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half a million forgotten people

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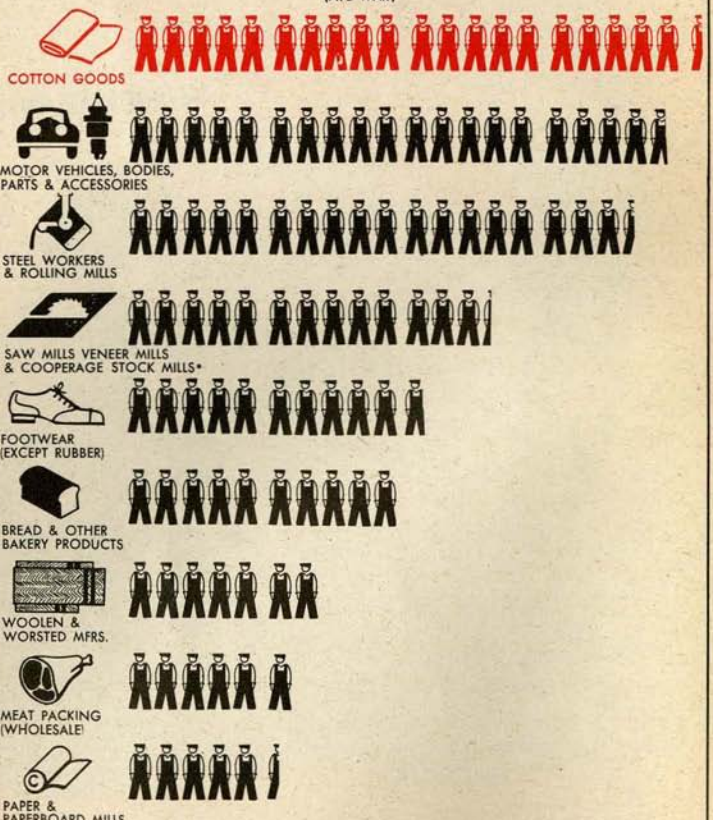
THE STORY OF THE COTTON TEXTILE WORKERS

IMPORTANCE OF MANUFACTURING INDUSTRIES

(PRE-WAR)



Each person represents 20,000 workers

*) INCLUDING THOSE COMBINED WITH LOGGING PLANTS AND WITH PLANING MILLS

SOURCE: Census of Manufacturers, 1939

PICTOGRAPH CORPORATION

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THE STORY OF THE COTTON TEXTILE WORKERS

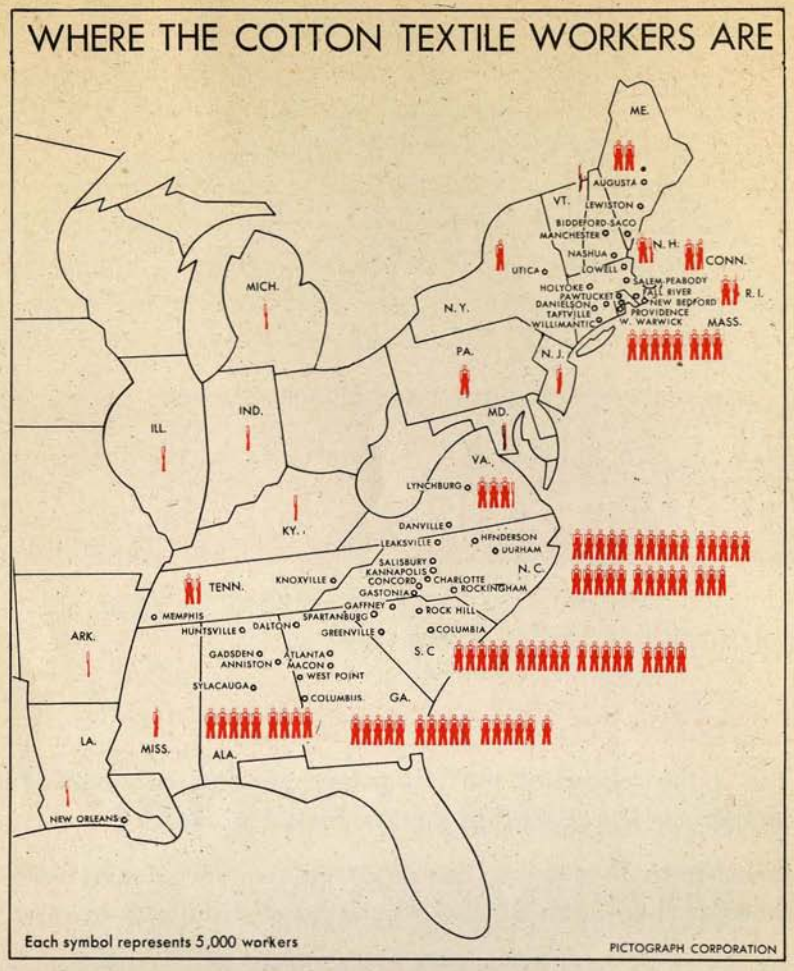
This is the record of the "forgotten people" of American industry: the half million cotton textile workers.

It is strange they should be forgotten, for there are actually more of them than of any other kind of industrial workers.

As the chart on the opposite page shows, the cotton goods industry in 1939, the last normal peacetime year, employed more persons than either automobiles or steel, which ranked second and third respectively. Yet, in terms of public consciousness, they are a "forgotten people."

It is also strange they should be still forgotten today, for cotton textiles is a basic war industry, and cotton textile workers are essential war workers along with shipbuilders and planebuilders. Their product—yarn and fabric—are the raw materials for uniforms, tire fabric, ammunition bags, hospital sheets, camouflage nets, work clothes, and thousands of other essentials for the war and the home front. And yet throughout the war period to date they have continued to exist on substandard wages at the very bottom of the national economy.

It is time we remembered them.



WHO ARE THE COTTON TEXTILE WORKERS?

They work at a bewildering variety of jobs. They are doffers, slubber tenders, rovers, spinners, slashers, tie-in-girls, weavers, loomfixers, loop cutters, sweepers, bleachers, dyers, and a hundred other unfamiliar things.

Basically, however, they do two things, today as two thousand years ago. They spin the cotton fibres into thread, and they weave the thread into cloth.

Four out of five of them live and work in the South, the rest being mostly in New England.

The nationality pattern is tremendously variegated. In New England, the French Canadians are most numerous, filling the bulk of the jobs, with a top layer of Yankees and Scotch-English holding down the more skilled jobs by virtue of having got in on the ground floor in the last century. Other nationalities crop up thickly in certain places: Poles in Massachusetts and Connecticut; Portugese in New Bedford and Fall River; Italians in Utica, N. Y., and throughout Rhode Island. In the South, this variety yields to perhaps the most complete homogeneity of any major group of working people in the country. Almost all the Southern textile workers are old-line Americans from our last great reservoir of pure Anglo-Saxon stock: the hill districts of the Southeast Piedmont. There are at present only a handful of Negroes in the Southern mills, nearly all of them in low-paid custodial jobs.

