

"My righteous-
ness I hold fast,
and will not let
it go."

—Job 27.6

JUSTICE

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE INTERNATIONAL LADIES' GARMENT WORKERS' UNION

"Workers
of the world
unite! You
have nothing to
lose but your
chains."

Vol. VI, No. 15.

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Price 2 Cents

Daugherty and Daughertism

Harry Micajah Daugherty is no more a member of Coolidge's cabinet. Harry Daugherty is now ex-Attorney General.

President Coolidge has finally dismissed the all-powerful Daugherty from office. We plead guilty to a feeling of genuine satisfaction when we learned the news. Public opinion has forced the President of the United States to accede to its dictates. At last the political trader who converted the Department of Justice into a bargain counter; who suppressed the railway shopmen's strike with indescribable brazenness, wrapping himself all the while in an American flag; who persecuted every nonconformist as a criminal and traitor—this gentleman has at last received his due.

Our outraged sense of justice is satisfied. Daugherty's downfall means to all of us a personal triumph, not unmixed with a feeling of appeased revenge against this person who for years has trampled justice under his feet in the name of the law. But isn't our triumph a little too premature and is it entirely justified?

Read President Coolidge's letter to his "dear Attorney General"; then consider the fact that the President is dismissing his "dear Daugherty" not because the Attorney General had committed something which violated the precepts of honesty and equity; then read further in that letter the President's express avowal that he "does not doubt his honesty" but that he finds it inconvenient for himself, in view of the pending investigation of Daugherty's conduct, to have him as a member of the Cabinet; consider all this, and you will be forced to reach the conclusion that it was not the outraged public opinion of the country that has triumphed in this case but the political expedient of removing the black sheep Daugherty from the public limelight so that he might not injure the ambition of Coolidge to be elected President for a full term next November. Coolidge dismissed his faithful servant, Daugherty, it is true, but he did it with a feeling of deep regret and with undisguised pain.

And when you consider this thing fully, you must admit that Harry Daugherty was a true servant to the Republican party which rules the land. True, he protected and aided profiteers and showed remarkable tenderness for offenders and malefactors among the high and mighty in the world of Big Business and Finance. But, pray, wasn't this precisely the reason why, of all the other lawyers in the country, Daugherty was picked to be Attorney General?

And did not these high and mighty "honestly" earn the protection which they received? Wasn't it their money which helped the present Republican Administration to come into power? Could Daugherty have been expected to act differently from the way he did act unless he was ready to lay himself open to charges of breach of faith from the "angels" of his party? Could his party ever have expected to run million-dollar campaigns if it made enemies of these generous contributors to the party war-chest?

In this sense President Coolidge is quite right in asserting that Daugherty's "honor" is beyond question. Daugherty performed his duty faithfully, no doubt. His department protected the big contributors to the Republican election funds, but, of course, that was part of the bargain. He persecuted organized labor in its fight against capital—but that, too, was one of the principal functions of the Department of Justice. Daugherty would not have remained a month at his post, had he sided with the workers against their masters or prosecuted in real earnest the big malefactors and swindlers.

And now that Daugherty's place will be occupied by another, can it be reasonably expected that he will, in any degree, be different from his predecessor? Of course not. Daugherty may be gone but Daughertism is still fast in the saddle. Should the railway shopmen go out on strike again, Daugherty's successor can be relied upon to plague them with injunctions just as Daugherty did. Let some other big scale swindlers—who happen to be generous contributors to the Republican campaign fund—be caught in the tentacles of the law, and you rest assured that the Department of Justice will do them no harm.

It is quite likely that Daugherty's successor will conduct himself with greater tact and not in such a barefaced, crude manner as Daugherty did. But whoever might be his successor, he is bound to follow his footsteps. It is surely not Daugherty who polluted the Department of Justice; a department of justice founded upon the putrid basis of class interests cannot help being anything but a pool of corruption and iniquity.

S. Y.

All Other Union and Trade News on Page Two

Protective Association Receives Union Demands

President Sigman and Morris Hillquit Submit Union's Program to Manufacturers—Association Promises to Examine Demands and Make Reply in Near Future

On Monday evening, March 31, the first conference between representatives of our Union and a committee from the Cloak, Suit and Skirt Manufacturers' Protective Association took place at the Hotel Pennsylvania. The Union was represented at this conference by the same conference committee which met with the representatives of the Merchants Ladies' Garment Association on Wednesday, March 26. A full report of the conference with the jobbers is given on page 3 of this issue.

Chairman Jablow of the Protective Association opened the meeting with a brief, friendly talk and introduced President Morris Sigman of the International as the first spokesman for the Union. President Sigman then stated the purpose of the conference committee: "We, the Union and the manufacturers, both have for some time past overlooked that harm has been done to the industry. We come to you with a plan to overcome the harm that has been done and to make impossible any further harm. We hope that the Protective Association will, as a result of these negotiations, maintain its past leadership in the industry."

He further declared that, after long and deliberate discussions, the Union had agreed upon a constructive program and that this program is just as valuable and important for the employers as it is for the workers, and he ended up with an appeal that the program of the Union be received by the Manufacturers' Association in the same spirit of general welfare for the whole industry, in which it was formulated.

President Sigman thereupon distributed to all the representatives of the Association copies of the Union's demands. Morris Hillquit, attorney for the Union, after a brief preface, read the Union's memorandum. Essentially it is the same program of demands as was submitted to the jobbers' association on Wednesday, which our readers will find on page 3 of this issue. A few changes, however, were made to conform to the different position of the manufacturers as com-

pared with the jobbers in the trade. The part added in the memorandum submitted to the Protective Association reads as follows:

"The program thus submitted by us to the jobbers applies with equal force to the branch of the industry represented by your members, except for a few minor features which arise from the difference between the methods of production prevailing in the establishments of your members and those of the Merchants Ladies' Garment Association. While the latter are exclusively jobbers and do not operate inside factories, some members of your association produce garments exclusively in their own establishments while a majority of them manufacture part of their product on their own premises and produce the balance through the medium of contractors and sub-manufacturers."

"Insofar as the latter method is followed by members of your association, all proposals made by our Union to the Merchants Ladies' Garment Association under points 1, 2, 3, 4, and 5 apply to them; the remaining proposals hold equally good for all members of your association, whether they manufacture their merchandise in inside shops, or both."

"It goes without saying that we shall expect those of your members who operate inside shops to come up at least to the standards provided for contractors and manufacturers, i. e., that their manufacturing establishments consist of at least fourteen operators exclusive of sample makers, with a corresponding complement of workers of the other branches of the industry."

"The collective agreement between our respective organizations which is about to expire has, in our opinion, proved unworkable in some minor points and unfair to the workers in others. Our Union reserves to itself the right to propose proper amendments of such points in subsequent conferences between us with the understanding, of course, that your association will

(Continued on page 2.)

G. E. B. in Final Session Before Convention

In conformity with the rule of the Constitution requiring the General Executive Board to meet one month before the biennial convention, the Board will meet in New York City beginning Monday, April 7, to pass upon the final draft of the report to be submitted by it to the next convention and to wind up all other outstanding matters prior to the biennial gathering of our Union.

The Board will also pass upon a report from the committee on conven-

tion arrangements with regard to all final preparations for the convention. It will appoint a credential committee for the convention, as by that time the full list of delegates from all the locals and joint boards will be in the hands of Secretary Baroff.

While in session, the General Executive Board also will take up the current strike of the dressmakers of Chicago, after receiving a complete report on it from President Sigman, who is now in Chicago.

Chicago Dress Strike in Excellent Shape

Strikers Ready to Fight on Until Victory is Assured—Local 22 of New York Gives \$5,000 to Strike Fund—President Sigman Left for Chicago

In response to a request from the Chicago dress strikers, President Sigman left Tuesday afternoon, April 1, for Chicago, to pay a visit to that city. He expects to stay there until Sunday afternoon and will arrive in New York on Monday morning in time for the meeting of the General Executive Board.

While in Chicago, President Sigman will take stock of the situation of the strike and convey to the strikers the whole-hearted support of their New York fellow-members in their present fight with their employers.

The big fight in the Windy City, between the dressmakers who have now been out on strike for several weeks, and the handful of die-hard manufacturers who are holding out against the Union, has never, from the first day it broke out, been in better shape than today.

Such is the unanimous opinion of all who have had an opportunity to examine the condition of the strike at close quarters. The employers whose shops are still strike-bound are beginning to see that they cannot break the spirit of the strikers and

that their factories will remain empty until they grant the demands of the workers.

All the framed-up cases that result in convictions for the pickets are being fast appealed to a higher court, and every possible assistance is given to them. Only last week twenty-five men and women pickets were fined by Judge Sullivan sums ranging from \$100 to \$200 each and some received jail sentences, too. These cases have of course all been appealed at once.

The hearing of the case of the now famous Twenty-Five took practically three days. Four lawyers for the manufacturers worked prodigiously to help to establish the guilt of these workers, whose only crime consisted in picketing the shops where they were striking in alleged violation of the injunction issued by Judge Sullivan. The lawyers portrayed the men and women as "dangerous" characters and their pleas were sympathetically listened to by Injunction Judge Sullivan. Dudley Taylor, one of the bosses' attorneys, is particularly vehement in denouncing the strikers, calling for jail sentences rather than money fines for each of them and endeavoring to present the

charge against the workers as one of "conspiracy" directed by the Union. He bluntly stated the whole truth in his appeal to the Judge by saying in so many words: "Your Honor, this injunction was given out to protect the employers, my clients, and I believe they are entitled to such protection."

Before pronouncing the fines, the Judge made the following statement to the strikers:

"This is a very unpleasant duty I have to perform. But I must protect the honor of the organized court. People must be permitted to work or not to work as they please. All are entitled to the protection of the law."

After all the names of the twenty-five pickets were read off and their fines fixed, Peter Sissman, attorney for the Union, made arrangements at once to give bail for the strikers and filed notice of appeal on the grounds that the evidence against most of the strikers was false and not based on facts.

LOCAL 22 SUPPORTS CHICAGO STRIKERS

The Dressmakers' Union of New York, Local 22, last week sent its first contribution to the Chicago dress strikers in the form of a check for \$5,000, through the International office. The check was accompanied by a message in which the New York dressmakers assured their Chicago fellow-workers that they are with them heart and soul in this fight and they will support them again and again until they win their battle

INTERNATIONAL CALENDAR

By H. SCHOOLMAN

This Week Twelve Years Ago

The first number of *Norveg* Pictorial, the Russian publication of the Joint Board, is issued. For the time being, it is to appear once a month, though it is planned that it be published in the future at more frequent intervals.

