

# Union Slaps Injunction on Employers

## ILGWU NEWS-HISTORY

FIFTIETH ANNIVERSARY CONVENTION ISSUE

CHAPTER 7

THE UNION UNDER FIRE

1920-1927

# Strike of 40,000 Empties Cloak Shops

## Wagner Restrains Employer Move to Drop Week Work

By SELIG PERLMAN

(Professor of Economics, University of Wisconsin)

NEW YORK, Jan., 1922—The open shop campaign was signaled by a breach of the agreement by the Cloak, Suit and Skirt Manufacturers' Protective Assn. The agreement had been concluded in August, 1919, after a brief general strike and gained for the cloakmakers the 44-hour week, week work and classified minimum wages. The agreement was to run for three years.

At the end of 1919, the union requested a revision of the wage scale to bring it abreast of the higher cost of living. The employers cited the three-year term of the agreement as valid cause for refusal. However, Gov. A. E. Smith induced both sides to submit to arbitration by a commission of his appointment, which granted an increase ranging from \$2.50 to \$6.50 per week.

A difficulty arose over the interpretation of the commission's decision, the association claiming that it applied only to those employed when the dispute arose but not to those subsequently hired. The union rejected this interpretation and favored re-submission to the commission. This the association was unwilling to allow.

The union then withdrew its members from the shops that insisted on applying this interpretation. On Oct. 6, 1920, the Protective Assn. formally charged the union with breach of agreement and refused to employ the machinery of adjustment under the agreement. The union sought to persuade the association to restore the functioning of that machinery, but as no other action threatening standards was then taken, the union let the matter rest.

On Apr. 22, 1921, the Protective Assn. demanded in a letter to the Joint Board of Cloak, Skirt, and Reefer Makers' Unions a revision of wage and production standards, in view of the depression. The joint

## ST. LOUIS CLOAKMEN TRIUMPH WITH PACT SETTING MINIMUMS

ST. LOUIS, June 18, 1920—With the sweeping victory scored by the cloakmakers of St. Louis, Mo., the farthest Western outpost of the ladies' garment industry fell into line with the other big garment centers controlled by the International.

The controversy between the St. Louis Cloak Joint Board and the St. Louis Cloak and Suit Manufacturers' Assn., which culminated in a great victory for the workers, began some time ago when Pres. Schlesinger was called to St. Louis because of the tense situation there.

Upon his arrival three conferences were held between the representatives of the union, headed by Schlesinger, and the representatives of the association. These negotiations ended in a tremendous victory for the St. Louis cloakmakers as well as for the entire International.

One of the outstanding achieve-

NEW YORK, July 9, 1926—The strike of the New York cloakmakers is on.

What appeared to be a practical certainty last week became a fact on July 1, when the 40,000 men and women employed in the cloak shops of Greater New York quit work and marched down to the strike assembly halls.

It was the most orderly and complete strike demonstration the city had seen in many years. Literally not a cloakmaker remained at work. Not even the employers could lay claim to any defection in the ranks of the union workers, nor did they assert that any shops remained operating.

And the hundreds of thousands who watched from the sidewalks and windows of the great buildings that line the streets of the garment districts as the great army of cloak workers poured out of the shops could not help being impressed with this remarkable mass movement, the solid march of battalions of workers converging upon Herald, Madison and Union Squares, from where, in closed ranks, they proceeded to the meeting places assigned to them in the lower section of the city.

—JUSTICE

ments is doubtless the abolition of the piece-work system and the establishment of week work for the entire trade. Another significant victory is the establishment of a minimum wage scale for all workers in the industry.

—JUSTICE

## GOLDEN GATE UNION WINS RECOGNITION IN 13-WEEK BATTLE

NEW YORK, June 8, 1923—The General Office has received a telegram from the Pacific Coast, containing the information that the three-month-old strike of the cloakmakers in San Francisco has been settled. The message reads:

Strike settled. Agreement reached to May 15, 1924. Satisfactory to cloakmakers who were out for 13 weeks. Strike committee accepted it unanimously.

The strike of the cloakmakers in San Francisco was fought out on the issue of trade union recognition principally and was not a fight for more money or shorter working hours. It was, in fact, the first effective move on the part of the organized workers of the Golden Gate City to resist the hitherto practically unopposed attack of the organized employers in that city on the union shop and union labor.

Behind the cloak employers in the strike there were arrayed all the corporate interests of San Francisco, including the local Chamber of Commerce and the Industrial Association, but it seems that the indomitable spirit and courage of our workers, fired by the belief in the righteousness of their cause, overcame even these huge odds.

—JUSTICE

"On the Spot!!"



SEAMAN

# Militant Struggle In Cincinnati Ends With Union Victory

CINCINNATI, Apr. 22, 1921—The cloak firm of Bishop, Stern & Stein of Cincinnati has now become richer for the experience it had with the Cloakmakers' Union of that city assisted by the International, in the fight started several months ago under conditions ostensibly favorable for the firm.

Three months ago, the Bishop firm decided to close its shop and declared to the several hundred cloakmakers it employed that it would make no more cloaks in Cincinnati. In that statement the firm stated, in a flow of crocodile tears, that it was the system of week work that had brought it to a state of bankruptcy. It offered the workers the alternative of returning to work, but under a piece-work system. The workers replied in the negative and the strike began.

It is not an easy matter to conduct a strike against a closed factory. The firm must have had that in mind and endeavored to imbue the workers with a spirit of hopelessness in the outcome of the strike. It expected that after a short siege the workers would flock back begging it to open the gates of the factory and admit them to work under any conditions.

Events, however, took a different turn. The International sent out Vice Pres. Lefkowitz, who knew how to keep up the morale of the strikers, and the General Office supported the workers generously with funds. The Cincinnati Joint Board sent men to New York, who kept close watch over every garment the firm attempted to make in New York.

After three months of bitter fighting, the firm reopened the shop and the workers returned to work, after Vice Pres. Perlstein had signed an agreement with the firm, in which week work and a minimum scale of wages were guaranteed.

Considering the exceptional circumstances attending this strike in Cincinnati, we must say that, while it involved only a few hundred cloakmakers, it is a very important victory.

—JUSTICE

## CLOAKMAKERS REBEL WHEN ASSN. ISSUES PIECE-WORK DECREE

NEW YORK, Nov. 18, 1921—The conflict which the union had sought so hard to avert and which the Cloak Manufacturers' Protective Assn. in New York finally forced upon it, is now a living fact. The cloakmakers of Greater New York are out in a general strike against their bosses.

OCT. 28, 1921—The Cloak Manufacturers' Protective Assn. in New York held a meeting last Tuesday, Oct. 25, at the Waldorf Astoria and decided to re-introduce piece work, to reduce wages and to lengthen the work hours in the cloak and suit industry effective Nov. 14.

The meeting of the employers last Tuesday, it seems, followed closely the decisions adopted at a conference last Friday and Saturday in Atlantic City by representatives of the various cloak manufacturers' associations of the country.

As soon as the "ukase" of the manufacturers became known, Pres. Benjamin Schlesinger of the International issued the following statement:

"The cloakmakers of this city and all over the country are well organized and thoroughly disciplined. On Nov. 14 when the manufacturers attempt to enforce the orders 'promulgated' by them, they will find that it takes two to make a bargain."

—JUSTICE

## \$1 Million Fund for Emergencies Proposed

NEW YORK, Mar. 5, 1920—The joint board has come forth recently with a plan of raising a million-dollar fund. It may be that the vacillating state of mind of the employers, their readiness to declare war against the union at the opportune moment, has something to do with this plan. If so, the manufacturers will have another opportunity to witness the effect of their tactics.

But no matter whether the manufacturers are responsible or not for this plan, the idea of a fund of a million dollars is a splendid one and should be welcomed with joy and enthusiasm. The workers have to be prepared for all emergencies. And a million dollars is an excellent proof of preparedness.

—JUSTICE

## SEVERAL THOUSAND ENJOY BEAUTIES OF UNITY HOUSE IN PA.

The last four years have seen the broadening and development of a novel idea in our trade union movement which appears to us to be one of the healthiest signs of vitality and strength of our organizations. We have in mind the birth and growth of Unity Houses as vacation centers for members of the International.

As was to be expected, this idea first originated with our biggest local of women workers, Local 25. By 1915, the plan of renting a big house to be used as a vacation place at reasonable prices, under the auspices of the local, was launched. A house was rented in the mountains, and after some preparatory work, short-term vacations at the lowest possible prices were arranged.

### All Modern Equipment

The next year, the plan was enlarged, until in 1919, it became necessary to organize this proposition on a large scale. With the aid of the International Union, a great place at Forest Park, Stroudsburg, Pa., was bought, which consisted of a number of houses, formerly used as a first-class hotel, splendidly equipped with all modern requirements for vacation purposes. The International advanced practically all the funds to make this purchase possible, upon a mortgage from the Unity House Assn. of Local 25.

The Boston Waistmakers' Union, Local 49, has also conducted a summer camp for their members. This camp was conducted on a smaller scale, of course, but practically on the same basis as Local 25, except that their vacation center took the form of a camp and was called "Camp Unity." They are also planning to extend this very successful feature next year.

The waist and dressmakers of Philadelphia, Local 15, purchased a very large and beautifully located place about 30 miles out of Philadelphia in 1918. The cost of the house and grounds was about \$30,000.

