shops in New York:
1,500 of Them Are Sweat Shops

There are in Greater New York about 3,000 dress shops,
nearly a half of which are sweat shops in the full sense
of the term. These are small outside shops. Employing
from 8 to 10 workers each, where neither regular work
prices nor regular work hours are known, where the employer
pays for the making up of a dress as little as he
cares to, and where the workers are compelled to toil fifty
and more hours to eke out twelve dollars a week. Most of
these small shops are located in Manhattan, between West
8th and 39th Streets and between 6th and 9th Avenues.

For whom are these shops working?

They accept work from any jobbing or manufacturing
firm where they can obtain a bundle of garments. After
the general strike of 1930, several hundred of these "shops"
went out of business, while those which survived continued
to work for non-union jobbers and manufacturers. Shortly
thereafter, however, even the union jobbers and manufac-
turers began to follow the example of their non-union
brethren and started to make up dresses in these sweat
shops in flagrant violation of their agreement with the
Union.

Today, the number of these sweat shops has reached
3,000. It is a fact, that they exert, to a large extent, a
degrading influence on the earnings and the work hours
in the entire industry. These shops are a curse upon the
workers and upon the legitimate employers alike. They
drive the fair-minded manufacturer and jobber out of
business and spread poverty and misery among the workers.

The Workers in the Dress Sweat Shops

Who are the workers employed in the sweat shops?

They are honest people, but fear-haunted and intimi-
dated; they are men and women who fail to understand
the importance of organization; people who do not believe
in their own strength; people who do not believe that they
have any strength at all.

Our Union has, during the past year and a half, ex-
 pended large sums of money to educate these people, to
organize them, but without success. The sweat shop bosses
have kept these workers in such fear that they would re-
 fuse to accept even a leaflet handed out to them.

The right time to approach these timid workers and
to make them realize the strength, greatness and beauty of
organization and solidarity is during a general strike, when
tens of thousands of persons, assembled in the streets and
in meeting halls, are united by one sentiment and inspired
by the same thought—the sentiment of conflict and the
thought of victory.

The more sweat shops join the general strike and the
more workers employed in such shops join our Union, the
better will conditions become for all the workers in the
industry. The sweat shop workers will obtain jobs in the
legitimate shops, and as union people, together with the
other workers, they will not any longer be forced to work
fifty and more hours a week to earn a mere crust of bread.

The Role of the Jobber in the Dress Industry

Contractor shops are not a novelty in our industry. They
are as old as the industry itself. As far back as thirty
or forty years ago, when there existed in our industry
manufacturing firms maintaining inside shops with a thou-
sand and more workers on their premises, the number of
the contracting shops was large. The contractors in those
years would get the work that was left over from the in-
side shops.

In those years, the contractors used to be employed by
manufacturers who had large inside shops of their own.
Today, 70 per cent of the contractors work for jobbers.
for firms which sell millions of dollars' worth of dresses
annually without keeping up even the semblance of a shop
on their premises.

In those years, when the workers in the inside shops
were organized, they would insist that the same prices be
paid and the same work hours be observed in the outside
shops as in the inside shops. If the manufacturers refused
to comply with this stipulation, the Union would call the
workers of their inside shops out on strike.

Today, since the advent of the jobber, the "merchant" who
has no inside shop—the Union cannot control his
outside shops except by calling strikes in the contractor
shops directly. And this is a very costly and difficult task.

Had there been no such crisis in the land now, we should
have presented to the jobbers a long and impressive list of
demands. Considering, however, present conditions, we de-
mand from them only: that they should be responsible to the
Union for the shops in which they make up their work
or from which they purchase their garments.

The jobber must cease to be a "bootlegger." He must
stop dealing with the sweat shops.

They speak of Stabilization and Practice Chaos

At one of the conferences with the dress employers' asso-
ciations held recently, their representatives declared to us
that they "are not opposed to the Union; on the contrary, the Union is all right but the trouble is that the Union does not control the entire trade."

"If all the dress manufacturers of New York," they told us, "would pay their workers uniform scales and if in all the shops uniform work hours prevailed, no matter how high the scales and how short the hours, all the elements in the industry would have been changed. The Union should introduce the same work conditions in all shops. That would eliminate the present cut-throat competition between the employers. It would have saved the entire industry. The buyers from the department and chain stores would have looked upon us differently when we would come to them with our merchandise."

Of course, uniform work-conditions in all shops would have brought order and stability in our industry. Of course, it would have, to a large extent, eliminated the cut-throat competition now rampant in the industry. The trouble, however, is that the employers are practicing the very opposite of what they preach. They talk of equal work conditions in the shops and send out work to sweat shops. They talk of abolishing cut-throat competition and are doing everything they can to aggravate this competition.

The workers, the only element which is contributing every effort possible to bring order into our industry. We fought two years ago, ten years ago, twenty years, fifty years ago for humane work conditions in the apparel industry and against the infamous and harmful sweat shop system. Our general strike this year is also being called for this purpose. The sweat shops are a curse on the workers and on the entire industry. They must be eliminated from our industry!

To Work and Live Like Human Beings

The last two years were bad years in all industries. The crisis has affected the entire country and brought chaos in every trade. In no industry, however, is the disorganization as great as in the garment industry. In no industry have so many legitimate manufacturers been pressed to the wall and so many forced and voluntary bankruptcies taken place.

This is because the garment industry suffers not only from the crisis, from the general bad times, but also and principally from the sweat-shop evil.

The dress industry with its 40,000 workers should not have 3,000 shops. Three thousand shops are in the dress industry. Three thousand shops, of which 1,300 are sweat shops, are responsible for the fact that not only are the workers in these shops never secure with their tomorrow's living, but they place even the more legitimate employers constantly within the shadow of bankruptcy.

It is now only a question of days before the dressmakers of New York will be called out in a general strike. The main purpose of this strike is to bring an end to irresponsibility in the dress industry. We hope to achieve, through this strike, that each worker in the dress industry may be able to work and live like a human being. In other words, our purpose is to strike a death blow at the sweat shops.

Each member of our Union will have to contribute his or her share to the strike to make it as great and as successful as possible.

Among the Dressmakers of Philadelphia

The long awaited organization campaign in the Philadelphia waist and dress market has begun. About two weeks ago a large meeting of all the members of the Union was called to form an organization committee of volunteers. One hundred and sixty members from both Locals, No. 50 and No. 71, accepted on the committee. Ben Karp, veteran clock-maker, took the chairmanship of this committee, and Abraham Bloomfield became its secretary.

The announcement that the Union has undertaken organization work has spread hope and enthusiasm among our members. The general feeling prevails that the conditions in the trade have gone down to the lowest level and that we now have everything to gain. As far as the non-union dressmakers are concerned, they, too, are becoming imbued with a sentiment for organization. The clamor for unionization has been so strong that the mere news of a campaign is bolstering up their spirits.

Literature Campaign Started

The first leaflet was distributed throughout the trade last week. This leaflet explained to the waist and dressmakers of Philadelphia the aims and aspirations of the Union—that it seeks to achieve for them higher wages, shorter hours and all other Union conditions which would enable them to make a decent living. The leaflet also contained a manifest that all the "waist and dressmakers could join the Union for the low initiation fee, $1.25 during the organization campaign period."

From the report of the committee, which distributed the circular, it is evident that the waist and dressmakers of the non-union shops are impatiently waiting for something which will liberate them from their present intolerable conditions of work. The manner in which they received the circulars, the remarks made by them to the committee, such as "We are ready," "We will come," "We will be with you," —filled the committees with a new optimism.

