

"My righteousness 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. 26.

New York, Friday, June 27, 1924.

Price 2 Cents

## Governor's Commission Ends Hearings, Findings Expected in a Few Days

Hearings Come to an End After Eleven Sessions—Commission Goes Into Executive Session, and Summary of Findings and Recommendations Expected Shortly—Hillquit Demolishes Arguments of Jobbers' Counsel—President Sigman Winds Up Hearings With Masterly Statement on Background and Justice of Union's Demands—Preparations for General Strike Continue Unabated

The hearings before Governor Smith's commission on conciliation in the pending controversy between the workers and the employers in the cloak industry of New York, continued to hold the center of attention during the past week. The commission met on Thursday and Friday, June 19 and 20, and recessed over the week-end to meet again on Monday, June 23, when hearings were resumed in the Aldermanic chamber.

**Third Day of Hearing**  
The third day of the efforts of the Governor's commission, under the chairmanship of George Gordon Battle, to examine the complex issues between the workers and the employers in the cloak and suit industry, began with the concluding remarks of Samuel Blumberg, counsel for the Merchants Ladies' Garment Association, who ended his attempt to "explain away" the case built up against the jobber at early hearings by Morris Hillquit, counsel for the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, and by the American Cloak and Suit Manufacturers' Association, the sub-manufacturers.

After Mr. Blumberg rested his case, Harry Uviller, general manager of the sub-manufacturers' association, began his presentation of the technical side of the controversy. He began by saying that the Union could not, whether it cares to or not, eliminate small corporation shops, so long as there is a source of supply of work given to these small units. He referred to the fruitless cloak and suit investigation of last fall and said it failed because the jobbers would not give up information they considered confidential.

**Jobbers Lower Standards**  
If the American Association has failed in any manner in living up to its obligations to the Union, Mr. Uviller stated, it has been because the jobbers would not pay for union standards. Buyers representing the

jobbers, he maintained, are ignorant of manufacturing costs in 90 per cent of the cases and the non-union shops set the price scales for labor on a garment; the system of buying in jobbing establishments really amounts to nothing more than secret auctioneering.

"Why does the jobber use 200 sub-manufacturers when the season starts?" Mr. Uviller asked. "It is to give him a fever with which to force down the prices of the sub-manufacturers to whom he will finally give his work."

At this point Mr. Uviller read several order blanks as used by jobbers in the New York market, showing the harsh clauses enforced against them.

Morris Hillquit, counsel for the Union, asked permission to enlarge on some of Mr. Uviller's remarks, and showed how the Union members received week-work wages, while the jobbers were getting a piece-work arrangement from the contractors.

Mr. Uviller also offered to introduce photographs of the sweatshops with which the regular sub-manufacturer must compete.

**Approval of Union Demands**  
Mr. Uviller then took up the Union's demands point by point, and

opened by declaring that Points 2 and 6 of the Union's contract form as submitted to the commission met with the approval of the sub-manufacturers. Point 7, dealing with contributions to the Joint Board of Sanitary Control, was also declared by Mr. Uviller to be acceptable to the sub-manufacturers. Point 8, dealing with the use of a union label, is acceptable likewise, he said, as well as Point 9 providing for unemployment insurance.

Regarding Points 10, 11 and 12 dealing with contractor limitation, Mr. Uviller contented himself with a general statement as follows:

"I believe that contractor limitation can be brought about to the benefit of all, is advisable for the industry, and can be worked out with the best of all the parties concerned."

On the question of the time guarantee of employment, Mr. Uviller declared that, if the jobbers felt that they could guarantee employment, the sub-manufacturers would be perfectly willing to accept such a clause.

**Hillquit Replies to Blumberg**  
The remainder of the afternoon was consumed by Mr. Hillquit's answer to some of the statements made by Blumberg the day before. He re-

futed the statement that the Union was responsible for the manufacturers' having become jobbers through necessity. The only necessity that may have urged them to give up the inside shops was the necessity of maintaining decent conditions and wages for their workers. They considered these standards onerous and turned over the work of changing these conditions to the sub-manufacturers. The Union has been the only power that took the trouble to maintain standards in the industry, Mr. Hillquit stated, and to that end the Union has spent a half million dollars a year.

Mr. Hillquit characterized as a ghastly joke the jobbers' complaint that the Union does not live up to its duty, after he had detailed the machinery used by the Union to maintain standards.

Mr. Hillquit explained the attitude of the Union to the sub-manufacturers. "They do not serve a useful purpose," Mr. Hillquit stated, and expressed his disagreement with Mr. Uviller that the sub-manufacturer is economically a benefit to the industry. But the Union must meet the situation as it exists. The sub-manufacturer is in the industry and must be treated with, Mr. Hillquit remarked, and the Union's attitude in this respect is in healthy contrast to the jobbers' refusal to deal with the sub-manufacturers and to treat them with contempt.

Among the other points advanced by Samuel Blumberg which Mr. Hillquit denied, was the contention that the retailer does not want the union label on garments bought by him. Mr. Hillquit characterized it as a mere surmise. The Union has as much right, he declared, to surmise that the retailer would like to have a label on the garment that he sells,

(Continued on page 2.)

## Cloak, Dress, and Waistmakers Do Not Work on July Fourth

Next Friday, July 4, Independence Day, is a legal holiday in all the women's wear trades in New York City. No cloakmakers, dressmakers, waistmakers and other members of the International in New York are permitted to work on that day.

All week-workers must be paid for July 4 a full day's wages. Inspection committees of the Joint Board and of all locals will be sent to the cloak, dress and other garment-making districts to watch that no members enter the shops.

Those found working or attempting to work will be dealt with according to the rules of the Union.

## July Fourth Concert in Forest Park Unity House

This year as in all other years, Independence Day will be celebrated in the Forest Park Unity House by a concert and entertainment. A large crowd is anticipated for the week-end.

Fourth of July this year falls on Friday and that will offer an excellent opportunity for hundreds of our members to spend the end of the week in the beautiful surroundings of Unityard.

The House has introduced a great many improvements and innovations this year and these will doubtless be heartily welcomed by Unity guests. The electric plant has been materially improved, and the time period of two weeks formerly fixed for women with children has been abolished so

that they might stay there as long as they desire to.

All those who wish to spend the Fourth of July at Unity should make reservation at once in the New York office, 16 West 21st street.

### VILLA ANITA GARIBALDI OPENS THIS SATURDAY

The Unity House of our Italian Dressmakers, Local 89, on Staten Island, the Villa Anita Garibaldi, will be opened this Saturday, June 28.

The new season will be ushered in with a banquet, which will be held on Saturday afternoon, at 3 o'clock. Visitors are requested to arrive on time.

## 40,000 Men's Clothing Workers in General Strike in New York

Amalgamated to Enforce Union Conditions in Contractor Shops

During the last few weeks the Amalgamated Clothing Workers have been negotiating with the clothing manufacturers of New York in an effort to come to a peaceful understanding with regard to observation of the union wages and other standards in the large number of contractor establishments in the tailoring trade in New York. Simultaneously the clothing workers were beginning to get ready for a strike, which in the end proved inevitable.

Last Tuesday evening, June 24, the Amalgamated summoned a meeting in New York City of all shop chair-

men in the trade, at which President Sidney Hillman declared that the only course left for the workers is to strike. It was decided to call out the workers without delay and on Wednesday morning, June 25, the tailors of the greater city, practically 40,000 men, left the shops.

The Amalgamated, ever since they were organized in 1914, have not lost an important fight against their employers. They are fighting now for the preservation of the agreement conditions in the New York market, a highly important issue, and it is confidently expected that they will win out after a short and decisive battle.

# Governor's Commission Ends Hearings; Findings Expected in a Few Days

(Continued from Page 1)

testifying to its manufacture under sanitary conditions.

## Fourth Day of Hearings

In the morning session of the fourth day, Morris Hillquit, counsel for the Union, continued to make denial after denial of the assertions of Samuel Blumberg of the Jobbers' Association. He made a strong plea for the sanitary label, the limitation of contractors and the investigation of books of the jobbers. Mr. Hillquit defended the Union's request for examination of the jobbers' books to determine whether they are giving work to non-union shops. He offered, however, to have such examinations conducted under the supervision of an impartial arbitrator.

Style change, Mr. Hillquit claimed, which the jobbers alleged is the cause for their need of an unlimited number of sub-manufacturers, is neither sudden nor violent. Such fluctuations in styles have been greatly exaggerated. As a matter of fact, preferential treatment of sub-manufacturers is practiced by jobbers even today, in the sense that many jobbers employ several sub-manufacturers steadily throughout the season. The Decisions to be Observed by Every

## Factor in the Industry

In response to a question, Mr. Hillquit stated that the decision reached by the Board, if accepted by the parties in interest, would be enforced by the Union on the whole industry, and the Union would be willing to undertake, in any contract it might sign with the jobbers, to enforce a similar contract on the whole industry.

## Impartial Machinery

He further stated that it was doubly necessary to have impartial machinery if the sub-manufacturers are to become a party to any agreement.

He then went into the objections to the distribution of work during the dull seasons, and suggested that recourse to the impartial chairman would be guaranteed enough for the jobbers in the distribution of work.

## Mr. Frankel of Cleveland Appears

Two features of the afternoon session were an address by William Klein, speaking for the Protective group of employers, who devoted himself to attacking both the Union and the jobbers, and a "surprise" which was sprung on the Union later in the day when the commission permitted Mr. Philip Frankel, representing the Cleveland cloak firms, to deliver a statement bearing

on the condition of Cleveland market and the relations of the Cleveland employers to the local cloak union. Mr. Frankel, an old-time opponent of the workers' organization, tried to make it appear as if the union conditions enforced by the workers in the Cleveland cloak market were responsible for the drifting out of the trade, as he claimed, to New York and other centers. Upon a rapid-fire cross-examination by Mr. Hillquit, Mr. Frankel, however, was made to admit that it was the New York jobbing system that succeeded in getting away a good deal of the Cleveland production and that neither the guaranteed time period of employment nor any other of the union standards in the Cleveland market had anything to do with it.

## Fifth Day

The second week of the hearing before the mediation commission opened with Samuel Blumberg concentrating his arguments on the business intercourse between the sub-manufacturers and the jobbers, and presenting to the commission some figures which he alleged showed that nearly 80 per cent of the business done by the larger jobbers is on garments purchased from firms to whom they supply no materials.

"We will not make a collective agreement with the Union on the basis of its present demands, just as the Protective Association will not," said Mr. Blumberg, after making the claim that the Union finds it easier to enforce collective contracts.

During the afternoon session, Mr. Blumberg finished his argument against the demands of the Union as outlined by Mr. Hillquit on the fourth day of the hearings, including the right to investigate the books of the jobbers, though he estimated that, if the two major retail associations were to approve a sanitary label, the jobbers would have no objections to its use. The afternoon session ended by Hillquit's rejoinder to Blumberg's argument, in which he questioned the accuracy of Mr. Blumberg's estimate that the members of the stockhouse association buy 27 per cent of their garments direct. He declared he would prove that the correct figure is nearer 10 per cent. Mr. Hillquit declared that the stockhouses, after all this arguing, have not yet offered any suggestions for remedying the chaos in the industry.

For the first time, Mr. Hillquit stated, he found an association of employers opposed to the principle of arbitration. In the past, it had been the workers who objected, and he estimated that the number of cases that would come before an impartial chairman in the course of a year is not more than 100 to 150.