The first chairlady in the history of our trade—Celia Travinsky—is elected in the shop of Davidoff & Harver, 28 West 131 street.

A referendum takes place on the amendment to the International constitution fixing the number of delegates to be sent by the national conventions. It resulted in its acceptance by a majority of 3,544 votes.

Miss Josephine Casey, International organizer, forms an auxiliary society in Kalamazoo, Mich., to combat the injunction issued against the striking cloak workers in that city. The members of the society undertook to canvass the whole city in favor of the strikers and agreed to do that work without any compensation whatever.

All New York locals discuss the problem of giving effective aid to the strikers of the Eaton Company's shop in Toronto, Canada.

against the anti-union employers.

The Board of Directors of the Amalgamated Joint Board in Chicago has taken up the matter of supporting the Chicago dress strikers, in view of the barbaric persecutions to which they were being subjected by the police and the courts, and will at a special meeting decide what sum to contribute to the dress workers.

International Declines to Support Johnson Bill

The American Federation of Labor recently forwarded a letter to all national and international unions affiliated with it, in which it requests these organizations to support its labor legislation program in Congress.

Among these bills is the well-known Johnson Bill for the further restriction of immigration. Replying to this letter, Secretary Baroff, in the name of our Union, stated that the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union cannot support this bill as a matter of principle and traditional policy. The letter which was forwarded on March 28 to President Samuel Gompers of the American Federation of Labor reads as follows:

"I received your letter of March 24 in which you request the support of our International Union to the Johnson Bill, H. R. 6546, now pending in Congress.

"Allow me to state that, while we realize that the American Federation of Labor is interested in immigration purely from an economic point of view, and while we believe that the American worker must be protected, our International Union has always regarded regulation of immigration not merely as an eco-

nomic question but as a problem of general humanity.

"We have always believed that there is a great humanitarian question involved in it and we believe just as strongly today that America must not shut its doors to the oppressed of other nations, fleeing often because of religious, racial or political persecution. And this is the reason why we cannot support such a policy of extreme restriction as the Johnson Bill follows.

"This bill contains another obnoxious feature which we cannot and must not support. It would shift the quota of each nationality within the American borders to be admitted from the present basis of 1910 to that of 1890. The object of this clause is quite obvious. It would practically close the gates of America to such 'inferior' races as the Jew, the Italian, the Slav and the Magyar, so as to protect the Anglo-Saxon stock from the basins of these 'backward' peoples. Our International Union cannot accept the penalizing of any race or nation as the principle for either regulation or restriction of immigration."

First Conference with Protective Association

(Continued from page 1)

nomic question but as a problem of general humanity.

William Klein, counsel for the Protective Association, replied for the manufacturers, reading from a typewritten sheet. In his statement he chided the Union and endeavored to lay at its doors the guilt and responsibility for all the evils in the industry. The logic of Mr. Klein's argument was that the only way to abolish all the ills that beset the cloak industry would be to disband the organization of the workers. His remarks drew a retort from Morris Hillquit, who regretted the schoolmasterish and unsignified tone of Mr. Klein's remarks and asked the Association to drop this undignified manner unless they wished the Union to discontinue negotiations from the start. President Sigman followed Mr. Hillquit, expressing surprise that the

Union was accused by Mr. Klein of being the creator of the sub-manufacturing shop. "But," said he, "we are not here tonight to go into details concerning where the fault lies. Nor do we wish to do so in the future. If, after consideration, you decide to go into conference with us, we hope that the tone of tonight's statement will be dropped, for we ask you gentlemen to remember that whatever standards of decency there are in the industry, are due to the Union and to the Union alone."

The Protective Association held a special meeting on Wednesday, April 7, at the Hotel Pennsylvania, to discuss in detail the demands of the International Union. It is quite likely that the Association will in the future call a general membership meeting to discuss the demands and its answer to the Union.

Bonnax Embroiderers, Local 66, Elect Convention Delegates

At one of the best attended meetings ever held by Local 66, the Bonnax Embroidery Workers' Union, the following delegates to the convention of the International to be held in Boston on May 5, were elected:

Nathan Riesel; Max M. Eisenfeld;

Abraham Bernstein and Rose Averbach.

The elections took place at the Rand School of Social Science on Thursday, March 27, and a larger number of members than had attended any previous meeting was recorded.

Waterbury Garment Workers Win Strike

The task of unionizing the several cloak shops located at Waterbury, Conn., undertaken by our International some time ago, came to a satisfactory end last week, when Local 43 of Waterbury signed an agreement with seven cloak manufacturers in that city, after a strike lasting two weeks.

Notwithstanding its short duration and the comparatively small number of people involved in it, the strike was accompanied by police persecution, interference with peaceful picketing and the usual antagonism of the local press. In point of fact, the local cloak manufacturers succeeded in having Jacob Grossman, the organizer of the International in Waterbury, arrested on charges of intimidation. The charge, however, was such a palpable frame-up that Judge Hayes of the Waterbury city court declined to give it any consideration.

Every one of the cloak firms in Waterbury signed the agreement, giving the workers 44 hours per week in place of the 50 hours prevailing heretofore. The union shop is recognized, with shop chairmen in every shop. The strike was led by Bernard Schub and Jacob Grossman, members of the organizing staff of Vice-president Halperin, the manager of the Eastern Organization Department.

At its last meeting, Local 43 celebrated the successful conclusion of this strike and elected a new secretary, Brother Filameno Vitellie, and also two delegates to the Boston convention, Nathan Fidler and Minnie Beck. Local 43 will now make an effort to organize the rest of the women's wear shops in Waterbury, where dresses and underwear are being manufactured.

THE RE-UNION

The re-union of the students and instructors of the Workers' University and Unity Centers will take place on Saturday, April 5, at 7 p. m., in the dining-room of the Washington Irving High School.

Tickets mailed must be paid for in advance at the office of the Educational Department, 3 West 16th Street, or on Saturday afternoon and Sunday morning in the Washington Irving High School, Room 529. For detailed description look on page 10.

Conference Between Union and Jobbers' Association

President Sigman and Morris Hillquit Deliver Impressive Speeches—Full Account of Conference on Wednesday, March 26, at Hotel Astor—Association Promises Reply in Ten Days

On Wednesday, March 26, at 8 o'clock in the evening, two big delegations, one representing the International and the Cloakmakers' Union, and the other representing the Merchants' Ladies' Garment Association, met in the College Room of the Hotel Astor to confer on the subject of the renewal of the agreement between the Union and the cloak jobbers of New York.

Without much ceremony, the conference immediately proceeded to work. Mr. Joseph Engel, President of the Jobbers' Association, was chairman of the conference. He pointed out the friendly relations which have existed between the Union and the Association, and expressed the hope that these cordial relations will continue in the future.

Then President Morris Sigman, speaking for the Union, gave a word picture of the evils and tribulations

of the industry, and stressed the great need of cooperation of all factors among employers and employees, looking toward improvement. He was immediately followed by Morris Hillquit, counsel for the Union, who read from manuscript the twelve demands of the workers. Samuel Blumberg, attorney for the association, replied briefly to the union's program. He stated that the jobbers cannot and will not be classified as employers according to the usual meaning of the word. Nevertheless, he said that his clients will carefully consider the Union's proposals and submit a detailed answer later.

After briefly sketching the history of the industry, President Sigman in the opening remarks of his address for the Union, said the following: "The old type of stockhouse has gone

Today the jobber, unwillingly perhaps, has been forced into the position of the old-time manufacturer. He buys the raw material, he supplies the style. In fact, he handles every step in the making of the garment, from buying the raw material to paying labor. The old-time manufacturer had every element needed for the production of a garment within his walls; the so-called jobber has every one of these elements but the machines. And these, within or without his walls, he nevertheless controls.

"Now the Union is not charging that you have not lived up to the agreement you have made with it; we simply point out that now is the time to make a new agreement that will deal with fundamentals."

CONTRACTORS' POSITION OUTLINED

President Sigman then outlined the

position of the contractor in the market. He stated that the majority of contractors do not know how to figure the costs of a garment, and that those who do can get no business and are forced out of the industry. He spoke of "a time when our industry kept up a certain degree of artistry. We worked to clothe the feminine portion of our population, which is particular as regards style, color and fit. We have never been there, and we are unable to take pride in our industry. A manufacturer, after he had been in the business a few years, acquired a reputation for good work, and this reputation, justly earned, was to him a source of pride.

"The industry is beginning to lose its sense of pride and importance, and that means that the industry is not in a healthy condition. The obligation is to see that the products of our industry are made in decent factories, under decent conditions, and sold under the Union alone. It rests upon everybody who makes his living in the industry."

He ended up by saying: "This program we have submitted to you to-night deals with the reconstruction of the industry. It is not a matter of asking raises. We want to see the industry in which we make our living put upon a better and more decent basis."

their established wages for such a period. Such guarantees shall be secured by a deposit of an amount of money weekly by the employer to be accounted for at the end of the guaranteed period, and paid over to the worker or returned to the employer as the case may be.

9. Since the number of work weeks thus guaranteed will not cover the full year, and will not apply to all workers in the industry, so that there will always remain a large number of workers who will be out of employment for a large portion of the year owing to the seasonal character of our industry, it is proposed that a system of unemployment insurance be established in the industry under proper regulations and supervision and by contribution on the part of the employers and the workers.

10. To further shorten seasons of unemployment, and for other good reasons, the Union requests a reduction of the hours of labor from 44 per week to 40 per week.

11. The minimum rates of wages set forth in the existing agreements do not correspond to the wages actually earned by the workers in the great majority of cases and are totally inadequate as such minima. The Union therefore requests an adequate increase in such minimum rates.

12. Proper machinery should be established to detect any violations of the agreement between the Union and employers by means of examination of the employers' books and records and by other methods, and suitable penalties should be provided for such violations.

UNION'S CONFERENCE COMMITTEE

The big delegation which represented the Union at the conference with the Merchant Ladies' Garment

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Union's Memorandum

The approaching expiration of the existing agreements between employers and workers in the cloak and suit industry brings us face to face with a number of serious problems which concern equally the employers, the workers and the consuming public.

