

"My righteousness I hold fast, and will not let it go."

—Job 27.6

JUSTICE

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE INTERNATIONAL LADIES' GARMENT WORKERS' UNION

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

Vol. VI, No. 21.

New York, Friday, May 23, 1936

Price 2 Cents

General Executive Board Reelected

Schoenholtz and Amdur Two New Members — A. F. of L. Convention Delegates Chosen After Spirited Contest.

The final session of the Convention, as customary, was given over to the nomination and election of a president, a general secretary-treasurer, members of the General Executive Board, and delegates to the next two American Federation of Labor conventions.

The nominations began towards the close of the morning session on Saturday. Vice-president Breslaw, on behalf of his local, No. 35, the cloak pressers of New York, rose and placed the name of Morris Sigman before the Convention as their choice for president of the International, amidst tumultuous applause which lasted several minutes. Delegate Horowitz seconded the nomination of President Sigman and Delegate Levy of Local 1 added the name of his local to the list of seconding organizations. Vice-president Dubinsky thereupon moved that the convention instruct Secretary Baroff to cast one ballot for Morris Sigman as president of the International, and this motion was unanimously carried.

President Sigman Delivers Short Talk of Acceptance

After the single ballot which assured the reelection of President Sigman had been cast by Secretary

Baroff, Brother Sigman rose and delivered the following brief talk to the delegates:

"I am not going to try your patience at this time. When I came back fifteen months ago, I did not return with the intention of making efforts to outline in the presidency of the International. I realized that after the resignation of ex-President Schlesinger there was an emergency, although I also realized that there are quite a number of men and women in the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union who could have filled this office as ably, and perhaps more so than I can, but being far from the biggest center of our International Union, I judged that there must have been good and sufficient cause why the call was made upon me and, after consulting for a short while with Mrs. Sigman, I decided to comply.

"During these fifteen months that I have filled the office of President, I have learned a great deal more than I did in all the previous years when I was active in this Union of ours. This learning came in a rather difficult way. Every lesson that I received came out of some serious problem within our

Union or some complicated condition within our industry. I came to the conclusion that I might render a good service to this great International Union of ours if I remained for another term.

"I have said a little too much about myself, but I want to say a few words in regard to the constructiveness of my activities in the last fifteen months which were mentioned by the introducer and those who seconded my nomination. There is no individual in this world who can manage, shape or mold the policies of such a tremendous organization as ours.

In conclusion, President Sigman expressed the hope that, if elected, he would receive greater support in advancement of the interests of the International Union.

Secretary Baroff Elected Unanimously

Delegate Reiberg, representing the Philadelphia waist and dressmakers, rose to nominate Abraham Baroff as secretary-treasurer of the International, saying in part:

"Of all the honors that I have received in life, I consider the greatest one this opportunity which the President gave me to stand up here and nominate a man for the

office of General Secretary-Treasurer of our International, which is the next highest office to the President. The man whom I have in mind is the very personification of the soul of our International Union. He is the symbol and expression of goodness and kindness. Our general officers for the past two years have withstood all kinds of criticism, but friends and opponents alike unite upon one fact, that there is no other such man as Abraham Baroff with such a pure and devoted soul, in the entire Labor movement of America."

The nomination of Secretary Baroff was seconded in glowing and warm terms by Delegates Mollie Friedman and Luigi Antonini. Then Vice-president Breslaw moved to close the nominations for secretary and to make the election unanimous. After that motion was carried, President Sigman cast one ballot for Abraham Baroff as secretary-treasurer of the International.

The next thing in order was the election of the first vice-president. Delegate Feinberg made the nomination which was seconded by a half dozen delegates, and there being no other nominations, President Sigman

(Continued on page 2.)

Protective Association Refuses to Discuss Union's Demands

Declares It Will Not Debate Employment Period Guarantee, Reduction of Hours, Increase of Minimum Wage Scales, Employment Insurance, or Union Label — Strikes Clouds Gathers.

The situation in the cloak and suit industry of New York took a sudden change on Monday last, May 19, after a brief conference held at the Hotel Pennsylvania between the representatives of the International and the Joint Board and the representatives of the Cloak Manufacturers' Protective Association.

Only one week remains now before the expiration of the agreement between the Union and the manufacturers organized in the Protective Association, and the prospects of reaching an understanding before June 1, in the light of the developments of Monday's conference, are slim indeed. The reply of the representatives of the Association can be termed as nothing short of an ultimatum declaring war upon the Union.

The reply refuses to discuss five of the most important points of the original union demands. It does not consider these points "debatable" and will not enter into any conference in which they may be the subject-matter. These five points involve the guarantee of a certain number of weeks of work, employment insurance, the 40-hour work week, the use of the union label, an increase of the minimum wage scales.

Obviously with the purpose of sweetening the pill which it intended to hand the Union, the reply of the Association is prefaced with a declaration that it is its earnest desire to "stabilize our industry and to take it from the frightfully chaotic condition that it is in, and to place it on a sound footing." In view of the sub-

sequent paragraphs in the same letter in which the Association refuses to enter into discussion of the principal remedies suggested by the Union for the stabilization of these admittedly "frightfully chaotic conditions," the prefatory remarks of the letter are ludicrous and mere sham. It is also quite characteristic of this double-faced attitude of the Association that it deems it necessary to end the letter by a statement that the Union may "have its well-wishes with reference to its desire to put proper safeguards on the others in the industry who have not had such safeguards up to the present time."

Reply of Association

As a matter of record, we publish here the full reply of the Association:

International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, Joint Board of Cloakmakers' Union of the City of New York.

Gentlemen:

It is because of the earnest desire of the Cloak, Suit and Skirt Manufacturers' Protective Association to stabilize our industry and to take it from the frightfully chaotic condition that it is in; to place it on a sound footing; to keep it within the confines of this city, and to conduct the same in genial and healthy surroundings, upon a sound economic basis, that we are in principle agreed with you to enter into conferences with a view of extending our present contract, with modifications, which the light of experience has shown are necessary, if we both aim that the contract be continued and perpetuated for the prosperity of both the manufacturer and the worker, and to the end that there be no upheaval occurring to the detriment of business and the unrest of the public generally, which would happen.

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First Quarterly Meeting of G.E.B. Next Monday in N.Y.

Immediately after the Convention adjourned in Boston, President Sigman summoned the newly elected members of the Board to a meeting to decide upon the date and place of the first meeting of the General Executive Board.

This meeting will take up the entire proceedings of the Convention and will sift through the decisions adopted by it so that they might be taken up for enactment without delay.

The meeting will also take up the present critical situation in the New York cloak industry and the still pending strike of the dressmakers of Chicago.

Forest Park Unity House Will Open on June 13th

The great estate of the Dressmakers' Union of New York, known as the Unity House and located at Forest Park, Pike County, Pa., which serves as a summer vacation house for our members, will open for the 1934 season on Friday, June 13.

Registrations for the Unity House will begin on May 28, and those who know of the splendid attractions which this summer place offers to our members will do well to register on time. The new season will be ushered in by a splendid concert and dance.

Prices for board will remain the same as last year. The registration office will be located in the office of the Dressmakers' Union, 16 West 21st street. Out-of-town members can register by mail by including a check or money order.

Closing Sessions of Convention

International Union Bank Now A Member of the Federal Reserve System—Joseph Baroness Addresses Convention—Ex-President Schlesinger Given Rousing Welcome—Committees Make Interesting and Enlightening Reports—Convention Passes Resolutions That International Participate in Third Party Movement.

The morning session of the ninth day of the convention, Wednesday, May 14, was opened with an announcement by President Sigman that copies of the Labor Year Book recently issued by the Labor Research Department of the Rand School of Social Science were on sale in the convention hall, and that he recommended its purchase by the delegates present.

After the reading of telegrams and letters of greeting by Secretary Baroff, the question of the excursion planned for that afternoon in honor of the convention by the Boston City Administration was taken up for consideration, and it was decided to have evening sessions on Thursday and Friday to make up for the loss of time that this would involve.

President Sigman then introduced at the first speaker of the session ex-President Rosenberg, adding that "he was not only at the cradle of our movement, but he probably was the carpenter who made the cradle before the baby was born." Delegate Rosenberg sketched some of the early history of the International during the time of its amalgamation and subsequent separation from the United Garment Workers in the late 1890s. He closed with the hope that it might be his privilege to be with the convention twenty-five years from now.

President Maude Swartz of the National Women's Trade Union League, in extending the greetings of her organization to our convention, expressed the hope that our delegates from New York might find it possible to attend the twentieth anniversary convention of the League in June. After discussing briefly the work of the National Women's Trade Union League, she asked that the International continue in the future the friendship and the support that they have accorded that organization in the past.

Manager Philip R. Rodriguez of the International Union Bank, after congratulating the convention on its twenty-fifth anniversary, announced that the membership of the International Union Bank in the Federal Reserve System had been approved. He announced deposits of \$1,800,000 within the four months of operation of the bank, making total resources of \$2,300,000. He urged the use of the bank by locals of the International other than those in New York, dwelling on the excellent service that operation under the Federal Reserve system will make possible for outside depositors who may require the use of their money within short notice. In closing, he urged that the many Labor banks must eventually amalgamate; instead of scattering their strength into fifteen or twenty individual institutions, they can become one powerful bank with \$150,000,000, a bank which capitalistic power in New York must recognize as a power.

B. Charny Wiedick of the Forward emphasized as one of the great accomplishments of the International the fact that they are becoming an American Labor organization. "It took us all one week to cross the Atlantic to the United States, but it took us twenty-five years to cross from the East Side of New York to the United States of America."

In introducing the afternoon session, President Sigman said that it always made him nervous, since he had been in the movement for such a comparatively brief period of time, to introduce one of the pioneers in the Labor movement. Brother Baroness stressed the dif-

ficulty of properly estimating that which is going on in the present; that those who are making history do not know they are doing so. "Disatisfaction," he said further, "is the very pulse of progress. It is for this reason that I salute with pleasure the criticism that is healthy, the dissatisfaction that spells growth."

Ex-President Schlesinger Given Rousing Welcome

Applause that continued for seven minutes, with all the delegates rising, greeted ex-President Benjamin Schlesinger when President Sigman introduced him as the next speaker of the session. Brother Schlesinger was greatly moved by the reception accorded him, although he said that he did not believe "there was anyone who deserved such a rousing welcome." He sketched briefly his experience of thirty-four years in the industry, paying a tribute to Brother Baroness for his valuable work in organizing in those days the cloak-makers of New York. Brother Schlesinger expressed pleasure at the progress made during the past several months, as indicated in the report of the General Executive Board to the convention, and complimented the Board on the conciseness of this report. While approving the recommendations of the General Executive Board as set forth in this report, Brother Schlesinger warned the convention that the small shop is an evil which cannot very easily be eradicated either by resolutions or strikes. He closed with the wish that he might be with us as often as possible, and offered his services to the organization in an unofficial capacity whenever they were needed.

Mr. A. Lincoln Felsen, after welcoming the convention to Boston, drew attention to the fact that between 1910 and 1924 there had been very little marked advance in the relationship between Capital and Labor, both from the employers' and employees' side, for which both sides are equally to blame. He felt that no progress was possible until both sides came together. He was followed by Meyer Bloomfield, who said that the "twenty-five years' record of the International shows what an organization inspired with American ideals can do for the future of its people, the industry and the country."

Tenth Day

The morning session on Thursday, May 15, opened with the report of the Committee on Law, presented by Vice-president Sigman. The work of the Constitution Committee in revising the constitution was heartily commended by the committee, as was also the General Executive Board for having taken the initiative in the matter. The draft of the new constitution was read serially by Chairman Ninfio, and the recommendations of the Committee on Law were approved, now immediately and the others after some discussion.

The morning session ended with an address by Dr. Singalovsky, representing the "Grt.," who called upon the delegates to vote a substantial sum of money for the promotion of trade school and agricultural pursuits among the Jews of Eastern Europe.

The reading of the report of the Committee on Law, by Chairman Ninfio, was continued for a short time in the afternoon session and was then postponed until the evening session on that same day.

