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International Ladies Garment Workers Union (ILGWU)
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Comments
*Justice* was the official publication of the International Ladies’ Garment Workers’ Union ILGWU from 1919 to 1995. Editions of Justice were published in English, Italian, Spanish, and Yiddish. When compared side by side, the content of some of these different editions of *Justice* shows significant differences. This is the English-language edition of *Justice*.
The General Strike of the New York dressmakers is a foregone conclusion. It is now only a matter of days before the great walkout of the dress workers actually takes place. The machinery of the strike is being geared for proper action. The strike committees have been elected, the halls have been hired, the advance mass meetings are taking place, and the strike literature is flooding the dress market streets.

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

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

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

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

From now on the eyes of our members will be turned toward the next big event in the life of their organization—the 31st convention of the International Union, to be held in Philadelphia, next May.

Three Months Hence—We doubt if ever during its long existence the rank and file, and the leadership, of our International were as eager for a convention as they are today. Nearly two and a half years have passed since the last convention in Cleveland, and that is an unusually long stretch of time between conventions in our organization. And during this intervening period we have passed through a number of crises, faced a number of disturbing conflicts, inside and outside the Union, which have ripened into organizational and industrial problems of first-rate magnitude demanding solution and adjustment. A convention in the life of our Union serves more than one purpose. It is a parliament that enacts industrial policies and legislate into existence new laws governing organizational conduct. It settles disputes of judgment and responds to the mandate of the majority of the membership by placing at the helm of the organization those best capable to represent it. But a convention is also a clearing house where opinion of all shades and variety may freely be heard, where grievances may be aired unhampered and the true will of our workers take shape and form.

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

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

Settlements in Cleveland and Toronto

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

In the New York Cloak Joint Board

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

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

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The Auction Block

What the Dressmakers of New York Will Strike Against

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

By BENJAMIN SCHLESINGER,

President, International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union

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

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

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

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

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

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

For whom are these shops working?

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

Today, the number of these sweat shops has reached 1,300. It is a fact, that they exert, to a large extent, a degrading influence on the earnings and the work hours in the entire industry. These shops are a curse upon the workers and upon the legitimate employers alike. They drive the fair-minded manufacturer and jobber out of business and spread poverty and misery among the workers.

The Workers in the Dress Sweat Shops

Who are the workers employed in the sweat shops? They are honest people, but fear-haunted and intimidated; they are men and women who fail to understand the importance of organization; people who do not believe in their own strength; people who do not believe that they have any strength at all.

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

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

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

The Role of the Jobber in the Dress Industry

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

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

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

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

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

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

They speak of Stabilization and Practice Chaos

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

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

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

The workers, are the only element which contributes every effort possible to bring order into our industry. We fought two years ago, ten years ago, twenty years, fifty years ago for humane work conditions in the apparel industry and against the infamous and harmful sweat shop system. Our general strike this year is also being called for this purpose.

The sweat shops are a curse on the workers and on the entire industry. They must be eliminated from our industry!

To Work and Live Like Human Beings

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

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

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

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

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

Among the Dressmakers of Philadelphia

The long awaited organization campaign in the Philadelphia waist and dress market has begun. About two weeks are a large meeting of all the members of the Union was called to form an organization committee of volunteers. One hundred and fifty members from both Locals, No. 59 and No. 71, accepted on the committee. Ben Kwep, veteran clock maker, who paid the chairmanship of this committee, and Abraham Bloomfield became its secretary.

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

Literature Campaign Started

The first leaflet was distributed throughout the trade last week. This leaflet explained to the waist and dressmakers of Philadelphia the aims and aspirations of the Union—that it seeks to achieve for them higher wages, shorter hours and all other Union conditions which would enable them to make a decent living. The leaflet also contained a manifesto that all the waist and dressmakers could join the Union for the low initiation fee of $2.15 during the organization campaign period.

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

Two Crafts Are Organized

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

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

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

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

It is Monday afternoon—President Schlesinger opens the meeting.