In closing, Mr. Hillquit characterized the attitude of the stockhouses as purely negative. The jobbers had admitted that there were great evils in the industry, but they offered nothing as a remedy.

The rest of the afternoon was consumed in the reading of a statement by Mr. George Jablow, president of the Cloak Manufacturers' Protective Association, in which he attempted to defend the arbitrary stand taken by his organization with regard to the Union, and its refusal to discuss the Union's program for remedying the evils in the industry.

## Sixth Day

At the beginning of the eleventh session on Wednesday morning, June 25, President Morris Sigmam of the International delivered an address before the impartial body of mediators, telling of the human side of the controversy in the cloak and suit industry and sketched, against the historic background of the last fourteen years he had witnessed in the industry, the ills which the workers saw aim to overcome. Our readers will

## INTERNATIONAL CALENDAR

By H. SCHOLMAN

This Week Twelve Years Ago

The strike in the coat factory in Kalamazoo, Mich., where 500 working girls have waged a heroic fight, finally comes to a successful end. The firm obliges itself to get back to work all the strikers, to recognize a shop chairman and, in case of a dispute, to submit grievances to a board of arbitration and to abide by its decision. This board is to consist of the mayor of the city, a prominent clergyman and a leading citizen.

The Toronto convention decides among other things to instruct the newly elected General Executive Board to get in touch with the men's tailors to maintain the close and friendly relations with them. It also decided to agitate for a general strike for all women workers in the ladies' garment industry to establish a 55-hour week in their shops.

The promoters of Morris Black & Co., in Cleveland, go out on strike because the firm cannot place work. The highest wage for promoters in that shop is \$16 a week, but the firm is willing to pay 25 cents additional per garment if they process more than thirty garments a day. The operators, cutters and finishers of the shop are ready to help the promoters win their fight.

find excerpts of President Sigmam's speech on page 5 of this issue.

It was announced at noon time that there would be no hearings before the commission in the afternoon, and that the executive sessions would begin at night. There may or may not be further public hearings.

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## New York Workers Gather to Protest Matteotti's Murder

Mass Meeting at Carnegie Hall With Prominent Speakers Arranged By Italian Chamber of Labor

The organized Italian workers of New York, represented by the Italian Chamber of Labor, have not failed to respond to the storm of indignation aroused by the death, at the hands of the Fascisti, of the Italian Socialist leader and Parliamentarian deputy, Giacomo Matteotti, last week.

As soon as the news of this despicable crime reached New York, the leaders of Italian labor lost no time in arranging for a huge protest demonstration against Mussolini's murder gang which has kept Italy under its iron heel for over a year, riding rough-shod over the elementary liberties of the people and the constitutional form of government.

The great meeting is called for

Thursday, June 26, at Carnegie Hall, at 8 p. m. and will be addressed by some of New York's best-known orators, including Morris Hillquit, Norman Thomas, Judge Panken, Arturo Giovannitti, Morris Sigmam, Sidney Hillman, Joseph Schlossberg, Carlo Trecca, and others.

Resolutions will be adopted by the meeting and forwarded to the State Department, the President of the United States and the Italian parliament in Rome. A resolution of condolence and sympathy will also be forwarded to Sigmam Matteotti, the widow of the murdered Socialist leader.

Full details of this meeting will be given in the next issue of JUSTICE.

Are you receiving the *Justice* each week?

Do you know of any member who does not get *Justice* regularly?

Take the matter up with your secretary, or write to

PUBLICATION DEPT., I. L. G. W. U.,  
3 W. 16th St. New York.

## Prague

By PAULINE M. NEWMAN

To one who is acquainted with the history and customs of the Jewish race, Prague is of immense interest. We did not have time for a long stay, such as we would have liked it. But we stayed long enough to see the main highlights that are of interest to visitors.

In the streets we saw old and curious-looking church towers; houses that seemed centuries old; archways, bridges, and monuments which spoke of the long, long ago. Here for instance is the old city square where stands the marvelous monument to one of the greatest men Bohemia produced—John Hus. Hus (the courageous one, the thinker and the martyr!) A giant figure with a saintly face—surrounded by his followers, both men and women. The artist who molded the figure of John Hus must himself have been imbued with his spirit and vision, or he would never have been able to create this immortalization of courage and martyrdom! John Hus did not agree with the Catholic Church. He broke away from it, and was probably the first man to organize a Protestant group. He soon had a number of

men and women who followed him, and who called themselves "Hussites." For this "crime" John Hus was tried and condemned to death. Perhaps the most impressive thing about this monument is the insignificance and solitude of John Hus! He seems to stand alone—even in the midst of his followers.

A painting hung in the simple but very beautiful old town hall shows Hus on trial. This painter, like the sculptor, has brought so vividly before us the man whose life was taken because his mind had striven to be as free as his soul must have been. He died only to become immortal to those who consider freedom of thought essential to human progress. We shall remember Prague for many things we saw there, and in remembering it we shall never forget the magnificent monument to John Hus.

The "Burg," the most interesting part of which was the old church, is rich in the memories of Bohemia's ancient grandeur and vividly historical through the presence of riches brought there by Austrian rulers. The silver altar and memorial to one old

king struck us as a typical eastern barbaric piece. The chapel was lined with precious and semi-precious stones. The church treasure contained a marvelous collection of riches. The "Burg" itself was also interesting especially in the old parts where Bohemian history had been made. In the city proper the buildings, the old squares, are memories of the strife and struggles of the middle ages. From here we proceeded to the Jewish quarters where we were escorted by a Jewish guide to the ancient cemetery and the almost buried synagogue. I say almost buried, because we had to walk downstairs to see the interior. On entering, we were told to observe the flag given to the Jews by the Austrian Emperor for their loyalty and devotion to their country in one of the early wars. The altar was decorated with the Jewish banners and very filthy red curtains. The windows were small and dirty. The wooden benches, the pedestal, the walls, in short, everything therein gave us a feeling of something dead and gone. Adjoining the Synagogue is the cemetery. Here one can still read the

names of Jewish celebrities. Some of the graves date back to the Ninth Century—supposed to be the oldest grave of a Jew to be found in that part of the world. I could not help but think of the modern Jewish reform temples, and compare, at least, the physical differences between the two kinds of places in which Jews pray and hope for the Messiah.

The one thing we did not like in Prague was the spirit of its people. The new independence seemed to have gone to their heads. We could not get a policeman to speak German. On one occasion we had to repeat our question several times before he could answer us in German. Yet when we would go into a store and they knew it meant business, they did not hesitate to speak German then! In the hotels, on the streets, in their advertising booklets—everywhere was this attitude of "look at us now, for we are late!" We did not like it. They acted like spoiled children who get what they want and mean to let you know how great they are because they get it!

The two groups of people who represent this attitude within Czechoslovakia are the communists and the members of the Socialist party. But, there, like everywhere else, the two groups do not work together, and their influence is therefore not felt on this, or on any other matter. We had hoped to get a great deal of information concerning economic conditions in that country because we knew some of the Labor women personally. But when we got there we found them in different camps—one was "right" and the other was "left." The Socialist party there, like in many parts of the world, fought—in fact had to fight—the communists as hard and with as much determination as they fought the capitalists—which is one reason for their decline in membership as well as in influence compared to their standing heretofore.

But that is another issue. . . .

## In Local 38

Unfortunately the special general member meeting called for Tuesday, June 24, could not be held, but the meeting will take place without fail on Monday, June 30, in the main hall of the Harlem Socialist Center, 62 East 106th street, at 7:30 p. m.

The very important questions to be considered at the meeting make it especially urgent that all members attend.

B. DRASIN, Secretary.

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## JUSTICE

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The June Conference of the League for Industrial Democracy is now in full swing and many men and women connected with the Labor movement and their sympathizers are planning to spend the coming week-end at the conference, which is being held at the Columbus Hotel, Belmar, New Jersey, a couple of hours' ride from New York City.

Norman Thomas, Director of the League, called together the conference at the first session which was devoted to Possibilities and Limits of Political Action.

Benjamin Stolberg, magazine writer, traced the development of the third party movement from the Greenback, Granger, Free Silver, Populist and Socialist party stages and declared that almost invariably the grievances expressed by these movements were sooner or later, though only partially and vicariously—met in the platforms of the more powerful parties. Mr. Stolberg sketched the personnel and tactics of recent movements for independent political action and gave the reasons why, in his opinion, the "radical" development was here to stay.

Prior to his talk, Professor Alfred Sheffield of Wellesley College, analyzed the technique of discussion.

Dr. Isaac A. Hourwich at the Thursday morning session dealt with the need for cooperation between farmers' groups and workers' groups in a Labor party, if such a party ever hoped to obtain a majority of votes.

After careful analysis into all of the data available regarding the relative strength of various classes of workers and owners in the community, Dr. Hourwich concluded that industrial wage-earners constituted in 1920 42.4 per cent of the entire wage-earning population in the United States as compared with 34.1 per cent in 1900. Furthermore, the industrial wage-earners together with farmers and hired farm hands represent 63 per cent of all bread-winners, a potential majority of all voters.

"No amendment to the Constitution which may be required to put Socialism in operation can be carried by the votes of the industrial proletariat alone.

"From the available statistics the time when the industrial proletariat will have become a majority of the

voters in three-fourths of all the States cannot be foreseen.

"If Socialism is to be put into operation, there is either the alternative of a Communist coup-d'état or the fusion between farmer and Labor groups in regard to candidates at election time, each party retaining its political identity. The effect of this form of political cooperation is that two or more minority groups by combining become a majority and can control legislation."

Dr. Scott Nearing also dealt with the necessary relations between Farmer and Labor groups and the desirability of cooperation.

At the Thursday evening session on "The Propaganda Technique for an American Labor Party," McAllister Coleman, publicity expert, declared that sooner or later a Labor party must take a page from the methods of the old parties and set up a central press bureau in charge of experts.

Mr. Coleman declared that backing up newspaper propaganda, there must be articles to the general magazines, letters to the papers and pamphlets. He declared that more attention is paid by newspaper owners to letters from readers than one might suspect.

Marie MacDonald, organizer of the American Labor party, spoke effectively of methods of oral propaganda. She gave a number of excellent hints in regard to the arrangement of hall meetings, the need of getting publicity in the newspapers, attractive handbills, striking placards and personal contact; a good chairman who can be brief and snappy and a speaker who thoroughly knows his subject and knows how to get it across.

On Friday evening and Saturday morning, George Soule, Martha Benesky Broder and others will deal with "An Immediate Legislative Program for an American Labor Party."

Saturday night S. G. Inman, Executive Secretary of the Committee on Cooperation in Latin America will open the discussion on "An International Program—Our Relations with Central and South America."

Morris Hillquit, J. G. McDonald of the Foreign Policy Association and Sidney A. Gulick of the Federal Council of Churches will lead the Sunday morning discussion on "An

International Program—Our Relations with Europe and Asia."

Harry W. Laidler will deal on Sunday afternoon at 2:30 with a "Social Utopia and an American Labor Party."

A further feature of the Saturday evening session will be an amateur theatrical on the present political situation with Clement Wood acting as medium, Charles Erwin and Norman Thomas as the Republican and Democratic twins, Nellie Seid Nearing as the Yellow Peril, Marie MacDonald as the Ku Klux Klan, Margaret Tucker as the Red Menace, Harry W. Laidler as the confused plaintiff, Samuel Friedman as Labor, Gertrude Weil Klein as the Free Speech plank, McAllister Coleman as the oil scandal and others.