Within the last few years, the cloak and suit industry in the city of New York witnessed a radical change in the methods of production. The type of manufacturer who produced his garments in his own establishment and under his personal supervision and responsibility is fast disappearing, and his place is taken by the so-called "jobber," who has his goods produced by numerous "sub-manufacturers" or contractors in scattered establishments bidding against each other for the privilege of doing the jobber's work. The new system has proved highly injurious in practical operation and threatens our industry with total demoralization. It has encouraged the growth of sub-manufacturers or contractors to an unhealthy and dangerous extent. The cloak and suit industry in this city employs about 50,000 workers. Upon a rational organization there should be no more than a maximum of 500 producing units, i. e., at an average of one establishment for 100 workers. As a matter of fact there are no less than 3,000 cloak factories in New York, of which the vast majority are sub-manufacturers' or contractors' shops. There is thus an average of one manufacturing establishment for every sixteen workers, and, since a number of these shops employ vastly more than the average, a very large number give work to considerably less than the average.

Condemns Small Shops

Shops of half a dozen workers or even less are by no means a rare occurrence. These small shops are in most cases conducted in close, unventilated, and unsanitary rooms, very much after the fashion of the infamous "sweatshops," which at one time disgraced our industry. The small contractors are, as a rule, financially irresponsible and conduct their business on a shoe-string. The real manufacturer who under this system evades his responsibility by assuming the guise of a "jobber" or merchant unconcerned with the conditions under which his goods are produced, offers his patronage to the lowest bidding contractor, with the result that the least scrupulous among them gets a decided advantage over his fairer-

minded competitors. The system furthermore leads to a decided deterioration in the quality of the product. Since the contractor does not work directly for the market and is interested only in getting out the garment at the cheapest possible cost, he will naturally satisfy himself with the cheapest and poorest workmanship that will in any way pass muster.

Working Standards Lowered

Several thousand contractors wildly competing with each other for orders and as a rule unable to eke out a bare existence for themselves; a general depression of the standard of wages and working conditions among the workers; unfair competition among the employers, irrational waste in the proceeds of production through the multiplication of useless overhead charges and middlemen's profits, a general lowering of the quality of the merchandise, and the imminent danger of a reversion to the sweatshop with all its attendant evils, these have been some of the results of the newly developed methods of production in the cloak and suit industry.

Our Union proposes a thoroughgoing reorganization of the industry, not only in order to assure livable conditions for its members, but also to re-establish a sound basis for the industry which both employers and workers depend on in the last analysis.

The first step in this direction must be the destruction of the fiction that the "jobber" is not a direct factor in the production of the garment; that he is merely a merchant who buys the garments in the open market and retails them to the trade. The "jobber" in the cloak and suit industry is the true manufacturer, he supplies the capital, he buys the raw material and the raw material and the style; he initiates, directs and determines the production.

The sub-manufacturer or contractor has no independent industrial existence of his own. He does the work of the jobber at a fixed price. He performs the ordinary duties of a foreman except that the employer also leaves it to him to deal with the workers and to take care of certain overhead charges. He is nothing but an artificial wall of irresponsibility which the real employer erects between himself and his workers. The Union proposes that the real employer or "jobber" assume the responsibility for the production of merchandise through the system of contractors in the same way as if they had been manufactured on his own premises.

To accomplish that result, it is essential that a reasonable limit be placed upon the number of contractors employed by each jobber, and that the size of the shop and the working conditions prevailing in it be regulated by the concurrent action of both parties.

Union States Demands

Concretely the Union proposes:

1. That each jobber employ only such number of sub-manufacturers or contractors as he can provide with work to their full capacity. No jobber should engage new sub-manufacturers or contractors as long as those working for him are not fully provided with work.

2. No contractor should be employed unless his establishment consists of at least fourteen operators with a corresponding complement of workers of the other branches of the industry.

3. No jobber shall discontinue sending work to a contractor except for good reasons.

4. In slow seasons all available work shall be divided by the jobber equally among all his contractors and by each contractor equally among his workers.

5. The payment of wages and observance of union conditions of work on the part of the contractor shall be guaranteed by the jobber in the same way as if such workers were employed by him directly.

6. The jobbers shall be represented on the Joint Board of Sanitary Control and contribute a ratable share of the expenses of that institution.

7. An appropriate label shall be adopted by the Union to designate that the garments carrying the same have been manufactured under proper and sanitary working conditions, and such labels shall be attached to each garment produced by union employees.

8. All workers employed in the industry shall be guaranteed a specific number of full weeks' employment during the year or the payment of

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Aid For New Citizens

By JOHN LA RUE

The process of becoming a citizen of the United States has been made easier as the result of recent improvements in the law. Labor organizations have been consistently in favor of changing antiquated laws and giving the newly Americanized workers the opportunity to secure the rights and privileges of voters.

The improvement in the naturalization process will have special effect in cities this year where, as the result of the heat of a Presidential campaign now under way, large groups of workers will take out their first papers or by obtaining their second papers qualify to vote.

"Let the whole trade union movement begin now and keep constantly at the job of educating trade unionists and non-trade unionists alike to what is a paramount duty in every election—the casting of a vote by every person eligible to vote," is the recent appeal made by Samuel Gompers, president of the American Federation of Labor, on this important duty.

He points out that in the coming election there must not be a repetition of the tragic showing of the 1920 Presidential campaign when only 49 per cent of the citizens voted, and in the 1922 state campaigns when only 39 per cent of those eligible went

to the polls. It has been ascertained that 37 per cent of the electorate does not vote and large groups of workers are entirely disbarred.

The trade unions, Mr. Gompers points out, should make the question a subject for discussion at every meeting, and editors of labor publications should make it an object of frequent comment.

Under the new rules an alien who has had his first papers for two years and not more than seven years can now write to the clerk of the United States Court in the county in which he lives and ask the clerk to mail him application Form No. 2214. He therefore does not have to take time to take witnesses to court at this time. The clerk will mail the form to him and he will fill out the form, attach his declaration and mail both papers by insured delivery to the Chief Naturalization Examiner.

The form is then examined by the court clerk and, if all facts have been clearly stated by the holder of first papers, the applicant will then be directed to go to court and file his petition. He does not have to go to court twice, as under the old practice. The applicant will also get information what the educational requirements are before they can become citizens.

Not all who apply for the coveted rights of citizenship are granted

their second papers. In the last five years 101,646 petitioners for naturalization were denied citizenship for various reasons by the United States courts. Of these 65,000 were for minor errors which can be avoided under the new procedure by correctly filling out the application forms. In this way the weary delays in court and the cost of time of the native holding first papers and of the witnesses of character that he must bring to court with him, will be avoided to some extent.

However, in sparsely settled mining countries and small towns that do not have a Federal court, it will still be necessary for workers born in other countries to make long trips to get their papers. It is not commonly realized how large the number of workers is that is disenfranchised although they do the heavy and dangerous work in our society.

Workers in the bituminous coal mines number nearly 600,000 scattered over 25 States. Most of them are in a 900-mile strip extending from northern Pennsylvania, through Ohio, West Virginia, Maryland, Virginia, Eastern Kentucky, Tennessee, to Central Alabama; 20 per cent are in Indiana, Illinois, Iowa, Missouri, Oklahoma and Kansas and the remaining 10 per cent are in the Rocky Mountain region and the Pacific coast.

The miners in Pennsylvania and the Middle West are for the most part in or near established communities, but in the other sections the miners' homes are frequently situated in narrow gorges or in creek beds, on steep mountain sides, far away from the Federal courts where they can get their citizenship papers. Furthermore, they are constantly on the move as the mining industry fluctuates.

Of the total of 172,000 foreign bituminous miners, the proportion coming from the various European countries are: Italy, 25 per cent; Austria, 14 per cent; Poland, 13 per cent; British Isles, 10 per cent; Russia, Hungary, and Slovakia, each 8 per cent; Yugoslavia, 5 per cent; Germany, 3 per cent.

Sixty-nine per cent of these foreign workers have been in this country ten years or more, but only 36 per cent were naturalized. Only 17 per cent in addition had taken out first papers, while 51.7 per cent were wholly alien.

The miners in the anthracite districts did better but not much, for 44 per cent of them were without the rights of citizens up to 1920.

Many are the disadvantages these workers are under in qualifying to take out papers announcing their intention to share in the responsibilities of government. Some of these have been overcome by the recent changes in the law. Another improvement needed is that permitting workers to change their residences without penalty.

The Trade Union Movement in Latvia

The Baltic state of Latvia, which like its neighbors Estonia and Lithuania, owes its independent existence to the war and the Treaty of Versailles, is predominantly agricultural. Before the war it had indeed developed a comparatively flourishing industry, but this was brought to a standstill at the very beginning of the war as a result of the requisitions of the Russian Army. What remained of it has since been almost totally destroyed, partly during the war itself, and partly in consequence of the devastating effects of successive occupations by the Russian Communists, and by the white army of Bernmont, and of the temporary domination of the Communists of Latvia itself. At the end of the war there were 150,000 industrial workers in the provinces which now form the state of Latvia; now there are only 34,000, out of a total population of 2,100,000.

Before the war Riga, which is now the capital of the little state, had several factories employing over 6,000 workers; one indeed gave work to as many as 12,000. Today there are only a few factories which employ more than 100. The once flourishing metal industry has now almost entirely disappeared; the chemical industry also suffered a very serious decline. In former days Lettish industry found its chief market in the interior of Russia, and this market it has now lost. The chief articles of export at present are timber and flax.

78 per cent of the population of Latvia is Lettish. The foreign population, which chiefly consists of Germans, Russians and Jews, mostly reside in the large towns. The people are mainly Protestant, but the Church has little influence, which is in sharp contrast with Catholic Lithuania, where, as in Poland, the clerics exercise great power. Latvia contains scarcely any illiterates, and the same may be said of Estonia, where the cultural and economic conditions are very similar to those of Latvia. In Lithuania, as in Poland, some 50 per cent of the population are unable to read and write.

Socialist policy aims at the establishment of a Federated States of the Baltic, consisting of Latvia, with a little over two millions, Lithuania

with two millions five hundred thousand, and Estonia with two million six hundred thousand inhabitants. These efforts have hitherto met with no great success, but a military convention has already been concluded between Latvia and Estonia, and a customs and commercial agreement between these states is now under consideration. Although the peoples of Latvia and Lithuania are of the same race, the relations between them are not so close as those between Latvia and Estonia, whose culture is more nearly akin.