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

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

These efforts to nullify the $3.75 tax on the part of the three obstructionist locals, President Schlesinger comments, have obviously not tended to improve the financial standing and the credit of the Union, and in view of the fact approaching strikes, first in the dress and later in the cloak industries, the Union's efforts to raise strike funds through loans, are likely to be made much more difficult if not entirely impossible. But what is even infinitely worse, these tactics of obstruction and working at cross purposes have now created a deadlock situation within the New York Cloak Joint Board, where Brother Isidore Nagler, though unanimously elected by all the New York locals and by the Joint Board itself as its general manager, refuses to assume the responsibilities of that important office until he is definitely and beyond all doubt assured that he would meet with the unqualified cooperation of all its component locals.

In the face of the approaching conferences with the cloak manufacturers in New York, the face of the general crisis which has shaken our Industry to its very foundation, our Union can ill afford to suffer from disharmony and disunity in our own ranks. It weakens the power of the organization to resist the aggressive schemes of the employers who are getting ready to wrest from us some of the precious gains and work standards which we have established in our industries.

The next session—Tuesday morning—President Schlesinger calls upon Vice President Julius Hochman to report on the New York cloak situation.

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

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

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

Brother Julius Hochman reports on the
dress situation in New York.

The General Executive Board is, of
course, conversant with the general outlines of that situation, which is now ap-
proaching the strike stage. Since the
Philadelphia meeting, the Dress Joint
Board in New York had held confer-
ences with the employers that were
attended by President Schlesinger, Sec'y Dubinsky and by officers of the Joint
Board and local committees. The upshot
of these parties is that a strike in the
dress trade is inevitable. The only hope
for some stability in the dress shops and
for an improvement of work conditions lies in a greater organization of the in-
dustry and in the acceptance of uniform
union work conditions by all the employ-
ors in the industry. Like in the cloak in-
dustry, in the dress industry too, the
contracting shops with their cut-throat
competition, present the main source of
disorganization and chaos. The dress in-
dustry is overrun with day-by-night ir-
soluble contractors, veritable parasites
who prey upon the workers by compelling
them to accept miserable prices at the
threat of actual starvation.

The Dress Joint Board is now com-
pleting the machinery for the general
strike. Vice-President Hochman calls
upon the General Executive Board to give
the dressmakers its full moral and ma-
terial support for the coming strike.

Vice-President Luigi Antonini, general
secretary of the Italian Dressmakers'
Union, and one of the outstanding lend-
ers of the dress workers, reports sub-
stantially in a similar vein.

Vice-President Morris Bialis of Chi-
cago, is next.

The economic crisis has hit the Chi-
cago cloak trade during the past season
with a greater force than ever before.
There was less work in the shops, and a
number of cloakmakers were unemploy-
ed. In addition some old-established firms
had gone out of business, among them the
Kischbaum and the Palmer firms.

One of the major tasks of the Chicago cloak
organization during the past few months
was to create jobs for die members and to
place people at machines wherever possible. Vice-President Bialis spoke with
warmth concerning the fine fraternal

The Cloak Joint Board is in good work-
ing order, having renewed its agree-
ments with the cloak employers, prac-
tically on the same terms as last year,
except that here and there adjustments
had been made in lieu of some conces-
sions, meeting with the satisfaction
of the workers employed in those shops.

The Cloak Joint Board, besides, is
bending every effort to help the dress-
makers to organize their trade. The
dress shops in Philadelphia have been
at work now for nearly a month, and
the Union is taking full advantage of
this fact and is vigorously campaigning
for new members in the unorganized
shops. The new dress joint board, con-
sisting of delegates from Locals 50 and
71, the pressers, have now formed an
organization committee of 150 persons,
which is concentrating on the bigger silk
dress shops in the city to unionize them.

The pressers in the dress shops are now
nearly all organized, and a considerable
number of cutters are also enrolled in
the Union.

