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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*.
Editorial Notes

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

THE BANK AND BOND Loan Liquidation Assessment was ratified by a vote of nearly four to one. Four thousand one hundred and ninety-six voted for it and 1,104 voted against it.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

How the Locals Voted on the $3.75 Assessment

At a special meeting of the New York members of the General Executive Board, held on October 5, General Secretary-Treasurer David Dubinsky read the report received from the locals which took part in the vote on the $3.75 assessment to pay off the debt which the International owes to the closed International-Madison Bank and the debt on the Reconstructing Bond Loan of 1928.

Origin of Debts

The debt to the Bank dates back to 1926, when the Communists had called out the New York cloakworkers into a disastrous general strike which ended in defeat. The obligation contracted at that time amounted to nearly $500,000, but the International has since paid off the major part of this debt. It owes the Bank now $143,600, and the State Banking Department which is liquidating at present the affairs of this bank demands immediate payment.

The second, bond loan debt, is three years old, contracted at the time the international had undertaken to rebuild the New York cloak and dress organizations ruined by the Communists. This debt amounts to $140,000. The money raised by this bond loan was spent in organization activity and in the preparations for the general strikes of the cloakworker locals in the Summer of 1929 and of the dressmakers in the Winter of 1930.

Four to One Favor Tax

In the balloting on the $3.75 assessment, 5,364 members of the Union took part, of whom 4,196 voted for it and 1,168 voted against it. The following locals reported the result of the balloting:

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<th>Locals</th>
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<th>Against</th>
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<td>New York</td>
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<td>Baltimore</td>
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<td>Philadelphia</td>
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<td>Phila. No. 50</td>
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<td>St. Louis</td>
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<td>Toronto</td>
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<td>47</td>
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<td>57, 77, 85, 87, 171, of Long Island and Connecticut</td>
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Several locals in and outside New York, failed to call meetings on time.

Before October 1, as per instruction of the General office, and their related returns were not included in the referendum tabulation. In Cleveland, the Joint Board and the executive boards of all locals held a meeting and voted that each member work a day and a half during October for the Union, this to be used as a reserve defense fund of the International. From this fund, it was also decided, the General office would receive $3.75 per member to cover the International tax.

MUTUAL AID LEAGUE
SEEKS MORE MEMBERS

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

This organization is made up of members bound together to aid each other in getting jobs and to lend money without interest. Founded in 1926 as a stay and support for the conscientious objectors of those days, it has continued as the place to which radical and liberal workers can turn when they are broke or out of a job. A revolving fund has been built up from returnable deposits. Unemployed members list themselves for vacancies as they occur. During the past year over 500 jobs were filled and $12,500 loaned. All this was done by a small organization of 600 members, operating on dues of $5 a year.

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

By CHARLES KREINDELER
Secretary Cleveland Joint Board

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Union Raises Defense Fund

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

On Monday, October 5, a meeting of all the delegates to the Joint Board, all Executive Board members and shop representatives was held. Bridge Friend presided at this meeting. Brother Katerisky explained to all present the status of the pending negotiations with the employers. The matter was thoroughly discussed and the stand of the leaders was approved by all present, only one voting against it. The second question at this meeting was financial preparedness. The Committee realized that we couldn't come to the members with an assessment for the international and a separate assessment for Cleveland. It, therefore, decided to combine the two into one and...
recommended that the assessment should
be on the following basis:
Brother Berkman, chairman of Local
43 and member of the Agreement Com-
mitee, recommended that every member
be assessed with one and one-half day's
pay. He argued that by doing so every
worker would contribute according to his
ability to earn. The members, there-
upon, adopted the recommendation of
Brother Berkman, which means a day
and one-half assessment for all workers
in the industry. Due to the present
emergency, it was decided that one day's
wages of this tax be collected during
the fourth week in October.
Locals 25 and 27, the operators, prac-
tically unanimously accepted the assess-
ment, only four members voting against it.
At the meeting of Women's Local
No. 29, the recommendation was ac-
ccepted by a good majority. Cutters
Local, No. 42, Pressers' Local, No. 37,
and Tailors' Workers' Local, No. 44,
adopted it unanimously.