Before the war Latvia and Estonia were dominated by German nobles, who enjoyed an unflattering notoriety as "the Baltic Junkers." All the land-owners belonged to this class. This was the case in Lithuania also, but with the difference that here the nobility, instead of being German, was of Polish race. In Latvia this domination had not been brought completely to an end. The new system of agrarian reform has divided up the large estates into small holdings ranging from 40 to 55 acres in extent. About 40,000 of these have now been created, and another 20,000 are in process of formation. Besides these peasant holdings, five acres of land each have been allotted to some 10,000 craftsmen, in order to attract craftsmen to the country districts. Each holder of land has paid the State purchase money to the extent of 10 lat per hectare (a lat is about equal to a shilling). The question of the compensation to be paid to the former owners has not yet been settled; a referendum is to be held on the subject in the near future.

As in all newly founded states, national feeling is very strong, especially among officers and students, whose future depends on the maintenance of the State in its present form. Although the country was for a time under Communist rule, there is very little trace left of Communist influence, in spite of which the Government persists in its prohibition of the Communist Party. The Social Democrats were at one time represented in the government; they have now resigned from the cabinet, but as they still hold 38 of the parliamentary seats, they have considerable in-

fluence, and the present government is dependent upon their support. The party however is not united; it consists of two entirely separate groups. 7 deputies forming the right-wing group, and 21 the left-wing group, the latter having taken place in 1921. The right-wing group of Social Democrats find their chief supporters among the newly created class of small peasant proprietors; they also represent the agricultural workers.

The Left Wing Party received 250,000 votes at the last elections, but their organization only numbered some 4,000 members. There are two Socialist daily papers, one of which is published in Riga, and the other in Libau. Besides these, the party publishes a weekly paper, a monthly magazine dealing with Socialism from the scientific point of view, and a women's paper, which is issued at irregular intervals.

The centralization of the trade unions which were left in existence after the collapse of the Russian rule and the termination of the German occupation was effected at a conference held in 1920. From that date onwards a trade union congress had been held every year. At the Third Trade Union Congress, which was held in Riga on the 9th and 10th of March, 1924, the following statement was made concerning the present situation of the trade unions:

13,000 workers (male and female) are organized in six national and fourteen local organizations. Of these, the Factory Workers' Union numbers 2,500 members; the Railwaymen's Union 2,150; the Bookbinders' Union 2,000; the Seafarers' Union 1,100; the Post Office Employees' Union 1,050; and the Stage Artists' Union 80. The largest local organization is the Window Workers' Union, (chiefly consisting of dockers) which has 1,700 members.

The Agricultural Workers' Union, which is connected with the right wing of the Socialist Party, contains about two or three thousand members, but exact figures are not available. The Communist trade unions say they have a membership of 4,500, but it seems very doubtful whether this figure is really reached. There are no clerical and no Fascist trade unions, but on the other hand there is a "yellow" movement.

The official organ of the Federation of Trade Unions is published every fortnight in the Lettish and Russian languages. In addition, the Bookbinders' Union issues a fortnightly, and the Post Office Employees' Union a monthly magazine.

Thanks to the influence of the Socialist Party in the government and the parliament, the trade unions have complete liberty of action. The Fascists give trouble from time to time.

There are no organizational relations between the trade unions and the left wing of the Socialist Party, although they are on friendly terms. As in all countries where the Labor movement is not of long standing, comrades with especial capacity for propagandist and administrative work are compelled to hold office both in the party and in the trade union movement. Moreover several trade union leaders belong to the parliamentary Labor group.

Thanks to the strength of the political Labor Party, it has been found possible to make considerable progress in the domain of labor protection and insurance. The eight-hour day is established by law. Nominally, young persons between the ages of 14 and 16 are only permitted to work 4 hours a day, and those between the ages of 16 and 18, 6 hours, but both these regulations are very frequently violated. Civil servants work 9 hours a day at present, but there is a movement on foot to extend their hours to 10. As to wages, they are, as in many other countries, lower than before the war, although the cost of living has risen.

UNION HEALTH CENTER NEWS

Now that it is getting warmer, our friends who suffer from hay fever will begin to sneeze and suffer all the tortures of the damned. As last year, the Union Health Center is ready to give the proper injections for hay fever, provided the patients come early enough.

With the beginning of April, we will accept all patients who wish to be treated at the same rate as last year. Last year we had quite a success and many of the patients who complained of hay fever were greatly relieved. This year with the improved clinic, we hope to benefit many more people.

Among the Philadelphia Cloakmakers

By MAX AMDUR

As compared with former seasons, the present spring season is tolerably good, though still far from what some people expected. It would seem that, as long as suits will be made, Philadelphia will remain on the cloak map. Our city has always been a suit market and both employers and workers have specialized along this line. That is why, when the suit temporarily disappeared as an item of women's apparel, Philadelphia suffered from it more than any other city.

The revival of activity in our trade has naturally found its reflection in our Union. The members are paying back all debts and are meeting every obligation. They have even taxed themselves a half-day's pay to enable the Union to wage a strike against a certain firm, which had locked out its employes. The strike has been going on for several weeks. In addition to that, the Union is breathing freely today because it finally has rid itself of the scandalmongers who would come to meetings to raise havoc in the name of "leftism."

You might know that our Union has passed through a severe crisis on this account. For months and months we could not discuss any trade questions at meetings. These cranks would manage to bring up questions which had nothing to do with our Union and would consume hours in acrimonious debate over them, with the result that the members would leave the meetings disgusted and depressed. In the end this anarchy led to the reorganization of Local 2, one of our largest locals.

Today the situation has changed entirely. At union meetings, we are conducting business in the same old spirit of respect for one another and true brotherhood, which prevailed in our ranks in former years. Of course, we disagree on subjects very often, but these disagreements are wholesome and legitimate, and have nothing in common with that depraved spirit which all but ruined our Union when these miscreants held sway.

We mentioned above that our Union

is now on strike against a certain firm here. It may be of interest to your readers to know a little more of the details of this strike.

As in every other strike, the firm naturally was looking for strikebreakers. In this instance it had not wasted much time, but it turned its attention to the "left" camp where it enlisted a few "red guards" to do strikebreaking duty for them. One of these "revolutionists" is a certain Katz and the other is named Kessler, the latter having done strikebreaking duty already in Philadelphia two years ago, during the dress and waist strike. Shortly after that strike, this Kessler, however, was baptized in the holy waters of "leftism" and joined the fighting "vanguard" of their ranks. These two fellows succeeded in persuading to their side a few more recruits, and now they are all camping in that shop as true-blue strikebreakers. This gang is trying to foist all sorts of "crimes" and conspiracies on the pickets around the shop and they even attempted to "frame up" the business

agent of the Union, Brother Damsky, who was detained two weeks ago under \$1500 bail upon testimony offered by these "left" strikebreakers. A few other "lefts" who are working in good union shops frequently visit this strike-bound shop where they meet and greet their fellow-strikebreakers, and together with them plan in the evening how to help the firm in this lock-out against the Union. These are all facts that were clearly established at our last general member meeting.

At that meeting, it was also proved that these strikebreakers do piecework in that shop and earn at the most \$22 a week. The Union proved that by sending a man to the shop, where he worked two weeks and learned all about the prices and other work conditions in that seabest. When these astounding facts were brought out at the meeting, they sounded almost unbelievable except for the fact that they were explained by some members who ought to know that the "left" strikebreakers are getting "benefits" from their fellow-sympathizers on the outside.

Two weeks ago we had a general member meeting to discuss conditions in the trade and also this strike and the part which these "lefts" were taking in it. It happened that on the day when the meeting took place, the "lefts" scattered a leaflet among the workers in Market street and at the hall, calling upon the members to come and stampede the meeting so that the excluded "lefts" be taken back into the Union. Their plan, of course, was to create a disturbance at the meeting so as to divert the attention of the members from their nasty performances during this strike, as they knew well that the meeting would otherwise expose them in their true colors before the workers in Philadelphia.

Their trick, however, failed miserably, as the meeting proceeded in good order and, after a thorough discussion was had on the subject, it adopted the following resolution:

"We, the assembled members of the Cloak and Skirtmakers' Union of Philadelphia, at a meeting on Wednesday, March 13, at 222 N. 9th street, adopted the following resolution:

Whereas, the so-called "left" elements in our trade are acting in a brazen manner as strikebreakers in the strike conducted by the Union in the Albus shop, and

Whereas, we have been suspecting for a long time that the "lefts" are only out to injure our organization, as the facts in this strike prove clearly; be it

Resolved, that we, the members of the Cloak and Skirtmakers' Union, condemn their action and stamp this "leftism" as plain and simple strike-breaking; and be it further

Resolved, that from now on we treat this clique in the same manner as we have at all times treated the various union-wreckers which we have had in our trade."

Elias Lieberman LAWYER

366 Broadway Tel. Franklin 2282
For many years manager of the Dress and Waist Makers' Union

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JUSTICE

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EDITORIALS

WHAT THE JOBBERS SAY

The Jobbers' Association, with whom the representatives of our Union had a conference last week, at which our new demands were presented to them, has not yet officially forwarded an answer to these demands. What this official statement will be, can, however, be easily surmised from the statement to the press given out by Mr. Samuel Blumberg, their attorney, immediately after that conference. It is well understood that Mr. Blumberg, in making that statement, does not ease his own mind, but presents the attitude of his clients. It is not with Mr. Blumberg personally, therefore, that we intend to enter into an argument on this matter, but quite obviously with the jobbers with whom our Union has had and still has definite business relations.

In his statement Mr. Blumberg makes the following assertions:

First, that the Union is responsible for all the ills which beset the cloak industry. If not for the Union, the manufacturers would not have given up their big inside shops in which they used to employ large numbers of workers, and would not have become jobbers. The Union has made shop conditions so hard for the manufacturer that he was compelled to give up the inside shop.

His second assertion is that the jobbers are not manufacturers, as the Union claims, but "indirect employers of labor." His third assertion is that the limitation of the number of contractors for each jobber would ruin entirely the cloak industry.

Fourth, he says the jobbers cannot under any condition guarantee to the contractor and to his workers a fixed number of working weeks, as such a guarantee would lead to the complete breakdown of the present system of production.

We enter a general denial to the first charge of Mr. Blumberg that it was the Union which compelled the manufacturer to give up his inside shop and become a jobber, because of the intolerably hard union conditions. It is true that the Union has demanded, demands now and will demand, that the agreement which it concludes with any employer of labor be strictly lived up to by him as it is being observed by the Union. If the jobbers now declare that the union conditions were too hard for them as manufacturers, it means that they admit that they either could not or would not maintain their shops as union shops,—that just as soon as the workers succeeded in securing more or less tolerable work conditions, their employers found it impossible to bear up with them. Why should not the jobbers then be frank and say as follows: We can manufacture cloaks as long as we can do with our workers what we please. As soon as we are compelled to treat the workers humanely, pay them a living wage for their work, keep the shop clean, airy and sanitary, as soon as we are deprived of the power to force them to work longer hours so that they too might have some rest, leisure and a chance to spend an hour or two among their kin—we could not stand it any longer.

