

"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. 29.

New York, Friday, July 18,

Price 2 Cents

Agreements With All Associations Signed In New York Cloak Industry

Facts Concluded on Wednesday Last—Reorganization Task Proceeding Fast — Workers Will Now Begin Returning to Shops—General Strike Committee Reviews and Endorses Agreements—Special Commission Reports to Governor.

The past week was devoted practically in its entirety to the arduous task of preparing the terms of the agreement between the Cloakmakers' Joint Board and the International Union and the three employers' associations in the cloak and suit industry—the Merchants' Ladies' Garment Association, the Jobbers, the Protective Association, and the American Association, the sub-manufacturers. The numerous conferences, first between the counsel for the Union and for the associations, and then with the Special Commission appointed by Governor Smith, finally resulted in agreements being signed on Wednesday afternoon, July 16, at the Hotel Cadill...

liffe. Technically the general tie-up in the cloak and suit industry comes to an end, but in a practical way it is, of course, not yet finished and it will take quite some time until the industry will begin its full run under the terms and conditions of the new agreement. To begin with, one of the principal conditions of the new pact is that no shop owned by a principal or sub-manufacturer or contractor can contain less than fourteen running machines manned in addition by a full complement of workers required to finish up the garment. As there are hundreds of shops in the industry which fall below such standards, these, if they are to remain, would have to be technically reequipped and their work and sanitary conditions brought up to requirements. The preparation of the lists by the jobbers and manufacturers certifying the shops where

they expect to manufacture their product and the thorough investigation of each of these shops with respect to their eligibility as union shops, is another of the big tasks confronting the Organization Committee of the Union. Later will come the task of administering the sanitary-union label agreed to by both sides, and the several other new features provided in the new agreement.

Nevertheless, the workers in the bigger shops, and such shops as fall squarely within the terms of the agreement, will begin going back to work shortly. The Union, of course, does not intend to keep them out any longer than is absolutely necessary to make sure that the terms of the new agreement are faithfully lived up to. The Settlement Committee of the General Strike Committee is, meanwhile, kept busy day and night receiving applications from independent manufacturers and jobbers. These applications are being attended to as fast as the firms are investigated, and every precaution is taken that the conditions for which they sign will be scrupulously lived up to and that they correspond fully to the terms of the collective agreements entered into by the Union with the employers' associations.

Protective Guarantees Fourteen-Machine Minimum

The conferences this week, in addition to the meetings held with the jobbers' association, included several with the Manufacturers' Protective Association. Owing to the fact that this association had broken off its re-

lations with the Union early in the present situation, declaring the demands of the Union as "undebatable," many topics that would ordinarily have been discussed and settled in conference long ago still remained to be adjusted. One of the more important points for discussion was the adoption of a guarantee to the Union that the members of this Association will abide by the fourteen-machine minimum rule. The association, after some arguing later conceded this point. At present, the former Labor office of the Protective is practically revived and an overwhelming majority of its members have rejoined it.

Working on Label

The representatives of the Union and of the associations have also held several conferences during the week with the officers of the Joint Board of Sanitary Control to consider the question of a sanitary label. A number of model drafts of the proposed label have been submitted to the members of the Board for their approval and a selection of a draft will soon be made, after which the details of the administration of the label will be worked out and agreed upon.

General Strike Committee Approves Agreements
The agreements as finally drafted

were submitted to the full General Strike Committee on Monday evening, July 14, which after a discussion lasting five hours, adopted them. They were signed by the Union and the representatives of the various associations on Wednesday afternoon.

Meetings With Commission

Meetings with the Governor's Special Commission to present to it the full drafts of the agreements and to obtain final and full sanction of all sides concerned were held on Friday, July 11 and Tuesday, July 15 at the offices of the State Industrial Commission at 124 East 28th street. These meetings were given over to the discussion of a number of details connected with the signing of the agreement including the question of the label and of the examiners and the designers. The question of the designers in particular created a stormy discussion at the Tuesday conference which lasted until midnight. The result was that the Commission refused to include the obligatory clause for union designers in the agreement and referred the examiners' question to the expert investigation to be conducted by the Commission, as previously agreed upon, between now and January, 1925.

(Continued on page 2.)

Baltimore Cloakmakers Ready for General Strike

Ready to Fight For New York Gains in Baltimore Market

Last week's meeting of the Baltimore cloakmakers, called for the purpose of discussing a number of very urgent problems in the cloak industry, and for deciding upon the stand to be taken by the Baltimore organization in the event of the employers refusing to ratify the new agreement presented by the workers, was a gratifying success from every point of view. A large number of persons attended and the speeches of Vice-president Jacob Halperin—who came from New York for the meeting—and Manager Sol Polakoff of the Baltimore Joint

Board, were given close and enthusiastic attention.

This Thursday, July 17, an open mass meeting of all Baltimore cloakmakers, union and non-union, has been summoned to discuss the final preparatory steps which the Baltimore Joint Board will take before a strike is called. The meeting will be held at the Brith-Shulim, at 1012 East Baltimore street. President Sigman has promised to attend the meeting and will state the demands of the Union from the platform. Manager Sol Polakoff, Vice-presidents Seidman and Max Amdur, and President Broening of the Baltimore Federation of Labor, will also speak at the meeting.

The demands of the Baltimore cloakmakers include the abolition of the piece-work system, in some shops, which in Baltimore means the same as the sweating system; the establishment of a joint insurance fund; equal pay for equal work for men and women; the equal division of work in the shops; a sanitary and union label to be adopted on all garments, and the other concessions gained in the New York market through the decision of the Special Commission appointed by Governor Smith.

The meeting will quite likely empower the executive committee of the Baltimore Joint Board to fix the date for the general walkout, which is expected to take place very shortly.

Local 20 Asks Manufacturers to Renew Agreements

Trade Contract Expires on August 1

Two weeks from now, the yearly agreement, between the raincoat workers of New York, represented by the Waterproof Garment Workers' Union, Local 20, and the employers in the trade expires, and, as usual, the Union is already taking steps for its renewal. This week, the local has already forwarded a letter to all the manufacturers in the waterproof garment industry requesting them to renew their agreements with the workers.

As Brother Polinsky, the manager of the local informs us, the raincoat makers are presenting this year no new demands to the employers. Only the renewal of the contract for a specified period is asked and this, the Union confidently expects, it will have no trouble in obtaining.

In speaking of Local 20, we have some cheerful news to give to its members. The Norman Raincoat Company, which for a long time maintained a non-Union shop and stubbornly fought off every effort of the organization to unionize its factory, has now decided to give up this costly

and futile warfare and to conclude peace with the local. Accordingly it gave up its Long Branch shop, which it opened in order to run away from Union control in the city, and opened a shop in Brooklyn which is now a full-fledged union shop.

To All Cloakmakers Who Had No Jobs Before The Strike Was Called

Jobless cloakmakers who still have no shops should register each according to his craft in the following places:

OPERATORS: In Hennington Hall, 214 East Second street.

FINISHERS: Great Central Palace, 96 Clinton street.

PRESSERS: Lafayette Casino, 8-10 Avenue D.

EXAMINERS: Astoria Hall, 62 East 4th street.

SAMPLE MAKERS: Beethoven Hall, 210 East 5th street.

SKIRT MAKERS: Rand School, 7 East 15th street.

Each worker applying for registration must bring his or her Union book along, as only such will be placed on the list. No checks or letters will be considered.

JOSEPH BRESLAW,
Chairman Hall Committee.

Report of Mediators to Governor Smith

Governor Smith was notified last week by the Commission named by him to investigate the controversy in the garment industries that its efforts to prevent the strike had been successful. Announcement of the successful termination of the controversy was conveyed to the Governor in a letter from the Commission following a meeting in the office of State Industrial Commissioner Bernard L. Shientag, No. 124 East 28th street.