Agnes Armington Laidler will sing some English folk songs on the Friday night and one of the Sunday sessions. Clement Wood will also render some Negro spirituals.

The special feature of the conference will be the informal discussion following the brief set addresses. Among others who will take part in these informal discussions are Florence Kelley, Robert Morse Lovett, Harriot Stanton Blatch, Lucy Brannham, Charles Solomon, Louis Lehigh, J. B. Salutzky, Jessie Wallace Hughes, J. A. Erickman, Morris Bernman, Catherine Menzies, Louis Budenz, Max Danish and others.

The rates at the conference are \$4.00 and \$5.00 a day, including room and board.

Those planning to go over the week-end can send in their reservations to the L. I. D., care of New Columbia Hotel, Belmar, New Jersey.

# New York Laundry Workers

By MABEL LESLIE

(Secretary, Women's Trade Union League of New York.)

New York is experiencing a general awakening among the laundry workers. Four branches of the trade now have a charter from the International Laundry Workers' Union. Only those who have worked for years to bring about in the laundries a condition that would make it possible for the long educational campaign to bear fruit can understand what this means to the workers and to the general public.

New York probably has a greater number of laundries per capita than any other city in the world. Every neighborhood has its hand laundry and great steam laundries, and wet wash laundries, too. What conditions prevail in these laundries for their thousands of employees? It is a matter of human interest and it is vital to social progress to know, and if possible remedy, the conditions under which New York's population has its clothes laundered. It is of vital concern to the health of the city.

In 1912 the Women's Trade Union League of New York assisted with the first strike of the laundry workers in New York City. This strike was called to remedy some of the evil conditions in the trade. A sum of money larger than that received from all other sources was contributed by the league and services of a league organizer and the office were freely given to the end that the strike caused many improvements in conditions.

From that day on, despite the disorganized condition of the trade, the New York League has carried on almost yearly educational campaigns. Circulars have been distributed by the thousands, urging laundry workers to attend meetings to organize.

## Systematic Propaganda

This year a different method was used. A series of five circulars was prepared by the league for hand laundry workers and these were distributed to the same laundries on the same day of the week for four successive weeks. These circulars did not ask the workers to come to meetings, but brought a story each week about unions and particularly about laundry workers and what a union in the trade could hope to accomplish. This work might not have been so successful, were it not for the splendid services given by the district organizer, John Mackay, who did most of the work of distributing the circulars and talked to hundred of laundry workers personally. Now the four unions in the field chartered by the International Laundry Workers' Union and Local 810 of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, consisting of laundry drivers, which formed an Allied Council, which plans to carry on the organization work with the cooperation of the New York Women's Trade Union League and District Organizer Mackay.

The shirt ironers employed in the hand laundries organized in Local 280 in November, 1921. The ironers are virtually 100 per cent organized. Despite the totally unorganized conditions of the hand laundries, the shirt ironers, all men, have been able to maintain conditions and to set up certain standards as to hours and wages. In June, 1923, the shirt ironers declared a strike for the purpose of standardizing their piece rates. This two-day strike was successful and probably led to the crystallizing of a sentiment among the women ironers who do the family ironing, and this resulted in the organizing of a union of family ironers (women), makers and asseeters (men and women), and

errand boys. This local is known as Local 284. It has a woman president and a man secretary. The union now has an organizer and their Committee on Demands has drafted a list of demands. These include an 8-hour day and a 40-hour week; a standardized minimum wage for the various kinds of ironers, such as plain ironers, starch ironers, fancy ironers; time and a half for overtime; double time for work on holidays. More important than these even to the employers of family laundries is the question of sanitation. At the present time there is a State Committee, appointed by the New York State Commissioner of Labor, working on the re-codifying of the Sanitary Laws and a great deal of attention has been given to the question of sanitation in the laundries. But, meanwhile, hand laundries are small and cramped, unclean, lacking in clean air and ordinary provisions for physical comfort. Some are even located in cellars—damp, crowded, musty.

## A Public Health Menace

One of the greatest difficulties is the sorting of soiled linen. This goes on, in most cases, in the small room where the other employees are working and where the ironer is working on clean clothes. This is not only a menace to the health of the workers, but it is dangerous to

the health of the patrons of the laundries who will receive the clean clothes which are being ironed where the sorting of soiled linen is going on, and in the same room it is a frequent custom for employees also to eat their lunches.

In New York there is what might be called a "Trust," which owns five steam laundries, known to the trade as "wholesale laundries." These steam laundries are owned by an association of hand laundry proprietors. Supposedly hand-laundered clothes, with the exception of the very finest pieces, are sent to these wholesale steam laundries for washing and are then returned to the hand laundries for ironing.

A charter has just been granted to the employees of the steam laundries, Local 290. An organization committee is working and a Committee on Demands is preparing a report for the consideration of the Union.

Then there is a third class of laundry, known as the wet wash laundry, and an application for a charter has just come from this group and the International office is granting this request. The almost simultaneous movement for unionization of the laundries is an outgrowth of long years of educational work among laundry workers. The wholly unstandardized conditions which pre-

vail have led to the growing resentment of all employees, but it is a well-known fact that where extremely long hours and low wages prevail, it is difficult to reach the workers. I have stood outside steam laundries in the dark of early morning and have seen the women hobbling to work on their pitifully sore feet, due to standing long hours all day, in perhaps the majority of cases, on wet floors. Again I have stood before these same laundries and have seen these same women come out at 8 and 9 and even 10 or 11 o'clock at night. Why only one expert them to attend a Union meeting, when working under such conditions? And in fact, how can they be expected to take part in any civic or social movement in their city? With the legal limitation of hours, conditions have undoubtedly improved and the health and welfare of the workers with it. It needed only the example of the shirt ironers who stood out, because of the successful strike, as a shining example of what unionization can do to create a sentiment which immediately got into action. Four unions of laundry workers in New York, where previously but one existed, and that one of men only, is an indication of the fighting spirit which has come to the fore among the laundry workers. From it will come the much improved conditions and real standards in the laundries, but better health for this great mass of workers and really clean clothes for the laundry patrons.

—Life and Labor Bulletin.

# Liberty

By AUGUST CLAESSENS

Every now and then some Labor union-baiting editor of a big daily newspaper lets out a yip about "Liberty." Says he, "Trade Unions are a shameful conspiracy against a working man's liberty. They interfere with and infringe upon his God-given rights and his inalienable rights as an American citizen. Unions dictate how much wages a man shall earn, how many hours he shall work, how much work he is to do and how and under what conditions he is to do it." The editors are right! That's just what unions are in business for! Let's explain why.

In the first place, what in Sam Hill is "liberty," anyhow? A first-class hand-embroidered cuspidor is offered as a prize to any man that can give a definition of liberty to which at least one other man will agree. What is liberty to one is generally tyranny to another. Furthermore, each man has his own private conception as to what constitutes liberty. And lastly, the word "liberty" generally means something very specific to every individual that espouses it.

For example, what did Patrick Henry want when he orated "Give me liberty or give me death"? You bet, he knew just what he wanted. Study the whole speech and you will find that Patrick Henry did not want LIBERTY for all the colonists. No, sir! He and his crowd wanted the liberty to exploit their land and slaves without divying up the swag with any absentee Britisher. Patrick Henry certainly did not want LIBERTY for the Negro slaves or the poor whites that were held in debt and bondage. He did not want absolute liberty.

The guy upstairs with a piano hanging away into the wee hours of the morning will also give you a spiel on liberty if you hand in a complaint. The regulation "No Spitting" in public places is an infringement on the liberty of some pigs. And when the average working man delivers a harangue on the death of liberty in this country, you can bet your last

dollar that he is not howling about anti-Labor injunctions, Supreme Court decisions or the American Plan. No, sirree. He is usually lambasting hell out of prohibition!

The fact is that there is no such animal as ABSOLUTE LIBERTY. Where many people congregate, the liberties of an individual are curbed. Personal liberty must often be curbed in the interest of the liberty of the great mass. In other words, liberty is not absolute. It is a relative condition. When the liberty of an individual is limited, it often happens that the restriction brings even greater liberties to the individual himself. Let's illustrate this.

A young fellow and a girl are seated on a park bench. He chews tobacco and she hates it. "Cut it out, Charlie, please, for my sake." Oh, goodness, thinks he, she is already making demands on me as if I were her private property. He demurs. She pleads. He hesitates. And she shifts a bit to the west end of the bench and contemplates the stars. Shortly after, however, he removes the cud from his cavern and spits his final spit. Then he fishes the package out of his pants pocket and chucks it over the fence. He has lost his liberty! "What liberty?" Just look at him now with his mug clapping hers and his lunch-bowl encircled around her trim waist. He has gained another LIBERTY!

## "SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY AND THE LABOR MOVEMENT," A LECTURE BY ALEXANDER FICHANDLER

Mr. Fichandler's discussion on "Psychology and the Labor Movement" last Sunday at our Unity House was a great success. Many factors contributed to this. In addition to the lecturer's excellent talk and Chairman Bella Winnick's inspiring remarks, the weather was warm, with a gentle breeze coming from Unity Lake.

The interest displayed by our members who are new at the Unity House

Now, to get back to our original argument. The Labor-union-baiting editors are right when they say that unions interfere with a workman's liberties. They positively do! If there was only one workman in this whole world it would be his complete liberty to work his fool head off at six cents an hour, for 26 cents a day and under any condition that would suit his fancy.

But, ye gods and little whale hooks! there is more than one workman in this world and particularly in this Pot Dome country. Here are millions of us. And some idiots want to throw themselves into premature old age and the scrap pile for cheap wages, under long hours and rotten conditions, their sweat liberty becomes our misery and slavery. Decent human beings should have decent working conditions, a just reward for their labors and their fair share of the leisure made possible by modern invention, power and labor. The ignoramus that does not demand these things cannot be allowed to enjoy his conception of liberty.

It's either the liberty of the union man to live half-way decently or it's the liberty of the fool to slave. These two kinds of liberty cannot hang around the same neighborhood at the same time. It is either the one or the other. Organized Labor has the one ideal of liberty, and if the unorganized an' the scabs have the other, they can go and live in lower regions together with the boss and the open-shop advocates. There they may find absolute liberty. Maybe. Who knows?

was exceptionally encouraging. All of them attended the lecture and were joined by many persons from Camp Tamiment. After the lecturer's presentation of the subject, which lasted an hour, the audience joined in discussion, lasting another hour. The interruption by the dinner bell, which is usually always welcome to vacationists, was very much regretted in this case.

The place set aside for lectures overlooks the beautiful seventy-five acre lake, surrounded by majestic pine trees. The surroundings added much to the inspiring atmosphere.

# High-Lights of Union's Case

Extracts from the Address of President Morris Sigman before the Governor's Commission, June 25, 1924

The workers have learned to understand that, if we want to maintain fair standards of working conditions, we cannot accomplish this unless we have the industry in mind first. We understand that fair labor conditions can only be obtained in a healthy industry. A demoralized and disrupted industry cannot give anything to the workers and I do not believe it can give much to the other elements in it.

Before 1910 the workers in the industry had no say whatsoever with regard to their working conditions. The employer was the only one who set the standards of work and the earnings or the compensation for the work performed by the worker. We had large shops. We had shops in which 300 or 400 workers were employed; but by no means were these modern shops; by no means did these shops maintain humane standards. I say this because I feel that a sweatshop must necessarily be in a bedroom somewhere downtown. You can have sweatshop conditions in very large establishments. There may be such conditions even in factories where the sanitary standards may be observed.