President Sigman told of the im-

pression made by Sacco and Vanzetti upon the committee delegated to visit them in their prison. He urged that help be extended to them and called upon Vice-president Ninfio, a member of the delegation that visited these two prisoners, to read a resolution that had been prepared, calling upon Governor Cox of Massachusetts to relieve the mental torture suffered by Nicola Sacco in his four years of imprisonment, by securing employment for him while he awaits the final adjudication of his case. The resolution was unanimously adopted.

Brother George E. Roemer, the legal adviser of the International in Boston, as the next speaker, stressed the necessity of strike technique or strategy—the consideration of all the elements in any particular strike situation. President Sigman then called upon our historian, Dr. Louis Levine, who told of the viewpoint from which he is writing the history of our International Union. "I have tried," he said, "to show whether the industry is tending, so as to make it possible for every member who wants to acquaint himself intelligently with the possible development of the next ten years to face them both backward and forward, to see how they have come to be and what they are likely to be."

Vice-president Meyer Perlestein, as chairman of the committees on Unemployment Insurance, Union-owned Shops and Stores, Sick Insurance, and

INTERNATIONAL CALENDAR

By H. SCHOOLMAN

This Week Twelve Years Ago

Local 28, refuses to concur in the decision of the General Executive Board and is expelled as a local of the International.

Secretary Dwyer makes public the following statement:

"We are warning the members of Local 28 that we shall not tolerate in our ranks anyone who will agitate for shop strikes without the sanction of the Union. It is against the principle of the Union and the principle of trade unionism in general. Our Union is not a place for syndicalists and direct-actionists."

A committee is organized to collect money for the defense of the celebrated labor attorney, Clarence S. Darrow, who is charged with bringing some joy to the trial of the McNamara Brothers. The committee consists of Abraham Rosenberg, S. Pelsdorf, Morris Linder and B. Schlesinger.

The Union Label, reported to turn on the work of these committees.

The report of the Committee on Unemployment Insurance was prefaced by a general survey of the unemployment situation not only in the United States but in every country where it had been dealt with as a serious problem requiring speedy and definite solution. The three plans that have been tried in the United States were outlined, and the committee favored the plan proposed by the General Executive Board to the cloak employers of New York, which calls for a guarantee of a fixed period of employment, made secure

(Continued on Page 5)

Entire G. E. B. Re-elected

(Continued from page 1)

was instructed to cast one ballot for Brother Salvatore Ninfio as the First Vice-president.

Other Members of Board Elected by Acclamation

Immediately after that, President Sigman called upon the Convention to nominate the eight New York members of the Board. David Dubinsky, Samuel Lefkowitz, Jacob Heller, Harry Wander, Jacob Halperin, Israel Feinberg, Joseph Breslau and Isidore Schoenholz were nominated and their nominations seconded. Delegate Fish of Local 10 moved that, since there were no more than eight candidates for the New York vice-presidents, they be elected by acclamation. The motion was carried without a dissenting vote.

Six nominations for as many members of the Board from cities other than New York were put through the Convention—namely, Meyer Perlestein from Chicago, Fred Menosson from Boston, Sol Seidman of Toronto, Elias Reinberg of Philadelphia, Fannie M. Cohn, and Max Amdur of Philadelphia. The motion prevailed that the nominations be closed and that the candidates be elected unanimously, as there was no opposition in the field. Accordingly the six nominated candidates were elected by acclamation as members of the General Executive Board.

Of the two newly elected members of the General Executive Board, Brother Max Amdur has rendered eminent service to the organization for many years past, as manager of the Philadelphia cloakmakers' organization and as a member of the General Executive Board for six years, from 1908 to 1920. Brother Isidore Schoenholz, who is secretary-manager of the dressmakers' organization of New York City, is a veteran of a dozen years' standing in the Un-

ion, and has a record of splendid constructive achievements.

American Federation of Labor Delegates Elected by Ballot

When it came to nominate delegates to the conventions of the American Federation of Labor, of which there are five excluding the President, it appeared that six delegates were nominated and that the contest would have to be decided by ballot. The nominated delegates were Louis Langer, Samuel Perlmutter, Luigi Antonioli, Chasles Kreindler, Louis Pinkovsky and Mollie Friedman.

In vain did Delegate Breslau make a motion that all the six be unanimously voted for as delegates. The motion was defeated and President Morris Sigman announced that a printed ballot for the election of the delegates to the American Federation of Labor conventions would be distributed at the afternoon session.

A committee of tellers was appointed and, when the afternoon session opened, the delegates of all the locals were called in numerical order to the platform where they were handed ballots. In the course of a few minutes, the ballots were returned to the tellers, who consisted of Brothers Manny Weiss, H. A. Schoolman, Harry Lang and Max D. Danish. Towards the close of the session, the tellers reported, announcing the receipt of 265 ballots of which Luigi Antonioli received 211, Louis Langer 190, Samuel Perlmutter 194, Louis Pinkovsky 167, Charles Kreindler 159, and Mollie Friedman 121 votes. President Sigman then announced that the elected delegates were the first five mentioned above, who will attend as delegates of the International the next two conventions of the American Federation of Labor.

Protective Association Refuses to Discuss Demands of the Union

(Continued from page 1)

pen if we fail in our attempt. It is our hope that you take these thoughts in the spirit in which they are given and that we attempt to bring about peace and good will to all in the industry.

If, therefore, we be properly understood, it becomes necessary for us to say to you that we have given careful, weighty and grave consideration to your expressions and have likewise had time to analyze and carefully consider the suggestions made by you, which you feel will tend to uplift the industry and make for stability and peace and take away from our Association manufacturers the handicap under which they have been working against manufacturers not bound by a contract such as we had, and which enabled such manufacturers to conduct their shops under conditions which made for competition between Labor working for us upon the high planes set forth in our contracts, against Labor working for non-members, in tenements, rooms, shops, and other places, without such safeguards thrown around them, and thus turn out their work at less cost than we could, resulting in our continuous slipping. As we heretofore have called your attention to.

We feel sure that if this is done it will at least overcome a part, if not all, of the ills in the manufacturing of cloaks and suits, and we welcome the suggestions with reference thereto. And if, in the solution of your problems, we can be helpful, we will be pleased to do all within our power to bring about such a condition.

(1) Insofar as the demands are made that concern us, we wish to state that the manufacturers in our Association cannot consider your demand with respect to a guarantee of a minimum number of weeks of work in our industry. Neither our manufacturers nor the public can stand any such additional burden, and we consider the matter as undebatable and cannot enter into conference with you on that subject.

(2) Because it adds an unreasonably large cost to the manufacturer, and reflects on the cost to the public, who is the ultimate consumer, we likewise feel that our Association cannot enter into any agreement which looks to any employment insurance, hence consider it as undebatable and cannot enter into conference with you on that subject.

(3) As to your suggestion of a reduction of the number of labor from 44 per week to 40, we feel that this will do nothing but augment the cost of garments, without any correlative gain, therefore undebatable and we cannot enter into conference with you on that subject.

(4) It is unnecessary for us, at the present time, to enter into a long discussion on the question of labeling garments because in previous discussion we have, from the inception of this organization to the present time, insisted that we cannot grant the Union such a request. We are not prepared to do this now and consider it undebatable, and cannot enter into conference with you on that subject.

(5) We are opposed, at the present time, to any increase of the minimum rate of wage in the industry. The last time the minimum was set was at a time when a peak had been established in the high cost of living and the conditions that prevailed then do not prevail

now. We feel that an increase of the minimum rate of wage will do nothing but add to the cost of garments, and therefore, this question is also undebatable and we cannot enter into conference with you on that subject.

Therefore we say that you have our well-wishes with reference to your desire to put proper safeguards on the others in the industry who have not had such safeguards up to the present time, and we will be prepared to confer with you if you will so safeguard the industry, subject however, and with the understanding that the points here expressly set forth as being undebatable, be eliminated.

Very truly yours,
CLOAK, SUIT AND SKIRT MANUFACTURERS' PROTECTIVE ASSOCIATION.

By GEORGE JABLOW,
Chairman.

President Sigman's Statement

Immediately after the reply of the Association was read to the conferees, the representatives of the Union jointly told the leaders of the Association that they consider their letter in the nature of a rupture of relations and a declaration of hostilities. To be sure, no other construction can be placed on this rather remarkable document issued by an association of employers who for fourteen years have had contractual relations with the Union and who on the eve of the renewal of an agreement refuse not alone to concede, but even to discuss the demands of the Labor organization in the industry.

Shortly after the conference broke up, President Sigman issued the following statement to the press:

"It appears that we have no other recourse left but to make ready the strike machinery of our organization. The strike will involve fourteen local unions. Indirectly it will affect 250,000 persons, the families of our workers, and it will throw out of employment thousands of workers in trades allied with the cloak and suit industry.

"Our employers are the same as they have always been. They have learned nothing from our four big strikes in the last fourteen years. They refuse to acknowledge that the workers are a factor in the industry unless the workers demonstrate their strength.

"Our program for abolishing the ills in the cloak and suit trade offers a constructive solution. If the Protective Association refuses even to discuss our suggestions and makes no effort to offer counter-proposals to solve the ills they frankly admit to require solution, we must resort to the only means we have of meeting this brutal ultimatum—the strike.

"From the wording of the reply of the Protective Association, I surmise that it was framed for the purpose of eliciting some public sympathy on their behalf, inasmuch as they are made to appear as defending the consumer against addition of cost of garments. Nothing of course could be farther from the truth. The proposals of the Union do not involve any such suggestions as an increase in the price of garments for the consumer, and this attempt of the Protective Association to fish for public sympathy in man's water will, as in the past, receive its natural boom-crang in the solid support by the public of the constructive industrial program which we are proposing in order to put the cloak and suit industry of New York on a sound, humane basis.

"At this moment to me a strike seems inevitable unless the Protective

Association changes its attitude. As a Labor union, we are always ready for peace, you must know, but we are nevertheless prepared for war."

Strike Preparations to Begin at Once

The leaders of the Joint Board and of the International Union have been in conference, as a consequence of the sudden turn in the negotiations between the International and the Protective Association, to set in motion

the machinery of the organization in meeting the emergency situation with which it is now confronted.

The entire machinery of the Joint Board will be mobilized without delay. Meeting of all shop chairmen in the industry and suit industry will be held in the immediate future and a number of district and section meetings will be called. There are only a few days left to June 1 and the administration of the Union, not desiring to leave anything to chance, will utilize every remaining hour to put the workers in fighting shape so that they may be ready whenever the strike call is issued.

National Association for Child Development

One of the most promising of recent developments within the Labor movement is the establishment of the National Association for Child Development. This organization developed as a result of a number of conferences between labor men and women, educators, and parents, who realized the great need of acquainting the growing generation with the social and economic problems that face mankind and preparing it for intelligent participation in the work of bettering society.

The National Association for Child Development plans to carry on its work through children's clubs, summer camps and other similar means, and is now working on a program that promises to be fully as interesting as that of any of the present boys and girls' organizations. There is in this new program no trace of the military or anti-social features that are so prevalent in other children's organizations, and the program includes features for older children, such as investigation of fire-traps, and other social service activities that will be found to help in the development of

the social conscience and social mindedness of the children that will be reached.

The National Association for Child Development will begin its work this year with a summer camp at Pawling, New York. It is expected that this camp will accommodate fifty children. The fees that will be charged will be in the neighborhood of twelve dollars weekly, just enough to cover costs.

The president of the organization is Thomas J. Curtie, of the Building Trades Council. The first vice-chairman is A. J. Muste of Brookwood Labor School; the second vice-chairman is Maude Swartz of the National Women's Trade Union League; treasurer, Abraham Baroff of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union; secretary, Joshua Lieberman.

The New York Association for Child Development, which is a subsidiary body of the National Association, and which was formed a little over a month ago, will meet next Tuesday evening, May 27, in the Auditorium of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, 2 West 16th street, at 8 p. m.

In Local 38

The delegates of Local 38, who have just returned from the Jubilee Convention in Boston, will report to the members of the local, at a general member meeting on Monday, May 26, what has been accomplished in their particular field of interest at this convention, and what plans

have been made for continuation and furtherance of their work in the future.

All ladies' tailors will find this meeting of unusual interest, and they are urged to be present. The meeting will be held in the Harmon Educational Center, 62 East 106th street, next Monday at 8 o'clock.