Besides George Gordon Battle, chairman; Herbert H. Lehman, Arthur D. Wolf, Lindsay Rogers and Mr. Shientag, the members of the Commission, all the groups in the controversy were represented at the meeting. Governor Smith was congratulated for his foresight in appointing the Commission at the inception of the dispute, and the members of the Commission were praised by the representatives of the employers and the workers for their tireless efforts to avert the strike. The letter sent to the Governor by the Commission on July 7 follows:

Dear Governor:

We are happy to inform you that all the organizations interested in the Cloak and Suit industry in this city affected by the contemplated strike have agreed to accept the recommendations made by your Commission after careful consideration and protracted discussion. The parties concerned are four in number: the Union, the Manufacturers, the Jobbers, and the Sub-manufacturers. They have all shown a most commendable spirit to cooperate with the Commission and with each other in the adjustment of their differences. We shall submit

to you within a few days a formal report of our action in this matter, and it is not our purpose at the present time to go into the details. We shall, however, state that it has been the purpose of the Commission from the beginning to endeavor to bring all the different elements of this great industry into a common interest so that the adjustment which we desire to effect might constitute a permanent and comprehensive settlement of the difficulties which have beset the industry.

It is the belief of the Commission, in which we are confirmed by the counsel and officers of the different organizations who have appeared before us that the settlement which we have recommended and which has been accepted will go far towards accomplishing this result. In order to complete our work we have agreed to remain in existence and to continue our efforts over a period which will extend into the coming year.

It gives us great pleasure to advise you that the threatened strike in this most important industry has been averted and that there is every prospect that the industry will be put upon a more satisfactory basis than has been the case for several years. We know your deep interest in the commercial and industrial welfare of the city and we know that this news will be gratifying to you.

We beg to remain, with great respect and esteem,

Faithfully yours,

COMMISSION FOR THE ADJUSTMENT OF THE THREAT-

ENED STRIKE IN THE CLOAK AND SUIT INDUSTRY, NEW YORK CITY.

GEORGE GORDON BATTLE,

Chairman.

BERNARD L. SHIENTAG,

Industrial Commissioner.

HERBERT H. LEHMAN,

ARTHUR D. WOLF,

LINDSAY ROGERS.

Report of Commission

"The Hon. Alfred E. Smith, Governor of the State of New York, Executive Chamber, Albany, N. Y.:

"Your Excellency:

"Your Commission appointed to make a study of the controversy existing in the cloak and suit industry in this city begs leave to submit the following summary of its conclusions and recommendations:

"Pursuant to your instructions, the Commission which was appointed on Monday, June 16, 1924, proceeded to hold its first public hearing in the Aldermanic Chamber in the City Hall on the following day, June 17, 1924. There appeared before us the following:

"The union, by Morris Hillquit, Esq., its counsel.

"The Jobbers' association, by Samuel Blumberg, Esq., its counsel.

"The sub-manufacturers' association, by Louis H. Solomon, Esq., its counsel, and

"William Klein, Esq., on behalf of individual members of the manufacturers' association, making the statement that his association had abolished its Labor department and was not

in a position to deal collectively with the union or to present the views of the organization as such.

"The hearings continued from June 17 to June 20 and from June 23 to June 25 inclusive.

"The Commission carefully considered the arguments of counsel, the testimony and statements of the various officials of the organizations referred to and briefs submitted by them. It held several executive sessions and on Friday, June 27, presented its tentative summary of recommendations to representatives of all four organizations mentioned at an executive session held at the office of the Department of Labor in New York City. The parties agreed to submit these recommendations to their respective organizations and to report back on Tuesday, July 1. Another meeting was held on July 2, the last session of the Commission being held on Monday, July 7, 1924.

"All four factors in the industry have accepted the Commission's recommendations. The manufacturers' association, which had broken off negotiations with the union, reconsidered its action and on the request of the Commission restored its Labor department and declared a willingness to enter into a collective agreement with the union along the lines recommended by the Commission, expressing the hope and desire of its membership that the Commission would continue to function and to deal with important problems with which the industry was confronted.

"The American Association, composed of a large number of sub-manufacturers, submitted to the Commission a long list of their grievances against the Jobbers, resulting from what they claim to be improper trade

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Agreements Signed In New York Cloak Industry

(Continued from page 1)

On this subject the recommendation of the Commission read as follows:

Supplemental Recommendations of the Commission

July 15, 1924.

1. With reference to Supplemental Request No. 5 of the Union, "that all members of the association employing designers or examiners shall employ Union members in such capacity," the Commission finds as follows:

(a) The Commission does not recommend the request of the Union with reference to the employment of designers. From the facts presented to us we do not believe that the time has arrived in this industry when employers should be required to employ only union designers.

(b) As to examiners:

The Commission finds that the facts are not sufficiently clear to justify it at present in reaching any definite conclusion and therefore recommends that this question be included in the expert investigation which the Commission has proposed, as outlined in paragraph 9 of its report to the Gov-

ernor. In this connection the Commission desires to say that it will view with great concern as a menace to the entire industry any disposition on the part of employers to discriminate against their designers or examiners on account of their union affiliation, or on the part of the Union to penalize employers through shop strikes or otherwise for having in their employ designers or examiners not affiliated with the Union.

2. In regard to the question as to whether a contract should be made between the American Cloak and Suit Manufacturers' Association on the one hand and the Merchants Ladies' Garment Association on the other, the Commission has examined the resolutions of the Merchants Ladies' Garment Association applicable to the American Cloak and Suit Manufacturers' Association which have been passed by the Merchants Association, and has also examined the contract between the two associations proposed by the American Association.

It is of the opinion that these resolutions amount to a unilateral contract and it can see no substantial

reason why they should not be put into the form of a contract between the two associations. The points of difference between the resolutions and the proposed contract do not seem to the Commission at all reconcilable, and the Commission earnestly recommends that the two associations confer and agree by mutual concession upon a form of contract acceptable to both. It was the purpose and hope of the Commission, as a part of its plan to include all the different factors of the industry in this adjustment, that such a contract should be executed between these two associations.

It may be noted for their guidance that it was not the intention of the Commission that the findings of the Board of Experts and of Committee of Business Men on Trade Practices should be binding on the parties in interest but that those findings be transmitted to the Commission, and the Commission make its recommendations thereon to the parties.

When the recommendations of the Commission on this subject were an-

nounced, President Sigman raised a question concerning the firms whose agreements with the Union in the past provided for union designers. He demanded from the Commission an explanation whether under its ruling these Union designers will be left unprotected and deprived of the rights they enjoyed under the old agreement. In reply to this the Chairman of the Commission stated that the lateness of the hour made it impossible to go into this question but that it will be taken up in full at the next meeting of the Commission.

The designer question therefore still remains an open matter and, of course, the Union will make every effort to safeguard every designer who is a member of the organization to the full extent of its capacity.

...

A full analysis of the new agreements entered between the International Union and the New York Joint Board and the three employers' associations in the industry will be made in the next issue of JUSTICE.

International Union Bank Shows Rapid Gains

The list of accounts in the International Union Bank, the financial institution of our International Union co-jointly with a number of other Labor organizations in New York City, shows a healthy and steady gain. Each day brings new depositors, both in the savings and commercial departments.

Brother Philip Kaplowitz, the cashier of the International Union Bank, informs us that among numerous other accounts, the bank received last week one that it welcomed particularly, namely from the Brownsville Savings Bank, Rockaway and Pitkin avenues, Brooklyn. This is the first

savings institution to open an account with our bank and it is an eloquent recognition by a sister financial institution of the strength and stability of the International Union Bank.

The president of the Brownsville Savings Bank, Mr. Harry I. Luber, is well known in progressive circles in Brooklyn. He is in thorough sympathy with Labor banking and his convictions in this matter are clearly demonstrated by the fact that he saw fit to open an account for his savings institution in a Labor bank, the International Union Bank of New York.

Forest Park Unity House Having Fine Season

The Forest Park Unity House has scarcely been open one month this season, yet its success this summer appears already fully assured.

The visitors and vacationists in the Unity House are having as usual a great time. What with its 700 acres of wonderful grounds, its lakes, its twelve buildings for the accommodation of the guests, its library, bowling alleys, tennis courts, dancing pavilions, and numerous other features, the place indeed leaves nothing to be desired in the way of every possible form of amusement.

The Unity House, it must always

be remembered, is the property of the dressmakers' locals and not a private undertaking for profit only. It is a workers' summer house and it is maintained for the sole purpose of giving workers an opportunity to spend their short vacations under the best conditions possible at a minimum of cost.

Members of every local of the International, and their friends belonging to other Labor organizations, are welcome at Unity. Before starting for Unity make sure, however, to register at the New York office, 16 West 21st street, Room 6.