This would have been plain talk. We would have known then that our jobbers are open antagonists of the union shop in general. When Mr. Blumberg is trying to conceal his clients under the phrase of "difficult union conditions," we do not know what he is talking about. It would be well if he did come out with a list of these "hard conditions" and state what it was which the Union exacted from the employers that made it impossible for them to remain manufacturers. The interesting thing about this argument of Mr. Blumberg, however, is the fact that it substantiates in the clearest manner the assertion of the Union that the manufacturer became a jobber for the sole purpose of beguiling the Union, that is, so that he might be able to have his work made up under the old sweating system and at the same time not be held responsible for it. If the work in the contractors' and sub-manufacturers' shops is to be made up under the conditions demanded by the Union, what reason or profit would there be for any manufacturer to turn jobber?

Mr. Blumberg believes that it was the system of week-work which forced the manufacturer to give up his factory and to become a jobber. The workers, says he, have been "soldiering on the job," but, we ask, does not the same system of week-work prevail in the shop of the contractor and the sub-manufacturer? And are not the workers just as likely to "soldier on the job" in the shops to which the jobber is sending out his work? If we are to follow out Mr. Blumberg's logic, we must expect that the work made in the contractors' shops is not made under union conditions. In other words, the jobbers have their garments made up for them in sweatshops and it is this fondness for the

old sweating system which drove the jobber to give up his inside factory. In other words, his argument to the Union runs approximately as follows: As long as you will insist on maintaining union conditions in the inside shops, we cannot continue to be manufacturers. We shall, however, do everything to keep up the sweating system indirectly if we cannot do it directly. To this argument, the reply of the Union is as follows: No, gentlemen, this will not go on. We shall not permit you to maintain the sweating system directly or indirectly. You must either be held responsible for all you are doing or you must entirely leave the cloak industry. We shall not allow you to fool us under the pretext that you are no longer manufacturers, while in fact remaining as such but without any responsibility.

The second argument of the jobbers' spokesmen is that the jobber is not a manufacturer, as the Union says he is, but is only "an indirect employer of Labor." But that is exactly where the crux of the situation lies, in this very fact that the jobber, while actually a manufacturer, can still maintain that he is not one. But is this argument really founded in fact? Of course not. Mr. Blumberg himself states the jobber's function in the following words: "We buy the materials and pay the contractors to transform the materials into garments." We should like to know, in the name of common sense, whether this function of the jobber differs in any way from that of the manufacturer, who also buys the material and pays the workers for converting it into garments. The only difference between the jobber and the manufacturer is that, perhaps, while the manufacturer deals directly with the workers, the jobber deals only with the contractor. But, of course, this difference is not big enough to permit the jobber to "decline the proposition that he be brought into the category of an employer." What, for instance, would we say concerning a landlord who would deny that he is a landlord only because he does not collect rent from tenants himself, but does it through an agent? And the landlord's denial in such a case would sound about as sound and tenable as the argument of the jobbers that, because they do not directly deal with the workers, but have their material made up for them through the contractor, they are no longer manufacturers.

We should like to ask the jobbers the following question: If they are in earnest in their assertion that they are not manufacturers, and if they have no relations whatever with the workers, what business have they with the Union at all? Why are they negotiating with the workers' organization and what sort of agreement did they have until now with the Union? The cloakmakers' union has never had any agreement with woollen manufacturers; it has never entered into contractual relations with firms that are selling cloaks and suits, but it had signed agreements with the jobbers. This very fact that the cloak jobbers have in the past negotiated with the Union and have had trade agreements with it, is in itself eloquent proof that the jobbers feel themselves to be manufacturers, and that the argument that they are only "indirect" manufacturers means only that they are manufacturers of a type which seeks to dodge full responsibility for labor conditions to their workers and to the Union which represents them.

And while we are on this point, let us fix it definitely that even this difference between a jobber and manufacturer is imaginary and not real. The time when the employer used to have personal relations with his workers has long gone by. The ordinary manufacturer does not know the names of his workers, he does not know what their earnings are, how long they worked for the firm, and he neither engages nor discharges them. All these things are left to the foreman or the superintendent. Yet the modern manufacturer will never deny that he belongs to the employers' class. It was left to our jobbers to come out in the open with the statement that they are not and would not be placed in the category of employers of labor despite the fact that they purchase the materials and hire the person who is to make up the garments for them. It is a ridiculous assertion and every person who can think logically will admit that the point of view of the Union is sound and just. If the jobber's function coincides with everything that manufacturers have done in the past and are doing now, these jobbers may call themselves any name they please, but this will not change in the least the nature of their role in the trade, which is that of a manufacturer.

Of course we understand quite well why the jobbers are strongly opposed to it. We do not for a moment consider that they regard it as a dishonor to be a manufacturer. But they know quite well that being classed as manufacturers involves definite responsibility to the workers and their organization. Small wonder they are trying their hardest to escape being called manufacturers, though their efforts will avail them nothing. They cannot escape responsibility as cloak employers and their alibi of being "indirect employers" will deceive no one.

And what about the other two of Mr. Blumberg's arguments on behalf of the jobbers? Let us first listen to his own words:

"The Union has laid before us officially a proposition to limit the number of contractors each of our members may employ, and insists that all of these contractors must be provided with capacity work. For a long time, over-production of garments has been a serious detriment in this market. I am willing to admit that over-production is a problem, but I am unwilling to admit that any plan for stipulated periods of production will solve the problem. On the face of it, the proposed plan would aggravate over-production. The stockhouses would be called upon to relinquish all of their ability to gauge supply to demand, they would be called upon to create huge stocks out of season that would be preyed in for by buyers at all times, they would be called upon to anticipate the conditions of fashion at all times, they would be called upon to advance the style whims of the women of this vast country."

The Constructive Problems Before Us

The Splitting Up of Our Trades—New Nationalities in Our Shops—The Union Label—Its Costs and Costs of Single Shop Strikes

By ABRAHAM BAROFF

Next month our International will meet in convention, and in a few days from now the General Executive Board of our Union will begin its final preparatory meeting before that convention. One of the main topics at this meeting will be our organizing problems as they are to be presented by the Board to the convention in Boston.

The ladies' garment trade is face to face with tremendous difficulties in its effort to complete the organization of the workers in the women's wear industry of America,—difficulties that keep on multiplying and growing from year to year. It is not only a question of entering new fields, of unionizing hitherto unorganized markets. It is also a problem of maintaining organizations where unions have already been formed and keeping intact work terms already established. In the cloak and dress trade, the advent of the jobber is making it possible for the small fellow with a minimum amount of money to open up a shop under the protective wing of the so-called "merchant." The result is the splitting up of the big shop into minute units, which adds enormously to the problem of keeping watch over union conditions in these shops. We must also consider that a ladies' garment shop is not a mine or an iron foundry. It can be moved from one place to another with comparative ease and a manufacturer who seeks to get rid of union conditions in his shop finds it not difficult to transfer his shop to some small suburb or nearby city where he cannot be again located for weeks and months here.

We shall not discuss here the means and ways which the International is now proposing to escape the various evils in our trade. The program adopted by the International in recent months for the cloak and dress industry contains a number of thoroughgoing and effective proposals for the removal of these difficulties. This program, however, does not touch upon the non-union work-

ers in our industry, for to reach these we conduct steady persistent organizing activity all year around, and it is this particular activity which is facing the tremendous obstacles which we referred to above.

No opponent or enemy of our International can very well say that our organization is sailing in smooth waters and that its leaders are sitting around prettily and with folded arms. Our organization is one of the labor bodies in America which are constantly busy, constantly on the move and forever on the battlefield here or there. A friend of ours once characterized our International in the following words: "You belong to those soldiers who even sleep on their guns." Nevertheless, while our organization possesses inexhaustible energy, and we are always on the lookout for a laborer's demand that our activity always brings tangible results. No sooner do we win something than we are faced with new difficulties, where our gains are either threatened or washed away in a storm. It would seem that agitating and disseminating union propaganda among unorganized workers is not alone sufficient. It appears that we must begin systematic agitation and propaganda among the general public so that they might know how to appreciate production under union conditions. Not only must we speak to those who are employed for their living in our trade, but we must speak, as a part of our organization activity to the world at large.

In our union circles, we are now discussing very emphatically the question of a ladies' garment's wear. It is proposed that every garment made in a union shop bear the sign of its having been produced by union workers under humane conditions. We are aiming to make the manufacturer know that, in order to bring his garments into the market, it is not enough for him to advertise them with his own label, and name and style, but that he would have to have the label of the Union in order

to make the buying public know that this product was made in accordance with union standards of labor and cleanliness.

Of course, such an undertaking involves tremendous cost. But it must be kept in mind that ordinary organizing work is also conducted under great difficulties. We are faced in our industry with very complex and intricate problems which must be carefully analyzed before they can be understood. Our Union was built up by a generation of immigrants and to a great extent they are still trades of immigrant workers. Today, however, our shops are gradually being filled up with the sons and daughters of Americanized garment workers,—the sons and the daughters of these immigrants who were born in America. We must now adapt our organization and its methods to the customs, ideas and viewpoints of this younger generation of Americanized garment workers.

There are other trades in the ladies' garment industry which are composed entirely of native workers, mostly women. This is true not only of the small cities around New York or Philadelphia, but of New York City as well. In a word, our Union is fast becoming an organization of multiple nationalities and its leaders must carefully react to this change and our organizing activities must be planned accordingly.

• • •

As we strike a balance of our organizing activities for the last two years, we inevitably are forced to realize the magnitude of the odds which we are facing and the vicissitudes which stand in our way, against which we are at times helpless. Organizing campaigns are very expensive affairs. Individual shop strikes cost at times tens of thousands of dollars in strike benefits and expenses. The difference between the single shop strike and a general strike is in this manner very significant. It happens often that the Un-

ion is compelled to give up a general strike when it realizes that the possibility of winning is very slim, and with the proper spirit prevailing among the workers, such an acknowledged defeat does not in the least tend to demoralize the strikers, but on the other hand leaves them determined to try again, with the hope of better luck next time. A shop strike, however, is an entirely different proposition. Its aim is the winning of that particular strike and nothing else. A shop strike is often called as a sort of protection against insurance for the maintenance of union conditions in other shops. And such shop strikes are usually protracted, as they must be won, kept up under all circumstances, no matter how costly and no matter what a drain this victory might prove to the Union.