Whatever their nationality, all of them Northerners and Southerners alike, live and work in the two classic "depressed areas" of the United States: the have-seen-better-days New England manufacturing towns, and the not-quite-yet-developed industrial areas of the South. It is also significant that most of them are not to be found in the big metropolitan centers of these regions, but in the "back country" or in smaller cities which tend to be self-contained communities where the textile mills are the only important industrial enterprise.

THE DRAG OF HISTORY

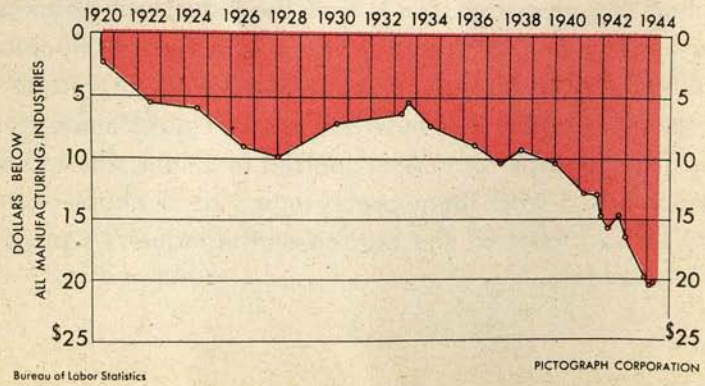
Thus we have a group of workers, half of them women, living in the two great depressed areas, and not even in the metropolitan centers of those areas. This partly explains why they have been "forgotten," but the most important reason is that the industry is an ancient and none too healthy one, overcompetitive, with terrible fluctuations in production. (Terrible above all to the worker, whose family has to keep on eating whether the mills are busy or not.) Since its workers have been for the most part unorganized in unions, the industry had been able to deal with them pretty much as it chose—and it has chosen to unload most of the burden of the industry's price cutting onto their shoulders.

Cotton textiles is our oldest industry. The mills of Rhode Island and Massachusetts were big business in 1840. It is so old that its troubles have come to be taken for granted. Because it is an old industry, it is a low-wage industry, and the great migration in the 1920's from New England to the South was simply a move from one low-wage region to an even lower-wage area. In the South, the traditional low farm wages at once set the tone for the cotton textile industry. Thus the great problem in improving the lot of the cotton textile workers, Northern or Southern, is to free them from the powerful backward drag of history, to cut the strands that have hitherto bound them hand and foot to a century of substandard wages.

It is true that cotton textile workers are forgotten men and women most of the time, but every now and then their condition becomes so desperate and their wages so flagrantly out of line that they are suddenly "remembered." This happened most recently after the great textile strikes of 1929-30, under the NRA in 1933, and in the passage of the Wage and Hour Law. The NRA minimum-wage codes forced a higher percentage of increase in cotton textile wages than in any other industry, with one exception.

But after these sporadic "rememberings" every one forgets again about the cotton textile worker, and his wages begin once more to sink steadily from year to year in relation to other wages. The chart on this page shows the rhythm at work since 1920. Today, although he is officially classified as "essential," the cotton textile worker is once more forgotten. Today the differential between his average weekly wages and those of all manufacturing employees stands at $19.90 a week, which is greater than it has been in 20 years.

THE GROWING DISADVANTAGE OF COTTON TEXTILE WORKERS



THE SITUATION TODAY: A FOUR-POINT MEMO

If the cotton textile workers were to indict a collective memo to the American public showing why they are today's "forgotten people," they might sketch out the main points as follows:

1 Our average hourly pay is very nearly the lowest in American industry.

In December, 1943, we averaged 59.4¢ an hour. Out of 135 manufacturing industries surveyed by the U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, only three—workshirts, handkerchiefs, and cotton seed—had a lower rate. Some other rates: shipbuilding, $1.32 an hour; steel mills, $1.15; meat packing, 92¢; millinery workers, 87¢.

2 We get fewer hours work per week, and fewer weeks per year than other industries.

In December, 1943, our average work week was 41.7 hours, as against a national average in manufacturing of 45 hours. In normal peacetime years, our working time is cut even lower; those of us who get forty full weeks a year are lucky. Because our hours of work are fewer and our wage rates lower, we averaged only $24.78 a week in December, 1943, as against a $35.61 national average in non-durable goods, a $50.50 average in durable goods, and a general average for all manufacturing of $44.68.

3 In 1940, when the present war boom began our average weekly earnings were $15.18, as against $25.51 for all manufacturing industries combined. By December 1943, our earnings had risen to $24.78 a week—but all manufacturing industries together had shot up to $44.68. It is the almost incredible fact that in the South today, we are earning only slightly more than in 1920. The exact figures: 1920: $22.56; 1943: $23.16.

4 Our standard of living has never come anywhere near a reasonable level of health and decency.

As the chart on page 11 indicates, our present average annual earnings fall considerably short of providing even the modest "Emergency Budget" drawn up by the WPA as a temporary minimum level of living.

This is the cotton textile workers' case in broad outline. Before considering it more fully, we must make one crucial point clear. To say that cotton textile wages are low today is not to say that other wages are high. The inhumanly depressed level of cotton textile wages, indeed, comes out all the more dramatically when we remember that the vast majority of American wage-earners today are scraping along on earnings considerably below any reasonable standard of health and decency.



On April 28, 1944, a special Senate subcommittee on war-time health and education reported that: "Some twenty million Americans have not enjoyed rises in income commensurate with the most conservative estimate of the cost-of-living increase." The committee was concerned mostly about white-collar workers, but its findings throw considerable light on industrial earnings.

One of its recommendations was as follows:

"That the War Labor Board cease applying the Little Steel formula to substandard wages and salaries. . . . The committee suggests the removal of all controls from incomes of $200 or less per month for heads of families. . . ."

The committee defined a "substandard family income" as anything less than $50 a week. This is $5.32 more than the average manufacturing wage in December, 1943. It is $14.39 more than the average weekly wage in non-durable goods, and it is 50 cents less than the average in durable goods. Clearly, the cotton textile workers are unique not in the fact that they get substandard wages but only in the degree their wages fall below a minimum living standard. They are simply the lowest-paid of tens of millions of low-paid American workers.