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

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

WORKERS' DAYTIME
CLASSES
Columbia University Extension
Miss Eilida Worthington Smith, direc-
tor of the Affiliated Summer Schools for
Women Workers in Industry announced
plans for two new classes in economic
history to be given this winter.
These courses, known as Workers'
Dartime Classes, under Columbia Uni-
versity Extension Department, are open
to all interested men and women work-
ers irrespective of previous schooling.
As in other years two courses are of-
fered, one advanced and one element-
ary scope, and the fees of tuition
will in all cases be covered by scholar-
ships.

The instruction will be given by Miss

Union Health Center News

By PAULINE M. NEWMAN

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

Look After
Your Children
"School Days," said Health Commis-
sioner Wynne, "and health days should
be hands side by side." Parents have been
urged to have their children looked over
by a physician before they return to
school—or soon thereafter. All health
authorities advise the importance of
having your children's eyes and teeth
examined, and to see whether they are
in as good a physical condition as they
ought to be.

The Medical as well as the Dental De-
partments of the Union Health Center
invite you to make use of their well
equipped facilities and bring your chil-
dren for an examination. The cost for
a physical examination is only one dol-
lar, and examinations in the Dental De-
partment are made free of charge. A
visit now may prevent much pain, trou-
ble and expense later on.

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

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

Classes will be held at 14 East 37th
Street where registration commences
Tuesday, October 18th at 7 P.M. As
large an increase in registration is ex-
pected as last year showed over the
previous year. There is every sign of a
growing public interest in study for its
own sake without the incentive of de-
grees and credits.


Statement of the ownership, management,
circulation, etc., required by the Act of
Congress of August 24, 1912, of "Justice,"
published monthly at 19 Montgomery Street.
New York City, for October 1920, State of New
York, City of New York.

Before me, a Notary Public in and for the
State and county aforesaid, personally ap-
pointed, David Dubinsky, has been duly
sworn according to law, deposes and states
that he is the Secretary-Treasurer of the In-
ternational Ladies' Garment Workers
Union of the Children of "Justice." The fol-
lowing is, to the best of his knowledge and
belief, a true statement of the ownership,
management of the above publication for the
date shown in the above caption, required
by the Act of August 24, 1912, embodied in
section 43, Postal Laws and Regulations,
providing for the reverse of this form, to wit:

1. That the names and addresses of the
publisher, editor, managing editor, and busi-
ness managers are: Publisher, International
Ladies' Garment Workers Union; 19 Monto-
gomery St., Jersey City, N. J.; Editor, New
York City, N. Y.; Managing Editor, none.
Business Managers, none.

2. That the owner is: International Ladies'
Garment Workers Union; 19 Montgomery St.,
Jersey City, N. J.; President, E. N. D. Schriever;
President, 19 West 23rd St., New York City, N. Y.
David Dubinsky, Secretary-Treasure, 19 West
16th St., New York, N. Y.

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

4. That the two paragraphs next above,
giving the names of the owner, stockholders,
and security holders, if any, contain not only
the list of stockholders and security holders
as they appear upon the books of the com-
pany but also, in cases where the stockholder
or security holder appears upon the books of
the company as trustee or in any other
character, the name of the person or corpo-
ration for whom such trustee is acting is
given; also that the said two paragraphs
contain statements respecting the owner's
full knowledge and belief as to the circum-
stances and conditions under which stockholders
and security holders who do not appear upon
the books of the company as owners of stock
and securities in a capacity other than that
of a bona fide owner; and this affidavit has
no reason to believe that any other person,
partnership, or corporation, direct or indirect,
holds a larger interest in the said stock, bonds,
or other securities than as stated by him.

David Dubinsky,
Secretary-Treasurer.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this
(My commission expires March 30, 1921)
Union Problems in Toronto

By ABRAHAM KIRZNER
Vice-Prev., Joint Board Organizer

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

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

Fall Cloak
Season Poor

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

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

The Next Agreement

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

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

The Sweat Nests
Must Go!