Halls Where Strikers Meet During Strike

The Workers of Each Shop Meet in Hall Assigned to Them

ASTORIA HALL, 62 East 4th Street.

Telephone Dry Dock 8045. I. Bezahler, Chairman.

All Protective shops of 14th street, 17th street, 20th street, 22d street, 24th street, 25th street, 26th street, 27th street, 28th street, 29th street, and A. Bendowitz, of 60 University place.

All Non-Union shops will meet at Astoria Hall Annex.

ARLINGTON HALL, 19 St. Marks Place.

Telephone Concord 2585. Perlmutter, Chairman.

All cutters, buttonhole makers and designers.

BEETHOVEN HALL, 210 East 5th Street.

Telephone Orchard 6404. Kurtz and Wertheimer, Chairmen.

All sample makers.

BRYANT HALL, 723 Sixth Avenue.

Telephone Bryant 8926-8927. Fein and Valeri, Chairmen.

All Protective shops of 500 Seventh avenue, 498 Seventh avenue, 242 West 39th street, 205 West 39th street; Hindus & Gross, 1364 Broadway; R. Sadofsky, 1372 Broadway, and Hickson & Co., 52d street and Fifth avenue.

CLINTON HALL, 151 Clinton Street.

Telephone Dry Dock 6912-6913. Goldowsky, Chairman.

All shops controlled by Business Agent B. Moser, of East and West 21st street.

All shops controlled by Business Agent M. Goldowsky, of East and West 19th street and East and West 20th street.

All shops controlled by Business Agent J. Bender, from East and West 18th street.

All shops controlled by Business Agent H. Berkowitz (of Schuster's Department), from West 17th street.

GREAT CENTRAL PALACE, 96 Clinton Street.

Telephone Orchard 2587. Press and Fisher, Chairmen.

All shops controlled by Business Agent A. Fisher, from East 29th street, West 29th street, East and West 31st street, East 32d street, East and West 33d street.

All shops controlled by Business Agent Elkin, from Madison avenue, Sixth avenue.

All shops controlled by Business Agent B. Sachs, of West 27th street, East 28th street and West 28th street.

All shops controlled by Business Agent P. Press, of West 26th street and Wilkes & Adler's shop.

HENNINGTON HALL, 214 East 2d Street.

Telephone Dry Dock 5924-8165. Warshafsky, Chairman.

All shops controlled by Business Agent J. Warshafsky, East 32d street, West 34th street, West 35th street, West 36th street, West 37th street, West 38th street, West 39th street, Seventh avenue and Broadway.

All shops controlled by Business Agent I. Bezahler, of East 30th street, West 30th street, West 32d street and Seventh avenue.

All shops controlled by Business Agent Commali, of East 22d street, East 26th street, West 27th street, West 28th street, East and West 29th street, East 30th street, West 31st street, West 32d street, West 35th street, West 36th street, West 37th street, West 38th street, West 39th street, Madison avenue, Broadway, Sixth avenue, Seventh avenue and Eighth avenue.

JEFFERSON HALL, 92 Columbia Street.

Telephone Dry Dock 0219. Solomon, Chairman.

All shops controlled by Business Agent Charles Oronsky, from East 11th street and East 12th street, and 171 Sixth avenue.

All shops controlled by Business Agent Sommer, 10th street, University place.

All shops controlled by Business Agent Kaplan, of 9th street, Waverly place, Broadway, West Broadway, Green street, Bleeker street, Prince street.

All shops controlled by Business Agent Solomon, East Broadway, Catherine street and Pike street.

LAFAYETTE CASINO, 8-10 Avenue D.

Telephone Dry Dock 7923. Ph. Levine and Weissman, Chairmen.

All shops controlled by Business Agent J. Rosenblatt, from West 25th street.

All shops controlled by Business Agent M. Tucker, from East and West 23d street, East and West 24th street.

All shops controlled by Business Agent H. Goldberg, from East and West 22d street, and Madison avenue.

MANHATTAN LYCEUM, 66 East 4th Street.

Telephone Dry Dock 6612-7845. Student and Brass, Chairmen.

All Protective shops of 352 Seventh avenue, 333 Seventh avenue, 305 Seventh avenue, 136 Madison avenue, 112 Madison avenue, 105 Madison avenue, 484 Sixth avenue, 450 Sixth avenue, 30th street, 31st street, 32d street, 33d street, 34th street, 35th street, 36th street, 37th street and 38th street.

NEW TUXEDO HALL, 62 Pitt Street.

Telephone Dry Dock 8289. Aideland, Chairman.

All shops controlled by Business Agent Desti, of East 12th street, East 11th street, East 10th street, East 9th street,

East 8th street, West 3d street, Green street, Broome street, and Chrystie street.

All shops controlled by Business Agent Aideland, of East 4th street, West 3d street, East and West 8th street, Spring street and Great Jones street and Bowery.

All shops controlled by Business Agent Plum, of Division street, Attorney street, Clinton street, Chrystie street, Cannon street, Columbia street, Forsyth street, Goerck street, Ludlow street, Pitt street, Stanton street, Sheriff street, Suffolk street, Willet street, East Houston street, Grand street, Second avenue, Avenue A, Avenue B, East 4th street, East 5th street, and East 7th street.

ORIENTAL PALACE HALL, 143 Suffolk Street.

Telephone Dry Dock 8047. Max Cohen, Chairman.

All shops controlled by Business Agent A. Rothenberg, from West 15th street, West 16th street, and East 17th street.

All shops controlled by Business Agent S. Miller, from East 13th street, East and West 14th street, and Fourth and Fifth avenue.

All shops controlled by Business Agent Muccigrassi, Bleeker street, Fourth avenue, Fifth avenue, 14th street, 20th street, 21st street, 22d street, and East 23d street.

RAND SCHOOL, 7 East 15th Street.

Telephone Stuyvesant 3094. Frimed and Sherman, Chairmen.

All skirt shops, protective, independent and contractors.

STUYVESANT CASINO, 140 Second Avenue.

Telephone Orchard 2588. Gold and Golub, Chairmen.

All reefer shops.

HARLEM SOCIAL EDUCATIONAL CENTER,

62 East 106th Street.

Telephone University 3234. Schechter, Chairman.

All Harlem and Bronx shops.

VIENNA HALL, 105 Montrose Avenue.

Telephone Stagg 2030-4589. Harry Levine, Chairman.

All Brooklyn shops.

BROWNSVILLE LABOR LYCEUM,

219 Sackman Street.

Telephone Dickens 0882. Joe Kestin, Chairman.

All Brownsville shops.

Strike Committees

Hall Committee—228 Second avenue, Telephone Stuyvesant 0713. J. Breslaw, Chairman; Ch. Oronsky, B. Moser, Molisani.

Organization Committee—Beethoven Hall, 210 East 5th street. Telephone Orchard 6404-6405-6406. D. Dubinsky, Chairman; S. Singer, Secretary; H. Schuster, L. Heit.

Speakers Committee—231 East 14th street. Telephone Lexington 5217. M. J. Ashbes, Chairman; M. Friedman, Luigi Antonini.

Settlement Committee—Cadillac Hotel, 43d street and Broadway. Telephone Bryant 7109. I. Feinberg, Chairman; S. Nino, Secretary; J. Rubin.

Picket Committee—Arlington Hall, 19 St. Marks place. Telephone Orchard 2628-3709. H. Wander, Chairman; H. Slutsky.

Law Committee—130 East 25th street. Telephone Madison Square 7680. L. Langer, Chairman.

Out-of-Town Committee—3 West 16th street. Telephone Chelsea 2148-2149-2150. J. Halperin, Chairman; H. Lubinsky, Secretary.

Relief Committee—Louis Levy, Chairman; Sheinholtz, Molisani.

Finance Committee—130 East 25th street. Telephone Madison Square 7680. Abraham Baroff, J. Fish.

Non-Union Department—Astoria Hall Annex, 62 East 4th street. Telephone Dry Dock 8045. Bernard Shane, Chairman.

All District and Local Offices will Serve as Information Bureaus.