WAR SHORTAGE No. 1

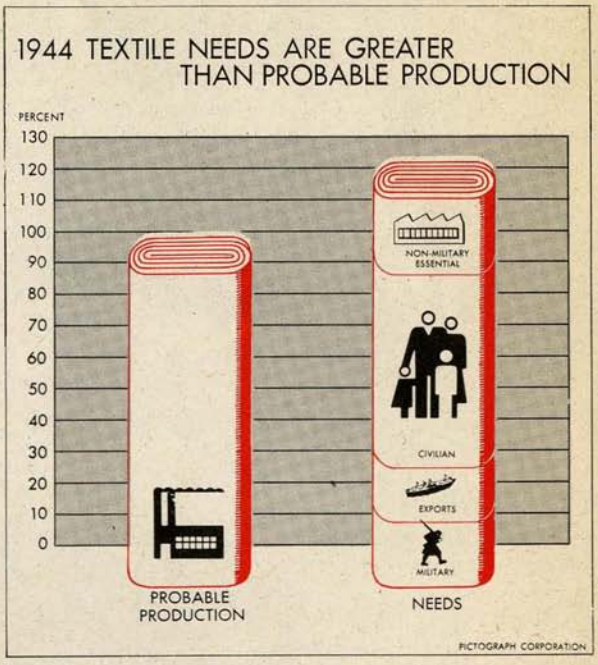
In the first three years of this war, observed Stabilization Director Vinson last January, Washington was most concerned with shortages in the metal industries. "Now scarcity of certain basic textiles and apparel items threatens to deprive us of a sufficient supply of goods

to meet the bare minimum of the people's needs," he added. More recently, on April 12, 1944, WPB Chairman, Donald Nelson, alarmed by the mounting deficit in cotton textiles this year, urged the annual convention of the American Cotton Manufacturers Association to "inch up" production by every possible method to cope with the "extremely serious situation" now developing.

The enormous demands of the war on the cotton textile industry may be suggested by one little fact: it has been estimated that clothing wears out eleven times as fast in army service as in civilian life.

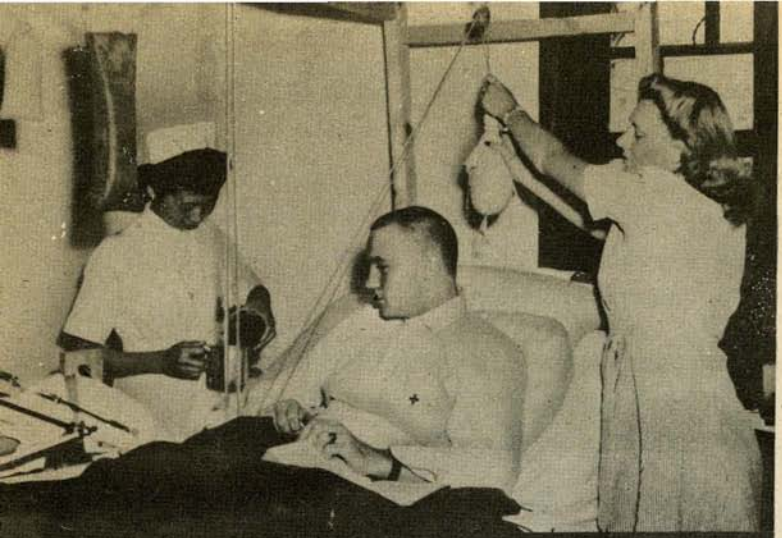
The present textile crisis is caused by the fact that, as the chart on this page shows, these huge demands are coinciding with a declining rate of production. Furthermore, acute shortages have developed in two lines of great war importance: tire fabric and work clothes.

Small wonder that WPB now considers cotton textiles its No. 1 problem.



THE MANPOWER DEFICIT

There is only one important cause of the current falling off in cotton textile production: a drastic decline in the industry's work force. From a peak of 510,300 workers in December, 1942, employment had dropped off a year later to 473,200, a loss of 8%. The reason











COTTON TEXTILES GO TO WAR

for this exodus from the industry is simple. For the first time, the workers have an alternative to scraping along on substandard wages: they can get jobs in shipyards, plane plants, other better-paying war industries. Therefore, labor turnover has been much higher in cotton textiles of late than in other industries—which was not the case before the war.

The only action taken so far to deal with this situation was the establishment by the War Manpower Commission on May 14, 1944, of a national 48-hour week in cotton textiles. But, as Mr. Nelson himself has admitted, this by itself will not accomplish very much.

Nor will Governmental compulsion—in the unlikely event that Congress passes a national service act—help much, either. In spite of the strictest possible controls over the working force in the tire fabric industry, for example, the deficit in this crucial product is worse than ever today and is holding up the production of essential military tires. As the War Manpower Commission itself has repeatedly recognized, the industry's manpower problem is really a wage problem.

Short of machine guns and concentration camps, you just can't get men and women to stick to their jobs in cotton mills, trying to get along on rock-bottom wages in a period of high living cost, if they see a chance to get two and even three times as much in other war industries.

When the Textile Workers Union of America (CIO) petitions the War Labor Board for a wage increase for the cotton textile workers, as it is now doing, it is proposing the one solution to the present crisis that will really get to the bottom of the trouble. But the issue it raises goes much deeper, and its repercussions will persist much longer than the war period. From the standpoint of the workers, it is a demand for a long overdue act of economic justice. From the standpoint of the nation as a whole, it is a proposal to make a start, at least, on cleaning up a social and economic slum area which for many years has been a drag and a drain on the whole national economy. Underpaid, underfed, under-housed and under-educated our half million cotton textile workers are the "untouchables" of American industry. They are today fighting, through their union, for their birthright as Americans.

"THE MINIMAL OF THE MINIMUM"

A glance at the charts on pages 11 and 17 will show how far short present textile wages come from providing the barest standards of health and decency to the families dependent on them. These charts are based on an elaborate, and in some ways unique, investigation conducted in 1944 by the Textile Workers Union's research department, working in close collaboration with the U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics. What the union's researchers did was this. First of all they selected a yardstick by which to measure "substandard" wages.

They wanted to leave no room at all for argument, and so they chose to bring up to date the lowest budget ever worked out on a national scale: the "Emergency Budget" which the WPA developed in 1935 for unskilled manual workers and their families. As the name suggests, this is not supposed to do any more than tide a family over for a limited period. "The Emergency Budget," WPA stated in 1935, "is for an emergency standard, which may be necessary under depressed conditions, . . . it is a direct concession to conditions produced by the depression . . . followed over a long period, the practices called for in the emergency budget may prove harmful to both health and morale." The yardstick which the union's researchers chose, therefore, is one set up for depression conditions and intended, even at that, only for a temporary standard. "It is the minimal of the minimum" as the union's brief before the War Labor Board puts it.