We had before 1910 a system of sub-contracting within the factories. The employer, even under non-union conditions, did not want to be in constant contact with the workers. But, even with the contractor's prices agreed upon at the beginning of the season, they were not permanent and would be changed around by the employers to suit their own whims. This naturally was always reflected in the wages and in the other working conditions of the workers. Because of this condition there was never peace in the industry. At the beginning of every season some portion of the industry would be at war. Workers were not well organized and, therefore, in a good many cases the employers were the victors.

In 1910 these oppressed and downtrodden workers in the cloak and suit industry spontaneously protested and ceased work. In 1910 the first general strike was made to place this industry on a more humane basis, on a more civilized level. In order to bring about a condition of this kind, these men and women in the cloak industry at that time had over 60,000 who with their dependents probably represented over a quarter of a million souls) had to struggle and suffer for ten weeks before they could make the employers realize that it is at least fair to submit the difference to an impartial tribunal. It was then that Justice Brandeis, Meyer Bloomfield, Louis Marshall, Jacob Schiff, and others, came in and negotiated the collective agreement which has been known as the Protocol of Peace.

In the first year under the agreement, the outside bundle contractor began growing in large numbers. Shops which received cut work began to multiply. Under this system the employers were trying to evade existing standards. How was it done? The price committee of the time would adjust the price on the different styles in the inside factory. Work was then cut and sent out to the outside shops which were known by numbers: 305, 307, 309, 360. 309 represented a price for operating at \$1.50 and 307 at \$2.25 a garment. By accident it would happen that the ticket which was to go on the cut garment which was priced \$1.75 would just be found on the garment which was settled for \$2.25. I do

not say that all employers did this as a practice, but a large number of them were members of the Protective and the Independent manufacturers adopted the same practice. The Union started a fight for joint price committees of the inside and outside shops and submitted it to the Impartial Board at three or four different times.

Then the sub-manufacturer came into existence. The contractor turned to the sub-manufacturer. A small table was placed in his shop for the purpose of cutting the raw material and three or four rolls of goods were sent in to him. Immediately this contractor appeared as a manufacturer because he had a cutting table, because he had raw material, and I must admit here that the Union did not realize the importance of this development in the industry and we took it for granted that these were manufacturers.

The way the industry has readjusted itself now, I don't believe that manufacturing can go back or that production can re-establish itself on the status of 1910, 1911 or 1912. In my opinion, this entire change is a fundamental one and it will remain permanently in the industry.

I base my argument on these facts: The manufacturers—I mean the jobbers or merchants, as they now prefer to be called—have developed their business to such an extent that it would be difficult to reorganize it and go back to the previous system. In the early days the manufacturer went into the market and purchased his own material. On the average you did not find men with big capital in the business. The way the industry has developed today, twenty merchants control \$150,000,000 worth of the business. While in conference with the merchants something else has come to the surface, namely, that some of these merchants, including a small number of manufacturers, are practically controlling or absorbing the raw material delivered for the market. That is, some of these gentlemen are in a position to buy out the entire product of a given material.

Then there is another reason why I think they will not go back to it. They have broken away from the direct contact with the workers. These men have things to do to deal only with three items directly: that is, with preparing the raw material for each of the seasons, and with the style and capital, and then the distribution of the ready product; they leave the management and the direct production to the sub-manufacturers, and I personally feel that they will not go back to the old system and to the old method of production.

In 1919 we made the first effort to enter into contractual relations with the jobbers. Although we did not know as much at that time of the actual existing conditions as we do now, we realized that these gentlemen are manufacturers in a different form and that they should carry some responsibility and obligations in this industry.

They suggested that, since it was to be the first arrangement with the Union and since their members were not educated to the necessity of the contractual relations with organized Labor, the agreement should be as simple as possible, and then gradually the membership would become adapted to the idea so that some time in the future we would have a real

instrument to take care of the different interests in the industry.

Gentlemen, we are not at this time interested in advance in money. What we are interested in is to reconstruct our industry. It is already ruined, and if we leave it this way, we will go to smash entirely. It will be unbecoming for a decent man with any amount of capital to engage himself in this industry. It will be a disgrace to a worker to work in this industry.

To show you, gentlemen, how careful were the workers with regard to imposing burdens and conditions upon the industry, when we were discussing this time period of employment I said, "If you offer us 40 weeks of employment, we would not take it because we believe sincerely that the market here in the city of New York cannot carry a 40-week guarantee of employment."

We told them we want to establish this principle on the following basis: We want to go through a thorough investigation and we want to know definitely what the industry can give—we don't want one degree more than the industry can give. If the industry can give twenty-four weeks, twenty-four should be the standard.

We say that we believe we are absolutely just because it has been conceded by these gentlemen that the workers in this industry are just as essential, are just as important an element as every other element in the industry; they are as important as the merchant, they are as important as the direct manufacturer, and they are as important as the sub-manufacturer. And because we are an essential factor and an essential element we are entitled to the advantages that the industry can give us, and we do not want to be the ball that every jobber can kick around every day in the week during the busy season as well as during the dull season.

The way the condition is today, these gentlemen can force indirect lockouts any time they so desire. And they have done so regularly since they are operating this business. A merchant at the beginning of the season calls in a certain number of sub-manufacturers. They have agreed on the price of labor, they have submitted the style to them, and they have received orders. People began working—that is, I am speaking of our people. It was always known to the industry that, after the worker started in the shop and had settled down there, he was secured with at least a season's work. That was his home for the season, and he depended on that to earn his living. Now the situation is different. I, Mr. Jobber, have engaged fifty contractors. I haven't stopped exhibiting my style to others. In fact, my industrial manager—I don't know why they call him an industrial manager, the man in the stockhouse who is trying to bargain with these people as to price,—has a desire to call in more production units. A good many, perhaps, come in and ask for work. Ten more come in this morning. The style was demonstrated to them. They have been asked to calculate the price of labor. They did give their price, and let us assume that the price was exactly the same as that which the other sub-manufacturers have agreed on to produce the garments for the jobber. The immediate answer will be to the sub-manufacturer: "Well, there is no good reason why I should give you

this work. Here, my man just took an order, and that's his price. Unless you can do better, you will not get the work." Well, assuming that he reduces the price of the garment twenty-five cents or fifty cents, not because he can, but because he wants to get this account, he wants to get this firm to work for. As soon as this industrial manager has secured a number of sub-manufacturers who will make this agreement for so much less, the result will be that half of the shops already engaged, will be discarded, they will be eliminated; and if these shops are eliminated, our workers will be eliminated.

This is in answer to Mr. Blamberg—why doesn't the Union control the Union standards in these Union shops? Naturally, the struggle for existence will drive a man to do anything. After a man has been working for four, five, six weeks in the season, the shop is going through the so-called peak of the season, the busy season, and he has earned maybe three or four hundred dollars and this was his first six weeks of earning to start for his coming year, with the picture before him that if he does not lower his own work conditions, his own standards, and does not combine with the sub-manufacturer in some way or other, it means hunger and starvation for him and his family.

How do you expect that conditions and standards can be maintained when you are forcing a condition of this kind on the worker by running around with your roll of goods in order to secure the advantage of cut-throat competition amongst the sub-manufacturers. So we come with the proposal of the limited number of sub-manufacturers to each jobber. We say that, just as it was possible for the manufacturer in the early days to have a given number of permanent contractors to whom he sent his cut goods, there is the actual possibility to have the very same system arranged even though the goods is sent out to these shops in uncut form.

On the question of equal distribution of work, there is honest limitation, because only by limitation can you make it possible more or less to give every worker in the industry an equal chance to earn an equal share in the industry, or have an equal opportunity to earn as much as the other worker. If there ever was a possibility in this industry to divide work equally, to treat these workers alike, to give them a real opportunity to which they are entitled, I say that, with the changes and the styles that we have now in the industry, it is absolutely possible right now.

One more thing I want to touch upon, members of the Commission, and that is this great public interest which, whenever we are in a controversy with the employers, they delegate themselves to represent. I say (and what I say now some people tell me is wrong, and I should not say it because I'm trying to disgrace my own industry which is a very much interested—but this is the truth) if the public was ever fooled with regard to the price it pays for the garment, I say it has never been so fooled and its confidence was never so misused as in the recent three or four years. It is accomplished in different ways. I don't say that it is done internationally—but there it is. There is mismanagement in the industry. You will find shops expanded in the industry to an absurdity, the

(Continued on Page 11)

# JUSTICE

A Labor Weekly

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## EDITORIALS

### GIVING AWAY THEIR CASE

The Union, we may state it without reserve, is making out a splendid case for itself at the hearings before the Governor's Commission. Its keen analysis of the chaotic conditions in the cloak industry; the demands which it presented as a means of eliminating this chaos and for ameliorating the condition of the workers; its clear and definite statement of the respective roles of the jobber, manufacturer and sub-manufacturer in the industry—all this is more than substantiated at the hearings before the mediators.

Of course, a great deal of this is due to the extremely able and brilliant presentation of our case by Morris Hillquit, the legal adviser of the International, who has such an uncanny way of discovering the flaws and the weak spots in our adversaries' armor. Yet, we must admit that the representatives of the sub-manufacturers, of the manufacturers, and, yes, even of the jobbers, have all helped us to a degree, and that is what makes these hearings before the Governor's commission so absorbingly interesting. It would seem as if all those who make an attempt to present testimony that would harm the Union invariably wind up by supporting every claim and every statement made by the workers' organization. It looks indeed as if all the sub-manufacturers, manufacturers and jobbers have conspired to make clear to the commission that the Union is unconditionally right in every respect.

It might have been expected that the sub-manufacturers and the manufacturers would lean somewhat on the side of the Union, as all of them are as much the victims of the jobbing system as are the workers. But what is most interesting about these hearings is the fact that the jobbers themselves, speaking through their representative, Mr. Blumberg, and their other spokesmen, have so far done nothing else than substantiate everything our leaders maintained, and what follows—the imperative necessity of the application of the Union's program.

We cannot say, for instance, that Mr. Samuel Blumberg is not doing the best he can for his clients, but even his best leads to nothing but an affirmation of the truth of the workers' stand. He first delivered a six-hour speech; his second effort took up almost an entire session, yet the more he extends himself on behalf of the jobbers, the clearer it becomes that he has a very, very poor case on his hands. Let us point out two of his principal arguments:

In order to prove totally wrong the representatives of the "American" Association—the sub-manufacturers—and of the Protective Association who both maintained, as the Union does, that the jobbers are the real manufacturers, and to show that the poor jobbers are merely merchants and not producers, he advanced the following facts: First, the jobbers are buying 27½ per cent of the garments from sub-manufacturers made out of materials bought by the sub-manufacturers themselves; second, in the course of the last two seasons the members of the sub-manufacturers' association purchased from the American Woolen Company 7,932 rolls of goods at the cost of \$1,189,800, which, in the opinion of Mr. Blumberg, proves conclusively that the sub-manufacturers are not "foremen" for the jobbers, as the Union and the contractors assert, but independent manufacturers and that the contentions of the Union and of the sub-manufacturers are therefore totally unfounded.

But analyze these facts critically and you will at once perceive that, even if Mr. Blumberg's facts are correct, they do not shatter in the least degree any of the facts brought out by Mr. Hillquit in his opening remarks, in which he presented the argument for the Union's program.