W. BARCAN, Chairman,
130 East 25th street.

JUSTICE

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The Peril of Overspecialization

By CHARLES A. BEARD

I have been much interested in the Labor education movement for more than twenty-five years, having been associated with the foundation of the first Labor college in England in 1898. And I have also been interested more or less in so-called academic work—work as time goes on, but still I realize that it is an important factor in our intellectual life.

It seems to me that there are two currents running through the Labor movement and through academic progress, one current making for specialization and the other for unity. In the Labor movement we see an extreme subdivision into crafts on the one side, and on the other side a demand for one big union that ignores all differences among crafts.

Now I think that either one of these ideas carried to a logical conclusion would be injurious to the Labor movement. If, on the one hand, you keep on subdividing and subdividing you break unity, coordination, and cooperation; on the other hand, if you spread out over the whole area, you lack structure and definiteness and above all the power that inhere in organization for special and definite purposes.

So in the intellectual world, it seems to me, we find the same tendency. There is the scholar who is dividing and subdividing until finally he devotes his whole life to a study of matrimonial adventures of Henry VIII. It is possible to devote a whole lifetime to that subject and not exhaust the materials which we have. Then, on the other hand, there is the man who attempts to spread out all over the world and becomes so thin that his reflections on any subject are hardly worth paying any attention to. The academic world bears a more or less close relation to the world of fact—usually, less close—but it is always affected more or less by what goes on in the outside world.

Did it ever occur to you that all of the great developments in education have been outside of the formal academic institutions? I think that is true. I don't think any college ever originated anything novel of any great importance.

Take law, for example. Law instruction developed outside of our colleges; students read in law offices; at length a private law school was established in Litchfield, Conn., the first in America. Then came the medical school, the business school, and the technical school; and now after these special institutions developed to meet actual needs. Only after they became respectable and usually only after a hard fight, did the academicians take these schools into the university and recognize these new branches as worthy of academic esteem and study. So that I think that the development of the Labor movement and Labor education will ultimately have an immense effect upon the academic mind.

The chief reason why the academic mind in the last generation has been working more and more towards specialization is a sincere desire to know the truth. When anyone sincerely desires to go to the bottom of any particular subject, he is led more and more into special studies until after a while he becomes submerged in his subject and loses sight of its relation to other subjects. It is a sincere desire to know the truth that leads to specialization.

Then, there is vested academic interest in specialization. As soon as a department of the university is established, the head of the department wants to enlarge it. The more professors he has and the more courses and the more instructors, the more important he is and the more money is given to his department and the more general glory there is to history. And so with

all the other departments. Every man, and some women have a thirst for power. It works in the academic world as well as in the political world.

As a result of a sincere desire to seek the truth by special research and as a result of vested interests, we have continual subdivision of learning, subdivision of courses of instruction. The result has been, of course, an immense accumulation of new facts in each one of the several fields.

Whether we are any wiser or not, wiser in the sense that we are better fitted to deal with the problems that confront us as a result of this specialization, I am not sure. We are wiser when we come to deal with particular things, such as firemen's and policemen's pensions because someone has devoted twenty years to the study of actuarial problems. We are wiser when we come to deal with specific questions; but are we wiser, in the large? I have my doubts. It seems to me that so-called social science is about two thousand years behind natural science (I think that is a conservative estimate); certainly, as a working instrument it is.

I had an interesting illustration of that last autumn when I was in Tokio after the earthquake and fire had destroyed two-thirds of the city. I was working with the reconstruction board in charge of rebuilding the city. The easiest thing in the world was to

get technicians and engineers, men who were well trained in the construction of public works. It was relatively easy to get a great body of skilled labor to do things. It was relatively easy to organize and mobilize technical knowledge and labor skill. But why weren't great things done? Able men sat around the table in a room no bigger than this and could agree on what ought to be done, and why weren't great things done? Because the men (though they were in the Government) who sat around that table couldn't command the social and economic forces necessary to carry into execution that which technical knowledge showed us to be wise and desirable.

So that I am not sure that we are any wiser as a result of modern specialization. On the other hand, I am inclined to think that we are perhaps wiser when we come to deal with big problems—certainly, intense specialization does not add to anybody's capacity for sound judgment.

I have been associated more or less in my day with eminent men of science and eminent mathematicians and eminent logicians. Some of the most illustrious men I know are the logicians, and some of the loosest thinkers I have ever been associated with are mathematicians of high order. I really mean that. I have heard mathematicians discuss social

questions and ordinary, little kindergarten school problems with as more intelligence than a seven-year-old girl or boy.

Why is this true? If it is true (I think it is) that this intense specialization has not contributed to our capacity for wise judgment, it is because the philosophy of any subject, as Buckle once said, is not at its center but on its circumference where it impinges upon all other subjects. To my mind, that is one of the most profound generalizations that has ever been uttered and a most illuminating one. The philosophy of any subject is not at its center but on its periphery, on its circumference, where it impinges upon all other sciences.

Now, if one once gets that into his head, he has got the best working hypothesis for a student's life and for practical life that I know. Don't make up your judgment on what you conclude from something at the very center of your subject, but trace its connection with other subjects.

The Greeks knew this. Aristotle was the greatest teacher in the field that I am mainly interested in—namely, politics—because he brought under consideration all the subjects of knowledge. One reason we do not do it today is because we have so much knowledge. So that the student is really confronted with this dilemma: He has a choice of two things, of being wise on something, it is not important, and being very thin in his thinking on something that is important. *Workers' Education Quarterly Journal*, May, 1924.

Wages and Foreign Competition

Much has been said about the ability of European countries to compete with our manufacturers on account of lower wages paid by their employers. Very seldom are such statements accompanied by good figures or sound economic analysis. As a matter of fact a good deal of this reasoning is based on false premises, and much more careful study of the situation must be employed before any conclusion is drawn. Recently the British Ministry of Labor has attempted to compare the real wages paid in various important cities on the basis of the amount of food that can be bought from the earnings of a 48-hour week. This comparison covers a few trades only—building, metal, wood-working and printing. London is taken as the base, or 100 per cent. These figures, incomplete and uncertain as they are, are about the best information available on the subject. The last figures which include New York are those for August, 1923. They run as follows:

London	100
Amsterdam	100
Brussels	87
Copenhagen	84
Madrid	66
New York	219
Ottawa	183
Paris	86
Prague	77
Stockholm	88
Warsaw	91

Subsequent figures for Berlin and Vienna for January and February, 1924) show them to be about 48 and 47.

If these figures indicate at all accurately the general level of real wages in the various countries, it appears that the American wage-earners are twice as well off as British, and that British workers in turn are better off than most of those in the Continent and are twice as well off as German and Austrian.

Low Wages Bring No Advantage

But does this mean that the country which pays the lowest real wages is getting the trade away from the others? Not at all. If that were true, Germany and Austria would be the center of prosperity, with Spain not

far behind, and England as well as the United States and Canada, would soon be left out in the cold.

These differences in wages are partly due to industrial and political troubles which prevent the countries with low wages from being prosperous. In so far as this is true, the low wages are themselves a result of the lack of a good industrial situation, and cannot possibly bring about any advantage to employers.

Even in pre-war days, moreover, wide differences existed. The same index for the year 1914 was as follows:

London	100
Amsterdam	66
Brussels	61
Christiania	77
Madrid	42
Ottawa	180
Prague	84
Stockholm	74
Warsaw	93

New York was not included in the list, but was probably about as far above London as it is today, since Ottawa occupies about the same relative position. Yet these differences in real wages do not upset the balance of international trade. Nor were the countries paying the lowest wages the most prosperous.

The truth is that there is very little connection between comparative real wages and the international competition of employers. Food and other common necessities of life are more expensive in relation to other commodities in some countries than in others. Some countries have heavier taxation burdens, or must make heavier payments to landlords, or to foreign debtors, than to others. Countries with high real wages may have comparatively low labor costs, due to greater skill and efficiency of the worker, more modern machinery and methods, or better management. And, of course, natural advantages differ among different nations.

Changes Due to War

It is true that the disturbances of prices, wages, and exchange values in Europe as a result of the war have injured international trade as a whole. But they have not given any one ha-

tion a permanent advantage, nor have they made necessary a reduction of the wage level in the United States. The chances are that after the European situation is cleared up American factories can maintain a wage level even further above the European than in pre-war days. This will be chiefly because, while Europe has been bickering and marking time, we have been installing new machinery, improving methods, and studying the technique of production. It will also be partly because, while before the war America had to pay a heavy annual tribute to foreign investors in this country, such debts have been largely paid off and the situation is now reversed.