This idea of Unity Houses and vacation centers is certainly one to be encouraged in our organizations by every means possible. Aside from the material benefits which they offer, these centers serve as a practical exponent of the idea of cooperation and unionism, bring the members in closer touch with each other and teach them the inspiring lesson of self-reliance and self-management.

—REPORT, ILGWU CONVENTION, 1920.

## Touring the "Front Line"



Congressman Fiorello H. LaGuardia (left) visits garment picket line with Pres. Sigman. Later, police "picked up" the ILGWU chief but refused to "book" the Congressman in spite of his insistence that they do so.

# 8-Mo Strike Beats Back Open-Shoppers in Boston

BOSTON, June 17, 1921—Members of the International Union will surely learn with satisfaction that the long-drawn-out strike in the cloak trade of Boston has finally been settled.

The strike lasted over eight months and was precipitated by an attempt on the part of the then existing Cloak Manufacturers' Assn. of Boston to introduce open shop conditions in that city. They have, of a sudden, abrogated the collective agreement with the Cloakmakers' Union, under which they were operating for years, and notified their workers in individual letters that they would not deal any more with their organization but with each and every one of them separately.

It was a direct challenge to the union and a peremptory demand upon the workers to give up their organization, notwithstanding the fact that they, the employers, still retained their own association.

To this brazen attack, the cloakmakers of Boston replied most emphatically in the negative. The union declared a general strike and the membership of the Boston cloak locals left the shops to a man. The strike proved to be a very obstinate one. The employers spared no means to break the union, but in vain. With the aid of the International, the cloakmakers of Boston repelled every attack and onslaught of their obdurate employers.

The end of the conflict resulted in a thorough repudiation of the aspirations of the cloak manufacturers of Boston. Instead of having smashed the union, their own association was dissolved and the union came out of the fight even stronger and more solidified than before the battle began.

—REPORT, ILGWU CONVENTION, 1920.

## L.A. Assn. Supports Anti-Union Policies Of Smith-Foladare

LOS ANGELES, Oct. 1, 1920—On Sept. 16, Smith & Foladare discharged a presser for having dared to tell one of his fellow pressers that she ought to join the union. Following his discharge, another presser went to the firm and asked them to re-employ the discharged worker. For this he was also summarily discharged.

A committee of the workers thereupon called upon the employer on behalf of the discharged pressers and they received a reply that if they do not like the action of the firm they too can leave. The following morning, 45 out of the 50 employees responded to the strike call.

The firm is backed as usual by

the Los Angeles Manufacturers' Assn. Police, detectives and gangsters surround the shop. The firm has adopted the slogan of Mr. Gary of steel-trust fame: "No outside interference in our business." They have advertised in the local papers for strikebreakers, but cannot get any help as the dress trade is now very busy.

—JUSTICE

## Solid Support of Strike



Scene on West 37th St. on first day of 1926 strike.

# Wagner Blocks Employers' Move to Drop Week Work

(Continued from Page 1)

production standards and to bring in a final report on Nov. 1, 1921.

But on Aug. 21 the same Protective Assn. of New York issued a confidential invitation to the cloak and suit manufacturers of the whole country to a conference on Oct. 17. At that conference a decision was taken to reintroduce piece work, the 48-hour week and to reduce wages. A Federation of Cloak Manufacturers' Assn. in the United States and Canada was formed.

The union remained in ignorance of this development. It learned of the association's change of course when it refused to call a joint meeting on Nov. 1, to receive the report of the Joint Commission on Production Standards.

On Oct. 25 the Protective Assn.

made the policy adopted at the national conference binding upon all its members, to be put into effect on Nov. 14. It was evident to the union that a struggle was inevitable. The joint board ordered a strike vote. On Nov. 15, 1921 60,000 struck. Fifteen thousand pickets were posted in the garment district.

The union's chief contention was that the association had violated the agreement. Samuel Untermyer, the union's special counsel secured on Nov. 29 from Judge Guy of the Supreme Court a temporary injunction returnable on Dec. 5 forbidding the association or any of its officers, "collectively or individually, or their managers, agents, and directors, collectively or individually to direct, influence, advise or encourage any member of the association to violate the agreement."

In the midst of the strike in New York, the cloakmakers had to defend their standards also in Montreal, Philadelphia, and Chicago. In Philadelphia and Chicago the strikers were victorious in the latter part of December.

## Rule Against Mfrs.

On Jan. 11, 1922 the decision in the injunction suit was rendered by Justice Robert F. Wagner. He sustained the union's claim that the manufacturers had broken a three-year agreement entered into on May 29, 1919, and a supplemental agreement made in June, 1921, by their conspiracy to put into effect piece work and the 48-hour week.

Pres. Schlesinger acclaimed the court victory. Morris Hillquit, the International's regular counsel and the outstanding American socialist leader, felt slightly embarrassed by his own victory.

He was "by no means converted

to the opinion that court injunctions are the proper method of adjusting industrial disputes." Samuel Gompers was emphatically on the negative side. "This injunction determined nothing and means nothing in the struggle of workers against predatory employers. It reveals nothing. It proves nothing."

Gompers pointed out that this decision merely restrained a violation of contract, that it held no promise that courts could cease enjoining strikers from doing what they legally had a right to do, and that it might be used to bolster the labor injunction.

The injunction broke the back of the association's resistance. The employers made a complete surrender.

—"HISTORY OF LABOR IN THE UNITED STATES." Vol. IV.

## New Out-of-Town Dept. To Organize Runaways

NEW YORK, Aug. 6, 1920—The decision of our last convention in Chicago to undertake a vigorous organization campaign in the out-of-town districts has already been translated into an actual fact.

With the creation of an Out-of-Town Department the International has gone a long way in removing the evil that accompanied the rush of the manufacturers to the country towns in order to escape the union. The out-of-town organization campaign, with headquarters at the International office, 31 Union Square, marks the most comprehensive step undertaken by the union.

—JUSTICE

## COURT'S DOOR OPEN ALSO TO WORKERS, WAGNER DECLARES

By PAUL F. BRISENDEN and C. O. SWAYZEE

The application for an injunction was made by the union on Nov. 28, 1921, and on the following day Mr. Justice Guy of the Supreme Court signed an *ex parte* order restraining the employers' association from violating, or attempting to induce the violation of, its agreement with the union.

After a hearing in December Mr. Justice Robert F. Wagner, on Jan. 16, 1922, continued the *ex parte* order as a temporary injunction. From this decision the association appealed to the Appellate Division and the case was argued Jan. 24, 1922, after which the decision was affirmed on May 26.

## Bosses Try Return to Piece Work

The association had adopted a resolution that beginning Monday, Nov. 14, 1921, all of its members would operate their factories on the piece-work system. In his ruling in "Schlesinger vs. Quinto," Mr. Justice Wagner was of the opinion that this resolution "contemplated a material breach of said contract" and on this belief his decision turned.

He comments as follows upon the significance of an application by a trade union for an injunction against employers of its members:

While this application is novel, it is novel only in the respect that for the first time an employees' organization is seeking to restrain their employers' organization from violating a contractual obligation. It is elementary, and yet sometimes requires emphasis, that the door of a court of equity is open to employer and employee alike. It is no respecter of persons—it is keen to protect the legal rights of all. Heretofore the employer alone has prayed the protection of a court of equity against threatened irreparable illegal acts of the employee. But mutuality of obligation compels a mutuality of remedy. The fact that the employees have entered equity's threshold by a hitherto untraveled path does not lessen their right to the law's decree.

—POLITICAL SCIENCE QUARTERLY, December, 1929

## Force of the Law



This cop made his arrest on June 23, 1927.

## Injunction May Lose Popularity If Used on Boss

By MORRIS HILLQUIT (Leading American Socialist; ILG Counsel)

DEC. 9, 1921 — The ILGWU is charged with creating a dangerous precedent which could be turned against organized labor.

The "precedent" which the present case establishes is only this—that the weapon of injunction, which the employers have so effectively wielded and skillfully perfected against the workers, may, on occasions, be used against them in its most perfected form.

The most promising and effective means of curtailing or abolishing the use of injunctions in labor disputes is to endeavor persistently to turn it against the employers. So long as injunctions hit the workers only, the ruling classes will see to it that they are maintained and extended. But when they are hurled against employers, they will rapidly sink into disrepute. If the organized workers will systematically seek to enjoin their employers from the commission of the same kind of acts as they are chronically enjoined from breaking—contracts, acts of violence, threats or abuse committed by their hired guards, etc.—the courts will not be in a position to deny such relief without stultifying or discrediting themselves.

The effect of the suit of the ILGWU in that direction has been swift and decisive. Even the "New York Times," commenting editorially on the garment injunction, begins to conceive doubts about the efficacy of injunctions in industrial disputes. A few more injunctions against employers and the entire capitalist press will howl against the use of writ in favor of labor or capital.

But in the meantime, the fact that the workers are on principle opposed to injunctions is no reason why they should not use them.

—JUSTICE

## NEW HEALTH CENTER OFFICIALLY OPENED AT GALA CEREMONY

NEW YORK, Dec. 17, 1920—The Union Health Center, owned by our Locals 1, 6, 9, 10, 11, 23, 35 and 45, is already doing business at its new home, 131 East 17th St. The new building has cost our locals \$100,000 and consists of the medical and dental clinics located heretofore at 31 Union Square.