Granted that one-fourth of the garments they buy is not made of their cloth but is bought ready-made from the sub-manufacturers, how does that prove that they are not manufacturers with regard to the other three-fourths of their output which they directly manufacture through their contractors? For that matter, there are a number of cloak manufacturers who deal in real estate as a side line—does that in any way relieve them from their obligations as cloak manufacturers? And besides, as Mr. Hillquit so aptly remarked, the Union demands nothing from the jobber for that one-fourth of his output which he buys ready-made from the sub-manufacturer. It is only for the three-fourths of his product, for the part which is made up of his own goods and trimmings that the Union demands that he accept responsibility as a manufacturer.

In other words, Mr. Blumberg proves, to the satisfaction of all concerned, that even according to his own figures the jobber is only a "merchant" to the extent of one-fourth of his product

but is a full-fledged manufacturer with regard to the remaining three-fourths. As a matter of fact and in practice, even the regular manufacturer occasionally buys some ready-made garment in the open market, yet it would never occur to him to deny that he is a bonafide manufacturer. Mr. Blumberg's arduous effort in enumerating the names of the jobbers who buy some of their garments from sub-manufacturers who make them up from their own materials, has been wasted entirely, as it neither refutes the claim of the Union nor does it substantiate his clients' claims.

If anything, these figures have only made the position of the Union clearer and its demands stronger and more justifiable.

As to the other formidable fact that the sub-manufacturers have during the past year bought over a million dollars worth of goods from the woolen company, we desire to say that, while a million dollars may sound impressive elsewhere, it amounts to a mere trifle in the cloak and suit industry of New York. As Mr. Hillquit pointed out, the New York market manufactures about 300 million dollars' worth of cloaks every year, of which approximately one-third is spent in wages. The other 200 million dollars represent materials and accessories, and out of these 200 millions, 199 represent the purchases made by the jobbers and one million by the sub-manufacturers, according to Mr. Blumberg. If anything else is required to prove that the jobbers are the dominating factor in the cloak industry of New York, as proved by the testimony of their own counsel, we should like to know what that is.

Besides, it is still open to doubt if even that million dollars' worth of materials which Mr. Blumberg alleges has been bought by the sub-manufacturers themselves from the American Woolen Company, was purchased by them directly without the influence of the jobbers standing back of some of them. At least so it is rumored in the trade, but whether we do give credence to these rumors or not, the statement of Mr. Blumberg as given above places the jobbers in the right position in the industry, a place where the Union always maintained they have been in the last few years.

This is doubtless one of the most striking points brought out already in the course of this investigation. Summarized, it amounts to this: The Merchants' Ladies' Garment Association consists of about 150 members and these men have in the palm of their hands the fate and livelihood of 50,000 workers upon whom no less than 200,000 persons depend for their existence. These 150 persons have brought the cloak industry to a state which threatens the pauperization of these tens of thousands of working men and women. These 150 persons are responsible for the present conditions in the cloak industry, and, hard as they may try, they cannot deny it. Yet, when they are confronted with these facts, they still have the effrontery to deny the fact that they are the creators of this chaos and that they are the real manufacturers, the employers of labor in the industry.

### SOME OF THE OTHER WITNESSES

The jobbers must have found themselves in a pretty tight corner to be compelled to import witnesses for the sake of bolstering up their side from such a distance as Cleveland. Their importation was no less a person than Mr. Philip Frankel, attorney for the cloak manufacturers of that city and stockholder in the stubbornly non-Union firm of Printz-Biedermann of the same city. It was this impartial person who appeared as advocate for the New York jobbers.

Mr. Frankel ran up a high score for himself in his talk before the commissioners. The Cleveland manufacturers, he asserted, have lost half of their business; they did in 1918—half of this thanks to the Union. Just think of it! The Union would not permit the bosses to discharge their workers indiscriminately, the Union would not allow the bosses to "reorganize" their shops; the Union would be heard in many matters pertaining to shop management. In a word, though there was peace in the Cleveland cloak industry during the past five years it was, according to Mr. Frankel, a costly peace.

What happened to this witness and his testimony when Morris Hillquit took him up for cross-examination is, however, quite another story. We only wish that all of our readers might have witnessed the startling change which came over the dapper defender of the jobbers from the City of Cleveland. Of a sudden he forgot how many discharge cases there had occurred in the Cleveland shops which have so badly disturbed the situation in the local industry; he did not even remember that, according to the terms of the Cleveland agreement, the employers have the right of discharging their workers for a justifiable cause. Hillquit called to his attention the very prominent persons who have so successfully served as members of the Board of Referees in the Cleveland cloak industry for the past several years, all of whom are strongly committed to the maintenance of contractual relations between the workers and the employers on the basis of this experience gained by them as referees.

Hillquit further wanted Mr. Frankel to inform the commission whether he is entirely positive that it was the Union and not the New York jobbers who have succeeded in reducing the volume of business in Cleveland, and Mr. Frankel had to admit that this might have been the case after all. In a word, Mr. Frankel from Cleveland was nothing short of a pitiful sight after Mr. Hillquit got through with him.

The other witnesses who came to testify against the Union on behalf of their own interests did not fare much better either.

# The Resolutions Which the Convention Rejected

By S. YANOVSKY

In a previous article we enumerated about a dozen resolutions which were presented at Boston and which were rejected by the convention despite the fact that on the face of things they seemed radical and forward-looking enough. Let us examine the reasons why the convention disapproved of them.

Changes, in order to be of any worth, must aim to eliminate certain evils, to improve certain wrongs. Only then is change justifiable, full of meaning and worthwhile, even if in the course of its enactment it causes some dislocation and disturbance. There would be radical resolutions, however, when judged by this criterion, were wholly useless, as they were not intended to abolish any evil nor could it be shown that their adoption would have been able to eliminate any wrongs.

Take, for instance, the first of these resolutions. It calls for prohibiting members of the General Executive Board from becoming paid officers. This resolution might be good and some sense if it could be proved that the average member of the General Executive Board had not fulfilled his task as a paid organizer in a satisfactory manner, and as a member of the General Executive Board had no one to account to. But is this the case? As a rule only such of our members are elected to the General Executive Board as are known for their ability, their loyalty to the organization and their level-headedness. And this resolution would make it impossible for the ablest and the brainiest in our midst to become organizers and executives in our Union.

Of course, if the members of the General Executive Board were abundantly supplied with worldly goods, they might have expected them to do their work for the Union without remuneration. We are not quite sure at that if the introducers of this resolution would have been so happy to have such "dollar-a-year" men on the General Executive Board. We had enough experience with these fellows during the War not to wish for any of them in the Labor movement. Besides, if we wanted to have them as organizers and executives, where would we get them? Most of the members of the General Executive Board get paid for their work so that they might make a living, and it would obviously be neither good sense nor fairness to have the members of the General Executive Board work in the shops while much less capable and less informed persons would be placed as organizers and executives of the Union.

Among these were some of the leaders of the late "Protective," such as Messrs. Jablow, Meyer, Rapoport, etc. True, they made it known that they consider the jobbers as parasites upon the industry and they want the jobbers to be made responsible for labor conditions as employers. But as far as they themselves are concerned, they asserted, the Union should relieve them of the obligation not to discharge workers without cause and give them the right to "reorganize" their shops whenever they deemed it advisable. Some of them displayed a yearning for the old time piece-work system, while all of them agreed that the new program of industrial demands, particularly the first five points, is absolutely "undebatable."

All these hoary, outlived arguments failed, however, to create any impression whatever. They were thoroughly "medieval" as Mr. Hillquit characterized them, and they only so accentuated a backwardness and a lack of understanding of modern tendencies in industry on the part of this "Protective" group, that it has left us wondering whether these people were really the successors of the one-time big industrial leaders who had created the Protocol of Peace, the historic instrument for industrial peace and mutual understanding between employer and worker.

## SHOP STRIKES DURING NEGOTIATIONS

Mr. Samuel Blumberg, the lawyer for the jobbers' association, informed the Governor's Commission last Friday, before the close of the day's session, that in some shops where the

It is entirely wrong to assume, too, that the members of the General Executive Board are responsible to no one. Each member is responsible to the General Executive Board as a whole and to the President in particular. A vice-president found unfit for the job can be just as easily removed as any other organizer. I could have offered any number of facts to prove this but this is hardly necessary, as it is too well known, and as a logical proposition it is entirely irrefutable.

Yet, if the General Executive Board had been guilty of a great many errors of judgment, there might have been some shadow of justification for this resolution. But, again, such was not the case. The convention has shown its full approval of the General Executive Board by reelecting them without exception, and it could only adopt such a resolution by contradicting itself in a definite way. If surely could not expect anyone to be a conscientious member of the General Executive Board and be compelled to make his living at some other occupation.

The other resolution called for the right of locals to pass by-laws limiting the tenure of office of union officials.

There is an unwritten law in the United States prohibiting a president to serve more than two terms, on the ground that it might become a menace to the republican form of government and, secondly, because even a president is expected not to hog the whole show for an unduly long period. Yet it is an unwritten law, and final judgment lies in the voting power of the people whether such a third-termist should be reelected or sent home. To give each local the right to create by-laws limiting the tenure of office would be special legislation depriving members of rights other members are entitled to enjoy and, in addition, would discriminate against those members who desire this office to continue in office and who wish to vote for him under all circumstances.

A third resolution limits the pay of a union officer to \$100 a week. Well, hundred dollars is quite a good salary and few in the Union get more than that, while the great majority get much less than that. But, we ask, what good purposes will such a rule serve? True, no good union man will respect office merely on the ground that he might get more money elsewhere. But why should the Union demand of its ablest servants sacrifices which can bring no other any

good, but only possible harm? It would always seem a better course for the Union to pay its workers in full rather than skimp and be miserly in this respect.

The fourth resolution called for the abolition of the title of vice-president, and substituting for it the title, "Member of General Executive Board." This "radical" resolution hardly deserves any discussion; it is meaningless and is clearly of the waste-basket variety.

The fifth resolution calls for computing the votes of the delegates at conventions in accordance with the membership they represent. Theoretically there would seem to be hardly any objection to such a resolution and, to an extreme believer in democracy, it certainly carries an appeal. Nevertheless if such a resolution were adopted, it would materially change the character of our convention, for the following reasons:

A convention is first of all a demonstration of power, influence and solidarity. In the life of this International, there is no event of greater importance than its biennial convention. All this is due largely to the fact that the locals send as many delegates as they are entitled to, without sparing any effort or expense. If, however, the convention adopts a resolution that the vote of the delegates be counted on the basis of the number members they represent, there would be reason for each local to send only one delegate to represent as many members as that local has on its roster. Then the convention would consist only of a few dozen persons and its demonstrative character would be entirely lost. It might look like a meeting of an executive council, but it would never have the solemnity or the festive appearance of a convention. Besides, we are used at our conventions to argue heatedly, passionately, because we feel that we might convince each other and because the vote of one is as good as the vote of another. If one delegate, however, will have 100 votes back of him, while the other may have 5,000, discussion in most cases will be futile and the delegate who has the larger block of votes will be spared the trouble of arguing and proving the justice of his contentions.

The fact, however, remains that this innovation would be entirely unnecessary. The larger locals are never suppressed at conventions, as they send larger representations in accordance with the size of their membership. The principle of democracy is scrupulously guarded in

this respect, while the new law, if it were adopted, would have made it possible for a few delegates to form a steam-roller at the convention that could not be overcome.