The next step was to bring this 1935 "Emergency Budget" up to date. To do this, the researchers undertook a very ambitious field survey. They selected five typical cotton textile communities, three in the North and two in the South, and they sent a field staff into each of them to collect current prices at the stores patronized by the workers in those towns, and to get rentals, utility rates, taxes. The chart on page 11 shows what they found, which was, essentially, that the average textile worker today would need an income of $33.69 a week to support his family on the WPA "Emergency Budget," and that he falls short of this sum by $9.30 a week. Things are even worse in the South, where the great majority of the textile workers are found. Practically all the Southern cotton textile workers are now earning less than the "emergency" minimum of $33.69 a week.

"SUCH STUFF AS THAT, WE HAVE"

But figures don't tell the real story of what it means to live on the WPA "Emergency Budget." (And don't forget that most cotton textile workers fail to come up even to that low level.)

It means, for the husband, no tobacco, a new suit every two years, a new overcoat every six years.

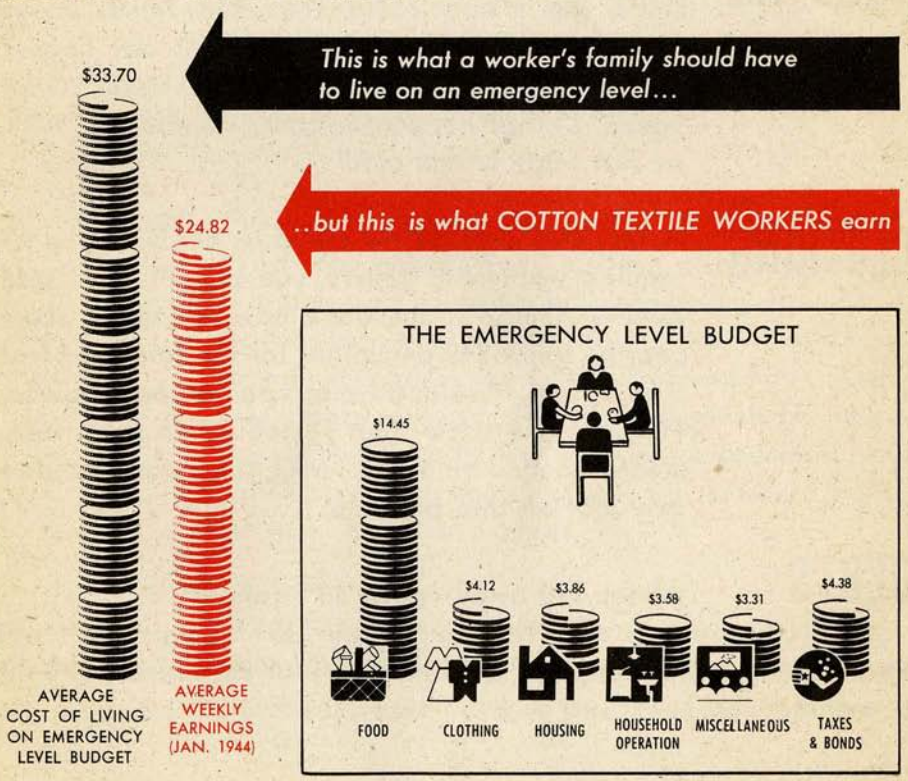
It means housing at 75% of the "maintenance" level—less heating, inadequate lighting, smaller ice allowances in summer.

It means no radio, no books, no newspapers, and no paid-for recreation beyond one movie per family per month.

It means $3.87 a year for the entire family of four to be spent on drugs and medicines.

It means not a penny for savings or for paying old debts, beyond 40 cents a week per family for life insurance.

It means eating a lot of beans, potatoes, and bread and not very much meat—in short it spells out malnutrition.



PICTOGRAPH CORPORATION

SOURCE: TWUA Research Department, and Bureau of Labor Statistics.

Arthur Clyde Hill, for example, is a drawing hand at the Highland Cotton Mills in High Point, N. C. He has a wife and three children, has been working there for 13 years, and makes $20.60 a week. He cannot read or write—"I got to go to school when I was a kid about two weeks." He began to work in the mills at the age of ten. The union put him on the stand to testify in its recent Southern wage hearings before the War Labor Board. His testimony was impressive.

FOOD

Bacon and eggs for breakfast. Sandwiches for lunch. For supper—"beans and potatoes, and sometimes we have a little meat, but hardly ever, and lettuce and tomatoes. Such stuff as that we have." The kids drink all the milk, though sometimes—"when we get a little ahead"—his wife has a glass. "Sometimes I drink about half a glass, but hardly ever."

HOUSING

A three room house, toilet in the backyard. Three lights, one in each room. The whole family sleeps in the bedroom, the only room with any heat—supplied by a portable heater. The street is not paved. "What happens in rainy weather?" "Well, we just wade in and out."

CLOTHING

Arthur Hill wept on the stand as he described his family's wardrobe. "Have you bought your wife some clothing?" "She don't have anything." Last year he spent $40 on clothes for the family—$7 of it on himself. His kids have one pair of shoes apiece. He owns one suit—"Got it about two years ago, second-handed off a boy. I bought a second-handed overcoat off that boy, too."

DEBTS

About $90 owed mostly to relations.

That is what it means for a family of five to live on $20.60 a week.

Nor is it just a question of the South. The New England textile worker is little, if any, better off. Consider the testimony at the Boston hearings before the War Labor Board recently of Warren C. West, an oiler at the Powdrell-Alexander mill in Danielson, Conn.

● ● ● He has one suit—the one he wore at the hearings.

He has a four-year-old winter overcoat and a top-coat somebody gave him five years ago. The only clothes he bought last year were work clothes.