The official opening of this health institution will take place this Saturday, Dec. 18. Dr. George M. Price, director of the Union Health Center, has invited a number of prominent persons interested in the advancement of the health of the masses, to this celebration.

The following speakers are expected: Dr. Royal S. Copeland, chief of the New York Health Department, Miss Lillian D. Wald of the Nurses' Settlement, Dr. William J. Schieffelin and Dr. Henry Moskowitz. Dr. Price will, on this occasion, deliver officially to Brother Harry Wander, chairman of the Board of Directors of the Union Health Center, the key of the institution.

Representatives of all our locals in Greater New York and of the most prominent labor organizations of the city will be present at the formal opening of the health center. Committees are expected from the United Hebrew Trades, the Amalgamated, the Furriers, the Workmen's Circle and other labor bodies.

—JUSTICE

## FIVE LOCALS FOUND N.Y. JOINT BOARD OF WAIST, DRESS UNIONS

NEW YORK, Oct. 8, 1920—A joint board in the waist and dress trades has finally become a reality, an established fact.

On Oct. 4, General Secretary Baroff summoned a joint meeting of all the executive boards of the waist and dress locals. There were delegates from Local 25, Local 10, the Cutters' Union, Local 89, the Italian Waist and Dressmakers' Union, Local 66, the Bonnaz Embroidery Workers, and the Pressers' Branch of Local 25. The meeting was held at the Broadway Central Hotel, and was presided over by Morris Sigman, first vice president of the International Union.

It was a very interesting meeting, and the representatives who attended seemed conscious of the importance of the occasion, the opening of a new page in the history of their industry in New York City.

The joint board in the waist and dress industry is formed on the same lines as the joint board in the cloak industry of New York; and there is no logical reason why it should not work as smoothly and coherently as the latter.

This delegated chamber of cloak locals has made the Cloakmakers' Union the strongest individual workers' organization in the City of New York. Given time, will and courage, there is no reason why the joint board in the waist and dress industry should not emulate the example of its sister body among the cloakmakers.

—JUSTICE

Your Union Fights For You—

DEFEND THE ILGWU

—N. Y. Daily News

# All Cleveland Factors To Try 'Standard Time'

By SUMNER H. SLICHTER  
(Professor of Economics, Harvard University)

CLEVELAND, 1923—Pursuant to the agreement of 1919, the union and the manufacturers' association engaged the engineering firm of Miller, Franklin, Basset and Co., to study the industry and to propose a system of standards of production.

On June 23, 1920, the employers and the union agreed to adopt the plan which provided for setting a standard time on each job by time studies, and paying the workers at their regular hourly rates on the basis of the time value of each job. The standards were to be set and administered under the direction of a Bureau of Standards which would be maintained jointly by the manufacturers and the union and which would be responsible to the Board of Referees.

With the line of each manufacturer different, with many styles in each line, and with the lines changing several times a year, how could standards be set so as to provide some semblance of uniformity as between different shops and in the same shop over a period of time? This was made possible by basing standards upon "element times." Element times may be compared to bricks in houses; though the houses are not alike, they are composed of the same elements.

Setting standards required that the union and the manufacturers agree upon what was the proper speed of work and what was the proper method of work. As for the first, they agreed that standards should be based upon the average output of the average worker under pre-standard conditions. As to the second, they agreed that the method of doing the work should be neither the best nor the poorest in use, but one which occupied a midway position.

## Debate Method of Work

When efficiency engineers undertake to set standard times on jobs in non-union plants, it is usually their custom to work out the best possible method and to make it the basis of the standard times. The union, however, was unwilling to consent to this procedure. For one thing, it would have been unfair to base standard times on ideal methods unless the manufacturers were prepared to train the workers in the best methods. The union could not be sure that the manufacturers were prepared to do this. More important, however, was the fact that under pre-standard conditions the method of work was determined by the employees themselves.

In an industry as unstandardized as the manufacture of women's garments, where the product is changing and where subdivision of labor has not reduced operations to simple routine acts, freedom to plan the work affords piece workers an exceptional opportunity to increase their earnings by contriving a quicker way of doing the work than was assumed by whoever set the piece price. Had the engineers and the time-study men made a special effort to devise the best possible method of work, the employees would have been deprived of their traditional opportunity to increase their earnings by discovering short cuts.

In other words, the union regarded the superior methods of work

which some employees had discovered as the property of these employees and was unwilling for the employer to make the superior methods the standard methods without compensating the workers.

For example, in setting standards on pressing coats, 15,510 observations in 16 factories were taken to derive an average time for arranging the press cloth over areas of less than 110 square inches. In the operating department, the task of collecting the necessary data was formidable, and it was necessary to limit the work in order to save time and money. Hence the element times in the operating department were individual shop times and, in many instances, were based upon a very limited number of observations.

## Shop Became Unit

In selecting average methods of work, the shop rather than the market was the unit. This decision was largely dictated by practical considerations. To decide which method out of a great variety in use throughout the market was the average one would have been difficult in the extreme — in many cases impossible. This was particularly true in view of the fact that there were great differences in the organization of the work in the various shops. Some were sectionalized, others were not.

Furthermore, there were great differences in shop customs and also differences in methods which

were the result of differences in the quality and quantity of the goods manufactured.

Opposition to standards arose because they tended to disturb well-established earning differentials, particularly the spread between earnings of workers on the higher-priced garments and those of workers on the cheap garments. Under the bargaining system, managements had been more liberal in bargaining piece rates on the more expensive garments because a difference of 50 or 75 cents or even a dollar in the labor cost of an expensive garment made little difference to the manufacturer.

## Differentials Upset

In the case of the cheaper garments, however, labor cost was of great importance, and manufacturers bargained tighter rates on these garments. Indeed, there had been some tendency for manufacturers to accept tight rates on expensive garments in order to obtain low rates on cheap ones. No allowance was made for this customary liberality.

Nor did standards take account of differences in the run of work. Naturally the larger the lots in which garments came to employees and the longer an employee could work on a single number without changing, the faster he could produce. The cheaper garments came in larger lots than the expensive ones.

An adjustment could have been made for this by establishing different unavoidable delay allowances for the cheap and the expensive garments. This, however, was not done. All in all, therefore, standards were more unfavorable to the operators on expensive garments than on cheap ones.

—"UNION POLICIES AND INDUSTRIAL MANAGEMENT"

## Trying to Settle Strike



—I.N.P.  
Members of the Governor's Commission shown as they heard both sides in the 1926 contest. Left to right: Judge Bernard Shientag, Col. Herbert Lehman and Dr. Lindsay Rogers.

# 1,200 Girls Defy Cops To Boost Chicago Wage

By JOHN NICHOLAS BEFFEL  
(Free-lance labor journalist)

CHICAGO, May 14, 1924—Daily for eight week the picket-lines have formed in the clothing district of downtown Chicago; have been broken repeatedly by injunctions, policemen, and thugs; and have formed again. Slowly, back and forth in a short

space, in all kinds of weather, the pickets march. Twelve hundred strikers are still out; 90 per cent are girls and women. They are a determined lot. It takes high courage to go on the line when you know that you may be beaten or have your wrists twisted by burly men in uniform or out of it, and then be thrown into a small cell without medical attention.

Back of the happenings in the dressmakers' strike are long-existent grievances — they complain of hours too long at tedious work which wearies eye and body; dissatisfaction with wages which, earned during seven or eight months in a season trade, must be spread across a whole year; un-

sanitary conditions in many garment shops; and the thing known as the "American plan."

At first 2,500 quit their jobs, but about 1,300 have returned to work under union conditions in 81 shops which have agreed to the workers' demands. These are mostly small shops. There are two other groups, which are battling aggressively against the union. One comprises five big employing corporations which had a gentlemen's agreement with the union in 1919-1921, then broke off relations, and which have operated open shops ever since. This group uses what the unionists term a "yellow dog" contract, which provides that the employee must never even discuss unionism with anybody while she has her job. In the second group are about 25 employers who have conducted union shops for six years, but who are ambitious to deal individually with the workers in the future.

Sponsored by the ILGWU, the dressmakers struck at the beginning of the busy season.