Two Crafts Are Organized

Two important dress crafts are joining organization. One is the pressers' branch under the leadership of George Rubin. The Pressers' Local, No. 71, has made remarkable strides, and it will not take very long before all dress pressers are in the Union. The second craft, the waist and dress cutters—organized as a branch of Local No. 50—has also made splendid progress in the last few weeks. It now remains for us to concentrate on the shops as a complete unit, and that the organization committee is going to do. In our opinion, very successfully.

Since the leaflet was distributed, committees of non-union shops have been coming to the Union office daily for information and also to notify the Union that they would be ready to come as soon as the organization committee calls upon them. Many individual non-union workers are joining the Union daily.
A Week With the General Executive Board

The General Executive Board of the I. L. G. W. U. met again this time in final session, prior to the convention of the women's 'wear workers' organization, which is scheduled to assemble in May. To be technically correct, there may be another brief session of the General Board on the very eve of the convention, to read the Officers' Report and to sanction it before it is presented to the delegates. That meeting, however, will be largely of an informal character—unless fast moving events should prompt the General Officers to summon the G. E. B. into special session.

We met in New York this time, though it is admitted by all and sundry that New York City is not the most desirable place for a meeting. One member of the Board, most of whom come from New York, are too frequently disturbed by local business contacts to be able to devote their entire time while the session is on to the business of the G. E. B. Nevertheless, the leadership of the Organization had deemed it advisable at the present moment to meet in this city for the reason that New York for the next six months at least, is destined to be the principal battleground of our Union on which several major conflicts of vital importance will be staged and fought out.

It is Monday afternoon—President Schlesinger opens the meeting.

The first session is given over to a report by the President. Quietly, deliberately, the president of the I. L. G. W. U. gives an account of his own work and of the stewardship of the organization during the past three months, since the Philadelphia meeting. These were difficult months for our unions everywhere, difficult on account of the crisis which is still ravaging the country from end to end, and even more difficult for us owing to the slack period which has depleted the Union's funds and has made it impossible for some of our local bodies to meet even current running expenses. The General Office is beset with requests for assistance from every part of the country, from many local New York unions, and the resources of the International are far from adequate to satisfy these requests.

Had his health permitted him, President Schlesinger further reports, he would have accepted the invitations from several other cities to come and advise them on local situations and problems. But, it was New York, with its seemingly endless chain of problems and complex situations that had taken most of his time during this period. A clue to the intensity of activity in New York may be found in the fact that no less than eight special meetings of the New York members of the G. E. B. had to be called since early in November to discuss and settle matters of an urgent nature. President Schlesinger dwells at length on the recent turbulent local elections in New York and on the efforts of certain factions within some locals to convert these elections into fights against the administration of the International. The locals which, in defiance of the majority vote on the $3.75 tax, had instructed their members not to pay that assessment, are still persisting in their obstructionist policies with regard to this tax.

These efforts to nullify the $3.75 tax on the part of the obstructionist locals, President Schlesinger comments, have obviously not tended to improve the financial standing and the credit of the Union, and in view of the fact of approaching strikes, first in the dress and later in the cloak industries, the Union's efforts to raise strike funds through loans, are likely to be made much more difficult if not entirely impossible. But what is even infinitely worse, some of these obstacles of antagonism and working at cross purposes have now created a deadlock situation within the New York Cloak Joint Board, where Brother Isidore Nagler, though unanimously elected by all the New York locals and by the Joint Board itself as its general manager, refuses to assume the responsibilities of that important office until he is definitely and beyond all doubt assured that he would meet with the unqualified cooperation of all its component locals. In the face of the approaching conferences with the cloak manufacturers in New York, in the face of the general crisis which has shaken our Industry to its very foundation, our Union can ill afford to suffer from disharmony and dissension in our own ranks. It weakens the power of the organization to resist the aggressive schemes of the employers who are getting ready to wrest from us some of the precious gains and work standards which we have established in our industries.

The next night—Tuesday morning, President Schlesinger calls upon Vice-President Julius Hochman to report on the New York dress situation.

The evening before the New York Cloak Joint Board had held its long delayed installation meeting, and the echoes of that meeting still resound in the room where the G. E. B. is holding its sessions. The Joint Board was to have inducted into office—for 1932—all its officers, including Vice-President Isidore Nagler as re-elected general manager, but Brother Nagler again declined to be sworn in unless he is given a free hand to select his own departmental assistants.

President Schlesinger, who addressed the meeting of the Joint Board, minced no words and spoke bluntly to the delegation on the gravity of the situation confronting them. "At this time, when we are getting ready for our convention, on the one hand, and when we are attempting to raise a fund to finance the coming conflict in the cloak industry," the President addressed himself to the delegations present, "some of you are at work obstructing the normal work of the Joint Board and to break down its machinery by raising empty issues and hallow so-called 'principles' in the sincerity of which I have every reason to doubt. We are behind time in the preparation of demands that we must present to the employers, who have asked us nearly three months ago to meet with them in conference on the working out of the terms of the next agreement in the cloak industry. Yet, we find today our Joint Board is as completely organized and not ready to carry on its regular work."

Vice-President Nagler, the elected but still not inducted general manager of the Joint Board, in a strong speech again made clear the reasons why he would not consent to enter office until he is certain that no backhand tactics would be employed against him when he becomes the general manager. "Last week," he informed the delegates, "I promised that after meeting with the local managers I would consider acceptance. Now, I want to tell you that after discussing the matter thoroughly with the managers, I refuse the office. I shall not start my work by compromising the efficiency of my staff by accepting assistants dictated to me by this or that group in whose ability to run their important departments I have not explicit faith. In short, I regard my office to be the office of the entire cloakmakers' organization.
and the gift of this or that particular element or group within it. During the years that I was general manager, I have always striven to conduct it from that point of view, and I refuse today to deviate even a hair's breath in order to eschew considerations of petty politics that are in their very essence destructive to the welfare of our Union."

Brother Julius Hochman reports on the dress situation in New York.
The General Executive Board is, of course, conversant with the general outlines of that situation, which is now approaching the strike stage. Since the Philadelphia meeting, the Dress Joint Board in New York had held conferences with the employers who were attended by President Schlesinger, Sec'y Dubinsky, and by officers of the Joint Board and local committees. The upshot of these parties is that a strike in the dress trade is inevitable. The only hope for some stability in the dress shops and for an improvement of work conditions lies in a greater organization of the industry and in the acceptance of uniform union work conditions by all the employers in the industry. Like in the cloak industry, in the dress industry, too, the contracting shops with their cut-throat competition present the main source of disorganization and chaos. The dress industry is overrun with fly-by-night irresponsible contractors, veritable parasites who prey upon the workers by compelling them to accept miserable prices at the threat of actual starvation.
The Dress Joint Board is now completing the machinery for the general strike. Vice-President Hochman calls upon the General Executive Board to give the dressmakers its full moral and material support for the coming battle.
Vice-President Luigi Antonini, general secretary of the Italian Dressmakers' Union, and one of the outstanding leaders of the dress workers, reports substantially in a similar vein.

Vice-President Morris Biales of Chicago is next.
The economic crisis has hit the Chicago cloak trade during the past season with a greater force than ever before. There was less work in the shops, and a number of cloak-makers were unemployed. In addition some old-established firms had gone out of business, among them the Kirschbaum and the Palmer firms, employing over a hundred workers. One of the major tasks of the Chicago cloak organization during the past few months was to create jobs for the members and to place people at machines wherever possible. Vice-President Biales spoke with warmth concerning the fine fraternal

spirit displayed by the Chicago cloak-makers and their sincerity and unselfishness in trying to help out their unemployed brothers in every manner possible. A fund of over $7,000 was raised by the Joint Board and distributed among their needy workers during this period. The Union in Chicago is also trying very hard to economize in the matter of office-management expenses in order to keep within its income during these hard times.