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JUSTICE

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A Terrible Parable

By BEN HECHT

O suspicious and noble reader! Once upon a time there was a Caliph of Bagdad by the name Ali Dever Hassan. He was an old man and proud equally of his great virtue and his interesting whiskers.

In his youth Caliph Ali Dever Hassan had been wont to divert himself with such things as appeal to the happy and unscrupulous taste of the young. But, such is the cycle of life ordained by Allah (praised be He), growing older he had lost his interest in the dancing girls of the taverns, in the noisy shouts of the street, in the renderous where men and women disported themselves amid the pleasures of wine, music and wit.

Now it befell, O illustrious and exalted leader, that the Caliph Ali Dever Hassan, surrounded by the cronies of his younger days, like himself grown indifferent to the gayeties of life, bethought him of his duties as ruler of the City.

"It hath reached me," he proclaimed, "that our great pious community is given over to crime, that citizens wending home from the bazars are frequently seized behind the ear with a piece of lead pipe, that murderer and rapine stalk the highways. It is my purpose to end forever this evil state of affairs."

Summoning his Wazir, Abou ben Collima by name, the Caliph made known his plan.

"We will," spoke the righteous Commander of the Faithful, "disguise ourselves in the habitments of wayfarers and thus attain the night discovering the haunts of crime in our City. For it is my desire not merely to relieve temporarily the evil of Bagdad but to discover what and where are the roots of crime and to strike fearfully at them."

Thus it befell, O trusting and tax masted reader, that the ancient caliph and his equally supernal Wazir fared them forth into the highways of Bagdad. And recalling dimly the experiences of their long dead youth they hied them to a tavern whose lights twinkled in the shadows and through whose doors came happy bursts of music.

Once within the tavern an astounding sight greeted the falling eyes of the righteous caliph and his Wazir. Youths and maidens embraced in each other's arms were moving languorously to the sound of fair music. Houris and odalisques, their eyes gleaming with kohl and a sweet odor of myrrh rising from their willow branch bodies, sat about the tables while gay youths laughed and sought their favors.

For several minutes neither the Caliph Ali Dever Hassan nor his Wazir Abou ben Collima spoke, so overcome were they by their emotions. Finally from the lips of the Commander of the Faithful came the words:

"Never have I beheld so abandoned and depraved a scene. Allah hath guided my footsteps for He hath led us without further ado to the very roots of the crime which is sweeping our city."

The spectacle of the amorous dallies, of the flushed and eager faces of the youths and maidens, of the white arms and revelling hips of those who swayed upon the dance floor indeed for a moment deprived the illustrious Caliph of words. A mysterious ray straightened his beam. The white hair of his whiskers quivered. And as the strong scents of the place and the gay music entered deeper into his being, the Caliph's eyes began to flash with indignation.

"These things are an affront," he muttered slowly to his Wazir. "See these votaries of sin plotting evil un-

der the very eyes of our police. Corrupt and abandoned wretches, revelling drunkenly and shamelessly . . ."

The good Caliph paused, out of breath. Rising to his feeble legs he stared for a moment dully at the whirling figures and the laughing faces and then staggered out of the tavern door into the night, his Wazir close upon his heels. For in truth the sight of so much gayety, of such hilarity had proved too much for his aged senses. And it was the same with the Kazir Abou ben Collima.

"Summon your police," cried the righteous Caliph, "surround this tavern, this breeding place of vice, corruption and crime. Arrest these painted women, these depraved feeders upon dregs, these despicable men dancing, wine bibbing and dallying shamelessly. For they are the roots of crime. It is from them and their sinfulness that the evils of our city stem. From the appearance of that mob I think we have bugged the most dangerous element in Bagdad."

Accordingly it befell, O exalted and forgiving reader, that the Wazir and his police entered the tavern and arrested all of those who were dalling within. And walking wearily

back to the Caliphate the illustrious Ali Dever Hassan felt a feeling of gladness and relief in him.

"I will stamp out every one of these sinks of iniquity," he mused. For the echo of the laughter he had heard and the memory of the flushed, eager faces he had seen continued to stir a rage in him.

With the dawn of day the Caliph who, strangely enough, had been unable to sleep, hastened into the jail of Bagdad where were held the youths and maidens he had caused to be arrested. Frightened and confused, they waited for justice to be meted out to them. Among themselves they muttered:

"Why has this happened to us? We are law-abiding merchants, clerks, stenographers, waitresses and nothing more. Oppressed by the dullness of our work we venture forth on an evening to seek entertainment in the tavern and to forget everything except our youth. Why have we been thrown into this jail?"

All fell silent as the Caliph Ali Dever Hassan, whose good works were known to them, arrived and walked among them.

"Surely," they thought, "he will see we are no more than young people who were enjoying themselves and liberate us."

But the illustrious and righteous Caliph contemplating the tired workers of the city saw something quite

different. The youthful faces of the women taunted him. The black eyes of the youths stirred a rage in him. His old limbs trembled and his white whiskers quivered.

"Allah hath shown me the light, praised be He!" the Caliph Ali Dever Hassan cried, his ancient voice become high pitched with anger. "Ye sinners are the roots of crime. I order ye all beheaded."

"Upon what charge," spoke up the punctilious executioner in attendance.

"Youth," cried the Caliph, "on the charge of Youth."

In that night, O noble and happy reader, the old men of Bagdad who were powerful in the councils of the City assembled and gave thanks to Allah and his lord, the Caliph Ali Dever Hassan. Trembling, cackling and infirm they surrounded the Caliphate proclaiming, "Ali Dever Hassan has made our city a dignified and pious community. He has beheaded the young on the charge of youth. Their laughter and gayeties will no longer remind us of our brittle bones and wearied flesh."

Thus it came about that Bagdad was turned into a city free from the crime which old people find most intolerable and its praises were sung wherever daddering and pious folk came together.

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EDMOND GOTTESMAN

SECRETARY

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Closing Sessions of Convention

(Continued from page 2)

by the deposit of a certain portion of the employers' payroll weekly, to be used for payments to the workers if the guarantee is not fulfilled; secondly, that each employer pay an additional percentage of his payroll to a collective industrial fund to provide for those workers who are temporarily out of jobs.

After the report of this committee had been unanimously adopted Vice-president Perlestein read the report on Union-Owned Shops and Stores, which ended with a recommendation that the incoming General Executive Board begin immediately to study and work out a comprehensive plan for the establishment of such union-owned cooperative stores and shops. This report was approved, as was also the report on Sick and Family Protective Insurance, in which the recommendation was made that a policy of sick benefit insurance be adopted by every local union affiliated with the International, and that the General Executive Board be instructed to study a plan for family protective insurance.

Evening Session

In the evening session on Thursday, May 15, Vice-president Perlestein presented the report of the Committee on the Union and Sanitary Label, which recommends the establishment of a union label department under the supervision of the General Secretary-Treasurer, and the organization of an energetic publicity campaign by this label department to create a demand for the garment that carries the mark of health and cleanliness. The report of the Committee was accepted.

Chairman Ninfo concluded the reading of the report of the Committee on Law, which was adopted as a whole, and for which a vote of thanks was extended to Chairman Ninfo and the other members of the committee.

Vice-president Jacob Halperin, as chairman of the Committee on Organization, read the report of that committee, which outlined the circumstances that have made the organization of the outlying districts so essential, and expressed its approval of the recommendation contained in the report of the General Executive Board that the Convention instruct the incoming Board to maintain and extend the present out-of-town organization activities in localities adjoining the big garment-making centers in New York, Philadelphia, as well as the Western cities and the Dominion of Canada, wherever ladies' garments are being produced." The report urged an organization drive in New York to organize the independent trades, and it recommended among other things consideration of the Baltimore white goods trade situation, the organization of the suburban towns near Boston, and the investigation of the Porto Rico market and its effects on the American market. The report was unanimously accepted.

Eleventh Day

After the reading of telegrams by Secretary Baroff, the Friday morning session, May 16, opened with the reading by Vice-president Harry Wander of the report of the Committee on Education, of which he is chairman. In the report, recommendations were made that the Educational Department pay more attention in future to mass education, that students of special promise be selected yearly for training as leaders, that more attention be paid to educational activities outside of New York, that free circulating libraries be organized in union offices in every city where we have organizations, and that more stress be laid on naturalization work among our members.

After the adoption of this report, Vice-president Fanila M. Cohn read the report of the Committee on Young People's Trade Union Education, which calls upon the incoming Board to stimulate interest among the wives of the members, so as to help them train their children in the best interests of society as a whole; to promote greater solidarity by the organization of social activities for them; to endeavor to assist the children of our members to spend their summer vacations in camps amid free surroundings; and urges that the International continue its efforts to abolish child labor in our country.

Spencer Miller greeted the Convention in the name of the Workers' Education Bureau, saying that one of the things for which the International will be remembered longest is the way it has given its generous support to the movement for workers' education.

The report of the Committee on Officers' Report was presented by Delegate Louis Langer, which recommended the adoption of the program of demands submitted by the cloak locals of New York to their employers, and the adoption of an increased per capita, the first of which was unanimously carried, and the second, after some discussion, approved by a vote of 225 against 29. The session ended with an address by Brother Zaritsky of the United Cloth Hat and Cap-makers' Union, who conveyed the greetings of his organization upon our twenty-fifth anniversary.

Afternoon Session

Delegate Amdur in the afternoon session resumed the reading of the report of the Committee on Officers' Report. Recommendation was made that the incoming Board say its closest attention to Local 9 so that it may be returned to its place among the active locals of our New York Joint Board. The committee paid eloquent tribute to the excellent and untiring work of President Sigman and Secretary Baroff. The report recommended the hearty endorsement by the Convention of the action taken by Vice-president Perlestein in eliminating the treacherous element from the Chicago Joint Board and the Chicago locals, and the Board's declaration of thanks to be sent to the Illinois State Federation of Labor and the Chicago Federation of Labor for the assistance rendered our organization in the present struggle against the Chicago dress and waist manufacturers. The committee endorsed the work of the various organizers of the International in Baltimore, Canada, on the Pacific Coast, the stand taken by the general office in supporting the Anti-Fascist movement, the aid extended to the miners during their strike, the action of the General Executive Board in dealing with Left hysteria in our locals, and the resolution on immigration proposed at the Portland convention of the American Federation of Labor. The report ended with a vote of thanks to the General Executive Board and the Arrangements Committee which had prepared for the convention, and the local arrangements committee in Boston.

The first recommendation in the report of the Resolution Committee, which was read by Delegate Heller, was the endorsement of a strike in the cloak industry, if found necessary, to carry out the program of demands presented to the employers by the International and the Cloak Joint Board. This was unanimously carried.

Evening Session

The reading of the report of the Committee on Resolutions was continued in the evening session of the

same day, the first recommendation being that the General Executive Board be requested to continue its support of the Anti-Fascist Alliance, which was unanimously adopted. It was also decided to donate \$200 towards the defense of Sacco and Vanzetti.

Numerous resolutions relating to organization work in various crafts of the industry were approved; two resolutions relating to the injunction evil, one dealing with it in a general way, and the other referring specifically to the abuses of the injunction in Chicago, were unanimously adopted. A resolution was adopted calling for a forceful campaign in the waist and dress industry of Philadelphia and the calling of a general strike in that city if found necessary. Resolutions were approved expressing the appreciation of the Connecticut District Council for the aid given it by the General Executive Board, and one expressing appreciation for the work done by President Sigman and the General Executive Board in uniting the dress locals of New York under the Cloak Joint Board. A resolution was adopted to call a conference immediately after the Convention between our General Executive Board and the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, to establish the standards of the I. L. G. W. U. in the clothing factories where women's garments are being manufactured. The report of the committee also recommended that we urge upon the President of the United States the release of the large number of industrial prisoners who are still held in the Federal penitentiaries.

Participation in Labor Party Endorsed

One of the most important resolutions adopted by the convention was that: the International instruct the incoming General Executive Board to work for a Labor party, which was accompanied by the recommendation of the Committee on Resolutions that the General Executive Board be empowered to participate in the Conference for Independent Political Action to be held in Cleveland on July 4. This was unanimously adopted.