We do not look with any satisfaction on the fact that the workers of foreign nations will now have to bear a heavy burden due to payment of interest to American investors—but this fact must be remembered, lest American investors make it the excuse for lowering wages in this country. If French wages were lowered, for instance, in order that the Government might collect higher taxes and interest might be paid to American investors, that would not lower the price of French products in international trade, since what formerly went to the French worker would now go, not to the consumer, but to the American investor. In other words, the price of the competing French goods would not be lowered by such a change, and no reduction in American wages would be warranted to meet the French competition. — *Facts for Workers*, June, 1924.

BUY
WHITE LILY TEA
COLUMBIA TEA
ZWETOCHNI CHAI
Exclusively

What Was Born At Cleveland

By LOUIS F. BUDENZ

The elephant labored in June, and brought forth—a pair of Siamese twins. Coolidge and Dawes are little white elephants of Reaction. They will prove heavy burdens for the Republican party to carry along, before the campaigning is over.

For over two weeks, in the longest convention in American history, the donkey has struggled to find the heavenly dew that will lead it out of the wilderness of no-patronage into the White House again. Now that the shouting is over—and there has been more shouting than anything else at the Madison Square gathering—the common people can see how incompetent the Democratic party has become to challenge the reactionary policies of the Republicans. J. P. Morgan sits at the head of the Democratic table. His man Friday is the candidate for President! Well can "Bugs" Baer call our national anthem the "Star Spangled Banker," after such an exhibition. W. J. Bryan, ending his career of bank and hypocrisy, accepts the man whom he denounced as a tool of Wall Street—in order that his brother may receive the vice-presidential nomination!

So there you are. If the fight were to stop there, the worker might as well fold up his tent and agree to become a slave. The Big Interests have come out into the open. They no longer find camouflage a useful article. Intimidation, the Ku Klux Klan and other like instruments of terror are the weapons they will now rely on.

But the end of the two old party conventions is only the beginning of the battle. Some one else has stepped into the arena. He wears a pompadour hair-cut, a determined look, and a posture of defiance. He hails from Dan County in the Badger State, and has been at the throat of Privilege since his earliest days in public life. La Follette! His is the name that has come out of the Cleveland convention of the Conference for Progressive Political Action. He and his platform are the challenge to Coolidge and Dawes and Davis and Bryan.

In this rapidly moving age we are shedding many of our ancient superstitions. It was once our fond belief that the ostrich hid his head in the sands, thinking himself thereby safe from attack. Now naturalists brutally tell us that nothing of the kind occurs.

Political superstitions are being treated in the same fashion. Newspapers, schools, the servile pulpit have put in our minds the idea that there can be only two parties in America—and that one of them must be the Republican party, the other the Democratic. It's as bad as the idea that Capitalism has existed forever, and will last on throughout eternity. The law of life is growth and change—and America is not exempt from it.

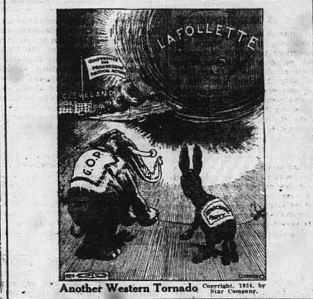
You only have to go back to the struggles of the Abolitionists to be assured of that. Last night I was reading the speeches and lectures of Wendell Phillips, the eloquent pleader for the freedom of the Negro slaves. It was like a page from the past few years, applied to an earlier effort upward. Here are words from his address at the twentieth anniversary of the Boston mob—the gang that attacked Garrison in 1835 for advocating Negro freedom: "Entire unshackled freedom for every man's lips, no matter what his doctrine—the safety of free discussion, no matter how wide its range—no check on the peaceful assemblage of thoughtful men." These were his demands—due to the use of violence against the Abolitionists during all those years—right up to 1860 if they.

And if you falter and think that things cannot come as they did in days gone by—"not so easily," you may say—you should turn to the address

of the great Abolitionist on the occasion of Lincoln's election. "Last year, we stood looking sadly at that gibbet against the Virginia sky. (John Brown hung for treason against the slave-power Government.) One turn of the kaleidoscope—it is Lincoln in the balcony of the Capitol, and a million of hearts beating welcome below!" It came like a thunderbolt—then out of grey skies and deep Reaction arose the figure of the man from Illinois.

in deep-felt terms of admiration of the man who is their standard-bearer. Forty years has he fought for the producing classes of America—and never once did he falter!

That was the message in the stirring keynote speech of William H. Johnston. It was the idea that thrilled the convention, hour after hour, until La Follette was named and the plans for the campaign laid down. It was, above all, the theme made particularly emphatic by the brilliant



Another Western Tornado

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How much farther does the parallel run! La this is not an accurate description of the reactionary Republican party of today, spoken then of the reactionary slave-power Democratic party: "The Democratic party, agitating fiercely to put down agitation, break at last into a general quarrel in their effort to keep the peace." And is not this picture of the weak and uncertain Democratic party today? "They confessed they did not know what to do; but they determined not to do they knew not what."

Yet, there may be another objection in your mind about action by a new party group. "La Follette, its standard bearer, could only win a minority of votes at the best even though he carry eight or ten States." My answer is: He will carry eight States, at the worst. He will throw the election into the House of Representatives, at that worst. He will be able to dictate the next President, if he himself does not win.

Again, we can turn to the Lincoln parallel. Do you not know that Lincoln was a hopelessly minority candidate in 1860? His total vote was only 1,860,457. His opponents combined had over 2,800,000. Of these, Douglas got 1,375,167; Bell for the Whigs and "Know Nothings" (the K. K. of that day), 590,631; and Breckinridge, for the die-hard Democrats, 847,953. That is a fact that history does not play up. So that La Follette, even as a minority candidate—if we want to admit that—has a chance to be victorious.

How inspiring was it to sit in the Cleveland convention and see man after man, group after group, rise up and say that they would join hands in the coming battle. Forces that have been divided for years by differences big and small agreed to think of the things that united them, rather than of the things that held them apart. Farmers, unionists, Socialists, 45-ers, our eastern Farmer-Laborites—all proclaimed the same determination and the same unity. All spoke

mind of Morris Hillquit, who towered over the whole convention. In La Follette a man had been found who could unite all the groups fighting for progress. In him was the personality that could eventually lay the foundations for the new party of the producers in America.

Therein lies another thought. Let no man hold back, for the purely technical reason that a new party was not born and matured overnight in Cleve-

land. Such a policy would have been the height of folly. It would have sacrificed the Progressives in the House and the Senate. It would have gained nothing at this particular hour. Finally, it would have been an utter impossibility to organize such a political organization in the short time that lies between the present and the November election.

As definitely as could be stated, Senator La Follette has said that a new party must be born—if the people show that they demand such a step in November. As definitely as could be stated, the Organization Committee, of which E. J. Manion of the Telegraphers was chairman and Morris Hillquit was secretary, reported that a convention should be held in January of next year, to form such a party. This report the Conference adopted, and that now is the plan. The big thing is to roll up a vote that will show the demand for a new line-up in our political life. And that can be done only by rolling up our sleeves, in an organized way, by giving every minute of our time and every thought of our waking hours to this big fight for the workers.

We have not merely the task of getting out the vote. We also have the added job of seeing that the votes are counted. Watchers are needed, and a carefully worked out organization that will make these watchers effective. At every polling place throughout the nation, representatives of La Follette must be on hand, trained in the political game, to see that La Follette votes are entered to the credit of his movement. The old parties cannot best us by arguments or popular appeals. Their only chance lies in fraud and corruption in the polling booths. And fraud and corruption are their particular stock-in-trade.

The hour for action has arrived. It is an hour for united action. All petty squabbles must be set aside, all dogmatic differences forgotten. To us all has been given a great privilege—to see this period in American history, when the workers will chain their masters for the first time and declare their own independence. Our battle cry for the present fight is "La Follette! La Follette!" It will be a cry that will shake the walls of our American fetichs of Special Privilege and Private Monopoly.