What concerns the dress organization campaign, started by the International in Chicago in September, Brother Biales reports that this drive was begun quite auspiciously. Local 100 succeeded, with the full cooperation of the Chicago cloak locals, in organizing a substantial number of dress pressers and cutters and forming strong blocs of union workers in a number of dress shops. Lately, owing to slack conditions in the shops, the drive has slowed down considerably, but the Chicago dress trade is, nevertheless, ripe for a strong organizing movement, which, in his opinion, would bring excellent results under energetic directives.

Vice-Presidents Kramer and Halperin report for Boston.
Boston has not escaped the effects of the depression, as seen from the fact that several important dress firms had closed their doors in the past few months. It stands to reason that this increase in the number of idle workers is only adding to the difficulties which the local organization has to meet in its daily work.
The agreement in the cloak and dress trade in Boston will shortly expire, on February 15. The Boston Joint Board is, therefore, getting ready to begin conferences with the employers, and there are rumors afloat in the local market that the Union would encounter considerable difficulties in renewing the existing agreements. The arrival of Vice- President Halperin, upon assignment from the General Office, to take the place of Brother Amidor who resigned as the manager of the Boston Joint Board and to help Vice-President Philip Kramer in his work, has brightened up the local situation considerably.
The Boston organization is suffering from lack of funds, and Brother Halperin is devoting himself to a great extent toward meeting this problem. He reports that a number of Boston members, notably the cutters, have volunteered to loan the Joint Board $15 each, and they expect to raise from this source a sizable sum, that would tide over the organization during this critical period.

At a mass meeting two weeks, which packed one of the largest workers' auditoriums in Boston, a group of "leaders" tried to create some trouble but was subdue and the meeting later proceeded in good order. On the whole, the Communists still are a meddlesome and annoying element in the Boston dress market, and the Union must figure that they might attempt to create a good deal of mischief in the event of a strike.

Toronto report comes next.
Vice-President Kizer, tells of the constant fighting in that city for the past half-year and of shop strikes which have consumed a lot of money and effort. The General Office time and again was called upon to help the Toronto Joint Board to carry on these shop conflicts against at beborn non-union employers. The organization, on the whole, consists of a virile and good union element, but has met with a lot of bitter opposition on the part of employers. Next month the agreements in the cloak trade will expire and the Union will quietly have to consider a stoppage in the cloak shops in order to get through a renewal of the agreements. In view of this possibility, Brother Kizer asks the G. E. C. to sanction a cloak walkout in Toronto.

Vice-President Elias Reilberg is called upon to report on the condition of the dress and cloak organizations of Philadelphia.
The Cloak Joint Board is in good working order, having renewed its agreements with the cloak employers, practically on the same terms as last year, except that here and there some adjustments had been made in lieu of some concessions, meeting with the satisfaction of the workers employed in those shops.
The Cloak Joint Board, besides, is bending every effort to help the dressmakers to organize their trade. The dress shops in Philadelphia have been at work for nearly a month, and the Union is taking full advantage of this fact and is vigorously campaigning for new members in the unorganized shops. The new dress joint board, consisting of delegates from Locals 50 and 71, the pressers, have now formed an organization committee of 150 persons, which is concentrating on the bigger silk dress shops in the city to unionize them. The pressers in the dress shops are now nearly all organized, and a considerable number of cutters are also enrolled in the Union.

On the whole, Brother Reilberg reports, the situation is quite promising, except, of course, that neither Local 50 nor the cloak organization would plunge into a general strike movement unless they felt certain that they
of the International, and that is a matter for the G. B. B. to decide.

Vice-President Charles Kreindler gives an account of the Cleveland organization.

Cleveland has just gone through a trying period of negotiations with their employers in the cloak and dress industry. Since early fall the situation in the Cleveland market has been tense, ever since the Union had found out that the manufacturers had decided to dissolve their association and not to renew the collective agreement with the Joint Board. The manufacturers, among other things, demanded a wage cut of 20 per cent and the abolition of the time guarantee and of the unemployment insurance fund for workers in the outside shops.

Naturally, the only course left open for the Union was to reach settlements with individual manufacturers, and this it has now succeeded insofar as the cloak contractors are concerned. The only concession the manufacturers received was a 10 per cent wage reduction, while the workers retained all other standards prevailing in the shops.

Only three large dress shops remain for the time being unsettled, and while negotiations with these firms are still in progress, Vice-President Kreindler reported, it is quite likely that the Cleveland Joint Board would have to call these workers out in strike. On the whole, Bro. Kreindler declares the morale of the Cleveland workers, despite the hardships they were compelled to endure, is fine and they are determined to defend their union at all cost.

General Secretary-Treasurer David Dubinsky presents his report for 1931.

We shall not undertake to cite here the tables presented by Brother Dubinsky. That, in all probability, will go into convention report as part of the financial and membership report of the I. L. G. W. U. for the whole period since the Cleveland convention in December, 1929. Suffice it to say, nevertheless, that the report, by its completeness and excellent presentation, produced a fine impression upon the members of the G. B. B. The membership census in particular, the first census covering an entire year since the record department was established in the General Office, left little to be desired for the thoroughness with which it was gotten up.

The outstanding impression gained from Brother Dubinsky's financial account was that the General Office has been adhering in the past year to a policy of strict retrenchment, saving wherever it was only possible to save in order to carry on the organizing work of the Union and to help affiliated bodies, large and small, to the utmost of its ability. And the demands on the International, despite the fact that its income owing to the general depression and the natural drop in membership, has diminished, have been greater even last year than ever before.

Secretary Dubinsky went over in detail the full list of obligations still owed by the International to various banks, organizations and individuals, stressing the fact that the International was unable to notify the holders of the Reconstruction Bond Loan of 1929 that it was unable to meet payment at this time and that the May convention would be called upon to find means for meeting this obligation. Had the collection of the $3,75 assessment proceeded normally, as it should have, the financial situation of the Union would have been, of course, in a much more favorable condition and its borrowing ability very, very much stronger. Unfortunately, the policy adopted by a few New York locals towards the aforementioned assessment has been given too much consideration, it has had much to do with impairing the financial standing of the Union as a whole and of affecting its bank credit.

Vice-President Wander, for the Eastern Out-of-Town Department, reports that the small locals under his supervision, while they had lost some members, are still functioning as before and that his office is doing its best to control the clot and dress shops in the suburban territory. The number of dress shops has increased greatly, he further reports, in the small New Jersey and Connecticut towns around New York, and to great extent the money were available a large number of these shops could be organized and placed on union work terms. With the limited means at the disposal of his office, he could only hope for the time being to keep the shops already union-ized under control as best as possible.

Vice-President Israel Feinberg, in charge of the Montreal cloak organization, who reached the meeting three days late, then gave an account of his stewardship of the local union.

The lookmakers of Montreal are keeping up a fine trade union; they have proved that they actually desire to have union work conditions in their shops. Obviously, the bitter memory of the past years when the union was completely wiped out in Montreal and the employers ran things to suit themselves without any opposition on the part of their workers, still lingers in the minds of the older element among the local lookmakers, and now, that they have regained a union again, they are endeavoring to preserve it as an effective weapon in the defense of their interests.