Twelfth Day

In the morning session on Saturday, May 17, Chairman Heller continued the reading of the report of the Committee on Resolutions. A resolution was adopted upon the recommendation of the committee, condemning the policy of persecution and oppression of the Russian Soviet Government toward Socialists and organized workers, and another requesting of the American Government the immediate recognition of the Russian Government. The committee recommended non-concurrence in a resolution which called for a maximum wage for officers of local unions, saying that the unions themselves know the value of an officer to an organization, and that no salary of a local union representative is ever fixed without the consent of its members.

The report of the committee ended with a vote of thanks to the Boston Arrangements Committee for their cordial reception of the dele-

gates; to Harry Lang of the Jewish Daily Forward and Charles H. Green of Women's Wear for their splendid service in reporting the work of the convention; and to the invited guests who had addressed the convention.

Vice-president Lefkowitz, as chairman of the Committee on National and International Relations and Domestic and European Relief, read the report of that committee, which urged the Convention to instruct the General Executive Board not to give up the idea of a needle trades' workers' alliance, recommended the continued affiliation of our International with the International Clothing Workers' Federation, and urged that the General Executive Board send a delegate to the next congress of that Federation. The report listed a number of recommendations in connection with relief to domestic organizations; it recommended the endorsement and support of the Naturalization Aid League, the New Leader, and the Labor Age. A number of donations for foreign relief were also urged by the committee, which were approved by the convention.

Then followed the reading of the Appeal Committee report by Delegate Feinberg, which first took up the appeal of seven out of the eleven Chicago members who had been expelled for activities in the Trade Union Educational League. The committee recommended, after the representation of much testimony, the rejection of these appeals on the ground that those members had not complied with the orders of the International. The convention approved this recommendation by a vote of 205 to 42. Here the further reading of the report was postponed and the session closed with the election of officers, an account of which will be found elsewhere in this issue.

Afternoon Session

The first case considered in the afternoon session on Saturday, when Vice-president Feinberg continued the reading of the report of the Appeal Committee, was that of the ex-members of the Philadelphia locals No. 40 and No. 50, who were found by the committee to have been insincere in their endeavor to make good their past record, and were therefore not recommended for reinstatement. The recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

Because of lack of time, the convention decided to refer to the General Executive Board the balance of the Appeal Committee report, which includes the appeals of members of Local 1, Local 9, Local 22, Local 38, and Local 132. It likewise referred to the General Executive Board the report of the Committee on Adjustment, which includes among other considerations of a resolution to grant the Russian-Polish members a separate local, and one on the merging of Locals 25 and 22, both of which the committee recommends be rejected.

The session, and the convention, closed with the installation of the newly-elected officers by ex-President Rosenberg, and the announcement of the delegates of the International to the American Federation of Labor Conventions: Louis Langer, Sam Perlmutter, Louis Pinkowsky, Luigi Antonini, and Charles Kreindler.

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A Labor Weekly

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EDITORIALS

THE CONVENTION AND OUR MAIN TASKS

The Boston Convention has done more than any other previous convention to set clear the policy of our International. It frankly announced its complete independence of any outside influences in a "declaration of independence" which leaves nothing uncertain or half-said, and it made clear that in everything which concerns its own activity and interests it will recognize no other standard of judgment but its own.

The Boston Convention declared without mincing words that it will not tolerate intermeddling in its affairs on the part of any group or organization from without and it will not tolerate dual allegiance towards industrial organizations from its members. It made clear that every union member's loyalty must remain unquestioned and beyond suspicion. It laid down the rule that every Union member must submit to organization discipline applicable to all—the highest officer as well as rank and file members. It went on record in unmistakable terms for the principle of democracy in the best sense of the word and the rule of the democratic majority within the organization.

But, at the same time, the Boston Convention reaffirmed its adherence to the principle of freedom of opinion and discussion, and for the right of every member to agitate for new policies and reforms within the framework of our own Union, except that it sets its face sternly against violence and coercion as a means of carrying out such new policies and tactics and prohibits the organizing of secret groups and "caucuses" of any and all description which would force such ideas, policies and reforms upon the members against their will by the sheer force of a well-organized and mobile minority.

The Convention indorsed the ruling of the General Executive Board regarding the various "leagues" and went definitely on record condemning the Trade Union Educational League as an opposition union despite the fact that the latter group has neither the courage nor the honesty of stating its purposes in the open. The Convention therefore forbade the members of the International to affiliate themselves with this League as a body inimical to our Union, which not only must not be supported by our workers but must be fought by them as a destructive and sinister agency.

The Convention reelected unanimously the entire General Executive Board without the slightest opposition on the part of any of the delegates. For this we can offer only one explanation. Towards the close of the Convention all the delegates, like one person, came to recognize that the General Executive Board has acted fully in accord with the principles and policies of the International. We underscore this point, because we deem it necessary for all our members to know that, while during the early days of the convention there may have been a division of opinion concerning "leftism" and "rightism," the unanimous reelection of the entire General Executive Board with the President and General Secretary-Treasurer at their head, confirms the opinion that these differences of opinion, as far as our organization is concerned, have completely disappeared. Every delegate came to realize that no other policy for the International is possible and that any deviation from the firmly established primal principles must, sooner or later, lead to the demoralization of the Union.

In our judgment, this alone is one of the signal achievements of the last Convention. And though it is indeed a remarkable accomplishment, we are not particularly astonished by it. The Boston Convention was conducted in a way that could not fail to open the eyes of many a blinded delegate and visitor. The pre-convention clamor for freedom of opinion in the International could not have appeared more superfluous, if not ridiculous, than at this Convention where everyone who would talk had the fullest way and opportunity. The charges of "machine work" have been proved to be futile and baseless by the very fact that almost all of the time of the Convention was devoted to the consideration of each case individually and each of these received unabridged and most searching discussion.

The Convention made clear again to all that the International stands firmly for the widest degree of freedom of opinion and that it is more enemy slander to assert that our Union would suppress the right of our members to their own opinions. Small wonder that the number of its opponents grew less and less as the Convention proceeded until towards the end they entirely disappeared from view.

The Convention adopted a practically new constitution, which, in a number of points, is a more practical and more

modern instrument than the one we had before. We shall not dwell here on the various innovations introduced in it; we shall do it at some later time. We only desire to state here that this adoption of a new constitution is but another proof that our International is not a petrified organism, but a body which advances continually in consonance with the demands of the period and the general circumstances.

The Convention also adopted in full the program prepared by the General Executive Board as demands to be incorporated in the collective agreements between our Union and cloak manufacturers' associations in New York City. If our employers had their representatives in the "visitors' gallery" at the convention—and at times it seemed as if they were quite substantially represented there—they must know by this time that these demands are supported fully by all our members, and that in this instance, as in all others, the General Executive Board gave expression to the will and the desire of our entire membership. It would be well that our employers consider this matter thoroughly before they say "No" to our demands, before they give their final reply to the representatives of our Union with whom they have been in conference.

The convention not only approved all that the General Executive Board had done during the last two years, but it found its achievements so important that it decided, in order to continue its work uninteruptedly and on a larger scale, that the per capita of the International be increased one-third, so that instead of the ten cents a week they pay now, the tax be henceforth fifteen cents. True, a difference of opinion developed on this point, as the minority argued that, in order to raise the additional funds required for the activities of the International, special assessments should be levied rather than the per capita increase. Nevertheless, all appeared to be of one opinion that the International must be given required means for its further work.

For the convention to have refused the request of the General Executive Board would have been entirely unjustified. The administration of our Union has during the past two years fully carried out the obligations it undertook at the Cleveland Convention. It has achieved excellent organization results in the East and West, it has won several victories for the Union, and with comparatively limited means at its disposal, it has succeeded in bringing into the fold of the Union an element of workers which until now had been recognized as almost unorganizable.

For the first time in the history of our Union, we have had a substantial number of native American delegates at our convention, and the significance of this fact is even greater when one realizes that these delegates came as the representatives of locals in small towns to which some of our good employers in the big cities have fled in the hope that they would get rid of the "tyranny" of the Union. The International, however, followed them into their havens of refuge, and, thanks to its organization departments, a considerable number of local unions were formed in these localities.

It is difficult at the present moment to appraise properly the importance of this work. In a practical sense, this work means the maintenance of many of our local unions in the bigger garment centers built up after tremendous toil and sacrifice. Through these gains, we have succeeded in counteracting the efforts of the non-union employers to disrupt union conditions in the organized centers by multiplying non-union shops in the small towns. We have also changed inferior work conditions in these small-town shops to conditions prevailing in the better-paid and better-regulated union shops in the big cities.

Of course, many delegates must have felt that not all of their members would receive the news that their weekly dues had been raised, with glee and acclamation. Yet, they voted solidly for the raise of the per capita, knowing that, though their members are not as well off as they should be, they will come to see that the International must have larger funds for its growing activities if our Union is to be preserved intact and their work conditions are to remain secured from every attack.

The convention has decided upon a new step—a campaign for the propaganda of the trade union idea among our young folks, something which has heretofore been completely neglected. That our readers and our members may fully comprehend what this subject involves, we shall here quote from the report of the Committee on Young People's Trade Union Education, which speaks for itself:

"It was the good fortune of our International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union to be the pioneer of adult workers' education within the trade unions that is now supported by the entire Labor movement. It therefore behooves us at the Twenty-fifth Anniversary of our organization to initiate another movement of equal importance, and that is the education of the children of our members. We hope that this will become an important factor within the trade union movement.

Your committee has carefully considered the problem of the education of the children of our members. After much deliberation it prepared the following report:

The children of workers today are being brought up amid influences that tend to perpetuate the present social order. The grave defects of the existing system—the defects that produce wars, poverty, misery, crime and injustice are not brought before the consciousness of the young in such a way as to produce in them a strong determination to eradicate them.

In many cases we find that the children of the workers do not understand the economic and personal problems of their fathers and mothers, do not sympathize with their aims and aspirations, and do not appreciate the value and importance of their trade unions and their efforts in the

The Convention is Over

By MAX D. DANISH

The Jubilee Convention is history now.

The cycle of twelve days of debating, training, festivities, arduous committee work, and an avalanche of speechmaking—of every shade and variety—is at an end. The nearly 300 delegates are back home, the overwhelming majority of them supremely contented with the work done and perhaps even more gratified with the generous treatment accorded them by their Boston comrades and the capable and alert Committee on Arrangements.

If ever any affair deserved to be termed an anniversary, it was this convention. The first week, in particular, it seemed as if the whole event was to be swallowed up by reminiscences, by recounting all that used to be twenty-five years ago—personal, graphic stories by the actors themselves, and no less stirring accounts by such leaders and spokesmen of our movement who came to listen and to tell of the early struggles and achievements from "hearsay." Of course, there was repetition—a great deal of it—as the two-score invited guests and former officers of the Union responded to the invitation of the Chairman to greet the delegates—and as the convention drew to its close the speeches grew more and more perfunctory. But on the whole, the program fitted splendidly into the setting, and by the time the assembly emerged out of the past, so to say, to deal with the problems of the present, and to legislate for the future, a vivid panorama of a quarter of a century of accomplishments of the workers in the women's garment industry of America stood out in bold relief before the mental eyes of every man and woman who attended the Jubilee Convention.

And as we look upon it now, this first week of the convention, a week given over almost entirely to history, made possible the substantial epoch-making results of the closing week, when by concentrated, driving teamwork, the huge agenda of the assembly was exhausted practically to the last line, and a complete, all-embracing manifesto on every subject covering the activities of the Union was handed over to the stewards of our organization for the next two years.

Yet, it would be idle to deny that all through the sessions of the convention, through the steady bombardment of speech-making, through the grave and hectic discussions on questions which bugged the imagination

of the delegates meet, nay, even during the hours of jolly merry-making there were one or two ideas that stood out paramount to all others, and, like a red flaming line, reverberated across the convention horizon. It was the feeling, the consciousness, that we are on the threshold of great events, of a gigantic struggle in our most important trade in the principal center of the ladies' garment industry in America.

And the outstanding feature, the thing most remarkable during the discussions or to references to this imminent fight, was the total absence of even a shade of nervousness or misgiving concerning its outcome. Everybody felt that the Union was fighting for big stakes, that the coming struggle will, perhaps, be the most significant, if not the greatest, battle our Union has fought since it became of fighting age. But not a voice quivered in doubt of what the result would be. As a matter of fact, when the resolution granting the leaders of the International full powers to carry out the new famous set of industrial demands for the cloak industry rang through the convention hall, discussion seemed superfluous, entirely out of place, except for the thunder of applause which greeted its overwhelming approval.