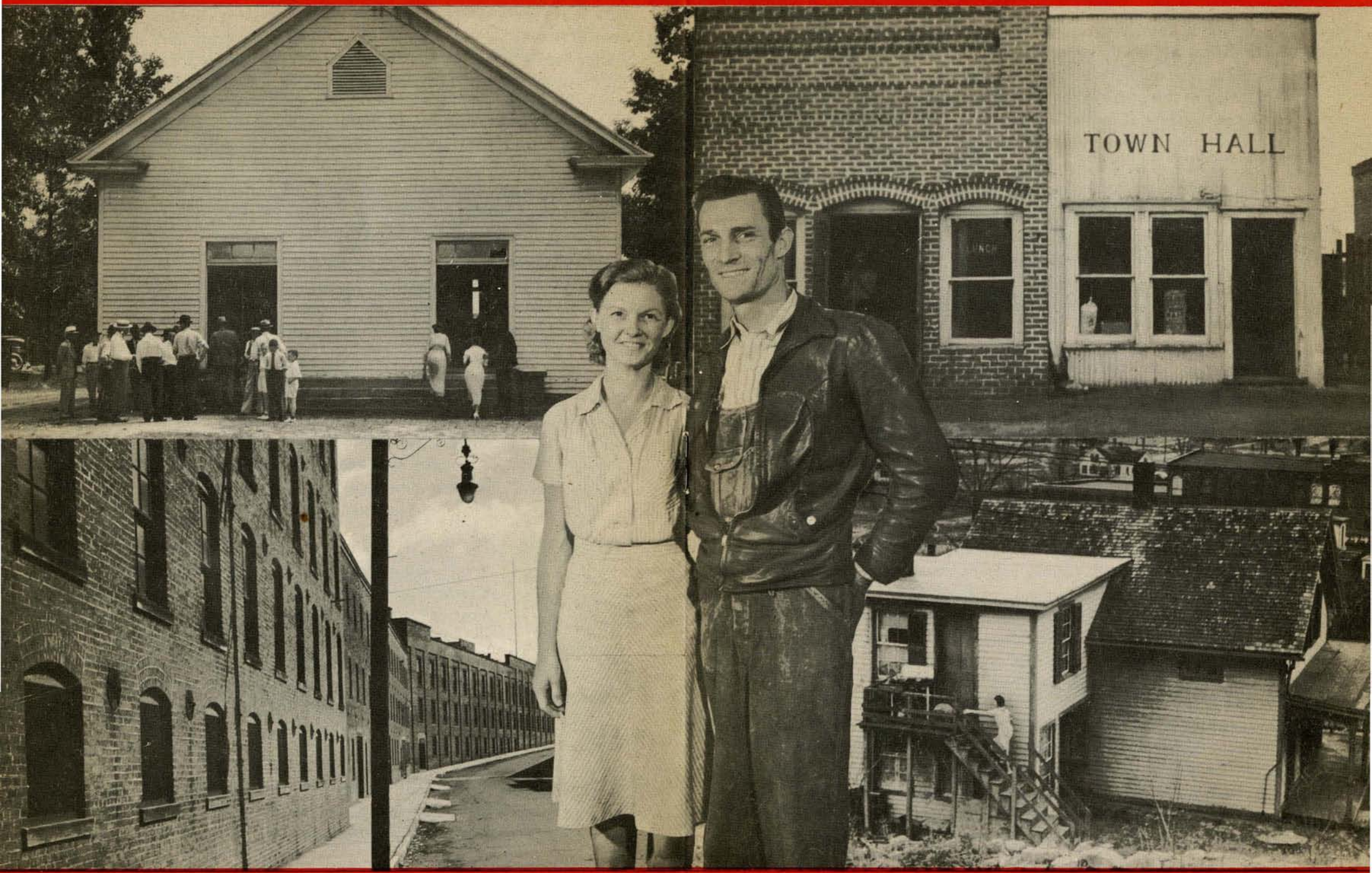
● ● ● He and his wife went to the movies "several times" in 1943.

● ● ● His seven-year-old son is in poor health. The state and county pay most of the cost of treating him. He earned $1,273 last year at the mill, and spent $1,365 to keep himself and his family. The $102 difference he made up by working at odd jobs on his days off.

● ● ● The deficit would have been much greater if the Wests had not provided by their own work a considerable part of their food and housing. They grew most of their own vegetables and they bought and raised two hogs because they could not have otherwise afforded meat. The land on which his home stands was given to Mr. West by his grandmother, and he built the house, except the masonry work, entirely with his own hands.

Thus Warren West really has not one but several jobs; oiler at the mill some forty-odd hours a week; and odd job man, house-builder, and farmer the rest of the time.

THE NATION'S NUMBER ONE PROBLEM: THE COTTON TEXTILE WORKERS



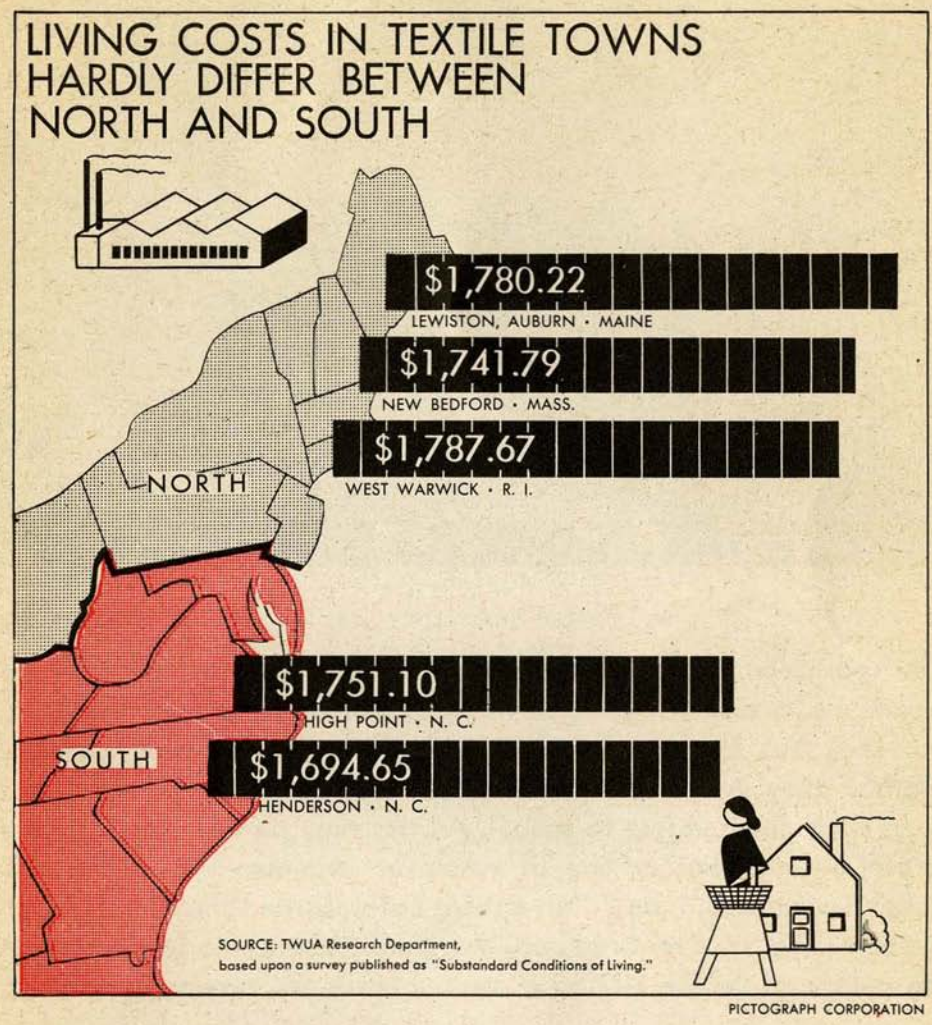
ARE THEY TO REMAIN THE FORGOTTEN PEOPLE?