On the whole, Brother Reisenberg re-
ports, the situation is quite promising,
except, of course, that neither Local 50
nor the cloak organization would
plunge into a general strike movement
unless they felt certain that they

Both the United and the American
Crocheters Union, and one
another with

President Halperin and the

Boston has not escaped the effects of
the depression, as seen from the fact
that several important dress firms had

The agreement in the cloak and dress
trade in Boston will shortly expire, on
February 15. The Boston Joint Board is,
therefore, getting ready to begin con-
ferences with the employers, and there
are rumors afloat in the local market
that the Union would encounter consider-
able difficulties in renewing the exist-
ing agreements. The arrival of Vice-
President Halperin, upon assignment
from the General Office, to take the
place of Brother Amdur who resigned
as the manager of the Boston Joint
Board and to help Vice-President Philip
Kramer in his work, has brightened up
the local situation considerably. The
Boston organization is suffering from
lack of funds, and Brother Halperin is
devo ting himself to a great extent to
meeting this problem. He reports
that a number of Boston members, no-
tably the cutters, have volunteered to
loan the Joint Board $15 each, and they
expect to raise from this source a si-
nable sum, that would tide over the
organization during this critical period.

At a mass meeting two weeks, which
packed one of the largest workers' au-
ditori ums in Boston, a group of “suits”
tried to create some trouble but was sub-
dued and the meeting later proceeded
in good order. On the whole, the Com-
munists still are a meddlesome and an-
noying element in the Boston dress
market, and the Union must figure that
they might attempt to create a good
deal of mischief in the event of a strike.

Toronto report comes next.

Vice-President Kirzner tells of the
constant fighting in that city for the
past half year and of shop strikes which
have consumed a lot of money and ef-
fort. The General Office time and again
was called upon to help the Toronto
Joint Board to carry on these shop
conflicts against at times non-union em-
ployers. The organization, on the whole,
consists of a virile and good union ele-
ment, but has met with a lot of bitter
opposition on the part of employers.

Next month the agreements in the cloak
trade will expire and the Union will
quite likely have to consider a stoppage
in the cloak shops in order to get
through a renewal of the agreements.

In view of this possibility, Brother Kir-
zner asks the G. E. B. to sanction a cloak
walkout in Toronto.

Vice-President Elias Reisenberg is called
upon to report on the condition of the
dress and cloak organizations of Phila-
delphia.

The Cloak Joint Board is in good work-
ing order, having renewed its agree-
ments with the cloak employers, prac-
tically on the same terms as last year,
except that here and there adjustments
had been made in lieu of some conces-
sions, meeting with the satisfaction
of the workers employed in those shops.

The Cloak Joint Board, besides, is
bending every effort to help the dress-
makers to organize their trade. The
dress shops in Philadelphia have been
at work now for nearly a month, and
the Union is taking full advantage of
this fact and is vigorously campaigning
for new members in the unorganized
shops. The new dress joint board, con-
sisting of delegates from Locals 50 and
71, the pressers, have now formed an
organization committee of 150 persons,
which is concentrating on the bigger silk
dress shops in the city to unionize them.

The pressers in the dress shops are now
nearly all organized, and a considerable
number of cutters are also enrolled in
the Union.

On the whole, Brother Reisenberg re-
ports, the situation is quite promising,
extcept, of course, that neither Local 50
nor the cloak organization would
plunge into a general strike movement
unless they felt certain that they
could obtain at this moment the full support of the International, and that is a matter for the G. E. I. to decide.

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

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

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

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

General Secretary-Treasurer David Dubinsky presents his report for 1931. We shall not undertake to cite here the tables presented by Brother Dubinsky. That, in all probability, will go into convention report as part of the financial and membership report of the I. L. G. W. U. for the whole period since the Cleveland convention in December, 1929.

Suffice it to say, nevertheless, that the report, by its completeness and excellent presentation, produced a fine impression upon the members of the G. E. B. The membership census in particular, the first census covering an entire year since the record department was established in the General Office, left little to be desired for the thoroughness with which it was gotten up.