The impression was of strength—massive, solid combining of ranks, of an army of men and women who know what they are about, who know what they want and how to get it. The thorough, many-sided and frank preliminary discussion at meetings and in our press of these highly important issues has constituted a great deal to this clear-cut attitude of the delegates. So when the Convention came to put its final endorsement on the program and to bid Godspeed to the leaders charged with its execution, it found the delegates fully conversant with and enlightened upon every angle and side of it.

If one were to inquire which moment of this phenomenal gathering, so full of stirring scenes and meetings, was the most inspiring, the most characteristic of its physiognomy and moral fibre—we should unhesitatingly state that it burst upon the convention with the resolution condemning the ruling party in Russia for keeping "Socialists and trade-unionists in jail and demanding that the prison doors of the Soviet dominion be opened to the martyrs of free speech, free opinion and free discussion.

It was interesting to note that there was hardly any oratory employed on that occasion. The feeble mummings of lame apologies by the few who objected to the resolution made speeches on behalf of it unnecessary.

President Sigman's summing up in a few terse sentences supplied the climax of the thrilling incident. When in slow, measured words he pronounced that it would be "far below the dignity of a militant Labor organization to plead or beg for the lives of these political prisoners of the Communist rulers of Russia; that we only protest their imprisonment and demand their release," there came back from the delegates on the floor a shout of approval that pierced the air like a shriek of delight mixed with pain, by far the most spontaneous outburst of sentiment witnessed at this convention.

And when the vote was finally announced—251 to 25—the Convention without solicitation silently rose like one man. Even the applause which was breaking through here and there in parts of the hall was stifled as if the delegates were paying tribute to the misery and sufferings of those tens of thousands of "politicals" who were paying the supreme price for daring to live the life of freemen in a country supposedly free.

A few hours of real interest were supplied by the discussion of the increase of the International per capita as proposed in the report of the General Executive Board and endorsed by the Committee on Officers' Report.

Of course, the delegates knew in advance that such a recommendation would be made. They read of it in the report of the General Executive Board, and they had no doubt concerning the Committee's stand on it. Yet, when the resolution was first broached on the floor, it began to look as if a fight was imminent. A dozen or more delegates jumped to their feet demanding to be recognized. And, as during every other debate or importance, President Sigman opened wide the floodgates of oratory, giving every one who had, or hadn't, anything to say a chance for expression.

The debate raged for over three hours. There were some who were sincerely opposed to a raise of the per capita; others there were who feared, as they openly or covertly stated, to come back to their constituents with increased taxes, while still others, a small group, obviously

fought against it, proposing an amendment instead, with the ulterior motive of sabotaging the whole proposition.

But when the count came, the proposal of the General Executive Board was carried overwhelmingly. Most of every one's delegates felt, on the final test, that it would be unwise to bind the hands of the International and that it must be given every means to carry on.

A thrilling moment occurred also when the Committee on Resolutions recommended that the International take part in the coming Conference for Progressive Political Action on July 4, in Cleveland, Ohio.

It was on the first day of the convention that the delegates applauded the eloquent talk by William M. Johnston, the president of the International Association of Machinists, and chairman of the Conference, in which he invited our International to take part in the Cleveland gathering. Yet, inasmuch as this was practically the first time that our Union had decided to take part in a national political gathering, the suggestion would have undoubtedly provoked some nervousness among the delegates, were it not for the fact that such a participation does not involve our Union in any entangling alliances with any political party, save that it will enable it to sit down at a council board with a number of other bona-fide labor organizations and consider ways and means of making the political power of Labor in America felt with lasting, telling effect next Fall.

It was a wise, constructive and a carefully thought but step, and in such a sense the convention adopted it.

Yes, the Jubilee Convention is over.

And now to work. The wheels of Time are not waiting. Hardly had the echo of the final session died out when we were face to face with the grim realities of the conflict. What seemed imminent only a few days ago is now inevitable. It appears as if our International is destined to begin its second quarter of a century with a baptism of fire that will test keenly every rampart and breastwork it succeeded in building up during the preceding generation for the protection of its members.

It may prove to be a harsh, grueling test. There were four such since 1910—and out of all of these the Union has emerged the victor. In this historic light, the triumph of the workers in the cloak industry over their adversaries in the coming conflict is a foregone conclusion.

economic field. In fact, they are frequently influenced to oppose the social and economic interests of their parents.

The Trade Union Movement aims to eliminate the monstrous injustices and inequalities of today and to transform society on a basis of justice and happiness for all.

The children of today are the citizens of the future. It is upon their understanding of social and Labor problems that the realization of our dreams of a beautiful future based upon justice, friendship and cooperative effort depends. It should, therefore, be the duty of the trade unions to provide such activities for the education of the workers' children as will help to create in our children a clear understanding of our aims, a deep sympathy for them, an understanding of the lives and problems of their fathers and mothers, an appreciation of the work of trade unions, an understanding of the social forces which operate in social evolution and as will make them healthy, clear thinking, well rounded individuals, each a force for social betterment.

But we also realize that the most important factor in the development of a child is the mother. Her influence is paramount in directing the child's mind and interests along the proper lines. She moulds the future citizen. But her influence extends still further. In the economic struggles of the husband, it is the wife who helps him in his efforts. Strikes are won at home as well as on the picket line. Woman's vote is also an important factor in deciding political and social issues.

We, therefore, recommend:

1. That the Incoming General Executive Board be instructed to take steps to provide such activities for the wives of the members of the I. L. G. W. U. as will help them train their children in the best interests of workers and of society as a whole.

2. That social activities be organized by the Educational Department,

in which they can meet and get to know each other, thus creating greater solidarity among them.

3. That activities be organized for the wives and children of our members which will keep them in touch with the methods of our Union in particular and the Labor movement in general and will provide means for them to cooperate with activities of the I. L. G. W. U.

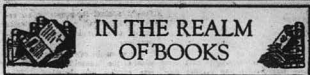
4. We propose that an effort be made to assist the children of our members to spend the summer vacation in camps in such surroundings and atmosphere which will tend to liberate their minds from dogma and fear, develop the critical and creative faculties and give them a thorough knowledge of conditions of life.

5. That our Union participate in any movement which will set for itself similar aims and goals.

6. That to assist in the achievement of these aims, our Union continues in its efforts to eliminate the curse of child labor in our country, and to use its best efforts to raise the age limit of compulsory education and the minimum age of child workers.

It is a very important decision and, while we realize that it cannot be achieved in a day, it is significant that we have made up our minds to tackle it. We do not doubt that, in the course of time, this movement to spread the ideas of trade unionism among our children will become one of our essential and most useful tasks.

These were made the main achievements of our Boston Convention. We shall attempt to say something about the convention itself in one of our early issues, unless other questions of moment interfere with this intention.



Still War!

The Strike for Union. By Heber Blankenhorn. The Bureau of Industrial Research. New York: The H. M. Wilson Co., 1924

By SYLVIA KOPALD

In the hinterlands of Pennsylvania and West Virginia, Colorado, Maryland and Alabama lie the outposts of American democracy. There live company guards and State constabularies, injunction judges, and industrial spies. There must ask Berwind-White and the Steel Trust and the Rockefeller for the right to organize. "For every worker is union in his heart." But the big organized magnate of America say "No!" and their privately-owned public officials quote scripture for their purpose.

It is a terrible story that Mr. Blankenhorn reports. For every union worker its reading is a necessity. It will hurt him and torment him, but it will also thrill him to find what sacrifices men are willing to make for union. In America the war is still on; workers still must fight for the elementary right to unionize. And their struggle in the key industries, in the mines and on the railroads must affect every shop of every kind everywhere throughout the country. We should at least know about them.

In 1919 the miners launched their first nationwide strike. Government and employers mobilized against them; their fight was lost. Immediately all labor suffered wage cuts and open-shop campaigns, and the whole series of post-war defeats which took from them much which their war strength had won. In 1922 the miners launched another nationwide strike. Government, employers, even some mine leaders themselves regarded the defeat of the strike inevitable. But the miners won; and with their victory all labor began to win better wages and working condition.

Mr. Blankenhorn takes us behind the scenes of this momentous, unexpected victory. He tells us some of the things that helped achieve it and presents the details of one of the most remarkable chapters of the miners' always remarkable history. For it was in this strike that the non-union fields joined forces with the union men; it was in this strike that the employers realized how near a completely unionized industry really was; it was in this strike that the non-union fighters were left out of the settlement which they helped to force by the union which made it.

When the Policies Committee resolved upon a nationwide mine strike in 1922, they included in their strike call an invitation to the miners of non-union fields to join in the walk-out. This was a new move in strike history; few of the district leaders knew just what to do about it or just what was expected of it. But the Executive Board of District 2 in Pennsylvania sent the invitation out to the non-union fields, to Somerset and Westmoreland and Fayette Counties.

April 1 came and the miners downed their tools. Then suddenly things began to happen in non-union Pennsylvania. In a mine here and another there, and then in numerous mines, the workers left the shafts. Soon thousands were on strike—on strike for union. It was largely a spontaneous uprising. The union began to send in organizers in all sec-

business only after the strike was a fact; only after demands for speakers and obligators (men who give miners the pledge to join the union) came from the strikers. This strike in the non-union fields arose out of the conditions which had been pressing upon the men for years—out of arbitrary wage-cuts and terrorism and insecurity and closed company towns and "false weight" and "no pay for deadwork" and all the rest. And then "every miner is union in his heart."

The first leaders from the non-union strike came from among the strikers themselves. The heroism and unexpected abilities and resources which these stormy days brought forth strengthen all that faith in plain folks upon which our Labor movement must build. While these folk leaders toiled and helped carry on the strike, organizers began to come in from the outside union. The men received them delightedly, the operators prepared for business.

There is something terrifying in the sure stroke of the weapons which operators in non-union fields can turn against the workers. Most of these non-union mines lie in closed company towns where even the highway can be guarded from trespassers from the outside State constabularies; spooks; spies at telephone controls, behind post-office desks; special deputies; company guards, constitute the employers' actual army. These men rode about on the highway, kept miners and outsiders off, it broke heads, violated and broke every law they sought to uphold and others they knew nothing of. Then came eviction notices—miners with their families were put out of company houses. Active strikers were arrested, jailed, chased from town. The company stores called in all outstanding bills. These measures cost the operators some \$3,000,000 (which they, of course, added to the price of coal). Miners were warned they would be blacklisted if they went union. Tents and barracks appeared; in these the crowded, suffering miners' families still went union.

The courage and doggedness of these men and women and even children is the familiar stuff that unionism is made of. And neither armies nor eviction notices can permanently defeat these things. But in this particular instance, other things, sadly enough unexpected things, did defeat them. During August the International Union by really admirable strategy succeeded in obtaining a settlement. The settlement was notable things for the union miners, and really for all labor. But it left the Pennsylvania non-union men out. After the first shocked sense of betrayal, these determined fighters attempted to carry on. They staged their well-known New York publicity stunt, appearing before the Board of Estimate and picketing the Rockefeller, Berwind and Morgan offices, and Mr. Berwind's home. Rockefeller after much protest against the conditions which the investigations were revealing and much preparatory promising, presented his Colorado plan—a company union—to these

"strikers for union." Within the district itself disorders arose—between Berwind and Bitka. The strike for Union had been defeated—and not by eviction and armies.

The book ends with three documents—two, the story of the strike told by two strikers, and the other, extracts from testimony by the operators. It is all tremendously stirring. Yet it is also unsatisfactory. Mr. Blankenhorn's story implies some damaging charges against certain of the union leaders. He even makes definite mention of rumors concerning a deal on the non-union fields between the union leaders and the operators. But he leaves all this mere implication with a protest against passing judgment. Yet it is just here where we

want as many details as possible. Obviously something did go wrong in Pennsylvania and Indianapolis. We have still to learn just what. Men striking bravely against tremendous odds upon union invitation were betrayed. This is a terrible fact. What is its explanation? Mr. Blankenhorn believes the real cause lies in the union's lack of program for a 100-per-cent union, in their consequent fear of complete organization. Is this true?

We have still to hear on Pennsylvania. In the meanwhile "The Strike for Union" remains a moving introduction to a significant and moving episode in union history. The war is still on; let every fighter know what the shock-troops are doing.