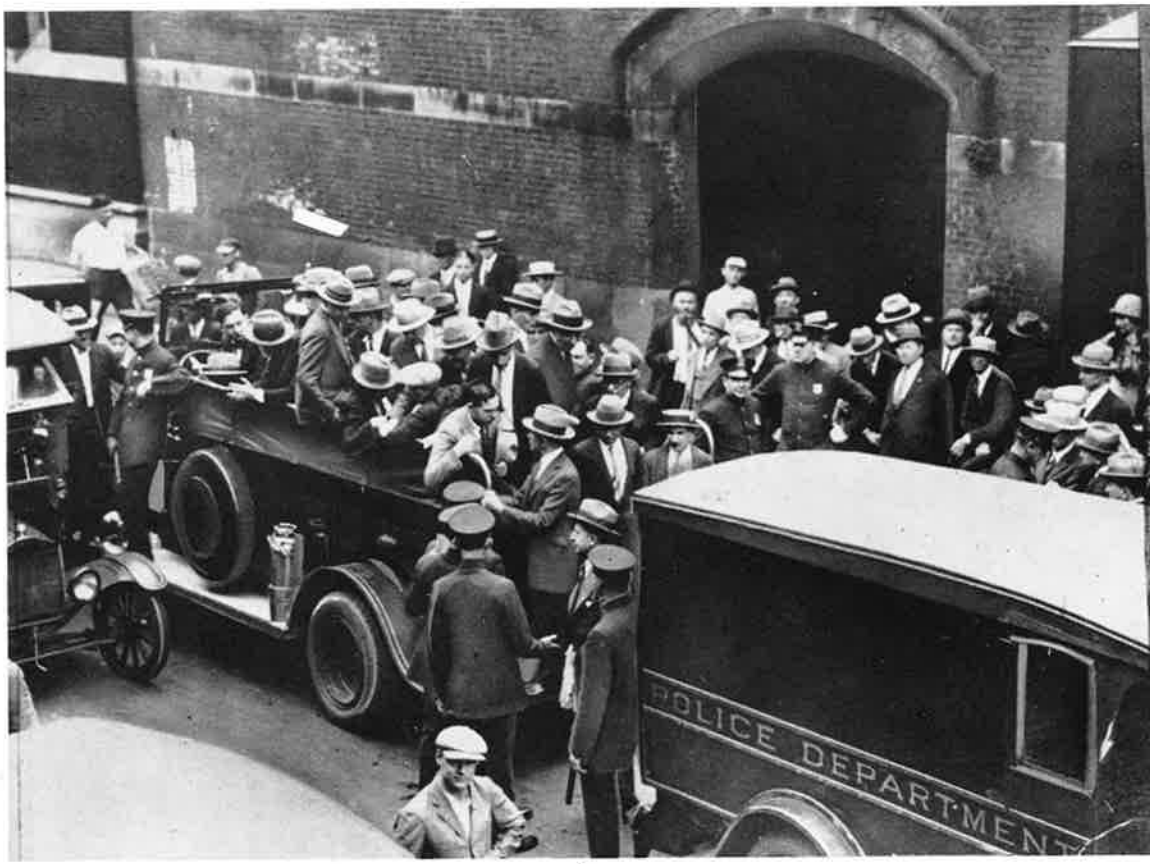
## Bring in Strikebreakers

The employers brought in a limited number of strikebreakers from St. Louis, while numerous others were recruited locally. But the picket lines turned many of them back, shaming them away. On the third day, Judge Sullivan issued his injunction, based on the Illinois anti-picketing law, forbidding the union and everybody else from picketing or congregating near the premises of the complainants; from addressing any of the strikebreakers as "scabs" or applying any other epithets to them; and from attempting to induce any persons from entering into or continuing in the employment of the complainants, by means of threats, intimidation, force, violence, or coercion.

To enforce this injunction, about 125 policemen were placed on duty in the strike zone, six blocks square — plus numerous individuals in plain clothes known as "Crowe's men," these being from the State Attorney's office; and uncounted thugs hired by the dress manufacturers.

Arrests of pickets began before  
(Continued on Page 6)

## Police Make Biggest Haul in Cloak Strike



—N. Y. Daily News  
More than 600 pickets were arrested on Sept. 13, 1926.

## 1ST SANITARY LABEL SEWED IN COAT FOR GOV. SMITH'S WIFE

NEW YORK, Sept. 26, 1924—Monday, Sept. 22, will remain a historic day in the cloak industry of New York. On that day, the sanitary label, which the Special Commission appointed by Gov. Smith recommended to be adopted as proof of standard union and wholesome work conditions in the shops, officially began to function.

It must be remembered that the International Union has hailed the introduction of the sanitary label as one of the main achievements resulting from the last strike. And the extreme satisfaction expressed in union circles with the fact that the label has already become operative can therefore easily be understood.

An impressive ceremony accompanied the sewing on of the first label. It took place in the shop of Jacob Rapoport and Co., in the presence of a number of representatives of the cloak and suit industry, members of the Governor's Special Commission, and of the Joint Board of Sanitary Control which has the direct supervision over the label. Representing the workers were Pres. Morris Sigman of the International and Vice Presidents Feinberg and Wander.

The first coat bearing the sanitary label will be worn by Mrs. Alfred E. Smith, wife of the Governor, who took part in the ceremony. After the settlement of the cloak dispute last summer, Mrs. Smith expressed the wish that she might be the first woman in America to wear a coat with a sanitary label signifying that it was made in a sanitary shop and under union work conditions.

—JUSTICE

## Brief Philly Cloak Walkout Nets Gains For Smaller Shops

PHILADELPHIA, July 22, 1921—The strike in the shops of the cloak jobbers and submanufacturers of Philadelphia, which was in effect since July 6, was settled last Monday. It ended in a complete victory for the union, and the strikers returned to the shops in high spirits over the result of the conflict.

The strike was well organized from the outset, and it could be easily foreseen that it would not last long. The union's terms could not, by any means, be regarded as excessive, and the jobbers as well as the sub-manufacturers in the trade were soon compelled to admit that they must, in fairness, concede the just demands of their workers.

The strike was settled separately with the jobbers and the sub-manufacturers — on the same basis as in New York City, dealing with each association individually.

The jobbers' association has assumed full responsibility for the work made in the shops contracting for their firms. In brief, they undertook to see that the work is made under union conditions and gave security for the faithful carrying out of this undertaking.

A similar arrangement was entered into with the association of subcontractors.

—JUSTICE

**Your Union Fights For You—  
DEFEND THE ILGWU**

## Showing Their Determination to Win



—N. Y. Daily News

Striking cloakmakers stage mass demonstration in Union Square on Oct. 16, 1926.

# 'Lefts' Bolt Stormy ILG Convention on 15th Day

By JAMES ONEAL  
(Editor, "New Leader," 1924-1940)

The 1925 Philadelphia convention proceeded with its work in an atmosphere of tense feeling, much of its time being wasted by demonstrations of the "lefts" and by the cheering of a clique which packed the gallery. It was the first national convention of

a trade union to meet in this country where partisans of a political movement flocked into the hall and endeavored to influence decisions of the delegates. Because of the long debates, frequent interruptions and demonstrations, the convention was in session 18 days.

### Reject Arbitration

The most determined struggle came on the report of the Appeal Committee which approved the action of the General Executive Board in the matter of the New York suspensions. It declared that the suspended members "have indulged in the practice of breaking up meetings, distributing literature of a slanderous nature against the elected administration of the ILGWU, obstructing the normal activity of the locals of which they were members, and otherwise acting to the detriment of the union as a whole. . . ."

An amusing *volte face* occurred on the resolution condemning "class collaboration," i.e., arbitration, and outlining the program of the anti-administration forces. Its main feature was a declaration against submitting union demands to anybody for arbitration, singling out the Governor's Commission for special mention.

The "lefts" became doubtful of their own proposal as it was subjected to criticism, yet it was the gist of their opposition to what they called "class collaboration." Doubt gave way to the fear that they had placed themselves in an untenable position. If they forced the issue and obtained a decision against arbitration under any circumstances, the union would be compelled to strike no matter how favorable an aspect a given union demand might have before an arbitration body.

The "lefts," however, were forced

into a position where they eventually abandoned their repudiation of arbitration and were recorded in favor of it "only after a strike has been first called." When the absurdity of their original proposal was shown to the delegates, they modified their original proposal with the explanation that they were not against arbitration in principle but were against resorting to it before the masses have been called on strike. When they have been called out and the union finds itself in a weakened condition, "then and only then," according to their theory, "is it permissible for a union to resort to arbitration."

Strikes are called to improve conditions, and a situation might arise where a strike could be avoided by receiving a favorable decision through arbitration. The Communists and "lefts" had presented an absurd theory which even they were compelled to modify.

### Take 109 Delegates

In the morning of the 15th day's session, the Communist bloc "bolted" the convention on the issue of proportional representation in conventions, taking 109 delegates with them.

Pres. Morris Sigman observed that the absent delegates had chosen the wrong time to desert. Dubinsky declared that a caucus of "rank and filers" had been held in New York where preparations had been made for the "bolt."

Sigman added that he had received information that a mass meeting had been arranged in New York at 1 o'clock in anticipation of the "bolt" and to receive the deserting delegates. With 159 delegates present the recommendation of the committee was adopted unanimously at the evening session.

By their rash action in leaving the convention the "lefts" had taken a course which they had always claimed to oppose. If they remained away their action meant dual unionism; if they returned it would be an admission that they had made a mistake. Moreover, no action had been taken by the convention to justify the "bolt."

At the evening session the deserting delegates returned. On the basis of what "seemed" to them a forecast of an "intention" of the administration to do something, the "bolt" had occurred!

The convention was the most tempestuous one ever held by a trade union in this country, and it represented the high tide of influence of William Z. Foster's Trade Union Educational League. The proceedings of the convention itself showed that the logical culmination of the league's activities was secession and rival unionism.

—"HISTORY OF LOCAL 10"

## General Strike in Dresses Achieves 5-Day Work Week

NEW YORK, Feb. 23, 1923—The big general strike in the dress and waist industry in New York has ended with a victory for the union and for the workers in the trade. The union won a 40-hour week, a 10 per cent increase in wages and double time for overtime. The work week in the dress and waist industry will henceforth be only five days long. On Saturday and Sunday all the shops will be closed. What concerns the week workers, they will continue to work under the same system, except that they will receive the same wages for 40 hours as they have been receiving before for 44 hours.

The settlement was finally arranged on Tuesday afternoon between the conference committee of the union and the committee of the contractors' association. These terms were later submitted by Julius Hochman, general manager of the Dress and Waistmakers' Joint Board, to the general strike committee, and after a long discussion, the strike committee accepted this settlement, deciding to refer it to a referendum vote of the strikers.