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JUSTICE

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EDITORIALS

THE UNION AS A FACTOR IN THE CLOAK INDUSTRY

Surpassing everything else in importance, in the report of Governor Smith's Special Commission, is, in our opinion, its declaration that at present there are four principal factors in the cloak industry of New York and that the Union, the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, is one of these four, taking first place in the line-up. This statement amounts to much more than what is customarily designated as "union recognition." The latter term implies the recognition by the employer of the Union as the representative of the workers and entering into deals with it concerning the wages, work conditions, hours, etc. Union recognition is no doubt one of the most substantial achievements gained by organized Labor for the workers, usually at very great sacrifice. There is, however, a vast difference between such a form of union recognition and the one which is embodied in the declaration made by the Governor's Commission that the Union is a factor in the cloak industry and that it has the full right to advance demands not only in regard to wages, work conditions and sanitary environment in the shops, but also such as affect the methods of industrial management. In other words, the decision of the Governor's Commission states plainly that the owners of the factories are not the only managers of the industry, but that the Union has an equal right to have its say and to insist firmly that its word be heard and its suggestions carried out when they affect the interests of the workers in the industry.

The worth of this highly important point of the Commission's decision can not, of course, as yet be measured in dollars and cents. There are, perhaps, some short-sighted workers in our own midst who might fail to see the significance of this gain. Those who can see farther than their own shadows, however, will surely realize that this achievement is worth a great deal more than a temporary wage rise or a similar gain in which most of our former negotiations and fights resulted.

Not that we are in any degree inclined to belittle the importance of a wage increase. But in the cloak industry wage increases have only too often proved to be mere illusions—paper increases—which were quickly shattered by adverse industrial conditions. It was either that lack of work in the industry forced the worker to accept lower wages, or the Union, having no say whatever concerning methods and system in the industry which would make all agreement stipulations real, could not enforce such granted wage increases. Only now that, as a result of the firm attitude of the Union, the Governor's Commission has recognized it as a factor in the industry, a recognition acquiesced in by the other three principal factors—the jobbers, the manufacturers and the sub-manufacturers,—will it be truly possible that the gains made by the workers, past, present and future, become realities.

This recognition of the new position of the Union assumes even greater importance because it takes the form of a concrete change in the character of the entire cloak industry. It sounds the knell of the petty shop with all the abuse it brought into the cloak industry in general and to the workers in particular. The Special Commission recognized that of the 3,000 shops which exist in the industry and which are responsible for all the exploitation and chaos prevailing in it, at least half must disappear, and that not more than 1,500 real union shops employing not less than fourteen machine operators and all such other workers as are necessary to finish the garments, be left in the trade to take care of the entire cloak output of New York City. On this point the Commission has adopted entirely the attitude of the Union by recognizing its right to say how many workers there must be in a shop which is to be dignified with the name of "cloak factory" and which can honestly meet union requirements.

As this principal part of the program is carried out, with the number of the shops limited to the figure stipulated by the Commission, and with our production conducted under union control, the other problems will take care of themselves without difficulty. The jobbers will not be able to make garments haphazardly and the destructive competition between the sub-manufacturers will automatically disappear. On the contrary, the sub-manufacturer and the manufacturer will be in a position to demand a proper price for the garments they produce and that cannot fail to reflect itself on the earnings of the workers and on their treatment in general. For neither these employers nor

above all the workers will forget that it was the Union which made this new order in the industry possible.

It stands to reason that the introduction of this new system spells the death of the "corporation shop" for years an offensive sore on the body of the Union and the cloak industry. The cunning and tricky manoeuvres of these petty bosses and their everlasting efforts to fool the Union and to dodge its watchful eye, while stabbing it in the back, will become a matter of the past. Each jobber will have to furnish the Union with a list of the shops in which he makes his garments and from which his garments are bought. All these shops will have to be union shops—no others. The "corporation" pest will have to disappear because, first, it will not be able to secure any work from any jobber or manufacturer, and, secondly, because the workers in the cloak market will find their places in the 1,500 union shops. The disappearance of the "corporation" shop must therefore come directly as a result of the recognition of the Union as a factor in the industry.

These are not new ideas and they have been expressed in these columns in various forms more than once. They are being told from the platform to our strikers daily, yet we believe that this accomplishment of the Union is of such far-reaching importance that repeating it to our members can only do good. It is worthwhile reiterating, especially in view of the fact that there are still some around us who are attempting not only to belittle the importance of the present fight, but are leaving no calumny unused in order to raise a tumult in the minds of the workers. The more intelligent workers, of course, will understand that these fellows are doing the work of the worst union-smashing elements in our industry. There are, however, some in our Union who fall easy prey to the manoeuvres of the shrewdly disguised scab-agent. These workers are not by any means dishonest persons. If they only found out that their advisers and benchmen of the union-hating employers, they would drive them out of sight. But some of these provocateurs are hiding behind red masks, and it is not always easy for the less experienced workers to "spot" them. It is important, therefore, to state over again that the Union has made a great step forward, and that every good union man and woman must do all in his or her power to help the organization carry out the reconstruction of the entire foundation of the industry as quickly and as thoroughly as possible.

THE SANITARY LABEL

The introduction of the sanitary label into the cloak and suit industry is another important achievement by the Union which will help materially in the introduction of the new system in which there will be no place for non-union work in any form.

We know that in many instances the use of the union label suffered great abuse, so that in the end only the label of the union remained, without the union itself amounting to much. But everything under the sun is subject to abuse, of course, and if we were to give up using things for fear that their application might be abused, we might have to give up some of our most cherished prerogatives, such as freedom of the press, freedom of speech and of assembly, which we all must admit are frequently being abused by the dishonest and the demagogue. What is necessary is, through enlightenment and information, to make these abuses less frequent and less likely to occur.

The same holds true of the label. Despite abuses, the label has brought material benefits to the workers. It has deepened the union idea and the sentiment of solidarity among workers and has made itself a strong fighting weapon in the hands of many Labor organizations.

When a general rule of label in practice can only be abused when the workers whose interest it is supposed to protect are not clearly conscious of what they want and are not union men in the full sense of the word. But under such circumstances, even without the label, the demagogue will find his way to mislead them. In the hands of intelligent and forward-looking workers, a label can become a highly beneficial instrument.

In the cloak industry, if the label is to become irrefutable testimony that a garment has been produced in a union shop and under sanitary conditions, it will tend to remove every possibility of the manufacture of cloaks in non-union shops and under inferior work conditions. The public, once it becomes accustomed to buying its cloaks with the sanitary union label, will never look for any other garments.

We rather like the idea that the label is to be issued not merely by the Union but by the other factors in the industry, through the Joint Board of Sanitary Control. A union label, pure and simple, would probably arouse some prejudice against itself among a certain section of the buying public, and would retard its progress in the market. We can, however, hardly imagine any consumer would object to the purchase of a garment bearing a label which guarantees that that garment has been made under the best of sanitary conditions. This ought to gain from the start immense popularity for the label and make impossible the existence of any shop which does not carry the label—in other words, a shop which does not live up to the union shop regulations and the conditions laid down by the Governor's Commission, with the consent of all the other parties in the industry.

There is another thing which the workers should remember. The other factors in the industry are but little interested in the introduction of the sanitary label. In point of fact the spokesmen for these factors have fought quite hard against it. The Union, however, insisted upon this point and carried it.

The task of making the sanitary label a success, therefore,

The Fight for Industrial Democracy

By DR. HERMAN FRANK

The new tendency in the relations between Labor and Capital during the last six or seven years can be placed under the general heading of "The Tendency Towards Industrial Democracy." The significance as well as the laws of the new development can, however, only be understood side by side with the history of political democracy—a science which is still very young and still almost a sealed book even to intelligent workers.

There is a remarkable parallel between the age-old persistent demand that the laws regulating political relations between the rulers and the people be written down "black on white" and similar increasing demands for regulations of relations in industry. This demand leads to similar results in the government of the State and of industry. Such a constitutionalistic relation has been carved out upon a rock as in the days of early human history, or inscribed on parchment as was King John's Magna Charta. It may be put down in a trade agreement between an employer and a trade union. Yet essentially it is the same thing—it purports to put the master under regulations which would limit his power and make an end to his absolute rule. In this manner section after section of the community is being organized and attains a degree of power in society, the struggle continuing until every mature person becomes a full-fledged citizen of the State.