Shortly before leaving for the G. B. B., Vice-President Feinberg reported, he brought the negotiations with the Montreal Cloak Manufacturers' Association to a close by renewing the collective agreement with it. Brother Feinberg, on his way to New York, also stopped off, by request, in Toronto where he helped to settle the 12 weeks' old strike in the Superior Cloak Co.'s shop. This shop employed 175 workers before the strike, and under the settlement they are to return to work under the same union conditions as prevailed prior to the strike, retaining all former wage scales and other shop standards.

Committees appear.

A committee from Local 91, children's dressmakers of New York, headed by Brother Harry Greenberg, came asking for the endorsement of a strike in their trade to be called simultaneously with the general strike of the dress workers. Greenberg stated that Local 91 has been conducting a strike agitation in the children's dress shops for several weeks and that they had gained the recognition of the New York Tailor and Workmen's Union League in this strike. The League, in fact, has loaned them the services of Miss Sadie Reich to help in the campaign.

This strike, Brother Greenberg declared, would be essential to preserve the local of the children's dress makers. It would, in his judgment, enroll a large number of nonunion workers into the organization, which put Local 91 on a self-sustaining basis, and would stabilize work conditions in the whole trade.

Brother Greenberg, who is the International's representative in the office of Local 58, the ladies' Unlimited Union in New York, also headed a committee from that local. As manager of Local 58, Greenberg gave a brief account of the condition of that organization, stating that it found itself today in a sound financial and moral condition and exercises rigid control over the union shops. A handful of Communists still manages to create trouble at union meetings. Fortunately, the majority of the members of Local 58 is on to their antics and the "bite" of these disturbances is by far less effective than before.

A committee from Philadelphia, representing both Local 68 and 71, appears and requests help for the impending drive in the Philadelphia dress shops, an account of which had previously been given by Vice-President Reissberg. The committee is headed by Brothers George Reiss and Ben Karp, both of them lookmakers, but at present very actively engaged in assisting the campaign of the dressmakers. Both Karp and Ruba eloquently present the cause of the dressmakers and speak of substantial gains already made in this drive. Brother Karp declares to the G. E. B. that they "had started the work and got things in
shape; they were promised aid by the G. E. B. and now they are ready to "collect" on that promise." The presentation of their case by the Philadelphia committee obviously is making a fine impression upon the G. E. B.

Another committee from Local 17, Rehearsal Union, appears with a request to the G. E. B. to put into effect without further delay the practical part of the decision adopted by the former meeting of the Board with regard to the jurisdiction dispute between Locals 1 and 17, namely, the classification of the contested shops as either Local 17 or as Local 1 shops. In point of fact, while this request comes from Local 17 it is also a demand presented on more than one occasion by representatives of Local 17.

A committee from Local 66, Bonas Embroiderers and Pleaters and Stitchers' Union, headed by Leon Hattab, asks the endorsement of a strike in the planting and hemming shops which have come under their jurisdiction after the old Local 41 contract expired with Local 66 a few weeks ago. Brother Hattab states that unless a strike is called to remedy the conditions under which the stitchers and pleaters work now, they will affect adversely the conditions maintained by embroidery workers in the same shops.

Brother Max Bluestein, manager, and Brother Nathan Margolis, chairman of executive board of Local 17, the dressmakers' organisation, appeared and asked that amnesty be extended to such dressmakers as are still outside union ranks or have recently rejoined the Union, so that they may forthwith have the right to run for office in the Union. It was, after some questioning, brought out that the Local 22 committee practically ignored the G. E. B. in granting them so-called "Lovestutes" or official committees who came back into Local 22 under the terms of the international amnesty of 1928 and 1929, to run for office regardless of the stipulation that that went with that amnesty, namely, that these rejoining former members may not hold office for two consecutive years.

The New York situation again comes to the front.

A discussion lasting nearly an entire day develops, led by President Schlesinger, and covering every angle of the current problems which stir and agitate the workers and their locals in the main centres of our industries. And as the discussion proceeds, in which practically every member of the Board takes part, questions hitherto obscure and complicated appear to become clear and lucid.

The organizational problems of the Cloak Joint Board, the friction between the majority of the locals affiliated with that Joint Board and the minority, the forthcoming conferences with the cloak employers, the influence of the dress strike and its possible extent and achievements, the questions connected with the convention which is but three months off, all are taken up and broadly analyzed in the light of the present condition of the International and of the general industrial situation in the land.

Vice-President Nagler requests, and his request is granted, that several sections of his report on his three-and-a-half years of service as general manager of the New York Joint Board which was recently published in "Justice," be spread on the minutes of the G. E. B.

And finally, the question of the convention city is taken up for discussion. Three cities are proposed—Philadelphia, Montreal and Baltimore, and each of those cities finds its champions and defenders. Philadelphia, in the end, wins by a majority; and this majority, upon motion, is converted into an unanimous decision.

Elsewhere, the reader will find a series of decisions which the G. E. B. has made at this meeting on a number of questions which had been brought up to its attention.

On the whole, this pre-convention session was marked by an earnest spirit and a tense attention to the business on hand. There were few long speeches, even by those who are regarded as "long distance" talkers on the General Executive Board. The gravity of the problems with which the Union is confronted, on one hand, and the proximity of the convention, on the other, had inclined the members of the G. E. B. to stick to facts and to look for essentials rather than create trimmings at this meeting. It was a business trade union which was in the fullest and best sense of the term.

**Decisions of G. E. B. Meeting**

**Out-of-Town Department's activity in dress strike: Referred to President and Secretary, in conjunction with Dress Joint Board.**

New York cloak situation: The New York Board and the President and Secretary shall have full power to act on the matter.

Dress shops wherein cloaks are produced: A representative of the Cloak Joint Board to be designated to the Settlement Committee of the general strike in the dress industry to avoid settlements with cloak shops.

Request for endorsement of general strike and financial assistance in Toronto: Referred to General Office with full power.

Request for endorsement of dress strike in Cleveland: General Officers authorized to call such a strike if they find it unavoidable.

Request for endorsement of strike in New York children's dress industry: Referred to the New York Board.

Request for endorsement of strike in New York clothing and planting industry: Referred to New York Board.

Request by Local 17 for enforcement of decision in Locals 1-17 controversy: Committee of Vice-presidents Amund, Kreindler and Ninio instructed to proceed immediately with classification of shops coming under the jurisdiction of Local 17 and Local 1.

Request by Local 22 for renewal of amnesty: Request received.


Convention Arrangements Committee: Secretary Dubinsky, Vice-president Rehberg and Vice-president Ninio.

Constitution Committee: Secretary Dubinsky, Vice-presidents Ninio, Heller, Breslin and Wondor.

(to submit recommendations for modifications or additions to Constitution.)

Committees appointed to study question of clubs and groups in the Union to meet and make its recommendations to next meeting.

Renewal of agreements in Cloak industry: New York Cloak Joint Board and locals to be asked to submit their modifications or additions to the agreements by the end of February. General Officers instructed to cooperate with the Joint Board and locals in drawing up list of demands for negotiations with employers by March 1st.

**Bro. Philip Davids**

The Chicago Joint Board and the membership of its locals deeply regret the untimely death of Brother Philip Davids, who died after a protracted illness in Chicago on Tuesday, January 27.

Brother Davids, all through his active years, was a loyal worker in the cloak and dressmakers' organisations of Chicago, having served the Union both as a private in the ranks and as an officer for a number of years. Lately, Brother Davids held the office of chairman of the Pressers' Union, Local 18.