—JUSTICE

## London Swept into Congress by Cloak Committee Efforts

NEW YORK, Nov. 5, 1920—The strenuous campaign conducted by the Cloakmakers' Campaign Committee of New York in the 20th and 12th Congressional Districts for the election of Morris Hillquit and Meyer London to Congress, has culminated in the signal victory of Meyer London, who received more than enough votes to sweep him into office. But Hillquit failed of election by a small margin through the huge frauds perpetrated on Election Day and during the count.

On Election Day, it looked as if every active member and officer of the International in the city turned up at the various campaign headquarters for active duty. Most of the polling places in the 12th District were manned by our workers, and it was due to their incessant vigil until the small hours of the morning that the election was saved. Conspicuous among the workers were Philip Kaplowitz, in charge of the watchers, M. Breslaw, I. Pinkovsky and Israel Feinberg of the Joint Board.

—JUSTICE

## Taken for a Ride



Strikers boarding "Black Maria" on Seventh Ave.

# Disastrous Commie-Led Strike Drains Resources Of Entire Garment Union

By EDWARD LEVINSON

(Late labor editor; "N. Y. Post," "United Automobile Worker")

NEW YORK, January, 1927—The Communists have led 35,000 ladies' garment workers in New York City through a six-months' strike. The results are now on record. The Communists have painted their own full-length portrait. It is on exhibition for all to view.

In 1924 ILGWU President Morris Sigman formulated a program conceived to make the jobber, organized in the Merchants' Ladies' Garment Assn., shoulder responsibility commensurate with his position in the industry.

President Sigman demanded that sub-manufacturers whose shops were so small as to use less than 14 machines be eliminated as a menace to the well-being of the industry and the workers. A second point in his program was that the jobbers be made to designate a minimum number of sub-manufacturers and assume the obligation of furnishing them with enough work to give their workers a minimum period of employment.

Through the intercession of a commission, appointed by the Governor of New York, Pres. Sigman had succeeded in winning much sympathy for his program. Side by side with his education of public opinion on the need for such regulation as he proposed, Pres. Sigman was strengthening his union. He was approaching important initial gains, when the Communist-phobia rendered his work useless.

In open espousal of William Z. Foster's "Trade Union Educational League," the Communists raised their banner in the New York locals of the ILGWU. They were impatient. "Public opinion" was a capitalistic fetish to be scorned by all true revolutionary unionists; arbitration and mediation were merely schemes of the capitalists to keep the workers in subjection; the Governor's Commission was a symbol of "class-collaboration," which had been denounced in Moscow and accepted by American neophytes as tantamount to a "betrayal of the entire working-class movement." Straight-from-the-shoulder "mass action" would do the trick. All who stood in the way of these men of action were termed "klansmen," "gangsters," "Fascisti," "fakers," "capitalist lackeys," "traitors," etc., etc., and worst of all, "class collaborationists."

## Get Control of Jt. Bd.

By a combination of demagoguery, intrigue and character assassination, the Communists finally succeeded, in 1925, in winning enough locals to control the New York Joint Board of the International Union.

The final report of the Governor's Commission was made public in May, 1926. Though the commission had not granted all the demands of the union, it substantially recognized the union's proposal for the placing of greater responsibility on the jobbers. If accepted as a basis of negotiation, it would have led to further concessions over the conference table.

The evident willingness of the commission to go a long way in the direction of the union aroused no feeling of joy in the hearts of the Communists. Acceptance of the re-

port by the union would have won it the support of the public and the press. But the Communists would have none of such reactionary tactics. They would have nothing to do with "class collaboration." It must be "mass action."

A peculiarity of the "mass action" that followed was that the masses had nothing to do with it. The strike was called by the Communist leaders of the joint board in a meeting behind closed doors. No referendum vote of the membership was taken. In vain did Pres. Sigman urge the joint board to place the question of a strike to a referendum vote. Other suggestions he made for the conduct of the strike were ruled aside.

On July 1, the 35,000 men and women employed in the industry struck. The walkout was inspiring. The rank and file had begun its task in an earnest and determined fashion.

## Fight Turned Against Council

As much could not be said for their Communist leaders. From a fight against the jobbers, the Communists immediately turned the strike into one against the Industrial Council. The shops of the members of the Industrial Council are by far superior in point of wages, length of employment and general working conditions to the

shops of the submanufacturers. The limitation of contractors, the cardinal demand of the union, was forgotten.

Testimony to the Communists' strike-leading abilities was the manner of settling independent shops in the course of the strike. In settling with these shops caution should have been exercised, as it had been in previous strikes, to see that work produced by them did not find its way to strike-bound firms. So rash were the Communists in their settlements with individual shops, that they accorded recognition to a number which were known before the strike to have been producing work in large quantities for jobbers.

## Strike Broken

The lax method of dealing with the independent shops broke the strike. The Communists, long before the settlement with the Industrial Council had been made, had sent about 16,000 strikers back to work. The result was a foregone conclusion. The jobbers had their work performed, much as though no strike was in force. The shops that had been accorded individual agreements laid off their workers earlier than usual because of overproduction in the market.

The Communist strike leaders had at their disposal the unequaled sum of \$3,000,000. A preliminary investigation has revealed the foundation on which the Communists built up the machine which sustained them in office.

A fluid army of 2,000, ostensibly Communist "idealists," was always on hand to do the bidding of the Communist leaders whenever and wherever they were needed — to

(Continued on Page 7)

## Sigman Chosen ILG Chief Executive at Special Convention

BALTIMORE, Feb. 23, 1923—The special convention of our International opened on the morning of Feb. 15, at the Emerson Hotel, Baltimore, and came to an end the following afternoon, after having accomplished the task for which it was called together, to elect a new chief executive officer following the resignation of Pres. Benjamin Schlesinger.

Morris Sigman came into the convention hall on Friday morning and his appearance served as a signal for a great outburst of applause. A little later ex-Pres. Schlesinger came into the hall escorted by a committee and received a warm greeting. Later, when Sigman was nominated and elected president of the International, Acting Pres. Ninfo turned the chair over to ex-Pres. Schlesinger, in an atmosphere of stirring solemnity, to install the incoming chief executive of the International Union, after which the convention came to a close.

—JUSTICE

## 1,200 Chicago Girls Brave Cops' Clubs To Win Wage Raise

(Continued from Page 4)  
the strikers to use threats, intimidation, violence, or coercion, according to dependable eye-witnesses. Arrests of pickets on disorderly-conduct charges had begun before the injunction was issued. And as the strike continued, with the open-shop employers getting little production while orders from the trade were going to other cities, the police and the plain-clothes men brought hard-handed methods into play.

There have been about 750 arrests in eight weeks; 525 of these, it is estimated, were made by "Crowe's men." Some of the girls arrested were brutally beaten, and complaint has repeatedly been made that these girls were crowded into small unsanitary cells, and were kept there for hours without being booked.

—THE NATION

## ILG Classes Serve As Models for All Worker Education

No experiment in adult education has taken hold more promptly and with greater promise than the experiments in workers' education now being conducted in this country. From a movement of practically no significance as recently as five years ago, it has since grown so rapidly that it is a matter of only a few years before every important industrial city in the country will have its own classes.

Supported by representatives of almost all schools of thought in the American labor movement, these educational enterprises should become, in the course of time, the clearing house for labor ideas and platforms which the labor movement in this country has until the present so sadly lacked.

While the majority of the classes are of too recent origin to evaluate their contribution and tendencies, one system which has been in operation for five years is indicative of the marked progress that can be made within a relatively short time.

The classes of the ILGWU, organized in 1917 on a modest scale, have already assumed impressive proportions. The announcement of the union for the coming educational season contains a range of topics more extensive and often more pertinent to the problems of the day than that prepared by many university faculties of social science in this country. Already these classes have passed out of the stage of the educational mass-meeting into the meeting of small groups prepared for serious and intensive study. Students are equipped with detailed syllabi and reading lists. The classes are more and more becoming centers of general discussion instead of lecture halls.

The teaching staff is gradually assuming a permanency which augurs well for the rapid development of an esprit de corps and a common outlook on the educational problems of the school. At the same time skeptics inside and outside of the union, who have come into direct contact with the classes, have quickly become converted to the methods and purposes of the enterprise.

Because of their priority in this field and their success, the classes of the ladies garment workers have come to have much more than a local importance. The educational department of their union is now enjoying the responsibilities as well as the benefits of the pioneer. Newly organized groups everywhere throughout the country are drawing freely on the experience of this organization and are thus able to build their own experiments on a foundation of substantial accomplishment.

—NEW REPUBLIC, Oct. 12, 1921

## Fund for Unemployed Hits \$250,000 Mark

NEW YORK, Oct. 17, 1924—The General Office has announced this week that the Unemployment Insurance Trust Fund, established under the provision of the last agreement in the cloak industry of New York upon the explicit recommendation of Gov. Smith's Special Commission, has now reached a total of \$250,000. The fund has been in operation only about six weeks.

—JUSTICE

## Dressmakers Demonstrate Their Devotion



Right-wing dressmakers parade their support of anti-Communist officers outside dress union headquarters at 130 East 25th St.

—N. Y. Daily News

# Communist Strike Saps ILG Strength

(Continued from Page 6)

shout down opposition, to silence insistent askers of embarrassing questions, and to impersonate the "rank and file" whenever the respective Commissars appeared on the scene. A glance at the strike expenditures reveals the sinews on which this army fought.