The Labor Union Means Government in Industry

A trade union movement is only a means for increasing the arbitrary power of the actual rulers of industry, the employers. Capitalists, the entrepreneurs, as shareholders of corporations, are entitled under our laws to enjoy full freedom of association and of collective bargaining. A board of directors of a corporation is precisely that as the representative of hundreds, and frequently thousands, of shareholders. In this sense, the Labor union acts similarly as the representative of the workers who obviously cannot deal individually with the employer, just as each shareholder cannot take individually a part in the management of the corporation.

The Labor union as the representative, creates the constitutional organization of industry which will prevail under any economic order. Communism, syndicalism, or cooperative industry of any form must all recognize the existence of the trade agreement as the cornerstone of the industrial structure. There are trade unions in Soviet Russia just as there are in capitalist countries, except that they present demands to and deal with Government institutions, too. The tendency for industrial democracy, therefore, is a general tendency which is today just at the beginning of a long and arduous road.

The Trade Agreement Checks the Industrial Ruler

The rule of the employing classes has already been materially limited through the industrial constitution—the trade agreement. But the parallel between the political constitution and the trade agreement in industry does not end there, as we shall presently see.

Thought of the peoples for political democracy has led everywhere to the establishment of a constitutional form of government, which in one way or another takes away from the rulers their most important functions—legislative and administrative. A constitutional Government, however, is not always democratic. Old Poland had a constitutional monarchy and elected its kings. But the electors were only the privileged nobles, big and small, and the old Polish republic was anything but a democracy. A combination of a ruler with a clique of corrupt politicians gives rise to an oligarchy such as marked the last three or four hundred years of the existence of the old Roman Empire.

The system of aristocracy can also find room in the trade union movement, if only a small part of the workers are organized. This is likely to happen when only the skilled workers enter into agreements with the employers, while a majority of the workers in the trade—the unskilled and semi-skilled—remain unorganized. Powerful employers frequently utilize this unorganized element against the union, as was the case in the American steel industry when the agreements of the steel masters with the skilled mechanics were broken by them after they succeeded in recruiting enough strikebreakers from the ranks of the unorganized.

Political history teems with instances of monarchs from time to time granting the masses of the people a limited measure of political rights for the sake of winning them to their side when these kings were in conflict with some of their powerful nobles. These liberties, however, were of no substance, and would either be withdrawn after the conflicts were over or were conveniently forgotten. From time to time, however, when the yoke of oppression became unbearable, the people would remind themselves of these once-granted liberties and would rebel.

Modern industry presents a striking parallel to these age-long efforts for political rights. In recent years, a movement has spread among employers to create so-called "company unions" which are otherwise known as shop committees, industrial councils, etc. These organizations are brought into play by open-shop employers for the sake of breaking down the force of organized Labor. In practice,

however, these shop committees have served as an incentive for the workers for organizing into a real trade union, inasmuch as they have come to see that the latter form is by far a more effective and stronger form of organization. The company union is a tacit admission on the part even of the open-shop employers that some form of constitutional government in industry is needed, even though they offer the spurious kind, the kind that they themselves can control. These company unions, however, are as much of a failure as any form of "democracy" which comes from above and which is not the direct product of the fighting efforts of the people themselves.

Industrial democracy limits to a degree the arbitrary rule of the employing classes through the trade agreement, which is adopted by the consent of both the employers and the workers. There is in this trade agreement something which resembles a political parliament with an upper and a lower house—the upper house in the modern industry representing the organization of the employers, and the lower house, the House of Commons, representing the organization of the workers, the trade union.

In addition to legislative functions, political democracy also embraces administrative and judicial functions. The judicial function is also the most important part of the trade agreement, that is, of the industrial constitution, for it is plain that without a proper judicial tribunal, economic agreements cannot be made effective in practice. This judicial function in industry used to be administered by outside impartial arbitration boards—a method which at best could not be considered as desirable owing to the fact that impartial arbitrators as a rule are not familiar with the specific industrial conditions. This form of arbitration, however, has become less in vogue in recent years.

The judicial machinery worked out in America in the last few years has the advantage of consisting usually of equal representatives of both sides presided over by an impartial chairman. The "Garment Workers' Union" and among the first to introduce this system in the American Labor movement, and it is no doubt a substantial achievement for the industrial progress of the entire country. Eventually all the other Labor unions will have to adopt this system, as it is best adapted for the interpretation of industrial regulations in a workable way. These tribunals gradually create a sort of industrial statute book, a code for regulating industrial relations. These industrial statute books based on precedent are just as important for the development of industrial democracy as were the written and unwritten books of the common law for the development of political democracy.

INTERNATIONAL CALENDAR

By H. SCHOOLMAN

This Week Twelve Years Ago

Dr. R. Hoffman (Kivins) is appointed at the meeting of the Joint Board as editor of the New Post, beginning July 13, 1912.

According to a report issued by the Toronto Joint Board, the last strike cost them over \$18,000, of which the local workers contributed \$18,000, the International Office \$5,000 and the remainder was given by the locals all over the country. Most of this money was spent in strike benefits.

The New York Cloak Joint Board decides that the buttonhole makers are no longer to be employed on contracts, but directly by their firms and should be paid directly by them.

Industrial achievement for the industrial progress of the entire country. Eventually all the other Labor unions will have to adopt this system, as it is best adapted for the interpretation of industrial regulations in a workable way. These tribunals gradually create a sort of industrial statute book, a code for regulating industrial relations. These industrial statute books based on precedent are just as important for the development of industrial democracy as were the written and unwritten books of the common law for the development of political democracy.

This significant step on the long road to industrial democracy made by the organized workers in the garment and clothing trades in the last few years cannot fail to serve, for them as well as for the Labor movement as a whole, as a source of inspiration in their struggles to come.

"Step by step the longest march
Can be won; can be won.
Single stones will form an arch
One by one, one by one.

"And by union, what we will
Can be all accomplished still.
Drops of water turn a mill,
Slightly none, slightly none."

—Anon.

Dr. Isaac A. Hourwich

Dr. Isaac A. Hourwich, lawyer, eminent writer and economist, died of heart disease caused by diabetes at Mount Sinai Hospital on Wednesday, July 9, at the age of 64.

His death came as a terrible shock to thousands of his friends and admirers. Dr. Hourwich's sturdy, rugged personality and towering abilities have gained for him during the thirty-five years which he spent in America a tremendous following in Russian-American circles, and he ranked very high among Jewish writers and publicists.

Dr. Hourwich had a varied, and in his younger years a stormy, revolutionary career. As a boy of nineteen he was arrested in Russia after writing a pamphlet entitled "What Is Constitutionalism?" He had just entered the University of Petrograd. After serving nine months in prison, charged with treason, he became an active revolutionary leader. He was again arrested, finally fled to Sweden, and in 1890, at the age of 30, came to America.

Dr. Hourwich studied at Columbia University and received the degree of Doctor of Philosophy. He then began practicing law in New York, and in later years, after the Soviet regime began in Russia, he became counsel

to the Russian Soviet Bureau in New York. Two years ago, however, Dr. Hourwich visited Russia, and after a lengthy stay in that country returned to America very disillusioned with the Bolshevik regime. He subsequently wrote numerous articles for the New York Jewish Daily Forward in which he severely criticized the Moscow dictatorship and in a particularly cutting style exposed the sham and usurpations of the Communist junta which governs Russia under the euphonious name of a "workers' and peasant State."

In 1912-1913 Dr. Hourwich served for a number of months as the Chief Clerk of the "Cloakmakers' Joint Board" in New York, in charge of the Association department.

Dr. Hourwich served for a while as Professor of Economics at the University of Chicago. At one time he was a translator at the Bureau of the Mint in Washington, and in 1903 he became a statistician at the Census Bureau. One of his books was "Immigration and Labor." Another was "The Economics of a Russian Village." Many of his best literary efforts were written in Yiddish. His last work, which he never completed, is his autobiography, "Memoirs of a Heretic."

falls squarely upon the Union, and in order that the Union may succeed in its effort, it remains with the workers in the shops to take proper care that every garment which passes through their hands carries the sanitary label. This label is by no means a trifle. The workers must not be misled by outside intrigues who would make them believe that it is of minor importance. This effort to belittle the importance of the sanitary label is but one more of the tricks of those who have sworn eternal enmity to our Union and who are in all their actions upholding the cause of the meanest employers in the industry.