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

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

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

The Intellectual Progress of Capitalism

Drawn for "LABOR" by John M. Bear

BUSINESS IS BAD
WE MUST CUT WAGES

1790 1873 1893 1907 1921 1931
Run O' The Month

The Vancouver Convention, after having voted down the proposal for unemployment insurance, has put forth a virile program for the abolition of unemployment. Frankly, we might even forego the demand for unemployment insurance, if one might show us how this program could be realized.

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

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

The Federation proposes that President Hoover call a conference of employers and labor to deal directly with these demands. But is it rational even to anticipate that, unless assured of a preponderant influence, employers of labor would participate in any degree of sincerity in a congress which might seem to them of their vested privileges and seriously threaten profits? And should even an industrial claim pass such or similar measures, what power of enforcement would it have unless clothed with the sanction of State or national legislation?

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

Former Secretary of Labor Davis hopped up at the A. F. of L. convention in Vancouver as another implacable enemy of unemployment insurance as an economic measure "not in keeping with the spirit of the United States.”

Davis, who is now a senator from Pennsylvania, a Mellon-Altoeley property, in the Eastern part of the United States, spoke with some heat about the wage reductions recently made by the Steel Trust and other big corporations. He failed, however, to mention that these self-same wage-cutting companies, operating on a big scale in his own State, have for generations worked hand in hand with the Republican oligarchy of Pennsylvania, his own party. His solution for the industrial crisis is contained in the advice to "turn back to the Golden Rule and away from the law of the jungle" in business and finance. What this truth actually means, probably neither he nor any of the delegates who listened to him would venture to explain in simple English.

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

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

We are paying enormous toll at the gate of modern civilization. Half of our hospital beds is filled with the mentally afflicted, insane, idios, the feeble-minded or senile. True, life is being prolonged at both ends, and mass-destroying diseases have largely come under control. But the rapid pace of a mechanized age is breaking us mentally before we reach the zenith of life. Worry, says Dr. Mayo, not work is the keynote of modern existence, insecurity is its bane and tormentor. It sap's the brain, taints our outlook on life, colors our relations towards our fellow men. Worry over the next day's subsistence, worry over one's job, in ninetynine-eighths of a hundred cases controlled and owned by others. Dr. Mayo's analysis may be perfect, but what of a cure? The great surgeon is silent over that. If modern civilization holds out nothing but the prospect of a world going mad with insecurity of living under an insane and outworn economic system, what about supplanting it with a system which worry should play the least important role? It is the world we live and work only five per cent of the people at the age of sixty-five have independent means while the other nine-tenths must fall as a charge upon public, private or family doles, isn't such an economic and social system basically vicious and bankrupt?

The Hoover Emergency pool for financial relief may primarily be a bankers' enterprise, as some observers are prone to view it, a move to check a serious threat to the stability of the dollar abroad, on the one hand, and an effort to halt the movement for withdrawal in gold of American investments by large British investors, on the other.

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

Manufacturing and commerce in the United States has not been hit primarily because of shortage of credit. The tightening of credit came on later, after the crisis had already set in. The industrial break is chiefly the result of stagnating underconsumption of commodities, both industrial and agricultural, which glut the domestic market, and which we are unable to export. As long as we produce more than we are permitted to consume, these crises must recur with over greater frequency and virulence. Wage cuts and even credit pools will get us nowhere. Only a shorter work-day and high wage standards that would leave the purchasing power of the working masses of the country unemployed could pull us out of the economic morass into which we are sinking.

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

Those "revolutionists" who maintain that the German workers should have voted against the democratic coalition which is holding up the republic against the Fascists and monarchists on the ground that they "have nothing to lose," need only take a look at what has become of the once powerful Socialist and Labor movements of Italy since the Fascists usurped power in that country, to convince themselves what a valuable ally
NOVEMBER, 1931

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

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

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

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

We are convinced, however, that the warnings of the Borahs, Butlers and the Smiths will fail to penetrate deeper than the skin of the hard-behled leaders of American industry and finance. Leadership is still more concerned today with engineering wage-cuts and the deflation of the wage-earners "high" standards of living than with fundamental social changes that might seriously threaten their profits.