In 1924, Brother Davids was one of the leaders of the dressmakers' strike. For his Unrilling work in the cause of his fellow workers, the notorious injunction judge, Demola Sullivan, had sentenced him in the course of that strike to ninety days in jail.
Run O' The Month
By MAX D. DANISH

MAYOR WALKER'S tilt with the Wall Street bankers and his display of belligerence had probably deceived very few people. His threat that he would appeal to the citizens directly for a loan had been discounted in advance as a dud. And his capitulation to the moneybags within a brief seven days was, therefore, accepted as a matter of course.

But it is not His Honor's humbled "pride" that looms up in this case as a point of major interest. It is the power of the bankers that cannot be bent or humbled which this incident brings out in such bold relief. Factually, it is the bankers who dictate to our cities, big or small, as to what they may or may not do.

To win back the favor of the great banks Tammany now promises to effect economies in the budget. We may all rest assured that these economies will not in a material degree affect the pockets of the Tammany officeholders. The cuts will be made at the expense of the schools, the playgrounds and other public works, an economy that will only increase the already staggering number of unemployed in this city.

The fact is that all these economies would have been unnecessary if only Tammany had gratted a little less, if only its benchmen had taken their grasping hands off the city's treasury for but a spell. The saddest part of it, however, is that New York seems resigned to accept its self-perpetuating Tammany as an inescapable plague from which there is no escape.

EUROPE HAS Begun using a new language in talking to America about its war debts. It practically amounts to this: "You insist that we pay. Well, we haven't got it, and we don't intend to pay. What are you going to do about it?"

Of course, this is not the official language. But it is the language of many important journals, it is the talk in influential political spheres. Let America find out the way to compel payment by her European debtors!

And the truth of the matter is that America can do nothing about it. It could perhaps exert economic pressure or some other form of coercion against one defaulting country but it would be powerless against all or Europe.

Washington apparently still fails to realize this. Only two weeks ago Congress solemnly adopted a resolution against any plan that would tend to do away with, revise or even postpone payments on these war debts. And when this month the report of the Basle financial experts was made public to the effect that Germany cannot pay reparations, our statesmen in a chorus vehemently denounced it as just another attempt to revise the war debts status quo.

It is high time that America had made up her mind that the eleven billion dollars loaned to Europe during the World War will never be collected. America to-day is still in a favorable position to declare to Europe that she is ready to write off these debts provided Europe would honestly disarm. By such an act America could regain her position of world leadership and bring about true disarmament and world peace. And even eleven billion dollars would not be too high a price to pay for world peace.

TWO LEADING COLLEGE presidents, Butler of Columbia and Lowell of Harvard, talked the other day about the mental state of the American student.

President Butler thinks little of the average American student. The latter is not interested in political and social questions. Besides, says the New York educator, our students have bad manners and habits, and are, on the whole, a pretty sloppy lot.

The Harvard head, however, finds that the modern college student has greatly improved in every way as compared with, let us say, the student of a generation ago. The student of today, says Lowell, is mentally a more mature person, more developed spiritually and concerns himself with social problems to a greater degree than the old-time student.

Who of the two is right? It would seem, at first, that the leaders of the two greatest American universities are poles apart in their evaluation of the present-day American student. In essence, however, their difference of appraisal is not so far apart. Lowell compares the student of today with the student of bygone days, and it is quite evident that the modern student did make a good bit of headway, together with American society as a whole, of which he is but a part. Dr. Butler's rather low estimate of the estate of the student, on the other hand, is perhaps just as correct, for he apprehends him not in the light of the past but on the basis of present American life. The American public is politically and socially backward and undeveloped. And our student body is, after all, but a part of the general American scene.

MAHATMA GANDHI is in jail again. This is Gandhi's third imprisonment, each time under different circumstances. The thin, frail figure of the Hindu leader is once again bent over the spindle as from his prison cell he directs a popular movement against a mighty ruling nation.

How conditions have changed! England's prestige and power have fallen perceptibly in the last few years. Britain is torn asunder by a severe national crisis. Her Liberal party, formerly a potent force in English life, is broken. The Labor party, at this moment, cannot be expected to change the political situation. And the ruling Tory party will, in all likelihood, insist on pursuing its old policy of the mailed fist in India.

Will it succeed, though? England has no more to offer than formidable strength which permitted her to place her colonies under an iron heel. England is passing through the worst financial, economic and political upheaval in her history. She had to get off the gold standard in order to avoid bankruptcy, she had to pick the makeshift of a "national" government in order to "save" the country from disaster; she has to maintain an army of nearly two and a half million of unemployed with state funds.

Times are bad in England. Some of England's best thinkers do not hesitate to assert that the "down hill" period has already begun for the British Empire, that Britain is already through playing her great role in history and that she is about to vacate her premier place on the world scene. At such a critical moment in English life the present struggle of India for independence assumes, therefore, a far more serious aspect than ever before. We are on the eve of tremendous events in India. Gandhi's arrest is but the prologue to a very earnest drama that is about to unfold itself in that vast land.

THE NOMINATION OF WILKERSON, notorious injunction judge, by President Hoover to a higher Federal judgeship, is but additional proof of the ultra-reactive tendency of the present administration.

In the railroad shippers' strike of 1922 Judge Wilkerson issued one of the most drastic injunctions against the rail unions that ever came from the Federal bench. That injunction, obtained from Wilkerson by Harry Daugherty then Attorney General of the United States, deprived the shippers of their elementary rights as American citizens.
and threw all the influence of the Government on the side of the railroad owners.

The fight against the confirmation of Wilkerson nomination will be conducted before the Senate judiciary committee, whose chairman is Senator Norris from Nebraska. The American Federation of Labor will conduct the fight on behalf of every union in the country. Let us hope that the unions will succeed in defeating the Wilkerson nomination just as they succeeded three years ago in sidetracking another candidacy of an anti-labor partisan, at that time the nomination by Hoover of Judge John Parker of North Carolina for the United States Supreme Court.

Incidentally, the same Senate judiciary committee which will have to pass on the Wilkerson nomination is at present considering anti-injunction legislation by which, it is believed, such judicial monstrities like the one issued by Wilkerson in 1922 will be prohibited by Federal law.

AN ITEM from "Labor" reads:
""Collier's Weekly" is authority for the statement that between June 30, 1930, and June 30, 1931, the number of privately owned sea-going yachts in this country increased from 3,315 to 3,852.
This is a gain of 267, or about 8 per cent.
"A sea-going yacht is agreed to be the most expensive playing field in the world. It costs a fortune to start with, and takes the income of a much larger fortune to maintain and use. It is the most undemocratic form of luxury; for it requires large numbers of people to spend their lives catering to the wishes, or whims, or vanity of a few.
"Yet, in our good country, supposed to be free and democratic, the number of these wealth-sapping toys increases 8 per cent a year while hundreds of thousands of people stand in the breadlines and millions are out of work.
"And still we are told that it would be wrong to tax the ultra-rich to provide money for public works that will employ the idle."

AN EXAMPLE of how a trade union should take care of its own unemployment problem is offered in the manner "Big Six," the New York printers' organization has aided its jobless members since the crisis has set in.

"Big Six," composed of 11,600 members, has had about 1,400 totally unemployed since July 1930, to whom relief is being given at the rate of $18 weekly. This money is raised by assessing members regularly employed 8 per cent of their earnings or, instead, requiring these "regulars" to lay off one day a week and to employ substitutes from the ranks of the unemployed. This tax, by the way, was assumed voluntarily by the members of the big printers' local by a vote of four to one.