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

Secretary Dubinsky went over in detail the full list of obligations still owed by the international to various banks, organizations and individuals, stressing the fact that the international was unwilling to notify the holders of the Reconstruction Bond Loan of 1929 that it was unable to meet payment at this time and that the May convention would be called upon to find means for meeting this obligation. Had the collection of the $375 assessment proceeded normally, as it should have, the financial situation of the Union would have been, of course, in a much more favorable condition and its borrowing ability very, very much stronger. Unfortunately, the policy adopted by a few New York locals towards this assessment has given too much money. It has had much to do with impeding the financial standing of the Union as a whole and of affecting its bank credit.

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

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

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

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

Committees appear.

A committee from Local 91, children's dressmakers of New York, headed by Brother Harry Greenberg, came asking for the endorsement of a strike in their trade to be called simultaneously with the general strike of the dress workers.

Greenberg stated that Local 91 has been conducting a strike agitation in the children's dress shops for several weeks and that they had gained the cooperation of the Trade Union League in this drive. The League, in fact, has loaned them the services of Miss Sadie Reisch to help in the campaign.

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

Brother Greenberg, who is the international's representative in the office of Local 91, the ladies' nation in New York, also headed a committee from that local. As manager of Local 91, Greenberg gave a brief account of the condition of that organization, stating that it finds itself today in a sound financial and moral condition and exercises rigid control over the union shops. A handful of Communists still manages to create trouble at union meetings. Fortunately, the majority of the members of Local 91 is on to their antics and the "bite" of these dealers is by far less effective than their bark.

A committee from Philadelphia, representing both Local 56 and 71, appears and requests help for the impending drive in the Philadelphia dress shops, an account of which had previously been given by Vice-President Reisberg. The committee is headed by Brothers George Rubin and Ben Karp, both of them cloakmakers, but at present very earnestly engaged in assisting the campaign of the dressmakers. Both Karp and Rubin eloquently presented the cause of the dressmakers and spoke of substantial gains already made in this drive. Brother Karp declares to the G. E. B. that they "had started the work and got things in
Decisions of G.E.B. Meeting

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

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

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

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

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

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

Request for endorsement of strike in New York tucking and pleating industry: Referred to New York Board.

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

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


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

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

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

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

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

By MAX D. DANISH

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

MAHATMA GANDHI is in jail again.

This is Gandhi’s third imprisonment, each time under different circumstances. This time, frail figure of the Hindoo leader is once again bent over the spindle as from his prison cell he directs a popular movement against a mighty ruling nation.

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

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

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

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

In the railroad shippers’ strike of 1919, Judge Wilkerson issued one of the most disgraceful injunctions against the railroad unions that ever came from the Federal bench. That injunction, obtained from Wilkerson by Harry Daugherty, then Attorney General of the United States, deprived the shippers of their elementary rights as American citizens.
and threw all the influence of the Government on the side of the railroad owners.

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

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

AN ITEM from "Labor" reads:
"'Collier's Weekly" is authority for the statement that between June 30, 1930, and June 30, 1931, the number of privately owned sea-going yachts in this country increased from 3,315 to 3,682. This is a gain of 267, or about 8 per cent.

"A sea-going yacht is agreed to be the most expensive plaything in the world. It costs a fortune to start with, and takes the income of a much larger fortune to maintain and use. It is the most undemocratic form of luxury; for it requires large numbers of people to spend their lives catering to the wishes, or whims, or vanity of a few."

"Yet, in our good country, supposed to be free and democratic, the number of these wealth-sapping toys increases 8 per cent a year while hundreds of thousands of people stand in the breadlines and millions are out of work."

"And still we are told that it would be wrong to tax the ultra-rich to provide money for public works that will employ the idle."

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

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

tax, by the way, was assumed voluntarily by the members of the big printers' local by a vote of four to one.

Up to date the monetary disbursements given out by "Big Six" to its jobless members during the current depresion period has already aggregated the sum of $3,960,000. As we consider that the whole City of New York, through its Emergency Unemployment Relief Committee, has been able to raise only 18 million dollars after a spectacular drive supported by all the newspapers, this $3,960,000 burden unostentiously assumed and carried out by one group of 11,600 workers is a thing of which the trade union movement may truly be proud.