THE "CONSTRUCTIVE" WAGE cuts initiated last month by the Steel Trust and General Motors are already showing their wicked effect. In a dozen cities, it is reported, these wage slashes have slowed up all business and broken thousands of storekeepers. Yet, we are told by the master minds of industry that further wage "adjustments" would help to restore prosperity. Obviously that is the best the leadership has to offer and inherently bankrupt system may offer us in this panic of plenty. There seems to be too much of everything everywhere except buying power. Back of it all is the explanation that too much of the national income goes into the hands of a few. In 1939, according to government figures, 35 men had a net income greater than many millions than the entire sum paid that year to 418,000 workers in the mills producing cotton goods. In 1954, 504 men—including the 35—made enough clear profits to buy the entire wheat and cotton crops of the United States in 1930 at farm prices.

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

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

Union Items from Montreal

BY ISRAEL FEINBERG, Manager Montreal Joint Council

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

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

Contract Renewal Near

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

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

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

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

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

How the System Originated and How It Works

By JAMES E. GORMAN

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

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

First Act Tainted By Pauperism

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

The first Unemployment Insurance Act was experimental in character. Seven trades were selected, and these, because of their subjection to seasonal and cyclical fluctuations were: building, construction of works, shipbuilding, mechanical engineering, forwarding, vehicle construction and saw-milling. About 2,500,000 were thus compulsorily insured. The financial contributions of the three parties: State, worker and employer were relatively small, and it was quickly noted that the rates were inadequate to take care of the pressing cases. Between 1912 and 1923, seven major acts were passed, increasing the contributions respectively, thus providing greater benefits to the beneficiaries, and also extending the period of relief. By 1923, Unemployment Insurance had become universal, and over 12,000,000 workers were compulsorily insured. The employers waged a tremendous fight for a contracting-out clause, which would have seriously weakened the structure of Unemployment Insurance if successful. Their efforts, however, achieved a few exemptions, which did not produce any important change.

Employers Fight Insurance

The great employers' organization known as the Federated British Industries, meanwhile, kept peering away at the principle of state compulsion, and when the Baldwin (Conservative) government succeeded in 1922, it gave the employers a chance to annul the Unemployment Insurance Act. Almost immediately, the Baldwin government commenced to undermine the Unemployment Insurance Act, and this in spite of the fact that the Amendment Act of 1920 was passed to stem the tide of fierce discontent. In the House of Commons debate George Lansbury said that the law on Unemployment Insurance in its present form was introduced in 1920 "not so much in order to safeguard the lives of the workers and their families as—to use the words of Lord Derby—in order to prevent revolution." In 1922, Lansbury, "all the workers serving in the army were included in the number of those insured because the government was at that time not quite sure that there were not turnouts which might be a offset to the liking of the government." Very strong language, indeed, for Lansbury, but anyone with real knowledge of the situation knew that he was making no exaggeration. The Conservative attack was centered not on amendment of the Act but rather to its total repeal, because it was well known that unemployment insurance strengthened the opposition of the workers to any further lowering of wages.

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

Five Million Spent Weekly

Great trouble has arisen since the 1920 Act. It was believed by many industrial and financial experts that Britain's industrial depression would soon be over. To the contrary, the depression continued, and at the present time it appears to be as bad as ever. Today, over 3,000,000 workers are officially certified as unemployed. Consequently, the fund set up by the separate contributions has long been depleted. This state, therefore, has been compelled the machinery of unemployment. It is estimated that the cost to the exchequer for 1939 will amount to nearly 200 million dollars, and for 1941, 500 million dollars weekly.

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

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<th>Age Group</th>
<th>Men</th>
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<tr>
<td>21 and 65</td>
<td>14 cents weekly</td>
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<td>26 and 60</td>
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<td>65 and 60</td>
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When these insured persons are unemployed they draw weekly rates of benefits as follows:

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<tr>
<th>Age Group</th>
<th>Men</th>
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<td>21 and 65</td>
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<td>3.50</td>
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<tr>
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<td>0.25</td>
<td>0.20</td>
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In addition to the above payments, allowances are made of nine shillings for adult dependents and two shillings for each child. Many enlightened employers are setting up separate shop unemployment...
CONCENTRATION IN AMERICAN INDUSTRY, by Dr. Harry W. Laidler, published by Thomas Y. Crowell, New York.