Up to date the monetary disbursements given out by "Big Six" to its jobless members during the current depression period has already aggregated the sum of $3,060,000. As we consider that the whole City of New York, through its Emergency Unemployment Relief Committee, has been able to raise only 18 million dollars after a spectacular drive supported by all the newspapers, this $3,060,000 burden unostentatiously assumed and carried out by one group of 11,600 workers is a thing of which the trade union movement may truly be proud.

THOSE OUT OF WORK now number well over 8 million, according to a conservative estimate; unemployment has increased by over 1,000,000 since January a year ago.

To care for these sufferers at once is a matter of life and death. Their resources are exhausted. We must plan now to feed, clothe and house them for the coming year.

Our relief provision has broken down; the question now is: Shall the unemployed depend on "invisible" relief or shall they have relief funds from the Federal Government? To do without Federal aid means placing a crushing burden on those least able to bear it. It means a colossal increase in sickness, mental disease, starvation, death, widespread moral breakdown. Federal relief means placing the burden, through taxation, on those best able to bear it; taxing the incomes of men who have made fortunes from the work of those now unemployed.

HOLDING BACK THE TIDE OF UNEMPLOYMENT DISTRESS
Six-Hour Day or Five-Day Week

Failure to Adjust Hours to Actual Work Needed True Basic of Unemployment

By J. F. L.

Realization that this adjustment is fundamental to business progress. A recent survey of methods used by different firms to prevent unemployment showed that 192 firms had shortened the work day or work week by February, 1931. A survey of representative firms by the Industrial Standards Corporation showed 75% favoring a shorter work week. 35% believing work hours per day should be shortened.

Workers Lose Eleven Billion Dollars

 Wage earners' income is now $1,000,000,000 below the 1929 level. This does not include losses of salaried workers. The total income of factory workers is now 37% below 1929, of railroad workers 35% below, and of the income of all wage earners, we estimate, has declined 32% below 1929.

Cost of living has declined only 12%; workers' actual purchasing power therefore is 23% below 1929. Allowing for the change in prices, the wage earners' loss is $7,000,000,000 in 1929 dollars.

This loss is a major factor in business development. No other single item in the record of business losses has had anything like the economic effect of this $1,000,000,000 decline in wage payments. Bank failures have caused panic, but actual deposits in all banks which failed in the year ending September 30, 1931, was less than one-seventh the amount lost by wage earners ($1,500,000,000). All business failures reported to Dunn's review in the same period involved only one-fifteenth the amount ($750,000,000). If the United States were to lose its present foreign trade, the loss would be less than half as great as the wage decline ($5,150,000,000 in 1929).

Psychological effects of wage cuts are serious to an extent far beyond the actual loss in dollars of buying power. Loss in morale of work forces cannot be measured in dollars, but it may cost thousands: falling wages like falling prices, keep buyers from placing orders and retard business activity. Workers, fearing wage cuts and unemployment, withdraw their money instead of spending it where it may stimulate trade. The hoarding of between a billion and a billion and a half dollars today is a serious handicap to business.

Organized Effort Averts a Panic

A month ago, business was on the verge of panic. Since then, the beginning of organized effort to meet depression problems has steadied the public mind. The president's credit organization to check bank failures has increased confidence at home; conferences between ministers of the leading nations have facilitated measures to deal with world problems and improved world confidence; the president's plan for a fund to liquidate frozen real estate investment is hailed as another constructive measure.

Business sentiment is distinctly better at present. Nevertheless, business activity has not moved upward and October was probably the lowest month. Several factors register changes for the better. The upturn in prices is important; for a continued general price rise is the signal for expanding activity. Wheat prices determine the buying power of a large portion of our farm population, and wheat prices in six American markets are moving rapidly upward showing a 50% gain since bottom was reached in mid-July. This price rise is fully justified, for a world crop shortage this year reduced expected wheat stocks by 200 million bushels, enough to more than use the 165 million bushel extra carry-over from last year.

In spite of these hopeful developments, difficulties still unsolved threaten at any time to swing the balance downward. Railroad problems are yet to be solved, influencing large investments; the building situation has not cleared; bank failures and business failures are still too numerous; most serious of all—the problem of European debts hangs like a storm cloud over world business.

European Debts—The Shadow in the Background

The problem of German debts, including both reparations and private investments in Germany, becomes continually more pressing. February will end the six months' agreement to prevent withdrawal of $3,000,000,000 of foreign short term investments in Germany. Of this sum, $900,000,000 is owed in America and $400,000,000 in England; some arrangement must be made to prevent its withdrawal which would cause a new crisis in Germany. In June 1923, the war debt moratorium will end and the world has as yet no plan for reparations payments which Germany could meet.
Whither English Labor?

It is futile to attempt to disguise the fact that the result of the British elections was a staggering blow to Labor. Yet, I am inclined to believe, that under the circumstances, the outcome was not entirely unexpected. The rank and file of the British workers, no doubt, had cooled off materially in parliamentary fervor before the last election and they were in a mood to accept a great many of the misrepresentations of the capitalist press and politicians.

But on the other hand, the experience of the leaders of the trade unions with MacDonald, Snowden and Thomas must have also convinced them that their rule was of little benefit to the organized labor movement. A very significant instance of this failure of the Labor cabinet to respond to the real needs of the trade union organizations during the whole period it held power, was its negative attitude towards the persistent drive by the Trades and Labor Congress and Labor Council to amend the Trades Disputes Act of 1926. For, while it is universally accepted that the proposal to slash the social services was the direct cause of the downfall of the Labor Government, the fact must not be lost sight of that the failure of the Labor cabinet to secure an amendment of that act had laid the ground for the subsequent break between the trade unions and the MacDonald group.

Labor Bitter Towards MacDonald

For several months prior to the end, charges had been freely hurled at MacDonald, Snowden, Thomas and Margaret Bondfield in trade union spheres to the effect that they were playing into the hands of the enemies of Labor by their half-hearted support of the amendment sponsored by the General Council of the Trades Union Congress. In fact, the Council accused MacDonald of attempting to evade responsibility to the Congress and to Labor in general. In April of last year, the executive officials of several important trade unions had sent out letters to their memberships in which they definitely stated that the Premier seemed to be more concerned in prolonging the life of the Administration than in saving the life of the labor unions. In radical circles it was broadly asserted that MacDonald had arranged a "dubious compromise" with the Liberals for their return to support. And when MacDonald was called upon by the Council of the Congress to give an explanation of his attitude toward the amendment of the Act, he was reported to have said that he was more concerned in legislating for the whole of the people than for a section of it.

An explanation of two very important clauses in the Act may enable the American reader to understand how gravely it affects the British Labor organizations.

Law Would Empty Political Chest

The Trades Disputes Act, passed by the Tory (Baldwin) government in 1926, places severe restrictions upon the assessment of political levies in that it stipulates that no member of a union be required to contribute to the political fund unless he delivers a written notice of willingness to contribute and has the option of withdrawal at any time he chooses. "No moral pressure or mass intimidation must be exercised." This clause compelling union members to declare their "willingness" to pay the levy and the forced withdrawal of the civil service unions from the Congress, combined with other causes, resulted in reducing the party membership by one and a quarter million. So sure was the Baldwin government that it was nearing checkmate that it even threatened to install representatives of the Home Office to supervise and count all votes in union elections.

The last section of the Act indicates that its sponsors were determined to take no chances, for, under the heading of "Restraint of Application of Trades Union Funds, etc.", it states: "Without prejudice to the right of any person having a sufficient interest in the relief sought, to sue or to apply for an injunction to restrain any application of the funds of a trade union in contravention of the provisions of this Act, such an injunction may be granted at the suit of the applicant to the Attorney General." This section alone places British Labor in a perilous position. The last words of this section imply that it is not really necessary for the "injured party" to approach the courts, but to forward the complaint to the Attorney General. The latter may then, at his discretion, grant the injunction. Under the Act, an injunction may be issued to restrain any attempt to interfere with strike-breaking activities, and, at the same time, to tie up the funds of the striking union.