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

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

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

HOLDING BACK THE TIDE
Six-Hour Day or Five-Day Week

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

By J. F. L.

About 7,000,000 workers are now unemployed; the usual December lay-off throws 450,000 farm workers out of employment and 125,000 from industry, making an increase of 600,000 from November.

Although unemployment has been increased by business depression, the major problem left by the last decade has been to adjust work hours to the actual work time needed in our industries. Improved methods have reduced the time necessary to do the nation's work but work hours were not reduced correspondingly.

In our factories, the average work week in 1919 was 52 hours. In 1929, with modern machinery and methods the average workman needed only 34 hours to do the task which had taken him 52 hours ten years before. Even with the 42 percent increase in manufacturing production, this saving of work time meant an actual reduction of 36,000,000 man-hours' work per week. Yet average work hours in our factories were reduced only from 52 to 56. Similarly, in other lines of work—mines, railroads, agriculture—work time has been drastically reduced, but no corresponding adjustment of work hours has been made.

35 Hours Would Give Everyone Jobs

Average work hours in all industry were 51 a week in 1919; they were reduced only to 49 a week in 1920. But actually at the present time there is only 35 hours a week for all wage earners if every man and woman who wants a job is to have one. Because work hours have not been adjusted as work time was shortened, unemployment increased by about 1,000,000 persons from 1920 to 1929. Comparing 1921, a prosperous year with 1929, an even more prosperous year, unemployment had increased by about 900,000. Approximately 1,000,000 were out of work in 1923 and approximately 2,400,000 in 1922.

Clearly, business must face this fundamental adjustment. If there is only 35 hours' work a week for all wage earners in the United States, the only sound economic policy is to adjust work hours accordingly. This involves universal adoption of either the six-hour day or the five-day week.

Industry cannot sell its product because buying power is inadequate; six and a half million workers cannot buy because they have no income. Give these workers jobs by adjusting work hours and they become customers.

The movement for shorter work hours is under way, but it needs the drive of realization that this adjustment is fundamental to business progress. A recent survey of methods used by different firms to prevent unemployment showed that 42 firms had shortened the work day or work week by February, 1931; the Department of Labor reports 673 establishments operating permanently on the five-day week basis in 1931; more recently a survey of representative firms by the Industrial Standards Corporation showed 47% favoring a shorter work week, 35% believing work hours per day should be shortened.

Workers Lose Eleven Billion Dollars

Wage earners' income is now $11,000,000,000 below the 1929 level. This does not include losses of salaried workers. The total income of factory workers is now 37 percent below 1929, of railroad workers 25 percent below, and the income of all wage earners, we estimate, has declined 33 percent below 1929. Cost of living has declined only 12 percent; workers' actual purchasing power therefore is 23 percent below 1929. Allowing for the change in prices, the wage earners' loss is $9,000,000,000 in 1929 dollars.

This loss is a major factor in business development. No other single item in the record of business losses has had anything like the economic effect of this $11,000,000,000 decline in wage payments. Bank failures have caused panic, but actual deposits in all banks which failed in the year ending September 30, 1931, was less than one-seventh the amount lost by wage earners ($1,500,000,000); all business failures reported to Dun's review in the same period involved only one-fifteenth the amount ($750,000,000). If the United States were to lose its foreign trade, the loss would be less than half as great as the wage decline ($5,150,000,000 in 1929).

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

Organized Effort Averts a Panic

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

Business sentiment is distinctly better at present. Nevertheless, business activity has not moved upward and October was probably the lowest month. Several factors register changes for the better. The upturn in prices is important; for a continued general price rise is the signal for expanding activity. Wheat prices determine the buying power of a large portion of our farm population, and wheat prices in six American markets are moving rapidly upward showing a 55 percent gain since bottom was reached in mid July. This price rise is fully justified, for a world crop shortage this year reduced expected wheat stocks by 206 million bushels, enough to more than use the 155 million bushel extra carry-over from last year.