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

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

In our public utilities, one corporate system controls three-fourths of the nation's telephones, one corporation possesses about three-fourths of the telegraph business, another dominates the field of radio. A few great holding companies and investment trusts are now dominating the electrical field. In our natural resources, one corporation owns more than half of the iron resources of the country. One corporation controls over 90 per cent of the timber resources in the world. Another, the Aluminum Company of America, possesses over nine-tenths of the nation's bauxite, raw material used in the production of domestic aluminum.

Four great concerns control the major part of the country's copper; eight concerns, closely allied with the railroads, own about eighty per cent of our anthracite coal.

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

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

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

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

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

The Freedom for Tom Mooney Movement

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

The first action of this committee was the calling of a conference, which was held on September 29, that was attended by representatives of about a hundred labor organizations, and the holding of a successful demonstration on Union Square on October 16. Resolutions were adopted at that meeting to stop patronizing California products and the Olympic Games to be held in that state next year. It also approved the sending of messages to President Hoover, asking him, as a California resident, to use his high office in helping to free Tom Mooney and Warren Billings, and a resolution was sent to Governor Rolph of California.

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

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

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

The second Tom Mooney conference of representatives of the labor movement will be held on Friday evening, November 20, in the L. L. G. W. U. Building 3 West 16th Street. The details are called upon to send delegates.
With The N. Y. Dressmakers' Union, Local 22

By MAX BLUESTEIN,
Secretary-Treasurer, Local 22

The Season is Over:
Back to Idleness

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

All Hope Is Not Lost

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

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

Outline of Tentative Demands and Modifications

“ar the present state of our organization and its membership are largely attributable to the following causes:

1. Inability to settle prices for piece workers because of the absence of a basic schedule of pay for piece workers.
2. Irresponsibility of employers with regard to the sending out of work to outside shops.
3. Excessive measure of freedom enjoyed by Association employers, which renders our Union helpless in the face of flagrant abuses and violations.

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

1. Basic Rate for Piece Workers

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

2. Settlement of Prices

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

3. The Right to Strike

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

4. Definite Guarantee of Minimum Scales

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

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

5. Limitation of Contractors

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

6. Equal Distribution of Work Among Contractors

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

7. No Saturday Work

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

8. Extra Compensation for Overtime

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

9. Unemployment Insurance

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

10. Abolition of Paragraph 20

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

11. The Right to Visit Our Shops

Without an Association Clerk

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

12. Limiting the Right of Discharge

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

13. No Work Before Settlement of Prices

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

Program

Well Received

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

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

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

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

Two-Thirds of Pressers in Union

In a recent article in "Justice," we have told of a movement for organization started among the Philadelphia dress pressers after the presser members of Local 50 had been transferred to Local 71, the regular pressers' organization in this city. As we stand at present, we can boast of a 75 per cent organization among the dress pressers already, Local 71, working under the leadership of its executive board and its organizer, George Rubin, are spreading out to all the dress shops. Every week new members are enrolled, and although industrial conditions are still adverse some improvements in prices were, nevertheless, affected in a number of shops. This, in itself, has served as a stimulant for attracting and gaining more members almost daily.

Dress Presser Division Installs Officers

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

An installation meeting was held on October 19, at which the majority of the union pressers in the dress shops were present. Committees from all the locals affiliated with the I.L.C.W.U. in Philadelphia came to greet the new organization of dress pressers. Congratulations were made by Ben Karp, chairman of the Cloth Joint Board, and by Abraham Bloomfield, secretary of the Dressmakers' Union, Local 50, and by Brodsky, representing Local 2, the operators. The meeting was presided over by Brother Kaplan, who is the chairman of Local 71. The writer performed the ceremony of installation. A spirit of enthusiastic readiness not only to build up a complete organization in the dress pressing trade but also to help build a hundred per cent dressmakers' union in Philadelphia, was manifest throughout the meeting. This installation marks a new epoch in the life of the dressmakers of Philadelphia.