"The Twilight of the Gods"

One of the most striking books published during the war was "The Biology of War" written by a German philosopher, Dr. G. F. Nicolai. The book attracted great attention, both at the time of its publication and since, for the author combines great scientific knowledge with an outstanding capacity for tracing the broader outlines and tendencies of the events with which he deals.

The following quotation is taken from a chapter entitled "The Extinction of the Gigantic": "When we speak of the dying out of the gigantic, we are referring to one of the most important principles of natural selection, a principle which may be clearly deduced from the very earliest records of geology. Our discoveries of bones show us that all animals grow and grow for thousands of years, and then, when they are very large, and finally all powerful, they suddenly die out. This is a well-established fact. Hence there is some consolation for us in the steady growth of war. When something has to die a natural death, it must first have grown very large, it must have reached the maximum of growth possible to it. For instance, mice have not died out in Germany, but only the sarcoptes, the bison, the bear and the wolf. In Nature, it is only the gigantic which dies. But everything that is big will and must die, because, in its obedience to the inescapable law of growth, it grows beyond the measure of the possible. This is the inner meaning of the words 'twilight of the gods', which are so comprehensible to the scientist and yet so mysterious. The god of war, too, will be hurled down from the highest pinnacle of his power. I think everyone who is an impartial observer of the present war will see much that will fore-shadow him the approaching end of war. . . . Already the battlefield is abandoned by the general, and even by the soldier. The one sits at the telephone in a private house, the other keeps a sharp lookout in the trenches. Not one of us can fail to be struck by the fact that the battlefield is already becoming something of a secondary consideration."

This foreshadowing has been confirmed by the latest discoveries in "scientific" war materials. These all seem to point to the possibility that in the next war the battle-field may be quite unimportant, the outcome of a war being decided behind the front by gas attacks on large towns. Already there is a current saying that "the only safe place in the next war will be the trenches."

There has recently been another move in this direction. A story is now traveling round the world of the "deadly ray" discovered by Grindell Mathews, an English scientist. It is said that this ray can bring the engines of aircraft to a standstill, explode munitions deposits and kill men or put them out of action, all from a great distance off. It can either be directed against a special point, or applied over a large area—which of course greatly enhances its fatal power.

No doubt science will at once apply itself to the task of discovering some means of self-defense, and equally certainly it will be successful. But war will be made more expensive than ever, and so difficult that Nicolai's prophecy may be realized sooner than is expected. War will then die of its own bigness, or, in other words, of the horror of its possibilities. This ancient barbarous method of settling disputes will then cease to be of any use, because its apparatus, like that of some ingenious, but too complicated machine, will not work when it comes to be practically applied, and will entail too many risks. Still more, the present developments of scientific research point to the emergence of a factor which will perhaps contribute more than any other to the general acceptance of the principle of the peaceful settlement of disputes. War will certainly cease when those who desire it and work for it are brought up against the ever-increasing probability that in future there will be no more victories, simply because everyone and everything (including the war-makers themselves) will have gone down in a common destruction. Such discoveries as this of the "deadly ray" are bringing that moment nearer.

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LABOR THE WORLD OVER

FOREIGN ITEMS

DUTCH EAST INDIES

THE TRADE UNION MOVEMENT.

There are no less than four trade union centers in the Dutch East Indies. Their names and membership are as follows:

1. Federation of Civil Servants' Unions—21 unions, with a total membership of 10,525.
2. Federation of European Workers of the Dutch East Indies—8 unions, with a total membership of 4,100.
3. Federation of Higher Grade Civil Servants' Unions—11 unions, with a total membership of 730.
4. Federation of Indian Trade Unions—19 unions, with a total membership of 33,320.

Apart from these, there are 53 trade unions which are not affiliated with any of the above federations. Of these, 21, with a total membership of 4,094, cater for European workers, and 32, with a total membership of 6,360, cater for native and Chinese workers.

Neither the Civil Servants' Federation nor the Federation of European Workers adopts any definite platform. They differ from each other only as regards the fact that the one caters for civil servants and the other for ordinary workers. They cooperate whenever cooperation is necessary for the purpose of joint action.

PALESTINE

JEWISH AND ARAB WORKERS.

The trade union movement in Palestine has hitherto been almost entirely in the hands of Jewish workers. Now, however, it is beginning to spread slowly among Arab workers also. At the beginning of March a joint conference was held at Haifa of Jewish and Arab railwaymen, to discuss the question of amalgamation. Eventually a joint committee was appointed, which is to take further steps in the matter. The trade journal of the Jewish railwaymen, "The Locomotive," is now to appear in Arabic as well as in Hebrew.

SWITZERLAND

PRICES AND COST OF LIVING.

According to statistics collected by the International Labor Office, the general movement of prices during the first part of the year showed no feature of special interest. The upward tendency or that of continued stabilisation noted previously continued in most countries, Italy being the only one for which the index number of wholesale prices showed a fall during January as compared with December, 1923. In France and Belgium a substantial increase of prices occurred on account of the depreciation of their currencies. The cost of living and retail prices, like wholesale prices, showed a further increase in most countries. In Hungary the cost of living is rising more rapidly every month, thus reflecting within the country the heavy fall in the external purchasing power of the Hungarian crown in recent months. In Germany the downward movement of the cost of living and retail prices which has been in progress since the end of November seems to have come to a stop for the present in the middle of February, the figures for the last two weeks of that month showing again a slight rise. Comparing the cost of living index number for the last week of November, 1923, and for that ending February 18, 1924, a diminution of over 32 per cent is apparent in Germany.

POLAND

THE EIGHT-HOUR DAY.

The declaration of the Prime Minister of Poland on the subject of hours of labor, is of considerable interest to all who are following the movement of opinion in various countries with regard to the eight-hour day.

Poland has had by law an eight-hour day and a forty-six-hour week in industry for the last four years. A suggestion that these limits should be extended, in view of the present economic conditions in Poland, was put forward in the name of employers at the first meeting of the new Economic Council held a few days ago in Warsaw. The Prime Minister, far from giving any support to the proposal, declared his belief that the maintenance of the eight-hour day was essential to industrial progress.

The determination of the Polish Government to preserve the present law intact acquires special interest, first, from the present industrial and economic difficulties in the country, and secondly, from the proximity of Germany. Further, the declaration of the Prime Minister is the more notable by reason of the fact that Poland has not yet ratified the Washington International Labor Conference Convention of hours of labor, and is therefore under no legal international obligation to maintain the existing law unaltered.

HOLLAND

LABOR LEGISLATION.

The ratification by the Netherlands of the Draft Convention adopted by the First Session of the International Labor Conference (Washington, 1919) concerning the night work of young persons employed in industry was registered March 17. The Netherlands is the tenth country to ratify this convention, that is, to approve the standard which prohibits the employment during the night of young persons under eighteen, excepting young persons over sixteen in the case of a few specified industries involving continuous processes. The other countries which have ratified it are: Bulgaria, Denmark, Estonia, Great Britain, Greece, India, Italy, Rumania and Switzerland.

DOMESTIC ITEMS

NEW DISABILITY RULE.

A man whose physical affliction has been so aggravated by an accidental injury, suffered in the course of his employment that he becomes totally disabled, is entitled to compensation until he recovers.

This was the unusual decision given by the Pennsylvania state workmen's compensation board in the case of a textile worker who was awarded \$10 a week.

WEST COAST CROWDED; MANY ARE UNEMPLOYED.

Pacific coast cities and towns, especially those in California, are crowded with unemployed who have been lured here by an attractive advertising campaign.

Every train and automobile arriving in this city is loaded with passengers who have read of this Utopia. It has created an extraordinary condition for a city that is normally prosperous, but which finds it impossible to absorb such a flood tide that threatens to engulf it.

FORM WOMEN BRANCHES.

At the convention of the Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers, at Pittsburgh, Pa., it was voted to charter a women's auxiliary. Membership is restricted to mothers, wives, daughters and sisters of members in good standing. The auxiliary shall have full autonomy over itself and shall annually pay to the association twelve cents per capita. No other charge shall be levied by the association.

CEREAL IN SAUSAGE.

The "pure pork" sausage manufactured by meat packers contains a goodly amount of cereal, according to a complaint filed against Wilson & Co., Chicago meat packers, in the municipal term court. Armour and Swift have received similar notices to appear.

Attorneys for the meat barons claim that the cereal adds to the food quality of the sausage. The people are not told of the cereal, and are under the belief that they purchase an all-pork product.

BOX BOARD INDUSTRY ADOPTS EIGHT-HOUR DAY.

Announcement is made that representatives of the box board industry, at a conference in Washington, have agreed to institute the eight-hour day and eliminate Sunday work.

The conference was called by Secretary of Labor, Davis, who told these business men that legislation would outlaw the long work day if they do not act.

BAKERY WORKERS WIN.

Organized bakery workers in Washington secured a renewal of their wage contract just before the hour set for a suspension of work. The employers demanded a wage reduction of \$10 a week, and informed employees they would be enjoined if they struck. The unionists refused to scarce, and at the last minute the bosses weakened. More than 1,000 workers are affected.

MANAGERS ARE SPLIT; UNION ACTORS SCORE.

The Actors' Equity Association in New York split the theatrical managers and has reached an agreement with managers controlling 75 per cent of the local play houses. Lee Schulert and William A. Brady are the leading peace managers.

The "die-hards," led by Sam Harris, organized a new association and are issuing the press agent hookum about "art for art's sake." As the actors are thoroughly organized, and include practically every star in America, theatrical folk ask how long will the Harris group maintain their position.

PNEUMATIC HAMMER SHATTERS MEN'S NERVE.

A study of the effects of the pneumatic hammer in the boiler makers' trade is suggested by Editor Casey of the Boilermakers' and Iron Ship Builders' Journal.

Formerly two men operated this hammer, popularly known as "the gun." Now one man operates the machine, whose vibration shatters the worker's nerves. The size of rivets is increased, as is the air pressure. In tank building the piece-work system is often enforced, and the increased air pressure makes this work a sweating job, as the workers are speeded up.

Six years ago the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics studied the use of "the gun" in the stone cutting industry. Stone cutters were unanimous that serious ailments and physical deterioration result in the use of the pneumatic hammer. Workers declare it shakes every part of a man's body.

INCREASED ACCIDENTS COSTLY TO EMPLOYERS.

The increased number of industrial accidents in Wisconsin has forced the State Compensation Board to order a 15 per cent increase in compensation insurance rates.

The board points out that reduction in insurance costs is possible if employers will make greater effort along safety lines.

BREAD HOLDS PRICE DESPITE FLOUR DROP.

When wheat prices slumped two years ago, bread prices decreased less than 2 per cent, the Federal Trade Commission said in a report on its investigation of the wheat flour milling industry.

From January, 1919, to September, 1922, prices in the northwest decreased 33 per cent, and in the southwest 43 per cent, the report said. Wheat prices in the two districts declined 55 and 60 per cent, respectively, but the decrease in bread cost was only 2 per cent, except in Kansas City where a price war brought a 15 per cent drop.



EDUCATIONAL COMMENT AND NOTES



A Course in Trade Union Policies and Tactics

By DAVID J. SAPOSS

Given at the

WORKERS' UNIVERSITY

of the

INTERNATIONAL LADIES' GARMENT WORKERS' UNION

Seasons 1922-23 and 1923-24

LESSON III.—Economic Attempts to Change Present System.