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

European Debts—The Shadow in the Background

The problem of German debts, including both reparations and private investments in Germany, becomes continually more pressing. February will end the six months' agreement to prevent withdrawal of $1,300,000,000 of foreign short term investments in Germany. Of this sum, $600,000,000 is owed in America and $400,000,000 in England; some arrangement must be made to prevent its withdrawal which would cause new crisis in Germany. In June 1932, the war debt moratorium will end and the world has as yet no plan for reparations payments which Germany could meet.
Whither English Labor?

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

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

Labor Bitter Towards MacDonald

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

Fear of Reprisal Evident

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

Law Would Empty Political Chest

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

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

Today and Tomorrow

BY JAMES E. GORMAN

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

Coalition Doomed to Failure

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

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

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

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

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

Unity House Reunion

Dance and Oriental Buffet Dinner
SUNDAY AFTERNOON
February 28th, 2 P.M.

GRAND CENTRAL GARDENS
480 Lexington Avenue near 48th St.

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

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

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

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

To cover expenses the admission charge will be $1.00 (includes Oriental Buffet Dinner, Program and Dance).

The Arrangement Committee is eager to accommodate our members and Unity House guests first. We, therefore, suggest that tickets be obtained in advance at the L. L. G. W. U. Building, 3 West 16th Street, telephone—Chelsea 3-2148.

Reserve Sunday afternoon, February 28, for a pleasant time. Advise your friends to do the same.

Readers of Justice

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

Dr. Marion Phillips

Dr. Marion Phillips, Chief Woman Officer of the British Labor Party, former member of Parliament, and editor of "The Labor Woman," died on January 23 in London, at the age of 51. In her death, the British labor movement sustains a great loss, and her passing will be mourned by the Labor and Socialist movements of the continent. Her brilliant mind, devotion and executive ability she placed unselfishly at the disposal of the Labor Movement.

Dr. Phillips was an able speaker and a still able writer. Whenever and wherever a conference was held, in England or on the Continent, whether a trade union, socialist or worker's education assembly, Marion Phillips' voice was heard and her vitality, energy and dash felt. Her appeal at the Second International Conference on Workers' Education held in Rustkin College, Oxford, England in 1924, "that woman be encouraged through Workers' Education to take their place in the Labor Movement" was thrilling.

Her life's efforts left its impress—Marion Phillips did not live in vain, and as brutal as her untimely death is, we shall find consolation in the fact that there will be many women ready to continue the work to which she dedicated her life.

FANNIA M. COHN

Weak Measures Will Not Help

All in all, British capitalism and other vested interests are beginning to think that they can only survive by forcing labor into complete subjection. For several years a movement has been in the making in England which has as its object the eventual establishment of a Fascist type of government. Thus far, the British legion, the English Fascist organization, has made scant progress among the British workers. To the contrary, working class idealism is becoming internationalized in England.

The failure of the Nationalist government appears inevitable. England is industrially too sick to be cured by panacea. It will take violent doses of legislative medicine to put her back on her feet. It may be necessary to curb the power of the banking interests by nationalizing the banks; to uproot the English land system; to abolish the monarchy and the paralyzing aristocracy; and to clean away all the other impediments which clutter the road of progress and the nationalization of the principal industries of the nation.

As the revamped political movement gets under way, a new leadership will be called for. In my judgment it will be impossible for MacDonald, Snowden or Thomas or any of the British Labor Party. British Labor never forgets nor forgives.

Justice
The Month in Local 10

By SAMUEL PERLMUTTER

Dress Conferences Deadlocked

From all appearances the prospects of reaching a settlement with the different associations in the New York Dress industry are fast vanishing and a general strike seems almost inevitable. The demands submitted by the Union to the dress employers, among them a schedule of minimum earnings based on each part of the garment, have been rejected. At the last conference with the Affiliated Association most of the time was devoted to the consideration of this demand, but the employers refused to consider it and the conference adjourned without results.