The Hall Committee, which employed 500 people, had spent a total of \$200,000 up to Nov. 15, when these figures were tabulated. The members of this committee were to have received from \$10 to \$15 a week as compensation. The remainder of the expenditure is put down to "expense."

## Faithful Get Salaries

The Organization Committee, which had charge of investigating prospective signers of individual agreements, spent \$100,000 on its 500 employees. Then there was the Law Committee. Here also the Communist faithfuls found posts while the beloved rank and file languished in gloomy rooms in dreary strike halls. This committee had 200 men at work under it. Its expenditure, in addition to legal fees (\$62,000), court expenses (\$17,000) and bail bonds (\$52,000), was \$172,000.

The Picket Committee offers an even more interesting case. Up to Nov. 18, it had spent \$200,000. It employed 500 people at from \$15 to \$20 per week per worker. On this committee the "expenses" item was double the amount paid out as "salaries." In connection with the work and expenditures of the Picket Committee, it must be remembered that it did not pay the mass of the workers who were sent to the picket lines by the different shops and paid

for by the shops. The Out-of-Town Committee found it necessary to spend \$476,000 on its work.

All of these committees were loaded down with Communists. Not only did they dominate the committees by sheer number, but they placed their own people at the helms of committees for which jobs they were pitifully unfit. The leader of the ill-fated strike admitted that the Communists would not permit capable union men who were non-Communists to hold positions for which they were best fitted.

Then came the settlement with the Industrial Council—a settlement which acts as a basis for the agreement with the other employing interests in the industry. And with the settlement, the storm of revolt broke around the heads of the Communists.

## Severest Defeat in History

More than 15,000 workers had been on strike for 20 weeks. Another 15,000 had lost some part of the season before they were returned to independent shops. Over \$3,000,000 had been expended. The full wisdom of Moscow-inspired oracles had been drained. What was there to show for it? Not even the Communists attempted to hide the fact that their agreement had brought upon the union the most severe defeat in its history. A better agreement could have been obtained without a strike.

As recommended by the Governor's Commission, a joint committee was to check sending of goods through unauthorized and sub-standard channels. The Communists' demand for the right to examine the employers' books was lost. Their

## Rally At General Office



Faithful supporters of Pres. Sigman's administration rally at 3 West 16th St. on Dec. 13, 1926.

oft-repeated demand for the right to strike at any time was not even mentioned. Limitation of the number of submanufacturers to be used by a jobber was agreed upon, but inasmuch as the jobbers are not affected by the agreement this item is virtually meaningless.

The master strokes of the Communists were two clauses, in one of which they agreed to place the employment bureau under joint direction of employers and union, and in the other, accorded the manufacturers the right to reorganize the personnel of their shops once in 1927 and twice again in 1928.

Thus the Communists had surrendered the most precious asset of the union—the worker's right to the job. The employment bureau, hitherto under the exclusive control of the union, is now to be administered with the assistance of the employer. Not only is the employer to have the right to pick the man he wants for the job, but he may also discharge him on any of a score of pretexts at the end of each season. The three reorganization periods will enable him to discharge 30 per cent of his employees. The right to do this will give the employer a club with which he will rush his employees at the old sweatshop pace. The commission had recommended one reorganization a year.

## Cloakmaker Revolt

The reaction against the Communists has been swift. A spontaneous gathering of thousands of cloakmakers demanded that the Communists resign and Pres. Sigman take over the remains of the strike. At meetings called by the Communists and packed by the Communists there has nevertheless been sharp and unsuppressible rebellion.

The cloakmakers are up in arms against the Communists. The latter hope to maintain their grip on the union by holding elections in the approved Moscow fashion. The responsible elements in the union retort they will have no confidence in any Communist-run election. In the crisis that now confronts the union, the rank and file is again turning to the International Union to free it forever from the clutches of the Communists.

—AMERICAN FEDERATIONIST

## Commission Suggests Limiting Contractors

(By Gov. Smith's Commission to Investigate the Garment Industry)

NEW YORK, May 20, 1926—Were it practicable, the workers would be justified in taking the stand that they would work only in inside shops and would refuse to work in outside shops, where they were removed from all direct contact with the owners of the capital involved. The so-called jobbing system of manufacturers, however, has become so extensive and so firmly entrenched in the industry that such a stand would be impracticable.

By whatever name he may call himself, the jobber controls working conditions; he controls employment, and that element of control imposes upon him the responsibility that he shall so conduct his business that proper working standards may be upheld instead of undermined, and that employment may be stabilized instead of demoralized.

The present method of doing business invites the splitting up of production units to a point which defies any real degree of supervision by the institutions in the industry, and which makes impossible the maintenance of any satisfactory standards of employment.

The commission recommends that there be such structural modifications in the existing jobbing-submanufacturing system as would tend to regularize the flow of work into submanufacturing shops, raise the level of competition between submanufacturers, cause closer relations between jobbers and submanufacturers and stabilize working conditions in the shops.

With this in view, we recommend that the parties adopt a system of limitation of submanufacturers with whom a jobber may do business. At definite intervals every jobber shall, in accordance with a standard to be agreed upon between the parties, select and designate the submanufacturers he needs to handle his production, leaving him

the necessary freedom in securing samples and in changing submanufacturers for cause shown; he shall not give work to other submanufacturers when his designated submanufacturers are not busy, and shall adhere, so far as practicable, to a policy of equitable distribution of work among the submanufacturers designated by him. The administration of such a system would, as cases arise, be subject to equitable interpretation through the impartial machinery.

(George Gordon Battle, Bernard L. Shientag, Herbert H. Lehman, Arthur D. Wolf, Lindsay Rogers.)

## Rout Commie Band Staging Protest at ILG Headquarters

NEW YORK, Dec. 17, 1926—Running true to form, and maddened by the revolt of the cloakmakers against their ruinous leadership of the cloak strike, the handful of deposed Communist leaders of the joint board attempted last Tuesday to stage a demonstration in front of the International Building at 3 West 16th St. with about 500 of their faithful followers.

The "demonstration," however, turned out a complete fizzle and after a half-hour of noise-making petered out. The few policemen present succeeded in preventing the small mob from entering the ILGWU building without making a single arrest. The mob was composed largely of furrier "picketers," led by their "Black Glove" chief Mencher, of girl dressmakers, of groups of "left wing" jewelers and painters, of the paid picket committee and of some business agents who still expect wages from the deposed "strike leaders," and of a few cloak strikers brought over by sheer force from Webster Hall.

—JUSTICE

## Contest for Local 25 Headquarters



—N. Y. Daily News

Left and right factions tried to control dress union offices in the summer of 1925.

# Cops, Commies Bar Sigman From Phoney Garden Rally

## 'Restore Our Union To Its Position of Labor Leadership'

By MORRIS SIGMAN  
(President, ILGWU, 1923-28)

DEC. 17, 1926—The leaders of our ill-fated strike have brought your organization, which was never defeated in all its history, to the brink of destruction. They have dragged you, on the orders of their Communist chiefs, into a disastrous strike which after 25 weeks resulted in the loss of an entire season and in hunger and starvation for yourselves and your families. They have lied to you and deceived you at every step and turn of this tragedy and have abandoned every vital issue of the strike.

They have conducted the strike not for you but for the Communist Party, not to win concessions and better conditions for you, but to please the Communist politicians under whose heel they have been all the time. And now, after they had made you lose one season, they have brought upon you this lockout that threatens to bring more hunger, more misery and the loss of another season to you.

Sisters and Brothers: This is a great day for our union, a day of united action, when every loyal member of the organization who wishes to see it saved from the clutches of Communism should rally to the call of the International and do everything in his power to help rebuild our union on a basis of tolerance, orderliness and true usefulness to our workers.

Cloakmakers: Remember, we must save our union and our future. Let us set aside our individual and personal dislikes, and let us

NEW YORK, Dec. 24, 1926—The complete collapse of the Communist balloon occurred last Saturday at Madison Square Garden at a meeting which the defunct Communist leadership had hoped to turn into a demonstration against Pres. Morris Sigman and the ILGWU.

The meeting had been widely advertised as a meeting of cloakmakers and dressmakers. Quick to take up the challenge, Pres. Sigman urged all cloakmakers to go to the meeting early so that the excuse could not be given that the hall was already filled, thus keeping honest cloakmakers out.

The meeting was scheduled for noon Saturday, but as early as 9:30 A.M., thousands of cloakmakers, aroused against the Communist misleaders, stormed the Garden seeking admittance.

But no sooner did the lines form, than cloakmakers began to find out that they were not wanted at this "cloakmakers" rally. They were kicked out because they did not look like supporters of the dwindling Communist forces. Despite the fact that they waved union membership cards and protested that they had been invited, they were summarily hurled out of line by policemen at the request of furriers, jewelers and other Communist Party members, posing as members of the committee.

In such fashion fully 15,000 cloakmakers were barred from the meeting which, outside the building, turned into an overwhelming dem-

bear in mind that we must preserve the organization for the upbuilding of which we have toiled, bled and sacrificed tens of years.

Keep yourselves ready and in orderly fashion in the halls, awaiting the orders of the General Executive Board, and let us together restore our great union to its former strength and to its proud position as one of the best organized trade unions in America.

onstration of protest when they discovered that, inside, a handful of cloakmakers, together with Communist dressmakers, jewelers, furriers and other Communist Party elements recruited by the deposed Communist officials were holding "a protest" against Morris Sigman, president of their beloved International.