This leads us to the inevitable conclusion: Our International must have a big organization fund if it is to succeed in its work. We have placed our organization on a sound basis in every sense of the word. Our unions have reached a high state of development and we have done our best to improve the methods of control of labor conditions in the shops. One thing, however, we did not learn yet in our union life, and that is that labor bodies must not tackle organizing or industrial tasks unless they are well prepared with the means to carry them out.

We still have retained our old pauper system of living from hand to mouth.

The next meeting of our General Executive Board will tackle this problem very extensively, for this important question will also occupy a great deal of the attention of our convention in Boston. The workers in the ladies' garment trades are eager to tackle big things in their industry, and he who can see clearly into the future will agree that the problem of supplying the means for this ambitious activity should be made the most important point on the agenda of our Union. It is a vital point and it does not deal with the distant future either. The problem is before our very eyes. The difficulties in the way of continuing our organizing activity steady and unbroken stand before us and point the way. We must not fail to take cognizance of them and act.

Mr. Blumberg's language sounds rather erudite and scientific. The words "over-production" and "supply and demand" betray some acquaintance with economics. Yet, as it appears to us, Professor Blumberg's scientific discussion has nothing to do with the Union's demand for the limitation of the number of contractors for each jobber in accordance with the quantity of work he is to produce. Let us for a moment enlarge on this demand of the Union so as to make it clear enough even for our lecturer to grasp.

There are today in New York about 3,000 cloak shops, employing close to 50,000 cloakmakers, in which the entire output of the New York cloak market is being produced. The Union has asked the following question: Why is it necessary to maintain 3,000 shops if the same number of garments could be made up with greater efficiency and less expense in a few hundred big modern shops equipped to turn out better and cleaner work? The answer to this is as follows: The 3,000 shops with the 3,000 contractors are necessary for the jobbers so that they might make up their garments as cheaply as possible. With such a huge mass of petty little contractors competing violently against one another, they can succeed in bringing down the cost of production to the lowest possible level. Such a state of affairs must inevitably lead to inability on the part of the contractor to maintain the required union conditions in his shop. Under such conditions, the workers themselves are compelled against their will to work under the worst labor standards, which inevitably leads to the breakdown of the Union's control over these shops, and this in turn leads to the loss of union control over the contractors' shops.

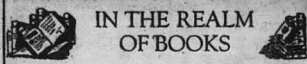
Thereupon the Union states its case to the jobber in plain words and it need not permit this contracting business to ruin every gain and achievement secured for the cloakmakers through the efforts of their organization. The jobbers must at the beginning of each season fix the number of contractors and state whom they desire to employ, so as to fill their orders without using their contractors as so many pawns on a chessboard, without playing one unfortunate sub-manufacturer against another, thus ruining the contractors and the workers in the cloak industry.

Is this such an impossible demand? The jobber cannot

maintain that this demand will jeopardize his ability to make up his orders. The fact that this demand might only decrease the number of contractors but not the number of workers in the factory excludes such a presumption. And in order to avoid the possibility that he might at the beginning of the season over-estimate the number of contractors needed by him to complete his work, and thus be left with some shops which he cannot supply with work, the jobber should be contented with a smaller number of contractors who can rely upon him to give them a full season's work rather than to run the risk of having too many of them. At any rate, should the jobber have more work as the season progresses than he calculated at the beginning of it, either the number of workers in his shops can be materially increased, or the Union will supply him in such an instance with an additional number of contractors.

This is the first very important demand of the Union. Its introduction will make an end to the miserable competition between contractor and contractor and it will not in the least affect the interests of the industry. On the other hand, the industry will only gain thereby, as we made clear in the editorial columns of our last issue and in the article by President Morris Sigman. The entire quasi-scientific discourse about "supply and demand" and "over-production" and becoming "prey for the buyer," has not the least relation to the subject we are dealing with and is obviously nothing but a mere smoke screen.

Mr. Blumberg discusses in his statement the Union's demand of a guaranteed time period for the contractor and his workers. But as long as the jobbers deny their primary relationship to the cloak industry discussion with them concerning any of the demands of the Union seems to be quite superfluous. When they, however, concede, as they must sooner or later, that they are cloak manufacturers, though their shops are managed not directly by them, there will be time then to discuss with them all of our demands. Then we are certain that, as the discussions continue, they will have learned that the demands of the Union are indispensable for the bringing of order into the cloak industry.



The Labor Press for March

By A JOURNALIST

Traditionally March should "come in like a lion and go out like a lamb," for March is Spring's birth month; in its first weeks bleak winter dies, in its last young spring appears. But time alone is no respecter of traditions. This year March's first weeks were soft with the promise of tender growth; its last gave us our meager winter's best snow-storm.

Has Labor's experience during the month reflected the season's topsyturvyness? In Labor's chronicle apparently, there are neither lions nor lambs. Though Labor's struggle has its swift excitements and its quiet inruffles, the regular flow of its events McCoignies no seasons. Always strikes, always courts, always "hard times," always valiant efforts to "make things better," always a manifold and significant round of experience. Thus it is that, while seasons come and seasons go, Labor's activity moves on in its three dominant channels: the industrial struggle, internal affairs, and world affairs. In these Labor moves on with neither the swiftness of a lion nor the meekness of a lamb, but with the sureness of time itself.

The Industrial Struggle

The passage of the months finds Labor continuously engaged on all those fronts where the sense of solidarity among workers. The American Federation of Labor Weekly News Service broadcasts the story to all its constituent unions. President Fitzpatrick of the Chicago Federation of Labor sent a letter of protest to Attorney Crowe against his practice of assigning the police attached to his office to strike duty. President Fitzpatrick said in part, "We had hoped you would have some regard for manhood and that there was some limit at which you would stop in your desire to serve the interests of unfair employers." The New Majority has carried full and regular reports of the progress of the strike.

The Press and the Chicago Strike

The sturdy fight being waged by our Union in Chicago has won attention and praise from the labor press. The extraordinary measures taken by the employers and by State Attorney Crowe to intimidate and browbeat the strikers has aroused to open expression the ever latent sense of solidarity among workers. The American Federation of Labor Weekly News Service broadcasts the story to all its constituent unions. President Fitzpatrick of the Chicago Federation of Labor sent a letter of protest to Attorney Crowe against his practice of assigning the police attached to his office to strike duty. President Fitzpatrick said in part, "We had hoped you would have some regard for manhood and that there was some limit at which you would stop in your desire to serve the interests of unfair employers." The New Majority has carried full and regular reports of the progress of the strike.

The Bakers Fight On!

The Bakers' Journal still flies its flag:

Wage Products. One Hundred Per Cent UNFAIR To Union Labor!

It is a long and bitter struggle that the bakers have been waging, and a struggle whose outcome cannot but produce the most profound effects upon the entire labor movement in America. The powerful Ward interests can back their determination to break the union by all that counts in war—by money and class-consciousness and unity and wide-spread propaganda. The bakers have only one thing outside their own union upon which to depend—the solidarity of the workers. Shall we fall them even in this? From the pledges that the Journal receives constantly from other unions, Labor seems to be mobilizing behind the embattled bakers. Let the good work go on!

Certain revolutions from Washington, moreover, now give every worker a direct personal stake in this fight.

Several of the labor journals make prominent mention of the expose of the "bread trust" recently made by the People's Legislative Service, The Railroad Worker, the Locomotive Engineer's Journal, and Organized Labor all contain discussions of this report made through Paul M. Manly, director of the society, to the progressive legislators who recently asked him to investigate this situation. The outstanding interest in this report to workers whose "bread expenditures" take much of their income lies in this fact. The colossal bread trust now in process of formation is selling bread in the United States at an average retail price of 9 cents a pound, while bread from American flour is sold in England for less than 4 cents a pound. To help the bakers defeat the bread trust, therefore, means not only to strengthen unionism but to help lower the price of bread for American workers. A trust, victorious in its anti-union fight, will be harder to defeat in its high price. And vice-versa, of course.

And Still Others

Other strikes and threats of strikes loom on the horizon. The Carpenter wants its members that the Omaha employers are preparing for "another wage war" — more bitter than any in the past ten years — scheduled to start April 1. The Typographical Journal still reports its 44-hour strike which began during May, 1921. Equity rejoices because the strike of New York actors which will begin on June 1, unless the managers acquire wisdom, will begin just as the Democratic Convention (with its amusement-hungry delegates and watchers) begins its sessions.

On Other Fronts

Unemployment still constitutes one of labor's most difficult problems. But slowly ways and means for meeting it are being devised. The Fur Worker announces the acceptance of an unemployment fund plan by the fur workers and employers. The establishment of the unemployment fund has been won, together with other important gains, as a result of the union's recent campaign with the New York Fur Manufacturers' Association. The plan includes a three months' provision for division of work and a conference committee of representatives of both sides which is to function during emergency periods to reduce unemployment or lighten its burdens.

Advance reports a reduction of unemployment in his Chicago market. This trend, apparently, runs counter to that of industry as a whole. Statisticians of the Federal Reserve Board and of the Bureau of Labor Statistics have found unemployment generally on the increase. The Federal Reserve's carefully prepared "labor market index" for December, 1923, showed that jobs were scarcer in that month than in any month since April, 1922. The figures of the Department of Labor indicate that over a half-million men were laid off during the last six months of 1923 (the investigation covered about 28 per cent of the country's factory workers). At the same time the cost of living stands today at a level at least 73 per cent above that of 1913. Apparently Labor must prepare for dark days ahead.

While there is no intentional surgery in the several articles on life and working conditions published in the

month's journals, the possible advent of hard times will make the workers more than usually sympathetic with these tales of suffering. The American Federationist contains a report from President Goemans on "Conditions of Life and Labor in the Panama Canal Zone" that more than justifies Labor's attempt to win improvement. The United Mine Workers' Journal is beginning a reprint of hitherto unpublished data gathered "by investigators of the late United States Coal Commission" on "Living Conditions in Many Mine Fields Against Which the Union Continues to Fight."

The International Moulders' Journal continues its reports of the stern fight which your reviewer discussed last month as "The Mass Money Case." Moulders are still in prison because a bomb exploded mysteriously during their strike in Montpelier, Indiana, and another terrible chapter is being added to Labor's epic.