Fear of Reprisal Evident

It is true that only a small number of prosecutions have been undertaken until now and very few injunctions granted. This may be because of fear of political reprisals—a tacit recognition of the political potency of British Labor. But there is an ever-present danger, now that the sheltering arm of the Labor Government is removed, that a hostile Attorney General can do much to keep Labor in subjection. In the last Parliament, the Liberals succeeded in forcing the retention of the clause penalizing general and sympathetic strikes.

Nevertheless, despite the present formidable handicap, it is quite clear that the British trade unions especially are prepared to fight back resolutely. Should the muffled shot of capitalism attempt to descend upon them too roughly, the unions are holding out well together and their morale is but slightly impaired. Declarations from important labor bodies appear to indicate that hereafter more attention would be given to them by the economic side of their organizations. The feeling, moreover, is general that organized labor has been too much subordinated to political activity on a reformist basis.

As a beginning, it is quite likely that the Labor Party will be cleared of a good deal of its middle-class leadership. There may be less attempts from now on to compromise with capitalism. It is to be economic labor using the political field to advance the cause of Socialism. This may appear to be rather a hasty departure from the policy of the Labor Party under the leadership of MacDonald but it, nevertheless, is the inevitable change. The Labor Party will be used principally as the political instrument to further and legalize the economic demands of the working class.

Coalition Doomed to Failure

When we say that the defeat suffered by Labor in the last election should be viewed only in the light of a temporary setback, account must be taken of conditions confronting British Labor as a whole emanating from the policies of the present Nationalist Cabinet. As a matter of plain fact these conditions are in essentials very little improved over the conditions which have prevailed since the close of the world war and the period ending with the fall of the first Labor cabinet. Unemployment has fluctuated, but rarely has it been below the one and three-quarter
50,000 Visit Union Health Center

That illness among workers was greater in 1931 than in any of the nineteen preceding years covered by the experience of the Union Health Center. This was reported by Dr. George M. Price, director of the Center, at the recent annual meeting held at the organization headquarters, 131 East 17th Street.

"The favorable mortality statistics of 1931 are deceptive," Dr. Price declared. "Later we may read in the death rates the outcome of present prevailing ill-health. Our experience in the Union Health Center shows that during 1931 there was more sickness among workers than ever before in our nineteen years of existence. Some of the ills which our patients complain are due directly to undernourishment and malnutrition. A large group of cases includes victims of neurasthenia and nervous depression caused by anxiety over the loss of work and the patients' inability to support their families. All trades seem to be affected, but especially the garment, printing and building trades."

The Union Health Center, owned by or affiliated with forty labor unions in the New York district, recorded a total of more than 50,000 visits to its medical and dental departments in 1931. The Center is supported by nominal fees from patients and grants from the affiliated unions. Unemployed workers, who are cared for without charge on recommendation of the secretary of their organization, are represented 10 per cent of the total attendance. Income for the year was $115,716; expenses, $124,628, leaving a deficit of $8,912 due to the free care of patients who were without work. "A large number of those who have paid out nominal fees seem to be at their last resources," Dr. Price added.

Dr. Michael M. Davis, Director of Medical Services of the Julius Rosenwald Fund of Chicago, was the speaker at the meeting, which was attended by representatives of labor and health organizations.

Unity House Reunion
Dance and Oriental Buffet Dinner
SUNDAY AFTERNOON
February 28th, 2 P. M.
at
GRAND CENTRAL GARDENS
480 Lexington Avenue near 48th St.

We will all be there at the UNITY HOUSE REUNION on Sunday, February 28, at 2 P. M., L. L. G. W. U. members with their families and friends, Unity House guests, artists and lecturers.

Not merely to bring together the host of our vacation friends, but to introduce a fresh note, a something different into this REUNION, a something which will leave a different memory behind.

We will dine—buffet style. We will dance to the lilting tunes of Norwood and His Radio Artists. We will renew the intimacies and friendships of past seasons.

The largest and finest ballroom in this city exclusively for Unity's guests and friends.

To cover expenses the admission charge will be $1.00 (includes Oriental Buffet Dinner, Program and Dance). The Arrangement Committee is eager to accommodate our members and Unity House guests first. We, therefore, suggest that tickets be obtained in advance at the L. L. G. W. U. Building, 3 West 16th Street, telephone—Chelsea 3-2148. Reserve Sunday afternoon, February 28, for a pleasant time. Arrange your friends to do the same.

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.

FANNIA M. COHN
The Month in Local 10

By SAMUEL PERLMUTTER

Dress Conferences Deadlocked

From all appearances the prospects of reaching a settlement with the different associations in the New York dress industry are fast vanishing and a general strike seems almost inevitable.

The demands submitted by the Union to the dress employers, among them a schedule of minimum earnings based on each part of the garment, have been rejected. At the last conference with the Affiliated Association, most of the time was devoted to the consideration of this demand, but the employers refused to consider it and the conference adjourned without results.

Mass Meeting of Dressmakers on Thursday, Feb. 4, at Mecca Temple

The Union, meanwhile, is completing all preparations for a general strike.

The Dress Joint Board has called special meetings for the purpose of organizing a general strike committee to complete the arrangements for the impending conflict.

One of the immediate steps taken preparatory to the strike is a general mass meeting, which is to be held at Mecca Temple, on Thursday, February 4.

At that meeting a final report of the present situation on the dress industry will be submitted by the leaders of the Dress Joint Board and of the International, among them President Schlesinger, Secretary-Treasurer David Dubinsky, and several others.

Preparedness Meeting of Dress Cutters, Feb. 1, at Arlington Hall

The Executive Board of Local 10 at its last meeting, after hearing the report of Manager Samuel Perlmutter relation to the present situation in the dress industry, which stressed the point that the attitude of the dress employers is making a settlement impossible, decided to call a special meeting of all dress cutters for Monday, February 1, at Arlington Hall.

At that meeting, a volunteer committee of cutters will be organized for the purpose of conducting organization work as an important preparatory move before the general strike.

As it is probably known to a good many members of Local 10, two years ago, shortly before the general strike in the dress industry, Local 10 was very active in organizing the cutters in many dress shops, which subsequently settled with the Union either independently or as members of the various associations.

Organization committees of cutters, under the supervision of Local 10, actively engaged in this particular work, had not only proved successful in organizing cutters but were also instrumental in forcing a great number of dress manufacturers to join the associations.

This time as well, the cutters must repeat this feat by immediately organizing themselves into large committees to conduct effective organization work.

At the February 1 meeting, the cutters will have the opportunity to volunteer for this service. The General Manager of the Dress Joint Board, Julius Hochman, who will be one of the speakers at this special meeting, will outline the various plans formulated by the Dress Joint Board.

Against the Non-Union Cutting Departments

More than ever before, Local 10 is now faced with the problem of the non-union cutting departments, in most of which men are employed under substandard conditions.

During the last season little work in organizing these dress cutters was possible owing to the fact that these cutting departments did not operate in full force. At this time, however, when a general strike seems unavoidable, it is very likely that these firms operating non-union cutting departments, will start working in full capacity. It is, therefore, imperative that organization work in this field start immediately.

To meet this problem Local 10 has already started an investigation to ascertain existing conditions in these cutting departments, and action will be taken wherever conditions warrant same.