What concerns the third resolution, giving the locals the right to elect new delegates in the case of a special convention, it was fully answered by the Committee on Law when it stated that each local has the right to instruct its delegates on any question before a special convention, which really amounts to as much as electing new delegates.

The resolution calling for the filling of vacant places on the General Executive Board by those candidates for the Board who received the next highest vote at the convention, requires little comment. As a rule, when a General Executive Board member resigns or falls out for some other reason, the Board appoints no one in his stead and waits for the next convention. But in any event, this matter can be left to the judgment of the General Executive Board, particularly when we bear in mind that for the two years between conventions, the Board is the authorized leader of the International and can be trusted to exercise enough good sense in filling such a vacancy.

It is hardly necessary to enlarge on the resolutions for a shop delegate system or for a district council which would let in such a shop delegates proposal through the backdoor. This matter was discussed very thoroughly at Cleveland two years ago and was rejected; and during the last two years nothing has happened which has in any degree changed the opinion of the delegates.

There is also not much to be said concerning the proposal for the introduction of free forums in our publications. The Committee on Publications aptly remarked that our papers offer abundant space for the discussion of various opinions. I may add that such a thing as a free platform in which anyone can express his or her opinion unbridled, is in our publications very often impossible for more than tactical reasons. It must be kept in mind that such an absolute freedom of expression is at times likely to hurt rather than to benefit. The International, in whose interests the publications are being issued.

It is clear therefore that these resolutions earned no better treatment in Boston because they deserved no better. It only remains for us now to examine the resolutions which favored the reinstatement of the expelled members who belong to the Trade Union Educational League, and some other decisions of the convention touching upon this same matter, which we shall do in our next issue.

jobbers are producing their work the workers have gone on strike, which, according to his opinion, should not have happened while the commission proceeds with its hearings.

Mr. Hillquit, having been informed by President Sigman, replied thereto that these shops strike are the result of a suspicion by the workers that some of the jobbers are getting their stocks ready in anticipation of a strike. The attorney for the jobbers asserted that such was not the case, though he did not state the source of his information.

Yet, since the commission had expressed its desire that no strikes take place while the hearings continue, Mr. Hillquit assured it in the name of the Union that the workers in those shops will return to work.

It stands to reason that Hillquit, with the consent of President Sigman, could not have acted otherwise. For if we should regard the act of the strikers as logical, the general strike should have been declared right now, as it is possible that such stock preparation is going on in all the shops where the jobbers make their work.

But the case is not generally so, and that's why there is no reason for making exceptions in a few individual cases. Nevertheless, there is such a danger should these hearings last too long. We should like to hope therefore that they will come to an end in the next few days. The facts have been made clear and the commission has, no doubt, formed an opinion with regard to the whole situation. There is no reason therefore why this affair should become unnecessarily protracted.





## IN THE REALM OF BOOKS



### Even This Shall Pass Away

Women and the Labor Movement. By Alice Henry. Volume No. 3, in the Workers Bookshelf. Published for the Workers' Education Bureau of America. New York: George H. Doran Co., 1923.

By SYLVIA KOPALD

There are few things at once more incongruous and yet more soothing than handbooks on injustices. As years go in this age-old world, the position of women has only recently become an issue upon which emotions break. It is possible to understand the factors which have made women's history what it has been, which have set her apart in a subordinate underdog role and denied her the right to individuality. But as the changing world undermines these factors and pushes women into rounded living, even the most tolerant must become a little impatient at the tenacity with which old attitudes hang on. Women still know discrimination and lack of opportunity; they still become secretaries and assistants and under-officials. As has been well said, they are not actually on the merit system. Women are not yet people.

That these things should be so at all, must arouse a sense of outrage and irritation even in the historically-minded. But that they should be so in the Labor movement is, for a moment, amazing. Yet only for a moment. After that it becomes one more proof of how completely the Labor movement is a part of life. Composed of the human masses, it possesses all of humanity's frailties and nobilities,—even its still dormant anti-feminism.

Miss Henry's book permits little doubt that this anti-feminism exists in the unions. Her work is little more than a handbook presenting the various phases of the woman question in the Labor movement through facts and figures and summarized reports. She has kept down her emotional reactions to the conditions she portrays with Spartan control. Yet underneath the injustices that persist even here, one feels through Miss Henry's account an undercurrent of promise. Just because the facts alone speak through this dry handbook, the stir of opposition against them and the accomplishments of the opposition yield comfort. Miss Henry attempts to convince us of nothing, and the facts, speaking for themselves, say loudly: Even this shall pass away. Because Miss Henry has been objective about injustices,—her account brings soothing to impatient feminisms.

It is in the Labor movement that women's positions should be most secure,—should be, if life moved as the mind would expect it to. For the Industrial Revolution, which gave birth to the modern Labor movement, also forced women into the wider world. Whether they would or not, it has made them take their places beside men and has freed them from the shackles of the "housekeeper's home." Women are entering industry in increasing numbers. With the advance of automatic machines, they become more and more a menace to the men job holders. For selfish reason, if no others, men workers, there-

fore, will be compelled sooner or later to do something about the women workers.

If they fail to make them allies, the employers can make them tools. This in essence, is the problem of women and the Labor movement.

Of course, there are many knotty difficulties involved in the organization of women. Past generations of economists, Labor students and practical organizers have made us acquainted with these. Miss Henry has no word to say of them in her book. Not a word of women's impermanence in industry, not a word of their willingness to work for "pin money," of their forced connections with their homes (or their immobility), of their lack of training, etc. Indeed her first three chapters trace the role of women in industry from earliest times. Primitive woman, woman in colonial America, contributed as fully to the work of the world as the women of these days of machine industry. But with the advent of machine production, women's work definitely separated them from the homes in which they had been toiling before. The Labor movement and the woman worker were born together.

Today over eight and a half million women are working in America. Something over one quarter of these are in domestic service, but the proportion attracted to this field is steadily declining in importance. The woman worker is in industry, the union is in industry. These two must come together.

From the facts Miss Henry presents, more than a promising beginning has been made to this end. Modern trades unions are admitting women in increasing numbers. The figures are difficult to obtain with any accuracy, but the lists remain imposing. Both American Federation of Labor and independent unions contain large groups of women members. They have fought bravely in many a ruthless battle. They have won notable victories.

But in spite of this, they have yet to win an assured, equal place in the unions. At least three international unions refuse them admission to membership. The Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor has thus far refused to meet such discrimination by chartering local in these industries. It has attempted instead to win the unions over to a new policy, but thus far without success. The International Molders' Union even stands ready to expel any member "who devotes his time in whole or in part to the instruction of female help in the trade, or in any branch of the trade."

Discrimination extends beyond this. Even in these unions which have admitted women, opportunity is seldom granted for full participation in union affairs. When men and women work together union positions almost always go to men. The Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor has never had a woman member. Similarly with its units. Presidencies and leadership go to men. The merit system has not yet rased sex boundaries.

On the other hand, women work-

ers in America have developed special agencies both to help fight this situation and to meet their special problems. Miss Henry gives workmanlike accounts of these specialties; of the Women's Trade Union League; of industrial legislation; of the minimum wage; of the Women's Bureau; and of the International Federation of Working Women. Sandwiched in between this discussion is an analysis of two particular aspects of the whole question. The experience of women during the war and the difficulties of those workers who are not only women but also Negroes come inexplic-

ably between the discussion of the Women's Bureau and International Federation of Working Women.

Perhaps detailed criticism would be captious. Miss Henry's work has no elegance; frequently it is ragged and badly, even ungrammatically, expressed. But Miss Henry planned no work of art. Neither did she apparently contemplate a scholarly treatise. She has given us a usable handbook on a momentous problem. With her facts as a beginning, there may now be built up a scientific analysis of women's place in the Labor movement.

### The American Labor Year Book

The American Labor Year Book, 1923-1924. Published by the Research Department of the Rand School of Social Science, Solon De Leon, Director.

To say that the recently published fifth issue of the American Labor Year Book is an improvement on the preceding issues would be far from an adequate estimate. In our judgment it is the first real Labor Year Book issued in this country, a professional piece of work as compared with the amateurishness of its four predecessors.

Its chief value, besides the fullness and completeness of the book and the excellent index which follows it, consists in my mind in the total absence of a bias in the presentation of facts here and abroad, a task of no mean accomplishment, we must say, in these days of acrimonious partisanship. The editor of the Year Book obviously made up his mind honestly to produce a book which anyone interested in the subject, right or left, friend or enemy, could find reliable and trustworthy, and he succeeded in giving the American public such a book.

It would be difficult to emphasize this or that part of the immense wealth of information contained within its covers—550 pages or more.

One must get this book and keep it in order to appreciate what a valuable compendium of facts it is. Nor is it an almanac for "editors and students only," as some reviewers seem to think. I see no reason why the secretary of every Labor union local in the entire country—forty thousand of them—every publication office, every financial house, and business establishment which is interested in a true annual index of the progress of Labor, should not keep a copy of this Year Book within immediate reach.

And now that the Research Department of the Rand School has found the right gauge for a labor year book, it is to be hoped that it will see its way clear to publish it every year. Continuance in such a publication means a great deal. We do not know what other work this Research Department is doing but if it will do nothing else but publish this year book regularly, it will fully justify its existence. It is a credit to the Rand School and a piece of work upon which its editor, Mr. Solon De Leon, is to be congratulated.

M. D. D.

BY COURTESY OF THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR





## Working Together

By NORMAN THOMAS

Never did circumstances seem more favorable for a new political line-up in the United States. The Republican party has definitely shown itself conservative, if not reactionary. It is the property of business interests. What the democrats will do, God only knows, and He hasn't told. It is a foregone conclusion that they will not come out clear-cut on any important issue. A party which has to harmonize the anti-Kl Klux Klan cities of the North with the pro-Kl Klux Klan solid South is in a bad way. Of the leading candidates, Governor Smith has the best record. But he has not declared himself plainly on any important national issue except for weak beer. McAdoo, who is showing surprising strength, has done some things well, but he also has crawled on important national questions, like the nationalization of railroads, and is terribly compromised by selling his influence rather than his legal knowledge at an enormous fee to clients like Duquesne, Morse, et al. The result will probably be a colorless democratic compromise candidate.

Under these circumstances, if the progressive and radical forces can work together a most encouraging independent political movement can be launched. The leader is apparently at hand. Senator La Follette is

generally agreed upon. He was acceptable even to the communists until he repudiated them. The so-called Wisconsin platform furnishes a pretty acceptable program. Radicals may regret that their progressive friends still think that somehow they can tinker up the existing profit system. But even radicals would scarcely ask much more by way of an immediate political program than they seem likely to get and they may comfort themselves by reflecting that progressives who go as far as the present La Follette platform will have to go farther. The capitalist system as the progressives seek to tinker it up would be a very surprising thing in the eyes of Adam Smith and other old economists.

The requirements as we see it of cooperation are these:

1. Tolerance. We will not all agree. The important thing is to respect one another and to work together as far as we can. If we must divide at a later fork of the road, at least we can make the present journey together.