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

The Union, meanwhile, is completing all preparations for a general strike. The Dress Joint Board has called special meetings for the purpose of organizing a general strike committee to complete the arrangements for the impending conflict.

One of the immediate steps taken preparatory to the strike, is a general mass meeting, which is to be held at Mecca Temple, on Thursday, February 4. At that meeting a final report of the present situation on the dress industry will be submitted by the leaders of the Dress Joint Board and of the International, among them President Schlesinger, Secretary-Treasurer David Dubinsky, and several others.

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

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

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

As it is probably known to a good many members of Local 10, two years ago, shortly before the general strike in the dress industry, Local 10 was very active in organizing the cutters in many dress shops, which subsequently settled with the Union either independently or as members of the various associations. Organization committees of cutters, under the supervision of Local 10, actively engaged in this particular work, had not only proved successful in organizing cutters but were also instrumental in forming a great number of dress manufacturers to join the associations.

This time as well, the cutters must repeat this feat by immediately organizing themselves into large committees to conduct effective organization work. At the February 1 meeting, the cutters will have the opportunity to volunteer for this service. The General Manager of the Dress Joint Board, Julius Hochman, who will be one of the speakers at this special meeting, will outline the various plans formulated by the Dress Joint Board.

Against the Non-Union Cutting Departments

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

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

To meet this problem Local 10 has already started an investigation to ascertain existing conditions in these cutting departments, and action will be taken wherever conditions warrant same. We call upon all members of Local 10 to report at the office immediately and supply to Brother Orestsky all information regarding the non-union cutting departments they have on hand.

Effective Organization Work at Bryant Hall

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

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

Special Meeting for Strike Tax on February 8

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

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

The Cloak Joint Board, as well as the active workers at large, being fully aware of the motives behind this communication, is now making every possible effort to provide against any further moves on the part of the employers. One of the most important weapons of a fighting union is a strike or a reserve fund. And so, the Joint Board, at its last meeting, decided to recommend to the membership a $15 strike tax. A special meeting of Local 10 will be held for this purpose on Monday, February 8, at Arlington Hall, 23 St. Marks Place. A big attendance is expected.

Cutters Warned Against Working Overtime

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

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

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

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

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

Cutters to Take Out Working Cards

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

Employers Again Attempting To Exact Reductions

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

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

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

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

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

Cutters Compensated in Lieu of Re-Organization

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

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

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

Cahn & Wise Co., 370 West 23rd St. Re-organized their cutters, three of whom received three weeks’ wages as compensation.

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

Cases Decided in Favor of Local 10

Among the cases submitted to the Imperial Chairman for final verdict were those of the Banner Cloak, 1370 Broadway; J. Kirkebush, 130 West 28th St., and M. Shkolnik, 310 West 28th St.

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

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

Attention
CUTTERS OF LOCAL TEN
The meetings for the following month will take place in the order as herein arranged.
1. Special Membership Meeting MONDAY, FEBRUARY 5, 1932
2. Regular Membership Meeting MONDAY, FEBRUARY 29, 1932
All the above meetings are to be held in Arlington Hall, 23 St. Marks Place, at 7:30 P. M.
Cutters are urged to attend without fail.
Books will be stamped signifying attendance and the $1.00 fine for nonattendance will be strictly enforced.

Attention
Cutters of Local Ten
A Special Membership Meeting, for the purpose of adopting the Strike and Organization Tax for the Cloak and Dress Strikers, will be held MONDAY, FEBRUARY 5, at ARLINGTON HALL, 23 St. Marks Place, at 7:30 P. M.
All Cutters Are Urged to Attend Without Fail

Attention
Miscellaneous Branch
Tuesday, February 16, 1932
International Auditorium
A Regular Meeting of the MISCEL-
LANEOUS BRANCH will take place TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 16, 1932 at the INTERNATIONAL AUDITORIUM, 3 West 16th St., at 7:30 P. M. sharp.
All Children’s Dress and Underwear Cutters are to attend this meeting.
No Letter will be sent informing you of this Meeting, this is therefore, your NOTICE.