We call upon all members of Local 10 to report at the office immediately and supply to Brother Ostsky all information regarding the non-union cutting departments they have on hand.

Effective Organization Work at Bryant Hall

While general strike preparations in the dress industry are under way, an organization campaign has been launched by the Dress Joint Board with headquarters at Bryant Hall.

At the last meeting of the Dress Joint Board a definite plan of organization activities was decided upon. A committee consisting of representatives of the various locals comprising the Joint Board was designated to assist in this work.

Special Meeting for Strike Tax on February 8

While a great deal of attention is being paid in our ranks to present events in the dress trade, the Cloakmakers' Joint Board is on the alert with regard to any emergency that might arise in the cloak trade.

Some two months ago, the director of the Industrial Council, representing the "inside" cloak manufacturers forwarded a communication to the leaders of the Cloak Joint Board and of the International asking for a conference to discuss, among other things, the question of week work, to which President Schlesinger replied that there is still ample time for such conferences to be held.

The Cloak Joint Board, as well as the active workers at large, being fully aware of the motives behind this communication, is now making every possible effort to provide against any further moves on the part of the employers. One of the most important weapons of a fighting union is a strike or a reserve fund.

And so, the Joint Board, at its last meeting, decided to recommend to the membership a $15 strike tax. A special meeting of Local 10 will be held for this purpose on Monday, February 8, at Arlington Hall, 23 St. Marks Place. A big attendance is expected.

Cutters Warned Against Working Overtime

As the spring season is approaching, requests for overtime are coming in from many cutters.

The Executive Board, at the last meeting, unanimously decided to make a strict investigation of the overtime matter and ruled that wherever cutters would be found working overtime without permission severe disciplinary action should be taken. Cutters are, therefore, cautioned against working overtime.

There is really no need for stressing this point at this time when so many hundreds of cutters are unemployed. The only effective way by which we may alleviate unemployment to any extent is by placing cutters wherever there is room for them. The members are, therefore, requested at this time to give whole-heartened cooperation in carrying out this policy to the fullest possible extent.

Any member of Local 10 found hindering the work of the office by working overtime without permission will be summoned before the Executive Board and held to strict accountability.

(Continued on next page)
The Month in Local 10
(Continued from preceding page)

Cutters to Take Out Working Cards

A recent investigation in the cloak and dress trades reveals activity in quite a number of cloak and dress shops. Cutters are, therefore, reminded that upon securing jobs, or upon returning to work in their old shops, working cards must be taken out immediately. Failure to live up to this rule will constitute a grave violation, especially at this time when a thorough checkup of employment is being made owing to the coming strikes in the cloak and dress trades.

Employers Again Attempting To Exact Reductions

One of the most important problems the Union is confronted with at present is that of reduction of wages which the employers seek to exact by hook or crook. In the last few weeks, quite a number of employers had sent their work outside because the workers in their employ refused to submit to wage reductions.

The Cloak Joint Board and its Board of Directors have been busy of late considering many requests from workers to grant reductions of wages on the claim that unless this is done their employers would starve them out.

The Board of Directors, however, decided that no reductions be granted unless employers would agree to the following two conditions: (1) That no reductions shall affect the scale of wages, and (2) that a reduction may only be granted in consideration of a time guarantee.

While Local 10, up to the present time, has had no difficulty in fighting off wage reductions, no assurance exists that the employers would not make renewed attempts to reduce the wages of their cutters. The cutters are, therefore, instructed that whenever pressure is brought upon them by their employers, to immediately report the case to the office and prompt action will be taken to protect them.

The Cutter's Union, on several occasions in the past, has made its position very clear with regard to reduction of wages by declaring that there is no justification on the part of the employers to demand reductions as the vast majority of the cutters barely earn a living. Any attempt on the part of the employers to reduce wages will be met with determined and vigorous opposition.

Cutters Compensated in Lieu of Re-Organizations

As a result of the reorganizations made by some firms due to failures and dissolutions, the following firms were forced to compensate the cutters who have lost their jobs.

Margolin & Stein, 512 7th Ave. Reorganized the factory, and some nine workers, including one cutter, were dismissed. The cutter in question received $300 as compensation.

Dworesky Bros. & Lewis, 512 7th Ave. Dissolved partnership. Among other workers who were dismissed was one cutter. The cutter in question received $300 as compensation.

Cahn & Wile Co., 270 West 28th St. Reorganized their cutters, three of whom received three weeks' wages as compensation.

The case of H. Heller & Co., 500 7th Ave., became complicated owing to some misunderstanding between the Union and the firm. Originally, this firm requested re-organization on the ground that they were moving to smaller quarters and, therefore, could no longer employ the entire force of workers. At a meeting of the workers of that shop, it was agreed to grant the firm re-organization provided the workers falling out would be given four weeks' pay. During the negotiations between the Union and the firm, the shop chairman of this firm accepted two week's pay for each worker who was to be dismissed, and told the workers that Brother Moser, manager of the Industrial Council Department of the Joint Board, had agreed to this settlement. The workers accepted the money apparently satisfied with the result. A few days later, however, a meeting was called again at which they rejected the settlement claiming that the original understanding was that they receive four weeks' pay. A committee of the aggrieved workers appeared at the Joint Board and requested that this matter be taken up for readjustment. Brother Nino, acting general manager, upon hearing the request of the workers, declared a stoppage in this shop. When the Imperial Chairman Alger ordered the workers to return to the shop, the matter was again taken up, with the result that additional two weeks' pay was obtained for these workers.

Cases Decided in Favor of Local 10

Among the cases submitted to the Imperial Chairman for final verdict were those of the Banner Cloak, 1370 Broadway; J. Kirkeborsk, 132 West 28th St., and M. Schenkowke, 301 West 28th St.

In the case of the Banner Cloak, the firm refused to re-engage cutter Pincus Kostin, claiming that on a few occasions the cutter in question was asked to come in to work and he refused to do so. The Union, however, denied this. The cutter stated that he never refused to come in when called to work. A representative of the Merchants' Association, to which this firm belongs, refused to re-nait Brother Kostin. The matter was then referred to Imperial Chairman Alger, who decided that Kostin must be reinstated.

The other two cases tried were both of the same character. The Union filed a complaint against both firms for doing their own cutting and demanding a fine of one week's pay, as provided for in that agreement.

Attention

CUTTERS OF LOCAL TEN

The meetings for the following month will take place in the order as herein arranged.
1. Special Membership Meeting MONDAY, FEBRUARY 5, 1932
2. Regular Membership Meeting MONDAY, FEBRUARY 29, 1932

All the above meetings are to be held in Arlington Hall, 23 St. Marks Place, at 7:30 P. M. Cutters are urged to attend without fail.

Books will be stamped signifying attendance and the $1.00 fine for nonattendance will be strictly enforced.

Attention

Cutters of Local Ten

A Special Membership Meeting, for the purpose of adopting the Strike and Organization Tax for the Cloak and Dress Strikes, will be held MONDAY, FEBRUARY 5, at ARlington HALL, 23 St. Marks Place, at 7:30 P. M.

All Cutters Are Urged to Attend Without Fail

Attention

Miscellaneous Branch

Tuesday, February 16, 1932
International Auditorium

A Regular Meeting of the MISCEL Laneous Branch will take place TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 16, 1932 at the INTERNATIONAL AUDITORIUM, 3 West 16th St., at 7:30 P. M. sharp.

All Children's Dress and Underwear Cutters are to attend this meeting.

No letter will be sent informing you of this Meeting, this is therefore, your NOTICE.