Cutters Join Activity Plans

It may also be of interest to relate here that the Cutters' Branch of Local 50, at its last meeting, appointed an organization committee to work together with the executive board of the branch on a plan for future organizing activities, so that when the spring season comes the cutters might be found prepared to improve their work conditions in the cutting rooms of the dress shops and strengthen numerically their branch.

With these two relatively small, though very important crafts lined up, the dressmakers expect soon to form a large organization committee to embrace the entire waist and dress trade of Philadelphia and start important organization work.

Old Age Pension System Economical

"Old age security legislation has proved a more economical method of dealing with the individual aged indigent person than the poorhouse whose eventual abandonment these days are causing," says Abraham Epstein, executive secretary of the American Association for Old Age Security, in summarizing a survey of the operation of old-age pension laws, in the seventeen States where they are now effective.

"Old-age pensions have not proved burdensome to the taxpayer," continues Epstein. "The conditions of the aged in the old-age pension States have been considerably improved. This legislation has proved beneficial in the present crisis. "In New York State, in spite of the fact that the average pension is as high as $35 in the city of New York, the average pension for the State as a whole is still about $20 a month cheaper than the cost of a housekeeping allowance."

Epstein said the dire prophecies made by opponents of old-age pensions that large numbers would seek the bounty of the State were disproved by the facts he had gathered.

"That old people are, on the whole, scrupulously honest and give all the information to the investigators is evidenced by the fact that of about 7,000 applications acted upon during the first year in California, less than 100, or only about six in every hundred, were denied."
In Chicago Dress Market

BY BERNARD SHANE
General Organizer

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

My first impressions, I confess, were not altogether encouraging. I found that there are in the Chicago dress shops a lot of obstacles in the way of a successful organization drive. I learned that many of the workers who had gone through the last general strike here—in 1924—were still disillusioned, some of them even nursing grievances against former officers of the Union. The internal struggle which the Chicago dressmakers had to live through also left its mark upon many workers. I also discovered that due to the disorganized condition of the industry and the inability of the Union to help the workers in the past few years, there had grown up among the dress pressers a so-called "Independent" club to which a considerable number of pressers belong. And while this club is supposed to be a sort of a neutral organization, I, nevertheless, found out that it has been for some time under the influence of the organizer of the local Communist clique. It became therefore obvious to me that it would be impossible to do effective organizing work among the pressers unless this club is eliminated.

A Fertile Field Despite Obstacles

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

For example, the crisis we are going through. The dress employers in Chicago, who are just as disorganized as the dress pressers, for instance, have cut wages to the bone. The best dress operators here can no longer earn more than $2.50 or $3 a day. Minnows are working for as low a price as $7 or $8 per week. Pressers who used to get thirty-five and forty cents for a dress are now getting 12½ to 15 cents per dress. Cutters' wages have been slashed, in the past two years, from ten to fifteen dollars per week, and some of them are not getting paid for overtime, let alone getting time and a half as in the past. The cutter is never sure of his job as a result of the strike. Many of them work overtime while many others are idle. The unemployed are always on the lookout for a job and they are not particular, it seems, if some one is forced to make room for them. In many shops the employers themselves, or their salesmen, shippers and sweepers, are cutting up material, displacing in this manner a lot of former cutters.

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

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

The Drive Is On in Earnest

Most of the disillusioned, the critical and the chronic complainers should have learned by now what it means to work under non-union conditions. We have all the reasons to believe that they will join the Union in large numbers after the Union has carried on some active agitation. That our optimism is not exaggerated is given support by the already successful beginning of the campaign. Within the short time of my stay here we have had a couple of well-attended meetings of Local 106. A number of non-union people came to these meetings and they promised their support. We also had two meetings of the dress cutters' branch which was well attended by union and non-union workers alike. Every one of those present not only promised to become a member of the organization but pledged in addition to solicit every cutter in their firm to join the Union.

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

Two campaign circulars issued and distributed among the dressmakers have not only been favorably accepted, according to reports, but have created a lot of interest in the shops. I received an invitation to a camp meeting in a neighboring town.