The Railroad Telegrapher contains a full report of the legislative attack which the sixteen railroad unions are making against the Railroad Labor Act. Since the Railroad Labor Board gave the railroads full permission to organize company unions and Federal Judge Dickinson dismissed the shopmen's suit to force the Pennsylvania Railroad to deal with its organized workers before the Board, railroad labor has felt the Board must go. Its unions are urging, therefore, the passage of the Berkeley-Howell Railway Labor Act. This act contemplates the creation of a separate railway labor act, the repeal of the labor provisions of the Transportation Act, and thus the abolition of the Railroad Labor Board, and the settlement of disputes by a system of conciliation, mediation, and voluntary arbitration.

The stern tale of labor struggle in spring's birth-month ends on a sardonic note. Last month, the journals reported exposes of capital's attempt to capture the radio for "employers' propaganda. This month The International Moulders' Journal shows up an attempt to build a capitalistic propaganda "movie" association. The National Founders' Association, the world's most class-conscious group of employers, is backing the American Motion Picture Association. We may look soon for a glorious picturization of the villains of Reds and strikers against the noble public.

Internal Affairs

There is no lack of interest in internal and world affairs evident in the month's journals; but the pressure of the industrial struggle has been strong enough to push these other things to subordinate positions. Indeed a good portion of the discussion upon internal affairs touches upon matters derived directly from industry. Thus The Carpenter devotes a large piece of its space to a statement of the plans for the union's projected Home for Aged and Infirm Members, to be built in Florida. The Typographical Journal reports union projects for a similar home to be erected also in Florida. The Cigar Makers' Journal argues persuasively for its particular hobby—the establishment of old-age pensions. This interest in provision for the winter of workers' lives will win sympathy from that group of industrial humanity who find it so hard to make hay, simply because the sun seldom shines for them.

The continuous interest displayed by many of the journals in political action not so disconnected with the major chords of industrial interest as may at first sight appear. For those who argue independent political action of one sort or another urge it as another weapon to be used in Labor's advance. The policy of rewarding friends and punishing enemies appears to them like fighting in a modern war with bow and arrow. For such all the "friends and enemies" must be chosen from our two parties, each drenched in capitalist oil. The

Locomotive Engineer's Journal, not so, for instance, why the National Civic Federation should feel justified in announcing for "American labor government" its "unilateral opposition to British Labor's political career. Let American labor speak for itself, say these journals. And at least two of them, The Locomotive Engineer's Journal and the New Majority look to the Cleveland Conference for Progressive Political Action for the development of these spokesmen. The Conference has scheduled its next meeting for July 4 at which it will determine whether or not to support an independent candidate, La Follette's action will greatly influence this final determination.

And convention plans continue to play their important parts in the field of internal affairs. As our own Union prepares for its convention, The American Federation of Teachers Semi-Monthly Bulletin, Organized Labor, Advance, The Cigar Makers' Journal and several others report similar plans afoot in their own unions, while the United Mine Workers' Journal still hums with echoes of its recent convention. At these conventions Labor looks before and after; both are momentous processes.

And the World

And once again your reviewer finds herself forcibly provincial. As she approaches world events with the Labor press, the first thing that the industrial conflict and internal affairs have crowded the world off her page. Therefore we must content ourselves once again with merely chronicling the major items in Labor's discussions of world affairs. The Locomotive Engineer's Journal probably heads the list with an able issue on "Coal." This discussion of our most vexing national problem, so important to world peace, is destined for the future is a fitting memorial to the miners' convention. The American Federationist devotes many pages to eulogies of Woodrow Wilson as the "friend of labor and democracy" and "the foe of Soviet autocracy." As President Wilson rose in the Federationist's estimation, the Locomotive Engineer's Journal apparently droops. At least Chicago Wright cannot pardon the latter journal's advocacy of recognition for Russia as an "American fundamental." Immigration discussion looms large on the journal pages as the discussions in Congress near a decision. And finally, the Railroad Worker, among others, recounts the progress of the "Super-Power" Campaign; various journals (e. g., the International Moulders' Journal and the American Federation of Labor's Weekly News Service) discuss the Teapot Dome investigations as a product of Labor's exposures; and the Railroad Telegrapher sets forth the steady accumulation of its fund for the aid of German trade unions.

Thus spring has come to Labor's camp.

RAND SCHOOL NOTES

On Saturday, April 5, at 1:30 p. m., Scott Neering will discuss "Is Cooperative Democracy Workable?" at his Current Events Class at the Rand School.

At 5:15 p. m., on April 5, the Hon. Bertrand Russell, well-known English philosopher, writer, lecturer and publicist, will speak at the Rand School, 7 East 15th street, on the topic "European Chaos."

THE GET-TOGETHER

The annual get-together of the students, their friends and teachers of the Workers' University, Unity Centers and Extension Division will be held on Saturday, April 5, 7 p. m., in the dining room of the Washington Irving High School.

Admission 25 cents. Make reservations with the Educational Department, 2 West 10th street, and spend a few hours in sociability and good fellowship.



EDUCATIONAL COMMENT AND NOTES

A Course in Trade Union Policies and Tactics

By DAVID J. SAPOSS

Given at the
WORKERS' UNIVERSITY
of the

INTERNATIONAL LADIES' GARMENT WORKERS' UNION
Seasons 1922-23 and 1923-24

LESSON II.—Continued.

- IV. (a) The second of these great economic forces explains industrial evolution by the markets in which man sells that which he produces. It is known as the Marketing Theory.
- (b) According to the Marketing Theory
- (1) Man first produced to satisfy his own wants.
 - (2) Later, as towns grew up, people began to specialize and produce only a certain product which they now sold in order to get money to buy the commodities they needed;
 - (3) With the building of roads, canals, steamships and railroads, the area in which the manufactured goods were sold, expanded first throughout the nation and then throughout the world, so that now we have world markets.
- (c) This expansion of markets has affected the tactics of organized labor. Trade agreements are made on the basis of markets; hence a separate agreement is made with the dress and waist employers to cover that market, and the same is true of the cloak and suit market.
- (d) The boycott and the union label are means through which labor attempts to exercise its influence in the control of markets.
- (1) Through the boycott, labor withholds patronage from unfair employers.
 - (2) Through the union label, labor bestows patronage upon fair employers.

Reunion of Students and Instructors

Tomorrow—Saul Baroff to Play

Tomorrow, Saturday, 7 p. m., will take place the long expected reunion of the students, their friends and instructors of the Workers' University and Unity Centers, in the dining-room of the Washington Irving High School, promptly at 7 o'clock.

The Committee on Arrangements worked out an interesting program for the evening. A seat at a table is prepared for each ticket holder. On the tables they will find delicious refreshments which will help to keep the assembled in good humor. The chairman will call upon some of the teachers and students and officers of the Union for brief remarks. There will be spontaneous group singing. Saul Baroff, a son of Secretary Baroff, will play selections on the violin, and then the students, their friends and instructors will spend the evening in good fellowship and sociability. They will assemble in the gymnasium, where they will end the evening in social dancing.

The Resolutions Committee appointed at the last meeting of the Students' Council, is now drafting the resolutions to be presented. Several committees have been put in charge of the various functions. The serving as well as the decorating will be done by committees composed of students.

Those who wish to volunteer for this work can do so and come to the dining-room of the Washington Irving High School on the fourth floor at about 3:30 o'clock.

Those who have not as yet accounted for tickets can do so by either paying for or returning the tickets on Friday and Saturday morning, at the office of the Educational Department, 3 West 16th street, or on Saturday afternoon in the Washington Irving High School, Room 529, or on Saturday evening in the dining-room.

What Some Distinguished Educators

Said of Dr. Carman's Outline

[Outline of a Course on "Social and Political History of the United States" given at the Workers' University, Season 1921-1922]

Enthusiastic comments were received by our Educational Department on Dr. Carman's outline on "Social and Political History of the United States" from men and women of prominence in the academic world. The limitation of space will not allow us to do more than quote from some of the messages.

(Continued)

Dr. Stephen P. Duggan, The Institute of International Education:

"It is one of the finest brief expositions of our social development that I have seen. To have a man like Carman lecture before your group with this syllabus as a foundation must have been to have given them a remarkable opportunity which I wish more of our college students might enjoy."

Paul Wender:

"Allow me to congratulate you and the Educational Department upon the achievement this booklet represents. It makes available for large circles the tools of knowledge in a most vital field. It is more than an outline. It is a guide, and a fascinating one, to both teachers and students. I hope you will obtain a large circulation for this excellent pamphlet and those to follow, not only within the organization but throughout the labor movement."

Weekly Calendar

WORKERS' UNIVERSITY
Washington Irving High School
Irving Place and 16th St.
Room 529

Saturday, April 5

1:30 p. m. J. H. H. Lyon—Social Forces in Contemporary Literature—The Modern Novel.

2:30 p. m. David J. Saposs—The Immigrant in the Labor Movement.

Sunday, April 6

10:30 a. m. A. W. Calhoun—Social Institutions—Institutions as Premises.

11:30 a. m. H. J. Carman—The Development of Modern Europe.

UNITY CENTERS

Monday, April 7

Brownsville Unity Center—P. S. 150

Christopher Avenue and Sackman Street, Room 204

8:30 p. m. Sylvia Kopald—Economics and the Labor Movement.

Tuesday, April 8

Brooklyn Unity Center—P. S. 61

Crotona Park East and Charlotte Street, Room 511

8:45 p. m. Sylvia Kopald—Economics and the Labor Movement

Wednesday, April 9

East Side Unity Center—P. S. 63

4th Street near First Avenue, Room 4C.

9:00 p. m. A. L. Wilbert—Modern Economic Institutions.

English is taught for beginners, intermediate and advanced students, Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday evenings.

EXTENSION DIVISION

YIDDISH

Saturday, April 5

Local 9—228 Second Avenue

1:00 p. m. Max Levin—Modern Economic Institutions.

Sunday, April 6

Club Rooms, Local 1—1581 Washington Avenue

10:30 a. m. Dr. B. Hoffman—Social and Political Responsibilities of a Modern Trade Union.

Clinton Hall—151 Clinton Street, Room 47

12:00 p. m. Max Levin—Economics of Present Day Society.

ENGLISH

Thursday, April 10

Local 17—Reeser Makers' Educational Center

142 Second Avenue

6:00 to 8:00 p. m. Mr. Goldberg will instruct in the English language.

RUSSIAN

Friday, April 11

Russian-Polish Branch—315 E. 10th Street

8:00 p. m. P. A. Sorokin—Sociology of the Present Day Society.

ALL LECTURES IN ENGLISH UNLESS OTHERWISE INDICATED. ADMISSION FREE TO THE MEMBERS OF THE I. L. G. W. U.