2. Good Faith. The radicals have a right to ask the progressives not to expect them to renounce their faith and not to play for their votes and then throw them over. The progressives have a right to ask the radicals to act in the open and to win what

they can win by persuasion rather than by any form of trickery. Here is one of the difficulties in the communist situation. Certain communist sayings and doings in Europe and in this country seem to give color to the fear that they are out to capture Labor unions and a Labor party by any means whatsoever. It is difficult, but not necessarily impossible, for those who still believe in political democracy to cooperate with those who believe that at some time in the future a dictatorship of the proletariat achieved by violence will be necessary. There may be important immediate steps they can take in common. But it is impossible to cooperate with any group which seems to make a virtue of bad faith. Here, for instance, is a report from Germany, where the growth of the communists is a natural consequence of allied policy and the blunders of the German political leaders including many socialist leaders. It seems that certain trade unions asked their paid officials to sign a pledge to act in their duties as trade union officials in accordance with the rules and regulations of the Trade Union Congress rather than of the Communist or any other political party. The German communist organ, "Rote Fahne," advised the communist officials to sign. It continued, according to the press reports of the International Federa-

tion of Trade Unions, as follows: "Any means," so run the instructions, "which will injure the class enemy and profit the working class is . . . honorable and moral. The treacherous scoundrels now leading the trade unions are the class enemies of the proletariat. To sign their shameful forms pledges the decent worker who believes in class conflict; to nothing at all; to him the form is just a means enabling him to obtain access to the foe in our own camp." If this quotation is correct—and unfortunately it is not wholly unique—it explains why cooperation is, to say the least, most difficult.

The final essential of a really effective new movement in American politics is the deliberate intention to form as rapidly as possible a genuine third party of farmers and workers. We respect Senator La Follette's long and honorable record, his capacity, and his political skill. But we doubt if a campaign merely to give him as many votes as possible will be worth what it will cost. Very little will be gained by "throwing a scare" into the old line politicians by rolling up a big vote for La Follette. Still less will be gained by throwing the election into the old House of Representatives. What is needed is not the kindling of a spectacular bonfire but the lighting of those sure and slow fires of determined organization which alone can forge a new party as the political weapon of our emancipation. This summer's campaign will be valuable primarily as it contributes to that end.

## Cooperative Notes

### JEWISH BAKERIES IN SPRINGFIELD AND WORCESTER, MASSACHUSETTS

The Jewish Cooperative Bakeries in Springfield and Worcester, both members of the Massachusetts Conference of Jewish Cooperative Bakeries, and thus affiliated with the League, have not done so well during the past year as formerly, though their business continues to hold up well. The sharp cut in the prices of bread due to competition during the year is the principal cause for this failure to make gains.

The Jewish Workers' Cooperative Bakery of Springfield has a paid up capital of about \$6,000 and the first three months of this year did a business of \$21,344.06. The gross profit on this was a little in excess of \$10,000, and as the expenses are almost \$11,000, there is about \$800 loss for the period. There is a good Board of Directors and good management for the cooperative in Springfield, and with the end of labor troubles that have handicapped the work for more than a year, the society should begin to make money again before the year is out.

The Labor League Cooperative Bakery of Worcester, with a membership of about 200 stockholders and a paid in capital of only \$3,000 is doing a little better. Sales in 1923 were \$72,000. As more than half of the business of this bakery is retail through their own store, the operating margin is wider and they have not suffered losses. Though the books show no gains, the society gave away several thousand dollars' worth of bread to various groups of strikers or others in need. This same factor must be considered in the apparently poor showing of the Springfield bakery, which also made donations to worthy causes during the winter.

Both bakeries have a monthly statement drawn up and presented to their directors by a competent outside auditor. Both are doing good educational work, principally through the distribution of the quarterly cooperative journal published by the conference. It is interesting to note

that while the Massachusetts bakeries are meeting unusually severe competition this past year, the Jewish Cooperative Bakeries in and near New York are experiencing unusual prosperity during the past twelve or fifteen months.

### THE MOTHERS' INTERNATIONAL

The Women's Committee of the International Conference of Cooperative Guildswomen has lately been conducting a contest among its members for the best song and badge. The two songs which came down into the finals of the competition are in Dutch and English respectively. The English song was finally selected as best representing the purpose for which the competition was given out. This is the song:

Round the world a new song's ringing;  
Listen! Women of all climes!  
'Tis the mothers' song we're singing,  
Telling hopes of happier times:—  
"We will put all hate behind us,  
We whose hearts are sick and sore,  
Tired of strife and empty victories—  
Bear the pangs of war no more!"

For our eyes have seen the vision  
Of a world where peace doth reign,  
Where our husbands, sons and brothers  
Shall not kill nor yet be slain;  
But where love shall be triumphant—  
Over greed and hate and pride;  
Like the sunlight making hardness,  
Spreading warmth on every side.  
Speed our message ye who hear it,  
North to south and east to west:  
"Let us be a League of Women,  
Love inspired our every breast,  
Pledged to end the awful carnage  
That so scars a nation's soul;  
Linked in one 'Co-operation,'  
Peace o'er all our final goal."

### WHY ISN'T THIS COOPERATIVE?

It is estimated that the Atlantic and Pacific Tea Company now does a business of about a million dollars a day. And there is only one cooperative in the country that handles as much as one thousand dollars a day! What are the reasons?

There are many. But the one that

always interests us most is this: that most of our radical and liberal friends who condemn so heartily the entire profit system are buying their food-stuffs from the Atlantic and Pacific Tea Company. Here is the true index of the temper of radicalism and liberalism in America.

### BULGARIAN COOPERATORS PERSECUTED

In the systematic class warfare now being waged in Bulgaria, many cooperators and their societies are being made to suffer. According to reports received from abroad, September saw an organized campaign

of violent repression on the part of the Government against the Communists. Since many of the Communists are members of cooperative societies, the Government directed its campaign against the cooperatives.

For two months the stores of societies coming under the ban were closed down, ostensibly for an "investigation." Many of the officials of the "Osvobodjennie" (Workers' Cooperative Organization) were imprisoned; others less fortunate were looted and burned; the printing departments closed down. The authorities are still in possession of several of the properties of the cooperatives.

—Cooperation, June, 1924.

*"When I've Bills in my Pocket, I never miss the 'small change'"*

This statement was made by one of our depositors, and it impressed us again with the usefulness of our

### Money Barrel

The truth is that one DOES NOT MISS the "small change," a coin or two a day, deposited in one of our money barrels, soon yields a full barrel containing from twenty to thirty dollars, which you may add to your present account or use to open a 4 per cent Special Interest Account.

Call for A Money Barrel  
at the

INTERNATIONAL UNION BANK

27th AVENUE at 21st STREET  
or at the Office of your Local





# 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 8—Continued.

- III. 1. The spirit for a national federation persisted, however, so that thenceforth attempts at national federation were undertaken periodically.
2. Of these the most substantial and far reaching was the Knights of Labor. It was also the immediate predecessor of the American Federation of Labor.
3. Founded in 1869 as a secret organization by a union of Garment Cutters in Philadelphia, it at first struggled along without a formal national organization.
4. It merely interested detached unions in assuming its name and in forming local district assemblies or what are now called central Labor unions.
5. By 1876 the need for a national organization again came to the surface and the Knights of Labor was formed on a national scale.
6. At first it grew slowly in membership and floundered considerably in its aims and policies, but gradually became articulate.
- IV. 1. In the course of the struggle between a variety of conflicting elements certain policies came into the ascendancy.
2. Philosophically it was middle class, believing in cooperation and political action that would usher in a society of self-employed, small property owners.
3. Economically it was grudgingly committed to unions, strikes, boycotts and the label. But none of the present day policies that have made trade union action effective and successful received serious consideration even by those who thought of them.
4. Governmentally the Knights of Labor was a highly centralized organization virtually giving absolute and dictatorial power to its higher officials and General Executive Board.
  - (a) Its General Executive Board could order and call off strikes of any of its subordinate units.
  - (b) It controlled the funds and other activities of its affiliated bodies.
  - (c) This policy more than any other led to its final collapse.
  - (d) It required more than human intelligence to minutely supervise and direct the affairs of the entire Labor movement from one central headquarters and by a handful of ordinary men.
- V. 1. The American Federation of Labor built upon the mistakes of the Knights of Labor, and its predecessors. Nevertheless it floundered about for a short period ere it settled on its present course.
2. From 1881-1886 it was known as the Federation of Organized Trades and Labor Unions of the United States and Canada.
3. Its exclusive aim then was to further the legislative interest of organized Labor.
4. Since 1886 it reversed its position completely. Now it regards attending to the legislative interests of Labor as one of its activities and considers its chief object to further trade unionism or economic organization of the workers.
5. With this aim in view it set out to aid its affiliated unions in (a) organizing their trades; (b) encouraging organization among the unorganized; and (c) fostering concerted action in matters that transcend the interests of any one trade.
6. Its chief activity is centered at present on the latter; namely in attending to matters that concern organized Labor in common as (a) advertising the union label and boycotts; (b) counteracting the "open shop" movement; (c) safeguarding the interests of Labor in the use of injunctions in labor disputes; (d) voicing organized Labor's aspirations and aims.
7. Philosophically the American Federation of Labor is opportunistic and protectionist.
  - (a) It accepts the wage system and believes workers should organize into trade unions and otherwise mass their strength in order to protect their interests as wage workers.
  - (b) It considers aspirations to abolish the wage system as a mere day dream and that the immediate interests of the workers are its prime concern.
8. (a) Tactically it advocates concentration upon trade union or economic action, being of the opinion that the worker's strength rests in his power to withhold his labor and his patronage.
- (b) Regarding politics as inconsequential and fraught with many pitfalls it eschews independent politi-

cal action. It feels that the little Labor wants from Government can best be obtained by non-partisan political action, now popularly known as the "reward your friends and punish your enemies" policy.

- (c) This is based on the theory that in a country with two political parties it can exercise greater influence by attempting to hold "the balance of power" in elections.
- (d) Since it believes primarily in trade union action, its legislative or political demands are largely of a negative nature:
  1. Removing restrictions or encroachments of Government agencies upon its trade union activities, as interference of the courts in strikes and boycotts, and legislative enactments regulating or prohibiting strikes, as the Kansas Industrial Courts Act.
  2. Restricting immigration so as not to flood the Labor market with workers of a lower standard of life.
- (e) Likewise, believing that the workers should rely chiefly upon their economic power it opposes positive legislation to improve their condition. They should not be taught to rely on Government or any other agency for betterment of working conditions.
  1. It has consistently opposed all forms of social insurance, even workmen's compensation, as well as old age pension, health insurance, etc.

- VI. 1. Within recent years the position of the American Federation of Labor has been gradually modified so that it is now demanding positive legislation that will supplement union effort in the betterment of the conditions of the workers and the public.
2. It favors workmen's compensation legislation, even having gone on record for a State monopoly of accident insurance.
3. It has also endorsed government ownership of railroads after a persistent and bitter struggle led by the unions affiliated with the Railway Employees Department.
4. This action was later supplemented by a blanket declaration for industrial democracy which presupposes some form of socialization of at least basic industries.