Hymen Bros. Workers Tender Flowers to Organizer

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

On Tuesday evening, October 15, all the Hymen Bros. workers assembled at headquarters and, between sandwiches and warm talks, presented the new organizer, meaning myself, with a bouquet of flowers. All pledged themselves to join the organization drive by giving all their spare time to the Union, by soliciting new members for the local. I need not to say that I was greatly moved by this fine genuine union sentiment and by the apparent willingness to help form a strong dressmakers' union in Chicago.

Readers of Justice

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

By SAMUEL PERLMUTTER

Emergency Assessment Unanimously Adopted At Big Meeting

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

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

Manager Perlmutter told the assembly of the circumstances which led up to the decision of the General Executive Board. He called attention to the Union's indebtedness to the International-Madison Bank which dates back to the disastrous general clock strike in 1916. At the beginning of that strike, Brother Perlmutter declared, a loan of $600,000 was made by the bank to the Joint Board. Since then the loan was reduced by the International to $143,000, and it was hoped that in the course of another three years this debt would be paid in full. Unfortunately, however, the International-Madison Bank was closed by the New York State Banking Department and we were ordered to pay up the balance at once.

Another important obligation the International is faced with, and which must be paid if the dignity and reputation of our Union is to be maintained, Brother Perlmutter explained, is that of the bond issue floated by the International shortly before the general strike of the clockmakers in 1919. During that period, Brother Perlmutter continued, the International, as a result of the many financial burdens inherited from the Communist administration of the Joint Board, was rendered penniless, and this bond loan had to be issued to make it possible to reorganize the Union. Various local, joint boards, as well as thousands of members and many outside labor organizations and individuals sympathetic to the cause of labor, subscribed to this bond loan. Local 10, in particular, subscribed to a large share, over 700 of its members having subscribed cheerfully to about $30,000, leading every other local affiliated with the International in this respect.

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

Bro. Dubinsky States Case for Tax

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

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

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

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

Miscellaneous Cutters Ratify Pact with Underwear Employers

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

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

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

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

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

The employers, however, finally decided to concede the demands of the cutters' representatives and agreed to establish the $42 and $45 minimum wage scales, which means a 10 per cent flat increase in wages, a minimum of $35 per week for assistants and of $45 for mechanics, a 5-day week and six and a half legal holidays with pay, as prevalent in the clock market.

The tentative settlement was thereupon unanimously carried.

Fisher & Reiter Remit $400 Back Pay

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

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

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

(Continued from preceding page)

to place additional cutters and were under the impression that under such circumstances they would not have to pay the higher rate for overtime.

At first, the Association was inclined to defend the firm. The office, however, informed the Industrial Council that, unless back pay is remitted, this matter would be referred to the Imperial Chairman. Subsequently the case was submitted to the Chairman. The firm, however, elected to settle the matter, and, after negotiating for some time, remitted back pay amounting to $40.

William Badger Forced To Reopen Factory

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

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

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

Equal Division of Work Presents Odd Problems

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

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

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

It can also be said with regard to division of work that this rule is enforced not to the strict letter of the law in nearly all cases. There are odd problems, however, that require special attention.

We refer to such cases as appeared lately in the office involving the firms of Ben Gerahel, Delmonte & Hickey, Phil Marquette, Jacobs & Jacobs, and others. The Delmonte & Hickey case presents such a typical complication.

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

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

Dress Joint Board Making Preparations for Agreement Renewal

The agreement between the Joint Board and the various associations in the Dress Industry is about to terminate. The Joint Board leadership is now making preparations to modify the agreement so that best suit the conditions affecting the workers in the trade.

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

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

ATTENTION

Cutters of Local 10

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

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

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

All the above meetings will be held in ARLINGTON HALL, 23 St. Marks Place, at 7:30 P. M.

Cutters are urged to attend these meetings without fail.

Books will be the good signifying attendance and the $1.00 fine for non-attendance will be strictly enforced.

ATTENTION

Cutters of Local 10

A Special Member Meeting

for the purpose of nominating officers for the ensuing term of 1932, will be held on

Monday, November 30

at Arlington Hall

23 St. Marks Place

at 7:30 P. M.

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

The cutters are, therefore, instructed to live up to their tradition and be sure to be present at this meeting on time.