- I. a. It is erroneously supposed that the strike is the only form of direct or economic action.
- b. Hence those radicals who are opposed to political action advocate the general strike as the means of changing the capitalistic system.
- II. a. The history of the labor movement reveals that organized labor has resorted to other forms of direct or economic action to abolish the wage system.
- b. These forms are as old as the labor movement and have reappeared from time to time.
- III. a. At one time in the labor movement, there was an influential element which believed that the most ideal system would be a return to domestic economy, in which industry is subordinated to agriculture.
- b. This idea was current in various forms and at various times during the history of the labor movement.
- c. In the thirties, Robert Owen and many of his followers founded New Harmony in Indiana, a colony based on agriculture and operated on non-capitalistic lines.
- d. During the forties and fifties, Albert Brisbane, father of Arthur Brisbane, and known as the first American Socialist, introduced Fourierism into this country, and many agricultural colonies, known as Phalanxes, were founded.
- e. During the nineties, this movement received new encouragement, and many Socialists organized colonies in the West and South, some of which are still in existence.
- f. While these colonies have enabled a select number of persons to forsake city and industrial life and live by agriculture in the country, they have not made any headway in superseding the capitalistic system.
- IV. a. When industry was still primitive and the capitalist system in its infancy, groups in the labor movement thought they could control capitalism through the cooperative marketing of their products.
- b. This was the period of handicraft production, when each worker still owned his tools and worked in his home or little shop.
- c. His problem was to dispose of his product to the consumer. Between him and the consumer stood the middleman or merchant who forced the worker to divide the profits with him, for the privilege of selling his wares.
- d. This is still the predicament of the farmer, who is therefore still interested in cooperative marketing, government ownership of warehouses and railroads, which will enable him to market his own products without the intervention of the middleman.
- V. a. When the factory system superseded the handicraft mode of production, the worker no longer had sufficient capital to individually own the means of production and the necessary raw materials.
- b. Hence, when workers became determined to replace capitalism, they turned to cooperative production, or collective ownership of the means of production by workers of the shop.
- c. This was the ideal of the self-governing shop, in which every worker was an equal owner with his fellow-workers, of the shop in which they worked.
- VI. a. Another group felt that this form of producers' cooperation merely made small capitalists out of individual workers.
- b. They advocated that cooperative shops should be founded and governed by all the workers of the industry through their union. That is, the union, on behalf of the workers, should own cooperative shops and thus abolish capitalism.
- c. The Knights of Labor actually bought a mine on this basis, but because of disagreement among the leaders and members, were forced to give it up.
- d. This idea is the forerunner of modern Guild Socialism.
- VII. a. Another group of workers argued, that he who controls markets, controls production and dominates the capitalist system. Therefore, those who wish to capture the system must concentrate on first capturing the markets.
- b. They also argued, that the consuming function of man is more vital than the producing function, and that therefore industrial society and life should be controlled from the consumption end.
- c. According to this theory, labor should concentrate upon consumers' cooperation. In this way workers can capture the markets and then take over the factories producing for these markets.

d. The classic example of the success of this procedure, is the cooperative movement of England which started as consumers' cooperation and now owns factories, plantations, steamships, etc.

e. Those who believe in producers' cooperation and Guild Socialism, hold that the producer function is the most vital and industrial life should be controlled from that end.

VIII. a. Another group also endorses the belief that labor should emancipate itself through economic action, and asserts that credit control is the key to modern capitalism.

b. This element bases its contention on the ground that banks and great financiers dominate modern business, and that labor must first organize its own banks and then after controlling credit, will branch out into controlling production and markets. By controlling credit, the other two basic economic activities will also be controlled.

c. This idea of credit control and labor banks was first broached in the forties. Some unsuccessful attempts were even made to launch labor banks.

d. But for various reasons, the radical and reform elements in the labor movement lost sight of this angle, and busied themselves with attempting to capture production and markets.

e. Only recently has the labor movement again taken up credit control and labor banks, which are now cropping out throughout the country.

References: Commons and Associates, History of Labor in the United States, Volume I, Part I.

LESSON 4—Political Attempts to Change Present System.

- I. 1. No vital social movement which functions in a society governed by political institutions, can escape politics.
2. Hence, from its very inception, Labor in the United States was keenly interested in politics.
3. The first Labor movement in the country, in 1827, although organized for trade union and economic action, was suddenly thrown into the throes of politics.
- II. 1. Thereafter the Labor movement fluctuated periodically between political and economic action.
2. During prosperity and high prices, workers would organize into unions in order to protect their standard of living and otherwise to better their working conditions.
3. With the return of depression and unemployment, workers invariably abandoned their unions for political action.
4. This tendency was chronic up to the '90s, and was the result of unstable economic conditions of the country.
- III. 1. The political demands of the workers during the early history of the Labor movement, consisted of:
 - a) Legislative demands furthering their interests as workers;
 - b) Laws that would enable them to become property owners and small producers.
2. The philosophy underlying these political movements was a middle class one, based upon harmony of Capital and Labor, and upon the introduction of a society of small manufacturers, merchants and farmers.
3. As a result of these political manifestations, we have the present public school system, mechanics' lien laws, homestead laws, laws prohibiting imprisonment for debt, garnishee laws, etc.
- IV. 1. In the early '60s and late '70s, the German immigrant workers brought to this country Socialism with its class consciousness.
2. They organized their own unions and political clubs, based on the Socialist philosophy.
3. At the same time, they also set out to convert the American workers. But the latter persistently adhered to middle class philosophies.
4. Each element has its own political party, and efforts at reconciliation proved futile.
- V. 1. In the meantime, because of the failures of political action and its encroachments upon the unions, an element developed that was opposed to political action.
2. Gompers and the leaders of the American Federation of Labor were the champions of this doctrine and tactic.
3. The Socialists on the other hand, concentrated on committing the American Federation of Labor to independent political action.
4. In 1886, they succeeded, with the cooperation of the non-Socialist political element in securing an endorsement of the various independent political action movements. But in 1889, the American Federation of Labor rejected a resolution for the formation of an independent political party.
5. The struggle now became bitter between the Socialists and Gompers. Through their persistence, the Socialists in 1894 defeated Gompers and put through a political platform and resolution, calling for an independent political party.

(To be continued)

With the Various European Trade Unions

Bakery Operatives (Austria).—The Austrian master bakers have long been trying to abolish the law prohibiting night-baking and reintroduce it. They made their first move in Verarlberg, the weakest point of the line, where they were successful. In Verarlberg the number of class-conscious bakery workers is very small, and most of these are organized in clerical trade unions, and are under clerical influence. In the holiday resorts of that province, measures have been taken to reduce the bakery workers to submission. The employers now feel sure that they will have no very great difficulties in reintroducing night-work in all the larger towns.

Mineers (Austria).—The mines of the Alpine Mountain Country have now been reopened, it having been arranged that the previous wage agreements shall remain in force. The union representatives have, on the other hand, undertaken that production shall be kept up to the normal standard. When discussing the question of wages, the employers' representatives laid emphasis upon the difficulties of their position, as they have to compete in the steel and iron market with French and Czechoslovakian producers.

Building and Wood Workers (Scandinavia).—A conference of building and wood workers was held at Copenhagen on March 30, for the purpose of discussing the struggles now going on in Norway. The conference, at which 30,000 organized building and wood workers were represented, unanimously expressed its desire to support the Norwegian workers, and passed binding resolutions, fixing the methods of collection to be used, and the amounts of money to be raised by the Danish and Swedish organizations for the benefit of the Norwegians.

Metal Workers (Roumania).—The iron industry of Roumania has been making enormous progress lately, chiefly in respect of the number of small concerns. The number of iron firms with less than twenty workers has now risen to 12,066, employing a total of 24,390 workers; while 208

concerns with more than twenty workers employ 25,600 workers. The Metal-Workers' Union, which also caters for the chemical workers, is increasing its numbers very satisfactorily. In the years 1922 and 1923, thirty-seven new local branches were founded. Communist intrigue was for some time an obstacle to useful activity; during the last half of 1923 it caused an actual decrease in membership from 15,392 to 11,968. But since the withdrawal of the Communists, the membership of the union has again risen very considerably, thanks to the fact that the members, instead of wasting their time and energy on futile quarrels, are devoting them to the real interests of the union.

Modistes (France).—The modistes of Paris, who for some time past have been organizing with great energy, have a new success to record. The employers' organization has accepted the following proposals made by the union: 1. An immediate 7 per cent rise of wages. 2. The adjustment of wages to the cost of living index of the first quarter of 1924 as soon as the index shall have been published. 3. Fourteen days of paid holidays per annum. There was a moment in the negotiations when it seemed likely that there would be conflict. The union secretary made a public announcement of this fact in the middle of a masked ball organized by the modistes. The dancing was stopped for a few minutes while the modistes passed with great enthusiasm a resolution in favor of a strike, should the employers refuse to live by—after which the band struck up again. This was surely a unique incident in the history of trade unionism!

Textile Workers (Slovenia).—Yugoslavia. A general meeting was recently held at Ljubljana of the local branches of the textile-workers of Slovenia (one of the three states forming the kingdom of Yugoslavia). At this meeting it was resolved that these branches should constitute the Slovenian textile workers' section of the National Textile Workers' Union of Yugoslavia which is now in process of formation.

A Third Party Versus The Labor Party

By NORMAN THOMAS

A third party might be or soon become the Farmer-Labor party for which we are looking. And again it might not. We can imagine the formation of a third party by a lot of folks resolved to clean house at Washington. They might generate enormous enthusiasm and sing "One, two, three, Christian Soldiers" or some other hymn with much such as the Progressives in the year 1912. They might support La Follette (who is a truer Progressive than Roosevelt ever thought of being) with the fervor with which the Progressives in 1912 supported the picturesque Colonel. But if this group remained only a third party having no organic relation to Labor unions and farmers' organizations, it would scarcely be worth the trouble of bringing it to birth. It might win temporary victories. It might like the Republican Party become a first rather than third party, but, like the Republican Party, in that act it would become a machine controlled by politicians and business men for their own ends. The whole history of American new party movements proves this. Moral enthusiasm, opposition to graft, even a theory of taxation of land values, or of monetary reform have not proved enough to create a party genuinely devoted to the common good. Either the movement has disappeared, been captured by one of

the old parties, or if, as in the case of the Republican Party, it succeeded, it has in a very short time fallen to the level of mere lust for office. This is inevitable. The good people who joined the Progressive Party meant well, but they could not keep politicians like Roosevelt and the rich men like Perkins and Munsey from using the party for their own purposes.

The only third party with a chance of enduring success is one that rests for financial support not upon the good will of philanthropists and business men seeking a new hobby, but on the support of Labor unions and farmers' organizations. To it individuals should be admitted, as in Great Britain, if they share its purposes. Labor unions and farmers' organizations if they are worthwhile, are on the job 365 days a year. They know what their members want. They know how far political action can help in 'getting what the workers want. They can control their party and finance their party without leaving it to the professional politicians. The success that has been denied to third party movements in America is being achieved by genuine Labor parties in Europe and Great Britain—parties resting on human needs, parties with immediate programs and great ideas, parties whose vision of the next step is clearer because of their vision of distant horizons.

РУССКО-ПОЛЬСКИМ ОТДЕЛ

RUSSIAN-POLISH BRANCH

Одним из важнейших дел, связанных с комитетом, является дело президента Юзефа М. Сигмана. Речь эта ясно образована и излагается ту точку зрения, на которой стоит президент и Интернациональный Комитет Интернационального Юзефа М. Сигмана, которая была принята в будущем, основным пунктом всей будущей политики, направленной к работе нашего комитета.

РЕЧЬ ПРЕЗИДЕНТА М. СИГМАНА, НА КОНФЕРЕНЦИИ.

"Как председатель этой конференции я решил на некоторое время занять ораторскую кафедру. Я не знаю, признаю ли, чтобы председатель говорил сразу после того, как избранный комитет закончил свой доклад. Но я не могу воздержаться от возможности изложить и рассмотреть проект, который содержит фундаментальный доклад, с которым пришлось встретиться и стать на деле на эту конференцию.

Мне кажется, что я был очень лабораторным председателем — в смысле предложения всем заинтересованным сторонам говорить так долго, как мы считали нужным. Делая я так долго, чтобы как можно лучше осветить десятка три вопроса, связанных с различными проблемами и проблемами против 'интернационального комитета, дабы каждый делегат имел право в определенное положение обо всем происходившем здесь.

Но скрою за это, после каждой дискуссии и решения затрагивал я замечание, что некоторые из членов, которые не разделяли эти решения, старались показать этой конференции, во-первых, что мы не даем возможности высказывать свои доводы, убеждения и мнения; во-вторых, что все решения этой конференции якобы являются ничем иным, как результатом работы людей с другими политическими взглядами.

Потому я и хотел высказать вам мое мнение в комитет Генерального Интернационального Комитета по затрагиваемому вопросу. Это — правда, и никогда не будет правдой, чтобы Генеральный Интернациональный Комитет нашего Интернационального Юзефа был против, он делал членов юзефа на то, что они имеют особые мысли и идеи. Этого никогда не было и не будет.