Pres. Sigman, himself, was barred from the meeting when he arrived to demand that cloakmakers be admitted to the meeting. He received an ovation that rang through the entire theatrical district when he appeared on the scene. Thousands of cloakmakers shouted, "We want Sigman, we want Sigman." They waved their hats and stormed the police lines, braving police on horseback who rode up and down and, often, into their constantly reforming lines.

### Thrown Out Bodily

As late as 2:30 P.M., two and a half hours after the scheduled opening of the meeting, cloakmakers who could not satisfy Communist committees that they were "kosher" adherents of the discredited leadership were taken bodily and expelled from the meeting. Good Communists, opponents of "class collaboration" in industrial disputes, worked hand in glove with the capitalist police in violently ejecting cloakmakers from a meeting advertised "for cloakmakers." For five hours, 15,000 irate cloakmakers in good standing seethed for blocks within sight of the Garden, while Communists trickled past the watchers and police, regardless of membership in the Cloakmakers' Union.

—JUSTICE

## Duel of the Unions



—N. Y. Daily News

ILGWU members seeking to enter Communist-run garment meeting held Dec. 18, 1926 in Madison Square Garden are barred by police and "lefts."

## American Labor Warned To Beware of Red Plague

DEC. 3, 1926—The chief issues for the achievement of which the cloakmakers of New York were called out on strike five months ago have been cast overboard or abandoned. They were abandoned solely through the incompetence of the Communist leadership of the strike.

For the first time in the history of the Cloakmakers' Union a general strike was called without the vote of the membership. It was the workers in the shops who had to bear all the hardships and privations of a general strike. It was they who were called upon to make heavy sacrifices—and yet they were not even given a chance to state in a referendum whether they cared to undertake the fight.

The strike had been on for about three months before it ever occurred to the leadership that a strike is not an end in itself and that efforts should be made to bring about a settlement. It is a matter of general knowledge that we could have settled this strike more than once during these five months on terms more advantageous than those secured now, but the leadership of the strike, who shaped strike policy to suit the wishes of the Communist politicians, sidetracked all these opportunities and kept on groping blindly with the fight.

Throughout this heartbreaking procedure the officers of the ILGWU did not utter a word of public criticism of the ruinous tactics of the left-wing leadership, though we constantly pointed out to them their blunders and mismanagement. We felt that any dissension in the ranks of the cloakmakers while the active fight was on would aggravate the situation still more.

We cooperated with the strike leadership faithfully and steadily to the extent that we were permitted to cooperate. Time and again we endeavored to bring some measure of system and reason into the conduct of the strike, but our advice and admonitions were rejected by the left-wing leaders who got their orders from the Communist Party.

We cannot stop the Communists and their party from blackguarding and besmirching the characters of trade unionists and of leaders in the trade union movement. Character assassination and mud-slinging are the Communist stock-in-trade.

But our International Union and the American trade union movement must not and shall not permit Communist blackmail chiefs, or such as serve their nefarious schemes and purposes, to assume positions of leadership in the trade union movement. It is the sacred duty of the labor movement to rid itself of this pestilence.

The Communist leadership of the Cloakmakers' Union has all but ruined the organization. The great task before the cloakmakers of New York at this time is to rid themselves of that irresponsible and ruinous leadership and to concentrate their whole strength and energy in the effort to rebuild the union under sane and sensible leadership and to regain its former power and standing for the true benefit of men and women who work in the trade.

—GENERAL EXECUTIVE BOARD, ILGWU

## Caught in the Middle



—I.N.P.

In street fighting between "rights" and "lefts" on June 23, 1927, one victim was knocked unconscious.



# Rout Garment Industry Communists

## ASSN. PACT SIGNALS RETURN TO PEACEFUL ERA; UNION SHOP IN

NEW YORK, Jan. 21, 1927—The collective agreement entered into by the Merchants' Ladies' Garment Assn. with the ILGWU on Jan. 15, terminates the last act of the long strike into which the deposed Communist leadership of the defunct joint board precipitated the cloak industry on July 1 last.

"The cloak industry of New York is now practically on a complete peace basis, with the exception of some independent firms which as yet are not signed up with the International," declared Pres. Morris Sigman. "With the Communist politicians practically out of the picture, the union will now devote its entire energy to problems of reconstruction and to the regaining of influence and ground lost on account of Communist mismanagement and blundering."

The renewed agreement provides that "the association agrees that all of its members who may hereafter produce all or part of their garments on their own premises will maintain union shops, and that all of its members who have their garments produced or supplied by other manufacturers will deal only with such manufacturers as conduct union shops."

The clauses pertaining to investigations of books of the members of the association and of fines to be imposed upon jobbers found violating the terms of the agreement were also retained.

### Bonds Called Fake

When the attention of Pres. Sigman was called to a "cloak strike bond issue" that is still being floated by the Communist ex-officials of the former joint board to raise \$250,000 for the purpose of "carrying on a cloakmakers' strike," as the face of the bond reads, he characterized it as "a palpable fake and swindle." Since the cloak industry is now on a peace basis and no strike threatens it, this "strike bond" issue, Pres. Sigman declared, is "plainly an attempt to fleece funds from naive and unsuspecting workers for a cause of hatred and disruption, an attempt which the workers should not find hard to detect."

—JUSTICE

## Many Shop Groups Give Day's Pay to Build ILG Treasury

NEW YORK, Mar. 4, 1927—Workers of cloak and dress shops have voluntarily offered to the International an extra day or a half-day's pay to help eliminate Communist gangsterism in the cloak and dress market.

The International's treasury, after the disastrous cloak strike which was lost by the Communist leaders, had been materially depleted because the workers were in no position to pay their weekly dues regularly. The voluntary action of the members to contribute extra earnings to the union at this time better attests to the rank and file's loyalty to their parent organization than any other act since the war against the Communist disrupters was launched by the International.

—JUSTICE

## 50 Big Philadelphia Dress Houses Sign, Averting Stoppage

PHILADELPHIA, Mar. 4, 1927—Exactly five years after the unsuccessful strike of the dress and waistmakers had come to an end in Philadelphia, Local 50 succeeded in reaching a collective settlement with the manufacturers' association last Feb. 28, which definitely removed the threat of a strike and averted an industry clash which for some time had appeared unavoidable.

The agreement affects 50 of the largest dress manufacturers in the city, who recently formed an association when prospects of a general strike became imminent. The most significant clause in the agreement provides for impartial machinery in the settling of disputes between workers and employers. It is understood that Judge Horace Stern has been invited to act as impartial chairman.

The workers obtained the 44-hour week for the year 1927, instead of the present 48 and 50 hours; five legal holidays during the year, time and a half for four hours overtime per week, a minimum wage scale for week workers, price committees for piece workers, equal division of work for all employees in the dull season, the creation of a joint board of sanitary control and the adjustment of all complaints, disputes and grievances between employers and employees.

—JUSTICE

## LOCAL 89 OFFICERS ASK COURT TO BAN FALSE DUES CARDS

NEW YORK, Apr. 8, 1927—Argument for an injunction restraining officials of the defunct Communist Joint Board of Cloakmakers from issuing false and counterfeit membership dues cards of Italian Dressmakers' Local 89, and from collecting dues and assessments from members of the local was heard yesterday by Supreme Court Justice Tierney, sitting in Special Term, Part I.

Local 89 also is seeking to prevent the defendants from representing themselves as officers of the local and of the joint board and to prevent various acts of violence and intimidation which the defendants are alleged to have inspired against members of the union.

The argument yesterday followed issuance of a restraining order to Luigi Antonini, as secretary-treasurer of Local 89, which complained against the "fake" membership cards.

The Communists are charged, in the affidavits, with setting up what are tantamount to dual unions through using facsimiles of bona fide union cards "to defraud and cheat the plaintiff Local 89, and to procure for themselves by fraud, deceit and misrepresentation the dues and assessments" due Local 89. Besides issuing "spurious membership cards," the affidavits recite that certain of the defendants named refused to return bona fide cards then in their possession to Italian workers in whose names they were issued.

—JUSTICE

## For the Defense of Their Union



These cloakmakers demonstrate against Communist group.

## Chi Locals Vote Out Commies, Pledge Loyalty to International

CHICAGO, Aug. 26, 1927—The newly-elected joint board in Chicago has taken over the management of union affairs without loss of time after the election. A few Communists tried to prevent the delegates from holding their first meeting—even going

to the extent of calling in the police in true "revolutionary fashion"—but to no avail. After an explanation was given by F. Sigman, the police, together with the Communist shock troops, retired and the joint board proceeded to tackle the legitimate work of the organization in perfect order.

The office of the joint board, after the Communists had cleared out of it, is crowded from early morning until late at night with workers who come streaming from the shops to meet the new officers, to seek advice and to offer loyal support. Shop meetings are held every evening, at which the former Communist misleaders of the organization are roundly condemned.

On Aug. 18, shop chairmen representing the biggest cloak and dress shops in the Chicago market met in the office of the joint board, and after ample discussion of the whole union situation, adopted a resolution declaring loyalty to the International and a determination to "chase the Communists out of the union in Chicago."