Friday, April 4

Labor Lyceum, 219 Sackman Street, Brooklyn

8:00 p. m. Rehearsal I. L. G. W. U. Chorus. Members of the International are invited.

Saturday, April 5

Washington Irving High School

7:00 p. m. Re-Union, Students of the Workers' University, Unity Centers and Extension Division and their friends. Teachers will be guests of the student body. Reservations can be made now at the Educational Department on payment of 35 cents.

**DR. ARTHUR W. CALHOUN IN
WORKERS' UNIVERSITY ON
SUNDAY, APRIL 13,
10:30 A. M.**

Dr. Calhoun will give a review of the course on "Social Institutions" that he has given in the Workers' University this season. It will be of educational value to our members to attend this lesson, and while the course is summed up by the instructor, the members will have an opportunity to ask questions which the lecturer will gladly answer.

**DR. PAUL BRISSENDEN IN OUR
WORKERS' UNIVERSITY, SAT-
URDAY, APRIL 12**

"The Development of the Trade Agreement," will be discussed by Paul Brissenden, of Columbia University, before the Labor Problems Class, in

our Workers' University on Saturday, April 12, 2:30 p. m., in the Washington Irving High School, Room 529.

Dr. Brissenden has made a special study of this subject and it will be most interesting for our members to attend his discussion on the evolution of the trade union agreement.

**"THE IMMIGRANT IN THE LABOR
MOVEMENT." A DISCUSSION
BY DAVID J. SAPOSS, THIS
SATURDAY**

"The Immigrant in the Labor Movement," will be discussed this Saturday, April 5, by David J. Saposs, before the Labor Problems Class in our Workers' University, Washington Irving High School, Room 529.

Mr. Saposs has made a study of this subject and our members will find it most interesting.

The Week In Local 10

By SAM B. SHENKER

Anyone who was present at the special membership meeting on Monday night, March 31, in Arlington Hall, cannot say that the cutters are not interested in the affairs of the industry and the Union. For on Monday night over seven hundred men packed the large meeting room and discussed some of the ten recommendations of the General Executive Board for the renewal of the agreement in the cloak industry.

While the famous point 4 was the first clause discussed, it occupied nevertheless in discussion the greater part of the evening. A large number of the rank and file took part and spoke with a thorough understanding.

When the vote on point 4, finally took place, which was after midnight, at least half of those voting, if not the majority, were the better grade mechanics who are receiving a good deal above the minimum. When these men voted in favor of it, it showed a departure from the usual concern over their selfish ends and in favor of the broader aspect of the problems which concern the industry as a whole.

This clause, in effect, as contained in the report of the General Executive Board, is a reasonable increase over the existing minimum wage scales in the cloak industry, these increased scales to become standard wages and if accepted by the Union, to be the only scale that it will protect. Some members who took this by itself maintained that it was a point in favor of the employers. However, Manager Dubinsky emphasized the point that this is continuing with the entire program and reconstructing the industry, which includes the limitation of the number of contractors, the second point of the recommendation; and the establishment of a guaranteed period of employment, the sixth of the recommendations.

However, those of the men who by virtue of their ability command wages above the average, that is \$55 and above, persisted in their fears that they would be compelled to work for the minimum. In answer to these men Manager Dubinsky stated that he could not see where their fear was warranted.

"It is not," he said, "true that the minority of the better-grade mechanics establish their high conditions. In proportion as the majority increase their wages so the minority reap its rewards." The manager pointed out that the better mechanics now command \$65 per week and more, because the average is about \$55. Were the average to be \$44, for instance, the so-called "cream" of the cutting-trade would be receiving between \$50 and \$55.

Dubinsky, however, not only spoke as the manager of the cutters but he also spoke as vice-president of the International, presenting the point of view of the General Executive Board, and during the course of his arguments said that the demands now presented by the union for the renewal of the agreement in the cloak industry were not based along the narrow lines of the past. At the present time the union is considering the problem of the industry as such.

If there were evils in the trade which hampered the workers in making a decent livelihood, these evils must be coped with from the point of view of the industry. In other words, if the workers suffered from the evil of the small contracting or cutthroat shops, an increase in

wages or a reduction in the hours of labor would not alleviate this condition. The Union must go to the sources which made for these evils, and that is what the Union is doing at the present time, the manager said.

"The question is," Dubinsky said, "what can the industry stand? The large shops are gradually disappearing and the small shops are increasing in numbers. Where the employer of a large shop wants to remain in business, even he falls victim to the present chaotic conditions in the industry and is compelled to reorganize his plant to half of its former size. When we consider improvements in the industry, it is from this point of view that we must consider them. What is the solution of an evil which gives a jobber the right to distribute his work among two hundred contractors while he can actually supply only twenty contractors with work?"

Before the membership discussed the question of the minimum, they had approved by almost unanimous vote the three preceding recommendations. The first was the establishment of the forty-hour week in the New York cloak industry, which is to be extended to other cloak and dress markets in the United States. The second was the limitation of the number of contractors to whom jobbers may send work. The third was that the union be given the right to examine all books and other data necessary, to ascertain whether the provisions of the agreement are being carried out.

On the question of the forty-hour week and the right to examine books there was no discussion whatever. On the question however, of the limitation of the number of contractors to a jobber, some discussion did take place. Some favored the recommendation as a whole, and considered it the most important of the ten; the securing of which would greatly check many of the present evils. Others were skeptical of the manner in which this would work out.

In presenting the point of view of the local's executive board and, as a vice-president of the International, that of the General Executive Board, Manager Dubinsky stated that this proposition aimed at the stabilization of the industry. The past few years, he pointed out, have seen the large shops turned to jobbing and created in the place of everyone of these, twenty or thirty competitive shops.

A study of this situation shows that at most three to seven contractors could very well do the work of these jobbers, or as they style themselves "merchants." But because of the keen competitive system contracting shops have grown enormously. This is mainly due to the existence of the varying wages and the ability of many of the owners of these shops to do some branch of the work, such as cutting, examining, etc., and thus undersell the next man.

What is, however, of greatest importance is the fact that the jobbers have the absolute freedom to give their work to any number of contractors. They also withdraw it from one shop and send it to another, thus giving these merchants the absolute right to hire and fire. A jobber may put the workers of ten contractors' shops out of work by refusing to give them any work, and these workers have no recourse.

The manager pointed out that there are at present twenty-six hundred shops in the cloak industry, while

fourteen hundred could very well supply the same amount of work. There is no need to go into further details on this question, as volumes of it have been written in this publication by International President Morris Sigman, and R. Yanofsky, editor. Suffice it to say that in its conferences with the employers, the union is approaching the problems of the workers in a broader sense. It is not satisfied with surface measures.

The ten recommendations had already been approved by the Executive Board before they were referred to the members for adoption. The Executive Board, when taking up Point 4, also discussed it lengthily. It received the unanimous approval of the members of the Board. Other recommendations referred to equalization of scales in the finishing branch of the trade, joint unemployment insurance, to which jobbers as well as manufacturers should contribute, the formation of a labor bureau, the adoption of the union sanitary label, and the adoption of definite disciplinary measures.

Conferences are already in progress. One took place on March 26 with the Jobbers' Association, and the meeting with the Protective Association took place on Monday night, March 31. The officers representing the union are: President of the International, Morris Sigman; the general officers and district managers of the Joint Board; the managers of the locals, and the members of the Board of Directors of the Joint Board. The representatives of Local 10 are, therefore: Manager David Dubinsky; Samuel Perlmutter, manager of the Downtown Office of the Joint Board; President Philip Ansel, and Joseph Fish, who is treasurer of the Joint Board.

At the Executive Board meeting of March 15, in connection with the manager's report of the conditions in the trade and the renewal of the agreement, a committee was appointed. The duty of this committee is to go over the present agreement with a view to making whatever recommendations may be necessary with respect to the problems of the cutters. This committee consists of the manager, and Brothers Isidore Nagler, Samuel Perlmutter, Philip Ansel and Joseph Fish.

One of the cutters' problems discussed was the evil of the bosses cutting. Dubinsky said that he is working on a plan which he intends to submit to the Executive Board and the membership shortly.

Last Monday night's meeting was a special one for two purposes. The first purpose was the discussion and action on the ten recommendations, and the second was the report by the Election Board of the results of the

election for delegates to the 17th Biennial Convention.

The complete results were given in the last issue of this publication. The nine delegates whom the Election Board declared elected by reason of the fact that they had received the highest number of votes are: David Dubinsky, Samuel Perlmutter, Isidore Nagler, Joseph Fish, Sam B. Shenker, Philip Ansel, Meyer Skuth, Benjamin Ery and David Fruhling. The report was accepted by the members. The committee which has charge of the election is deserving of commendation for the manner in which the entire election was conducted. The members of it are: Nathan Saperstein, Chairman, and Meyer Katz, Emanuel Kopp, Jack Goldstein, Abe Reiss and Meyer Friedman.

The Fourteenth Annual Ball came to a successful conclusion both from the point of attendance as well as financially. The large dancing floor of Tammany Hall was filled to capacity. Merry-making was visible throughout the evening. And at 2 a. m., when the orchestra played, "Home, Sweet Home," there was still a large number of people in the hall reluctantly preparing to leave.

The Arrangements Committee had made up a handsome dance program, in which were also contained the names of the various committees and the officers of the organization. In the committee's greetings all of the officers of the International, the Joint Board, and the local unions were greeted and welcomed. The delegates to the Convention were also greeted, as were the delegates and those who are to be elected by other locals.

Figures are not available at the present time showing the amount realized. However, the outcome is very successful and the depleted Relief Fund will again come actively into play.

The twelve cutters of the Taxedo Cloak Company have presented Brother Meyer Skuth, their shop chairman, with a beautiful gift in the form of a diamond pin, for his activities in their behalf. Among other things, he was instrumental in securing for the men an increase in their wages.

Brother Skuth, it will be remembered, is not only active as shop chairman. He is a member of the Executive Board and was elected to serve as the Board's treasurer. He is also one of the delegation to the I. L. G. W. U. Convention. When the cutters decided to present him with this gift, they no doubt realized that his activities as their chairman were worthy of their appreciation. The committee which made the presentation consists of: Maurice Jacobs, Sam Rosen and Meyer Friedman.

CUTTERS' UNION, LOCAL 10

NOTICE OF MEETINGS

REGULAR MEETING.....Monday, April 14th

MISCELLANEOUS MEETING.....Monday, April 21st

REGULAR MEETING.....Monday, April 28th

Meetings Begin at 7:30 P. M.

AT ARLINGTON HALL, 23 St. Mark's Place