И состоя членом Интернационального Юзефа с 1908 года, в Америке находилась с 1903 года. Когда я пришел сюда рабочее движение было очень слабым, и что касается работы в промышленности дамыского влияния, то среди них не было никакого движения. Правда, было несколько плавов, которые старались поднять — огромной интернациональной массы было из персонала, с помощью структурировать их в экономическое объединение. В молодости я считал все, эти попытки не стоившие внимания и не могли бы принести никаких хороших результатов. Потому я пробовал организовать мое собственное независимое направление в рабочем движении.

В те времена работе в нашей индустрии не могли думать о том, чтобы 'соединиться' в рабочую организацию. Жизнь их была настолько подогнана тяжелым трудом, преследованиям и нуждой, что им никогда было думать. Они не могли думать об улучшении своего положения.

После я принадлежал к другим другим участникам в рабочем движении. Как независимый человек присоединился к 'Социалист Труд' или 'Лейбор Альянс', который я оставил комитетом из политик и деятельности, и мы присоединились к Интернациональному Работе Мира. Когда различные политические фракции в этой организации раскололись и деморализировали ее, я обратился ко многим рабочим и заявил им, что эта комитет должна основаться, и что мы должны присоединиться к Американской Федерации Труд, так как для работы на различных политических фракциях мы должны иметь возможность представить объективный факт для улучшения их экономического положения в индустрии.

В 1908 году мы присоединились к Интернациональному Юзефу Пертикс Дамского Плати. Я не перемены своих убеждений и не оставил меня в интернациональном комитетом, и не считая на это, как только я сделал членом зала 35, комитет на этот раз предлагал мне быть делегатом от зала в Дублин Бора, я предложил кандидатуру интернационального комитетом, а следовательно организатором Дублин Бора, был делегатом на конгрессе Интернационального комитета и был избран вице-президентом этой комитетом.

Я говорил многим делегатам, еще до этой конференции, что я согласен дебатовать этот вопрос со всеми комитетом, и если комитет решит против мой точки зрения или точки зрения Генерального Интернационального Комитета, я бы не чувствовал себя вправе быть представителем этой организации, потому что никто не желает вести работу организации на побегу.

Я также хочу упомянуть, что за время своей деятельности принадлежал комитет к группам с большим числом членов комитетом, чем все предыдущие организации 'внутренних комитетом'. Делая все комитетом была свободна для всех открыта, и я повторяю всем в заключение, что для меня безразлично комитет ли он, аппарат, союзник или же демократ, — всякий имеет право на свою политическую убеждения.

Организация смотрит на нас, как на производителей, рабочих. Эта организация существует для защиты наших экономических интересов. Интересы эти могут быть затронуты только при наличии объективного единения в наших работах. Когда мы будем говорить мне об идеалах коммунизма или социализма, я буду слушать вас, — убедите меня сделать коммунизмом? Но не заставляйте меня высказывать веру в левую реакцию, не заставляйте меня принимать все, что вы скажете мне доказательств. Не давайте того, что сделала Нингеа с европейскими статистиками того зала.

Одна из коммунистических газет извещала меня о новике в одной улице с посетителем в другой, с комитетом: Сильва руководителем Интернационального Юзефа. Лично меня это не беспокоило не трогает и не задевает. Но когда я знаю, что член этой комитетом энергично помогает в финансировании такого рода 'критики' избранным членом комитетом, время от времени, не исключая из этой комитет на службе у комитетом комитетом, заведующим комитетом и желанием победить этого комитетом.

(Продолжение в след. номере).

В понедельник, 26-го Мая, в 7 ч. 30 м. вечера в зале Народного Дома, 315 Ист-10-ой улицы, состоится Массовый Митинг всех членов Русско-Польского Отдела. В порядке дня будет сделан доклад о конвенции Интернационального Юзефа Пертикс Дамского Плати, и др. важные вопросы. Присутствие всех членов отдела обязательно.

ШЕВЧЕНКО, Секретарь.

The Week In Local 10

By SAM B. SHENKER

The beginning of what may turn out to be a strike of great proportions was the outcome of the conference held last Monday night between the Union and the Manufacturers' Protective Association. No other conclusion could be drawn from the attitude of arrogance assumed by the Association, and the calling of a strike seems to be a foregone conclusion.

The union was not unprepared for a complete rejection of its demands; which was what happened at the conference. As the counsel for the Protective Association read the reply to the union, the rejection of each important demand was accompanied by "Undebatable."

The delegates to the convention in Boston knew that the employers in the cloak industry would never consent without a struggle to the lifting of the industry out of its present chaotic condition. And when, therefore, the resolution introduced by the Cloak and Dress Joint Board, calling for the authorization and the sanctioning of a strike in the event of the rejection of the demands by the employers, came before the three hundred delegates, the sanction and authorization were granted by a rising vote of the 300 delegates, amid thunderous hand-clapping and pounding on the tables.

The conference last Monday night, which took place at the Hotel Pennsylvania, was of short duration. It was presided over by Morris Sigman. The conference primarily was held for the purpose of securing from the Association the reply to the union's proposals. The employers did not discuss the various points, but merely appended the word "undebatable" to each proposal.

"The Association refused," said Manager Dubinsky, "to discuss the main demands of the union. And it was the contention of our organization, as expressed by Counsellor Morris Hilgitt, that there is not a power in the world that will compel the union to withdraw even one of its demands without discussion and without being given an opportunity to convince the Association of its just proposals. Even if the Protective still possessed its former strength and influence, this brutal way of conferring would not be tolerated."

In a statement to the press, President Sigman said in effect that war in the industry is imminent. He said that the Protective's present position in the industry is secondary; that it is not the important factor which it was a few years ago. When the position of the Association permitted an attitude of defiance, it suffered defeat at the hands of the union. The president implied that the Protective, in its reply, strove to assume an air of importance. It appeared to the representatives of the union that the employers were interested to convey the impression that the union was desirous of and anxious to call a strike. However, the union must and will make the industry safe enough to afford the workers a decent living. And if the manufacturers are anxious for war, the union is ready to meet them on the battlefield.

The Association, in its reply, read each point separately: on the demand for a guarantee of a certain number of weeks' work, the answer was "undebatable"; unemployment insurance, "undebatable"; forty-hour week, "undebatable"; label department, standardizing and raising of minimum scales, also "undebatable."

A detailed report of the conference, the position of the union and its plans, will be reported and discussed by Manager Dubinsky at the coming meeting of the membership, which will take place on Monday, May 25, in Arlington Hall.

Monday night's meeting, in addition to a report on the progress of the conference, is a special one for another reason. The delegates to the Seventeenth Convention of the International will report. That Local 10's delegates are proud of their record at the convention can easily be seen when the position they occupied at the convention and their achievements are enumerated.

Dubinsky's activities began in New York, when he was appointed secretary to the Credential Committee. His able defense of his committee's recommendations and refutation of the arguments of opponents have earned for him the title of "District Attorney."

The General Executive Board was rejected by acclamation, no additional candidates other than the required number having been nominated. There was no doubt in the minds of the great majority of the delegates that if balloting would have been required for the election of the General Executive Board members, Dubinsky, because of his able and courageous stand on the Credential Committee as well as delegate, would have been elected by a comfortable majority and would have been voted for even by those whom he opposed. An able opponent is and must of necessity be admired and respected. And such was the position which the manager of Local 10 has secured for himself.

As at every convention, with the exception of two years ago, Local 10 comes home with a majority of honors. In addition to the reelection of Dubinsky as vice-president of the International, Brother Samuel Perimutter, manager of the Downtown Branch of the Joint Board, was elected by a large majority and came out third on the ballot, as delegate to the convention of the American Federation of Labor. It is regrettable that two years ago, at the Cleveland Convention, the delegation was not a united one, for which reason no member of Local 10's delegation was honored with this post. This time, however, harmony prevailed among the delegates and they all solidly worked for the good of the union.

Among those who were actively engaged in furthering the interests of Local 10 and of the cutters throughout the country at the Convention, was Brother Isidore Nagler. He was chosen by the delegation as their chairman. His colleagues are unanimous in their appreciation of his activities and have so expressed themselves more than once.

Brother Fish wrested the honor from his colleagues of nominating Manager Dubinsky for Vice-president. "I am taking this privilege and great pleasure," said Fish, "of nominating for vice-president one whom you all know very well. He is a young man in years, but nevertheless his voice and his opinions have been listened to in the councils of our International Union. It gives me double pleasure to nominate him because two years ago in Cleveland I opposed his election for the vice-presidency."

"We have had our differences in the organization, but, nevertheless, I must recognize his activities in behalf of the cutters and as member, for the past two years, of the General

Executive Board. His activities have reached Chicago, Montreal, Baltimore; in fact, he has been heard from in every corner of the country where our International has its locale. He is even known by other unions in America. He has been the first, since his coming into the organization as an officer, to solidify the ranks of our organization. Those who know the composition of the cutters of New York City know the difficulties with which he was confronted in order to make solid the ranks of the cutters. And today, thanks to him and his activities, the Cutters' Union Local 10 once more takes its place among the leading locals of the International, a place which the local originally earned for itself in former years.

"It therefore gives me great pleasure to place before the Convention the name of Brother David Dubinsky as candidate for vice-president."

Dubinsky's fame was placed, following this introduction, amid great applause, and the cutters made sure to have their approval and the seconding of their motion heard throughout the hall.

Manager Dubinsky nominated Perimutter as candidate for delegate to the American Federation of Labor Convention. "For delegate to the American Federation of Labor I want to nominate one who is well known to the cutters, particularly in New York City, and who is best remembered as manager of the cloak and suit cutters. He, at the present time, is occupying an important office in the New York Joint Board. I am certain that he will be a credit to the International, as one of the delegates to the American Federation of Labor. He will maintain that tradition earned by the New York cutters, members of whose ranks served with credit on the General Executive Board and as delegates to the convention of the American Federation of Labor. Local 10, at all of the conventions of the International with but one exception, has served on these two important positions of our International Union."

"I am pleased, therefore, to place before you the name of Brother Samuel Perimutter as candidate for delegate to the American Federation of Labor."

The cutters of Boston would not be out-done by other locals of particular crafts in tendering special welcomes to their fellow-delegates. They therefore arranged a banquet and entertainment on Monday, May 12, in one of Boston's prominent hotels. To this banquet were invited, in addition to the delegates representing cutters from all over the country, prominent officers of the Joint Board and International. There is no doubt but that the cutters outdid other locals in tendering welcomes.

A meeting of the delegates representing the cutters throughout the United States and Canada took place in Manager Dubinsky's rooms in the hotel in which he stopped. There took place a discussion on the conditions of the cutters throughout the country, and interesting opinions were exchanged.

There were three delegates from the Chicago local: Brothers Ray Glassman, William Patrick Daly and Harry Nelson. About seventy-five per cent of the members of this local are in good standing, the great majority of whom are cloak cutters. The St. Louis cutters, probably the second oldest local in the International, were represented by Brother Benjamin Gilbert.

Brothers Max Meyers and Adolph Wechlin represented the Cleveland cutters. The union is composed of cloak, suit and dress cutters. It is interesting to note that a number of the cutters of this local are Bohemian. The Philadelphia local of the cloak and suit cutters was represented by Harry Durick, and Brother Samuel Winnick represented the waist and dress cutters. The cutters of Montreal were represented by K. Taylor. A large portion of these cutters are French. Quite a number of the men are actively engaged in furthering the interests of the union.

During the course of the exchange of opinions and discussions, Dubinsky was elated to learn that the cutters from all over the country are careful readers of this page. The manager of Local 10 reviewed his experiences as member of the General Executive Board, and touched upon a number of questions dealt with, which were of interest to the cutters. During his travels in different parts of the country in connection with his duties as vice-president, Dubinsky said he was welcomed everywhere by the cutters' organizations. He was particularly pleased with the reception tendered him by the Chicago local.

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CUTTERS' UNION, LOCAL 10

NOTICE OF MEETINGS

REGULAR AND SPECIAL MEETING. . . . Monday, May 26th
Report on conferences and convention by Manager and Delegates

REGULAR MEETING Monday, June 9th

Meetings Begin at 7:30 P. M.

AT ARLINGTON HALL, 23 St. Mark's Place