That same evening, Local 18, Pressers, held a large meeting, which was marked by a splendid sentiment of loyalty and devotion to the International. This meeting, too, adopted a ringing resolution to stand solidly by the parent organization in its uncompromising fight against outside domination of the ladies' garment workers' unions in Chicago.

### Try Deals with Bosses

In deep contrast to the spirit of high enthusiasm that permeates the ranks of the loyal trade union workers, gloom and desperation appears to be the order of the day among the group of Communist ex-officials and their meager band of supporters. Dazed by the blow struck at the cloakmakers and dressmakers, this clique is now engaged in the noble Communistic

business of trying to effect an alliance with some of the bosses against the union, but with little success. The former manager and some of his lieutenants are visiting every individual employer in the Chicago market, imploring them not to recognize the new joint board and the International Union and promising to be "good" to them if only they would recognize the defunct Communist outfit.

Another stunt to which the defeated Communists are resorting, now that their enforced departure from the union has separated them from the union treasury, is to try to obtain a few pennies from the workers by selling them "due stamps at reduced rates on street corners.

—JUSTICE

—JUSTICE

## EX-OFFICERS LEAVE JOINT BOARD AFTER STRIPPING BUILDING

NEW YORK, June 24, 1927—Communists, ousted from office in the Cloakmakers' Joint Board, last Tuesday quit their last stronghold, the Joint Board Building, 130 East 28th St., upon a court order for failure to pay \$12,000 in back rent.

They did not move, however, until they had taken with them everything that was movable, including window shades and locks on the doors. They were forcibly prevented by city marshalls from removing office partitions in their effort to leave nothing useful behind for their successors, the reorganized Cloak Joint Board affiliated with the ILGWU.

As soon as the five-day period granted to the Communists by Municipal Court Judge Genung to pay their back rent expired last Sunday, the International Union, in the name of 40,000 cloak and dressmakers who had ousted their former Communist leaders for the disastrous conduct of the 1926 cloakmakers' strike, declared that it would take possession of the big building. Julius Hochman, manager of the reorganized joint board, announced that "as soon as the Communist vandalism is repaired, the offices will be opened for business."

"Characteristic of Communist tactics," declared Hochman. "To destroy whatever they cannot control, they stripped the building of everything that was valuable, leaving only filth and garbage behind. Not only were safes, files and vaults removed, but electric fixtures, fans, window shades, locks and bolts, furniture and other items. This final act, revealing their complete bankruptcy, is symbolic of what they have done or tried to do to the most progressive unions in the American labor movement."

—JUSTICE

Of course, the union will never recognize such dues, and the Communists know very well that they are only robbing the workers of their hard-earned few cents by this panhandling business.

—JUSTICE

## Street Scene, Garmentown



Factional street fight, June 23, 1927.

—I.N.P.

# NEWS-HISTORY

## Editorials

### Weathering Two Storms

The "Harding Depression," which struck the country late in 1920 and continued for nearly two years, sent our union reeling back under unemployment pressures and sudden savage attacks from employers' groups in nearly every important market.

Demands for wage "readjustments," the "open shop" and the "American Plan" were filling the air. The Protective Association in New York stopped its grievance adjustment machinery in October, 1920, while other employer groups in Philadelphia, Boston, Toronto, Toledo broke off their pacts with the union.

From a lofty policy of militant advance, the union, in self-preservation, was thus suddenly thrown on the defensive. With the shops paralyzed by "slack," it would have been suicidal to pursue any other course. The climax, however, came late in the fall of 1921 when all the employers' associations in our industries, after a conference in Atlantic City, instructed their members to re-establish piece work, to cut wages and to bring back the 48-hour work week.

Our reply came swift and sure. The general strike of about 55,000 cloak workers in New York, reinforced by about 20,000 strikers in a half-dozen other cities, was the union's countermove to the contract-breaching maneuver of the employers. But we did not halt there. We went to the courts and procured an injunction against the "Protective" for breaking the agreement. The law and public opinion quickly lined up on our side. We won the crucial fight, not only for New York but for all other centers. We retained our work standards everywhere.

\* \* \*

By the end of 1922, the tide in industry appeared to have turned, but the recovery of our union from the effects of the depression and of the series of strikes which rocked it from stem to stern was tragically retarded by the civil war which has gripped the ILGWU and halted its progress for nearly a decade.

Elsewhere in this newspaper, you will find the story of this fratricidal conflict inflicted upon our union by Moscow agents and their stooges, running back to early attempts to form Communist cells in our locals in 1919-20, to the formation of the "Joint Action Committee," to the capture of many of our key locals in New York and other cities, and, finally, to the tragic cloakmaker's strike in 1926.

Seldom in the history of American labor has a strike been so incompetently, wastefully and irresponsibly conducted. Called by the Communists in control of the New York Joint Board for the sole purpose of effectuating a stranglehold upon the ILGWU, its dismal failure proved to be the beginning of the end of Communist influence in our union.

### "Ever Upward"



—Art Young in Justice

### Commies Use Force; Appeal To Reason Hit

Damaging to union prestige and destructive of moral unity as is the quarrel between the New York Joint Board and the Communist officers of certain locals, there seems to be no honest way of avoiding it. Friends of labor are inclined to advise factions separated by social theory to agree to disagree in philosophy and unite in practice on the best interests of the union in the existing situation.

In the case of the Communists, however, the conflict of philosophies necessarily leads to a crucial disagreement about policy. The Communists violently oppose constructive measures recently adopted in this and other unions, such as unemployment insurance and regularization of the industry by agreement. They agitate by fair means and foul against any who favor such measures.

However much the tactic recently developed by the more progressive unions may appeal to an open mind, there is no way to recommend them to the closed mind of the Communist, which judges everything by the accepted dogma of class warfare and an approach of catastrophic revolution. Everything which does not obviously point in that direction is condemned as "class collaboration" and is outlawed by the economic-religious authorities of Moscow.

Controversy about policy with the Communists therefore is difficult to carry out in terms of reason, but tends to descend to a brute struggle for control. Like all bigoted believers in a system of absolutes, the Communists will sacrifice any interest for the sake of their ultimate end, believing that the end justifies the means, and are willing to ruin it if they cannot rule. They expect to be vindicated by the "inevitable" denouement — a sort of industrial judgment day, in which they will be found sitting on the right hand of an economically deterministic God.

The unfortunate result is that their opponents are thus tempted into abandoning discussion and turning to methods distasteful to any liberal mind. One does not like to read that the superior officers of a great and progressive union are holding "trials" of duly elected inferiors, or that they have called in police protection.

Thus is illustrated a dilemma which faces liberals today in many fundamental controversies. It is easy to appeal to reason and to trust in the ultimate beneficence of democracy so long as one's opponents accept reasonable criteria of judgment. But when their actions and conclusions rest on some sacred principle outside the universe of discourse, what is to be done? To appeal to force is to accept the standards of the anti-liberal measurers. In such a situation the only ultimate hope appears to rest in conversion of the absolutists to a more fruitful state of mind. Perhaps experience in power will prove to be their sole teacher.

—NEW REPUBLIC, July 1, 1925

Your Union Fights For You—

DEFEND THE ILGWU

### "Marching Onward"



—Baer in American Federationist

## Militancy Can't Aid Industry's Dilemma

By GEORGE SOULE

(Editor, "New Republic," 1924-27)

It is a dogma of the extreme left that the only proper course for labor is amalgamation of the unions and a "militant" spirit leading to strikes on an ever larger scale. At every point the workers must refuse to cooperate with employers. Anything of that sort is damned as "class collaboration."

The lefts in the heat of their dogmas apparently have failed to make a realistic examination of the clothing industries of New York. Here the development has been precisely opposite to that which they say is inevitable.

Units of production have been growing smaller. The amount of capital necessary to start a shop is so small that the industry has become overcrowded and competition has been intensified beyond endurance. The comparatively large "inside shops" which make entire garments under one roof have been gradually giving way.

The result is manufacture in wastefully small shops, over-equipment of machinery and personnel among the contractors, heavy seasonal unemployment, a dragging down of labor standards, deterioration of quality of the product.

The ILGWU had a difficult situation. For months before the expiration of their agreement on May 1, they had been endeavoring to bring about a scientific investigation and a remedy for the ills of their industry through cooperation of the big manufacturers, the jobbers, the contractors and the union.

A joint commission formed for this purpose failed to elicit the necessary detailed information on account of the reluctance of the jobbers to cooperate. The jobbers, though ultimately involved in the disintegration of the industry, were temporarily profiting from the sur-

plus of contractors and were not prepared to cooperate in good faith.

When the agreement expired the union presented demands embodying the best remedies it could devise, and threatened to force cohesion in the industry through a strike.

This threat led to the appointment of a competent investigating commission by Gov. Smith, which heard all sides at length and eventually handed down recommendations embodying much of what the union wanted. The jobbers at first refused to accept the verdict, but another strike threat at the beginning of the busy season, which was now at hand, brought them to terms.

The remedies offered by the commission include a stipulation that jobbers shall order goods only from contractors having agreements with the union, that such union contractors' shops shall have at least 14 machine operators and a corresponding number of employees in other branches of the work, that a sanitary label shall be used in products of union shops which shall be subject to the Joint Board of Sanitary Control, that jobbers shall be responsible for the payment of wages by the contractors.

No amount of union amalgamation or "militancy" would help a situation such as this. The need is not for a simple test of power. It is a problem in industrial engineering.

—THE NATION, July 23, 1924