## A Resolution of Thanks

The following resolution was submitted to the Boston Convention by a committee of students of the Workers' University, Unity Centers and Extension Division:

Whereas, our International Union is celebrating the 25th Anniversary of its existence and its splendid achievements on behalf of the thousands of men and women who have for these many years cooperated to make their lives brighter and happier, and

Whereas, among the most important of these achievements have been the inspiring educational activities of our International Union, which activities helped to fill the increased leisure of our membership, which resulted from the victories won by our Union on the industrial field, and

Whereas, the educational activities of our Union have helped many in the rank and file to think more clearly and effectively on the problems of their Union, the Labor movement and society as a whole, and have also inspired many of our members to become active in our organization, and

Whereas, the educational activities of our Union have stimulated other unions to build up a vigorous movement for Labor education in America, and have contributed largely to a proper appreciation of the enormous social significance of Labor Education be it, therefore,

Resolved, that we, students of the Unity Centers, the Workers' University and the Extension Division, conducted by the Educa-

tional Department of the I. L. G. W. U. during the season 1923-1924, meeting at a reunion of students and teachers on April 5, 1924, hereby express our appreciation of the inspiring activities of our International Union and our pride in the efforts of our Union to provide for the spiritual as well as for the economic enrichment of the life of our membership; and

Resolved, that we tender to the General Executive Board of our Union our thanks for the efficiency and success with which they carried out the decision of our last convention to continue and develop the educational work of our Union, and we express our appreciation of the splendid work and devotion of the teachers who helped to make our classes so successful, and

Resolved, that we express our earnest hope that the coming convention of the I. L. G. W. U. will take measures to increase the educational work of our Union and will thus provide another strong and effective source of power which our Union and the entire Labor movement can employ in their efforts to bring about changes in our social order, which will ultimately bring happiness to all humanity.

Signed:

Fannie Jackel, Local 22; Morris Leff, Local 1; Abraham Krefter, Local 22; Wm. Lupo, Local 8; I. Sasnow, Local 17; Y. Malofsky, Local 63; Arthur Winkler, Local 35; Samuel Young, Local 10; B. Moegens, Local 66; Rebecca Shoen, Local 22.



# The Week In Local 10

By SAM B. SHENKER

The commission which was appointed by Governor Smith continued its hearings during the early part of this week on the demands submitted by the Union to the cloak jobbers. It is problematic as to whether the commission will report its findings this week. However, Morris Hillquit, the spokesman for the Union before the commission, completed his summary and rebuttal, as did the counselor for the Jobbers' Association.

The last few days were taken up with technical matters affecting the industry. Representatives from other organizations were also heard by the commission. The latter appeared for the purpose of ridding the Union's program. Mr. Hillquit, nevertheless, by his keen and searching cross-examination, overthrew the contention of the opposers of the Union's program and pointed out that the chaos which exists was born of the cut-throat competition instituted by the jobbers.

The counselor for the Association contended that the sub-manufacturing system was the result of the Union's rigid demands. However, Mr. Hillquit cited the case of a Cleveland manufacturer, probably one of the biggest in the country in the cloak industry, which was not "burdened" by union conditions and who was compelled to go out of business. This manufacturer stated at the time that he went out of business because he was forced out by the jobbers in the New York market, who created a condition which a legitimate manufacturer finds impossible to compete with.

## System Destroyed Distribution of Work

In describing the results of the developments of the contracting system, Mr. Hillquit stated that the principle of equal distribution of work was practically made nil. As a result of the jobbing system, employers secured the opportunity to evade the terms of the agreement in their obligations. The sub-manufacturer and the contractor were the devices by which the jobbers did away with union standards of work.

"This is not an ordinary wage dispute," Mr. Hillquit said, "not a dispute concerning what is generally understood as affecting work conditions, and the demands made by the Union are unusual because conditions in the cloak industry today are unusual. The demands made by the Union aim at preventing a recurrence of the old sweat-shop system."

"In the cloak industry, the legitimate manufacturer now is the exceptional case, and 75 to 80 per cent of the industry's production is turned out by the jobber. The contractors have neither capital nor responsibility."

"We, the workers," continued Mr. Hillquit, "as represented by the Union, are orphans here. We have no employers to look to for the usual responsibility. Our technical employers, the sub-manufacturers, are not responsible. They are under no obligation to provide; they have no serious obligations as employers. We know that our real employers are the jobbers."

The Union pointed out to the commission that unfair and cut-throat competition is inevitable under a system in an industry which harbors 3,000 manufacturing units, while a thousand would be a rational number. A condition of this sort, it was pointed out to the commission, tends towards lowering all decent working standards.

## Union's Aim to Eradicate Evils

This unfair competition, it was shown, does not permit an employer

to secure a return on his business from legitimate sources. The sub-manufacturer in the cloak industry, therefore, inevitably has no other choice but to pass on his troubles to the worker. He has been reduced to a position where he does nothing else but deliver the labor of his employees.

This condition, the Union pointed out, does not only threaten to reduce the conditions of the workers to the days when sweat-shops and pest-holes existed. The system shows itself in the deterioration of the garments. Qualities are sacrificed under the price competition system.

The 50,000 workers in the industry are the permanent factor which have to depend on their labor until the end of their days, though sub-manufacturers and jobbers may come and go. The Union has told the jobbers that they were not detached merchants, and they knew as well as the workers and the Union have known all the time, that they were the employers, Mr. Hillquit declared. The jobbers have recognized a living wage in principle, and the Union seeks an agreement by which the workers will be guaranteed a living wage.

Morris Sigman, International President, and the New York vice-president, as well as officers of the Joint Board, are attending the sessions daily. These are held in the Aldermanic Chamber in City Hall. The hall is daily packed with members of various local unions who are interested spectators. The commission consists of Bernard Shientag, State Commissioner of Labor; Lindsay Rogers, Professor of Political Economy at Columbia University; Colonel Herbert Lehman, Arthur D. Wolf, bankers, and George Gordon Battle, famous lawyer, as chairman. Up to last Monday, Manager Dubinsky was in attendance at the hearings, as one of the members of the Conference Committee. However, since the Union is making all preparations for a strike, the manager was compelled to absent himself considerably from the hearings, in order to prepare the groundwork for the action which he is heading. He has been chosen by the Joint Board to head the Organization Committee.

In view of the fact that the hearings before the commission are coming to a close, there will be matters of great importance to be reported on. Manager Dubinsky therefore urges that the members attend the coming meeting on Monday, June 30, in Arlington Hall.

## Central Body Formed

Manager Dubinsky called the attention of the Executive Board to a letter he received from the International, notifying the local that a central body for the miscellaneous trades is being formed.

The manager explained to the Executive Board that the convention had decided to form such an organization. The General Executive Board, holding its first quarterly session in New York, issued a call to the local unions concerned and requested them to elect delegates. The organizations which comprise this central body are the Raincoat Makers, Waist Makers, Embroidery Workers, Children's Dressmakers, White Goods Workers, Ladies Tailors, and such other unions as are not affiliated with the Joint Board.

Since members of the Cutters' Union are employed in every one of these crafts, the call naturally was also issued to Local 10. The reasons for calling the conference were twofold: first, that the organizations represented shall form a permanent body; second, that a joint organizing campaign shall be instituted.

In taking up this question with the Executive Board, the manager recommended that for the time being the Executive Board members representing the Miscellaneous Division be appointed to attend the meetings of the central body. Since there are certain details to be worked out, the manager stated that as soon as these are completed he will take them up with the Executive Board, which will consider the question of appointing permanent delegates. For the present, therefore, the representatives from Local 10 to this organization are Brothers Morris Alovis, David Habel and Frank G. Lewis.

## Locals and Members Respond to Appeal

As a result of the appeal of the committee which has charge of the raising of the trust fund for the widow of deceased Brother Lewin, officers of the International, of the Joint Board, local unions, as well as members of Local 10, have responded generously.

Manager Dubinsky said that the response spoke well for the appreciation of the members and officers of the Union of the sacrifices made in behalf of the organization by the departed leader of the Cutters' Union.

When Manager Dubinsky and Brother Fish, treasurer of the Joint Board, appeared before the Dressmakers' Union, Local 22, for a donation, they told the members of that executive board that the dressmakers, nearly as much as Local 10, must feel keenly the loss of Lewin. As a result of this appeal, Local 22 donated \$250.

The Italian Dressmakers' Union, in sending in a check for \$100, stated through their secretary, Brother Antonini, that "this local sincerely mourns the loss of one of the most active and finest men in the Labor movement and feels that death has indeed robbed us when it unfolded Mr. Lewin within its arms."

Brother Philip Kaplowitz, cashier of the International Bank, also contributed to the fund and stated in the letter which accompanied his check that "Lewin and myself were quite intimate for the past fifteen years. His death is surely a loss to all of us."

Last week there was printed on this page a list of those who had re-

sponded to the first appeal. Contributions kept on coming in and another list is given below. This list will be continued each week until the trust fund is completed. In the meantime, Manager Dubinsky, together with friends of the deceased brother, is making preparations for the care of Mrs. Lewin.

The following is a continuation of those who have contributed towards the fund:

Vice-president Lefkowitz, \$25; American and Skirt Division of the Joint Board: Brothers Fremed, Rosenblatt, Tucker, Moser, Goldowsky, H. Berkowitz, S. Miller and Mucignoli, \$5 each.

Independent and Reeler Department: Brothers Cloth, Elkin, M. Cohen, Bezahler, Warshawsky, Press, Comunate and Carotenuto, \$5 each.

Dress Division, Association Department: Brothers J. Shapiro and Guxman, \$10 each. Brothers Cabatti, Spielman, Ackerman, H. Miller, Bailinson, Elnick, and Sisters Reich and J. Campella, \$5 each.

Independent Dress Division: Brothers Welsberg and Portnoy, \$10 each. Brothers Staum, Di Nola and Iandoli, \$5 each.

Jobbers' Department: Brothers Sorkin, Schoenfeld and Schwartz, \$5 each.

Organization Department: Brother Schrad, \$15. Brothers Moskowitz and Cator, \$5 each.

Protective Association Division: Brothers Fine, Barcan, Valardi, and Lubinsky, \$5 each.

Downtown Office: Brothers Sommer, Plum, Ringer, Aldenland, Oransky, Freid and Olivo, \$5 each. Russian-Polish Branch: Brother Shevchenko, \$5 each. Brownsville Office: Brother Babitz, \$5.

Executive Board Members, Local 10: Brothers Louis Forer and Samuel Kerr, \$15; Brothers Max Cooperman and Frank G. Lewis, \$10. Members of Local 10: Jack Knoll, Samuel Mandel, Jacob White, Elias Hays, Louis Diamond and Joseph Klein, \$5 each. Brothers Charles Levise, Charles Stein, Nathan Saperstein, Joel Abramowitz, and Morris Levine, \$10 each.

Friends: Isidore Drenner, Alexander Weiss, \$10; Harry Siegenfeld, David Marcus and Irving Marcus, \$5. Max Spiwack, \$25. Nat Fleischer collection, \$25. Jacob Seidman, (Palm Garment), \$10.

## Noted Playwright at Camp Tamiment

Mr. David Pinki, author of many plays of note, among which are "The Treasurer," "The Last Jew," and "The Dumb Messiah," has finished writing another play which he calls "Three." It has been translated into English and will appear on the English speaking stage in the fall, with Adele Klauer in the leading part.

Mr. Pinki read his manuscript in the Yiddish to his audience of about

two hundred persons in the Mally Hall at Camp Tamiment, on Friday evening. Those who understood Yiddish (and some who did not understand Yiddish came to hear) were moved by the story and all were thrilled by the remarkably able manner in which the author read the play.

Mr. Pinki is staying with his family, for the summer, at Camp Tamiment, near Bushkill, in Pennsylvania.

## CUTTERS' UNION, LOCAL 10

### NOTICE OF MEETINGS

REGULAR MEETING .....Monday, June 30th  
REGULAR MEETING .....Monday, July 14th  
MISCELLANEOUS MEETING .....Monday, July 21st

Meetings Begin at 7:30 P. M.

AT ARLINGTON HALL, 23 St. Mark's Place