Throughout this pamphlet we have considered the cotton textile workers as a single national group. This is misleading, however, unless we remember that 83% of them live and work in one region, the South. It was not always thus. For the first half of the last century, cotton textiles meant New England—and vice versa. But the industrialization of the South in the closing decades of that century took above all the form of cotton textile mills. Labor was cheap and non-union, water power was plentiful, and local capital was interested.

These conditions attracted manufacturers even from the existing low wage areas of New England. By 1919, 42% of the nation's spindles were in Southern mills, and by 1929, 60%. It has been estimated that in the four-year period, 1923-1927, some $100 millions of New England textile mill capital emigrated to the South. Today 76% of the spindles and 83% of the workers are in Southern mills. The problems of the cotton textile worker are, therefore, intimately intertwined with the special problems of the South. Cotton textiles are the living heart of Southern industry today. One out of every three manufacturing employees in the Southeast works in a cotton textile mill, and one out of every two works in textiles generally.

"It is my conviction that the South presents right now the nation's No. 1 economic problem—the nation's problem, not merely the South's. For we have an economic unbalance in the nation as a whole, due to this very condition of the South." With these famous words, President Roosevelt six years ago launched his National Emergency Council on its equally famous investigation of economic conditions in the South. We need not rehearse here the long and depressing chronicle of retarded industry, low wages, illiteracy, pellagra, child labor, bad housing, disease and general poverty and backwardness which the President's committee put down on the record. But one paragraph of its report is of special interest to us:

"Much of the South's increase in industrial activity has been brought about by the removal of cotton goods manufacturing plants to the Southeast from higher-wage areas in New England. This backbone of Southern industry ranks nationally as one of the low-wage manufacturing industries. In the South, it pays even lower wages than elsewhere."



This statement still stands today. Why should workers in Greenville get less for the same job than workers in Fall River? The Southern mill owners justify the low wages they pay by claiming that it costs less to live in the South. As the chart on this page shows, this is a bit of mythology—to use a polite term. The President's committee in 1938 found—as did the union's researchers in 1944—that Southern living costs were no less than Northern costs — and wages were "often 30% to 50% below national averages."



The real point is that living standards, not costs, are lower in the South, i.e., workers live worse in the South because they well have to. They eat less and inferior food; they wear flimsier, cheaper clothes, they live in less comfortable and less sanitary houses and send their children less to school. All this they do not because they prefer it—as another line of employer argument, the "after-all-they're-used-to-it," and "give-them-bathtubs-and-they'll-keep-coal-in-them" line, tries to make out—but simply because a family cannot do anything else on $23.65 a week, before the payment of taxes.

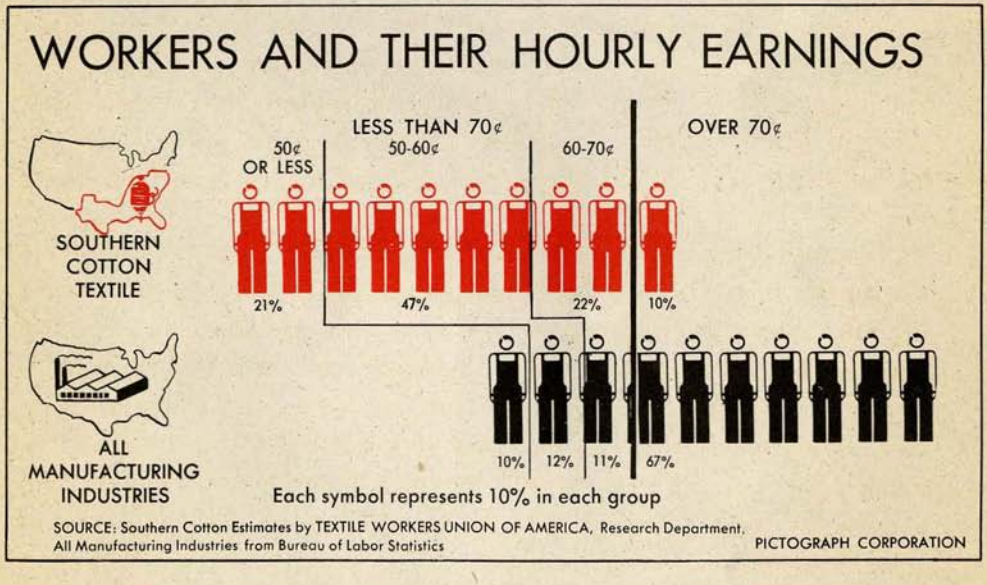
If the South is the nation's No. 1 economic problem, the cotton textile worker disputes with the sharecropper the honor of being the South's No. 1 economic problem. For textile wages are low even for the South—the veritable "minimal of the minimum." The Federal Reserve Board, reporting on 1943 weekly earnings in its Sixth District (Deep South) puts the textile worker at the very bottom of the list—$23.95 for him a week, as against $26.14 for wholesale and retail trade, $27.34 for food products, $30.43 for mining, $37.31 for iron and steel, $41.44 for construction, $52.10 for transportation equipment.

Another most respectable agency, the Rockefeller Foundation, made a field study recently of nutritional standards prevailing in a small North Carolina community of cotton textile workers.

The Foundation discovered that the average calories consumed per day per person were only 2,000 (as against the accepted standard of 3,000 for men doing light work), that 83% of the individuals studied were getting less than the healthful minimum of vitamin C (and 27% showed no traces of vitamin C at all), and most of them were getting about half the Riboflavin, vitamins A and B, and iron they needed.

"The community was in general considered to be moderately malnourished," concludes the Foundation's report, "and this is probably representative of quite large similar groups in the state.

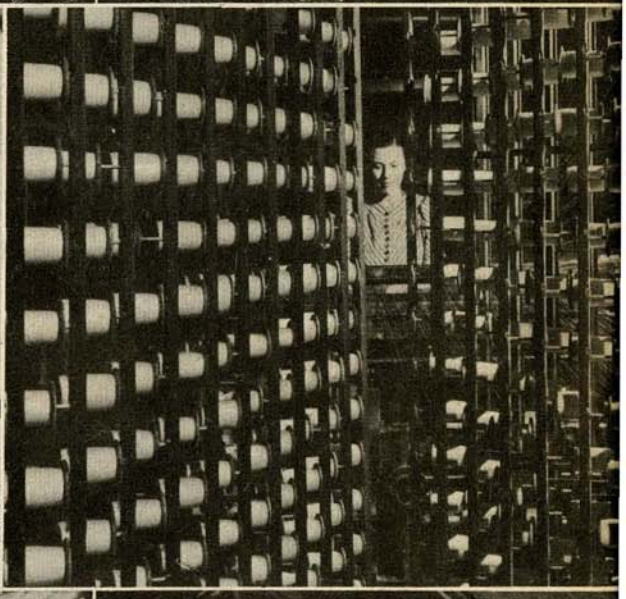
In its definitive report on the Southeast region, published in 1942, the National Resources Planning Board summed it all up when it described the general result of these deficient diets among Southern workers as "hidden hunger" which is manifest in chronic fatigue, slow thinking and digestive disturbances and has been described by well-fed Southerners as 'general triflingness'."



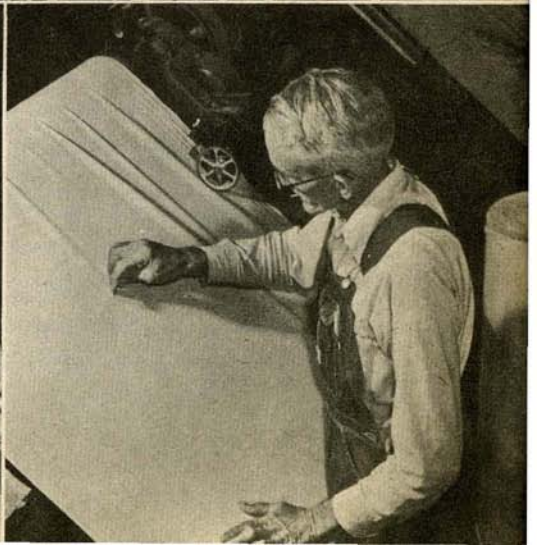














WHAT IS TO BE DONE?

Most cotton textile workers, Northern and Southern alike, have come to realize that their best hope for a permanent advance toward an American standard of living lies in the growth of a strong union movement.

Even the most well-intentioned governmental help, such as was provided in the early New Deal period, has only lifted up the cotton textile workers temporarily, to drop them again as the political scene shifts.

Only a strong union can maintain continuous pressure on the mill owners for better wages, only a strong union can keep vigilant watch, year in and year out, to see that the cotton textile workers do not remain "forgotten people."



The establishment of the CIO and the founding of the Textile Workers Union of America (CIO) in 1937 has given hope to the half million cotton textile workers that such a union is at last well on the way. TWUA's contracts today cover some 450,000 workers. Of these 160,000 are in the cotton textile industry.

These include the great bulk of those in the North, where a tradition of unionism has existed for generations, but only a minor percentage of the Southern workers.

The big problem of the immediate future is the organization of the South, whose workers come from isolated rural communities and are unaccustomed to cooperative mass action, and whose employers are fearful that the coming of unionization will cost them their main competitive advantage over the Northern mills. Here is where the struggle of the cotton textile workers for a decent American life will ultimately be decided.

The union has brought many gains to the cotton textile workers: increases in wages, vacations with pay, seniority systems which ended favoritism, a grievance machinery leading to arbitration which makes it possible to settle complaints; controls over the stretch-out and speed-up.

But the basic problem of substandard wages still remains.



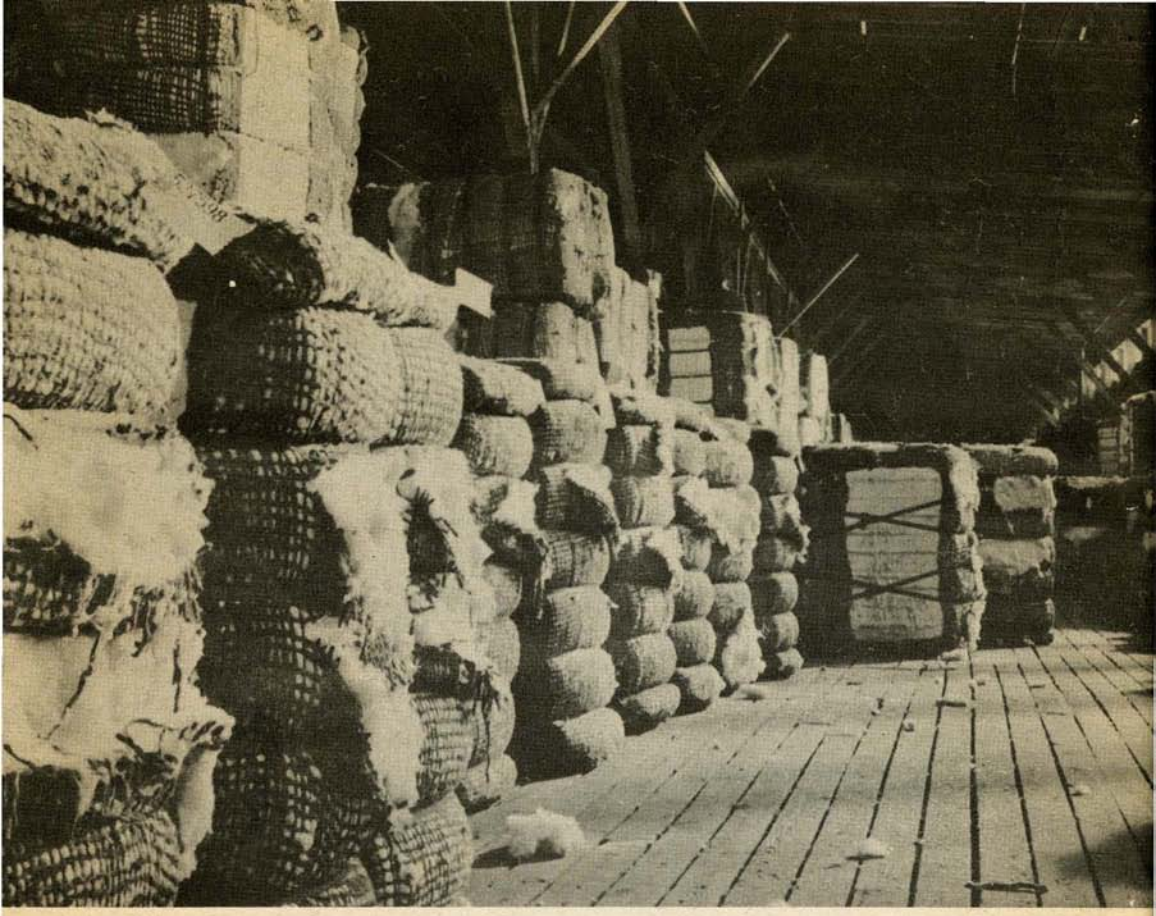
The cotton textile workers' struggle for a decent level of wages is not a private fight. Anybody can get in, and everybody should get in.

It is a serious matter for this country when its biggest group of industrial workers try to support themselves and their families on $24.78 a week before taxes. If we add in the dependents of the cotton textile workers, we get a million and a half men, women and children directly affected by the starvation wages now paid in cotton textiles.

Nor does it end there.

A low-wage area of this size infects the whole economic system, pulls down all other wages, reduces national buying power, enormously intensifies the difficulties of post-war adjustment.

At this late date, after the Hoover depression, the New Deal spending policies (and the 1937 crisis that was caused by the retreat from

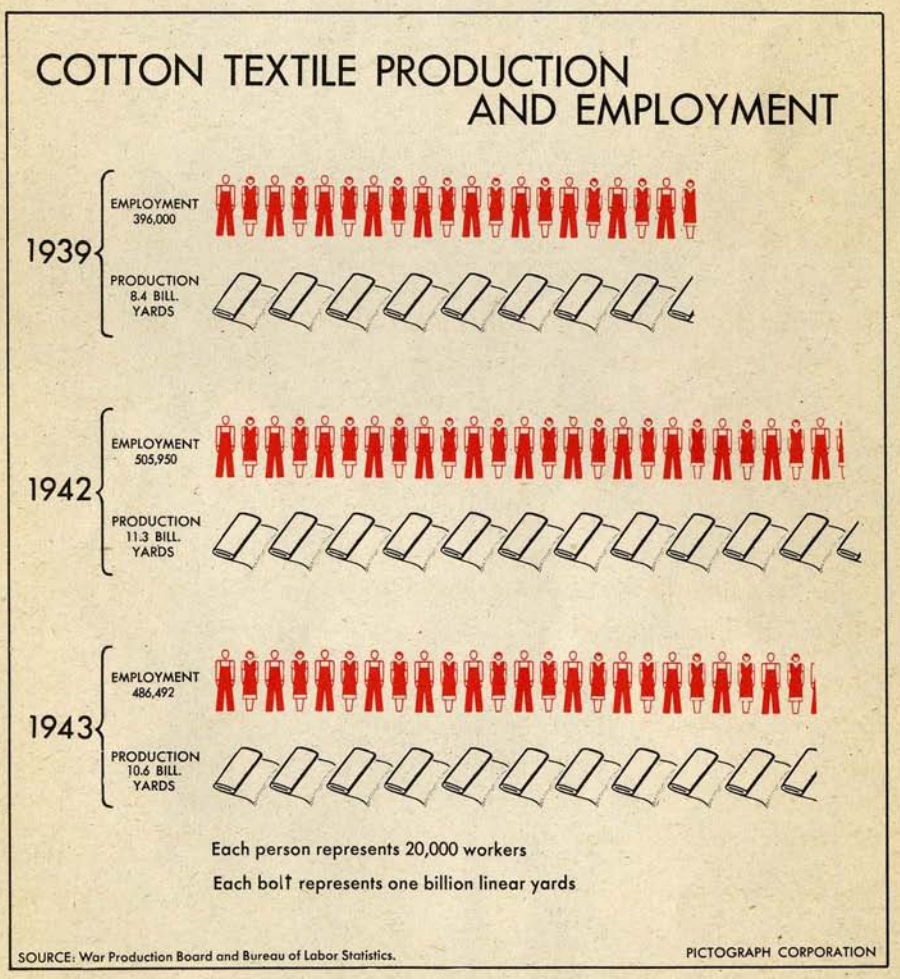


those policies), and the elimination of unemployment and staggering increase in production that has accompanied the war effort—after all this, it should hardly be necessary to argue that this country can produce goods enough to give every American a decent standard of living. The difficulty has always been that too few workers got enough wages to purchase the goods they and their families needed. An authoritative Government publication, "The Structure of the American Economy," summarizes its chapter on "the structure of wants" in these words:

"The indications are clear that American consumers, if they had sufficient money income, would constitute a market sufficient to absorb all the production which American industry has the resources to turn out. It is not for lack of wants to be filled that economic activity is carried on at the low level of recent years."

The long-range program of the Textile Workers Union is to place a

floor of $2,500 income per year under every textile worker's family. The union recognizes that this is a national problem, and that its solution in textiles is affected with a national interest. TWUA President Emil Rieve estimates that an increase of all family incomes in the country to $2,500 in 1935 would have increased by 80% the demand for textiles. "To substitute high labor income for the government blank check for war production" should be the chief economic aim in the post-war period. "This objective can be reached if the government will set a floor under wages by establishing a national minimum income level on an annual basis. Commissions should be set up for every industry, embracing government, labor, management and the public. These would study each industry, analyze its economy, and determine the full employment and annual minimum wage possibilities of every consumer-goods industry."



At the moment, the union is pressing for wage increases and other improvements in working conditions before the National War Labor Board. The union's chief interest is in establishing a 60-cents an hour minimum wage for all employees in the industry.

This is not an attack on the Little Steel Formula, as the employers have tried to pretend. The official policy of the Board, as laid down by President Roosevelt, is to grant wage increases wherever they are necessary to eliminate "substandards of living." The union has amply demonstrated that, by any criterion, the cotton textile workers are living under substandard conditions, it is asking for the 60-cents industry-wide minimum. The industry can afford the increase: its profits increased from $212 million in 1941 to $427 million in 1942, and profits for the first six months of 1943 were up 600% over pre-war profits.





President Rieve has defined the general issue in the case.

"We do not feel—and we do not believe this Board will find —that God has ordained the textile worker to be forever the lowest-paid worker in our nation.

We say that the textile worker and his family get just as hungry and just as cold as any other worker, and he is entitled to as decent wages.

"We are modest in our approach. The wages we ask will only eliminate the most depressed substandard conditions. But we will be back for more!"

Half a million cotton textile workers are no longer willing to remain "forgotten." They will be back for more, and they will keep coming back until they get it!

Photographs by Farm Security Administration, Office of War Information, and U. S. War Department, taken by Esther Bubley, Marjory Collins, Jack Delano, Dorothea Lange, Ben Shahn, John Vachon and Alfred Palmer.

Copies of the TWUA Research Department publication, "Substandard Conditions of Living," from which much of the material in this pamphlet was drawn, as well as additional copies of this pamphlet, are available from the Textile Workers Union of America, CIO, 15 Union Square, New York 3, N. Y.



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TEXTILE WORKERS UNION of AMERICA
TWUA
CIO

From the constitution of the Textile Workers Union of America, CIO

OBJECTS

Section 1. This International Union is dedicated to the principle of industrial unionism. Its objects are to unite all textile workers in the United States, its territories and Canada for the following purposes:

(a) To improve their wages and hours of work, to increase their job security and to better their other working conditions.

(b) To advance their economic, social and cultural interests.

(c) To defend and extend their civil rights and liberties.

(d) To establish peaceful and harmonious relations between its members and their employers and to increase the stability of the industry.