The establishment of unemployment insurance in the industry, as well as the other major new points in the agreement, is of similar importance. We cannot enlarge upon it at this moment and will return to it at another opportunity. The most important thing is that, as soon as the workers return to the shops, irrespective of whether they are coming back to their old jobs or to new places, they must bear in mind that the success of the new work regulations depends to a great extent upon their loyalty and confidence in their Union and their elected leaders, and upon the watchful observation that the new gains be lived up to in the strictest manner. Only then will the tremendous improvements gained in the trade become real and concrete as far as the workers are concerned.



IN THE REALM OF BOOKS



Escape

The Harp Weaver and Other Poems, By Edna St. Vincent Millay, New York: Harper Brothers, 1923.

By SYLVIA KOPALD

For too many of us poetry offers more release from the bleak actualities of everyday living. Text books and art critics have striven lustily to support this theory of the function of poetry, and even the new psychologists have talked of art and day-dreaming as similar escapes from a too harsh reality. In them sensitive souls run to cover from the unattractive aspects of things as they are to the glamorous shimmer of things as they might be.

Even if this be so, art has its significant place. In such days of stern strikes and hard economic clashes as these our union is now passing through we may find tonic and refreshment in the soft beauty of word music. Certainly Miss Millay's poetry possesses a lyric quality that can soothe the most jangled nerves. But that is all. Beauty is no mean part of life and things of such sheer loveliness as these word strings are their own excuse for being. But beauty exists in strange and multiple places—in a poignant grief as well as an awakening joy, in brave ugliness as well as in the most glowing radiance. And one cannot feel feeling, as he

loses these beautifully chiselled pages that Miss Millay has never even skated the highest peaks of beauty.

For here there is only escape. Yet, after all, men have warred and worked and rebelled and repined to the beat of songs. The Red Army as well as the Allied troops marched with their poets; every revolution has made its Marseillaises and Internationals, our working artists are catching the beauty of a panting locomotive glowing redly in the black night, of the closely packed temples of business New York straining to a calmly indifferent sky. No, the highest beauty is in life and the highest artists are those who help us meet and understand it. Great poetry heightens all experience and dims nothing. It sets the harsh little moments of the present in the vastness of time's sweep; it imparts both sharpness and serenity to our understanding and acceptance of reality. It probes and reveals and stings and soothes. Edna St. Vincent Millay's largest offering is escape.

But she has fashioned in this offering a thing of high quality. As a lyric poet she attains moments of great loveliness. Each of her poems

is a cameo whose lines remain sharply in the mind that receives them. There are phrases, too, that play on all the associations stored up in memory, awakening echoes that stir the past like the aftertones of a glorious organ chord struck in the silence of a church . . . "No wine so wonderful as thirst; . . . no fruit so wonderful as want" . . . "My heart, being hungry, feeds on food the fat of heart desire" . . . "Tis not love's going hurts my days but that it went in little ways" . . . "The harsh and slow years repeat each other, shod in rusty black, like one hack following another hack . . ."

Such gem-like phrases are set throughout these pages, phrases that linger and will not down. Only a lyric poet like Miss Millay can bring the final essence out of words. Always the simplest, homeliest words, yet strung together so happily that mind and quiver under their images they create. Many of the phrases that can make one grow bittler.

"Like a gnarled and stunted tree
Bearing fruit of my youth
Puckered fruit that sears the
mouth"

and also reveals a broken dart of moonlight splintered on the sea. The temptation to quote Miss Millay endlessly is obviously heavy. To read her poems once is merely to favor them; one returns again and again and bears away each time some new and lovely gift. It is almost upsetting, this magic of words. For I, at least, cannot feel that there is enough of substance in these songs to explain this lingering with them. Yet, I, too, come back. Two things are here—love and sensual beauty. On these notes Miss Millay plays like a musician pursuing the possibilities of

a single theme through the intricacies of a fugue. Autumn, spring and summer; wood-roads, dragon-flies and Cape-Cod; rain and sun and moon; love; happy love and unrequited love; all set in the varied beats of rhymed metre, in the laser quantities of free verse, in the rigid loveliness of the sonnet form.

Miss Millay adds to these two age-old themes. Those who brood over her music must always gather richer fruit from love and nature. But this, after all is a limited offering. Only man can partake of these things; work and struggle are for men. And although some of the greatest experiences are individual-birth and death as well as love and natural beauty, even they must be seen against the background of time and space and group. There are none of these larger undertones in Miss Millay's little poignancies. Only death and dust and the vanity of years that pass over loveliness shadow her poems. Eternity exists only to menace man's short span; the group is only an intrusion upon individual privacy.

In this haunting fugue of love and natural beauty there is only one jarring passage. Strangely enough that passage lies in the title poem. The Harp Weaver is a simple, tragic narrative of mother love, harrowed by poverty. Its symbols are delicate and elusive as gossamer and yet, once caught, are strong and permanent as the themes they treat. This first, set among the "escapes" of her poem, set among the "beauties" of her lyric beauty is perhaps an index of the still bigger things that may come from her pen. As her achievement now stands, any worker can go to her for relief from the oppression of routine strife and irritation that are the city workers' days.

In France—Paris

By PAULINE M. NEWMAN

II.

It is with reluctance that one leaves the Louvre and Rodin's Museum. One would like to stay longer and see more of the art treasures. For in back of one's mind is a way of thought: "The Lord knows when I will be here again." And yet, there are other things to see, places to visit in and around Paris. For instance, the foreigner is told not to miss the tomb of Napoleon. And rightly so. One should not miss it. Next to St. Peter's in Rome, it is the most impressive tomb we have seen in Europe. The dome of the famous Emperor, the man who was loved and hated, forms a church in itself. The exterior is adorned with Corinthian columns. Statues representing (God knows why) Justice, Temperance, Prudence and Strength are added to the appearance of the already imposing structure. From the floor of the church we lean over a balustrade and beneath the lofty dome, in a sarcophagus of dark red Finland granite are the remains of the great ruler. It is interesting to note here that the sarcophagus was a gift from Tsar Nicholas of Russia. (He must have admired Napoleon, if only for the strength which he himself lacked.) His victories are represented by twelve colossal figures, and innumerable flags taken in his various conquests. The mosaic pavement is arranged to represent a laurel wreath. We walked out of the church reading the inscription over the bronze entrance: "I desire that my ashes repose on the banks of the Seine in the midst of the French people whom I loved so well." This simple wish was found in his will. One wonders: was it love for his people, or love of self? Was it his desire to glorify France, or was it to achieve his own ambitions that made him the star actor on the stage of all Europe for so many years? What did little man pos-

sess that made so many people follow him—without even asking "whether"? What power was his that in spite of his brutality people loved him, worshiped him? Van Loon says that in his short span of time he fought more wars and gained more victories and marched more miles and conquered more square kilometers and killed more people and brought about more reforms and generally upset Europe to a greater extent than anybody had ever managed to do. And there he was. A heap of ashes. A memory. That is all. But an impressive heap nevertheless.

Another place of interest is the cemetery of Montmartre. The cemetery is divided into avenues. Many of the graves are sheltered by little brick and wooden canopies. Images, photographs and artificial flowers adorn the abodes of the dead. Many celebrities are buried here. On entering we saw a marble bust of Zola. Later on we saw a marvelous marble bust of monument to Heinrich Heine. A few faded roses at the foot of the monument indicated some visitor's appreciation of the great German poet. There were also the graves of the composers Offenbach and Debussy. To the right is the Jewish cemetery. On one of the tombs named Orlitz, stands a copy of "Moses" by Michael Angelo. We wandered on and on. How I wanted to take some snap shots—especially of Heine's monument, but we were not allowed to use our cameras. That was a real disappointment.

Since I am on the subject of cemeteries, I must mention the visit we paid to the grave of Marie Bashkirtseff. It is most interesting in that it does not look like a grave at all. It is really a room—a studio. In the center of the "room" is a table on which stand a few photographs—

supposed to be those of her family. On the walls are some of her own original paintings. There are two chairs and other articles that she used before her death. Here, too, were the remains of an extraordinary woman. As we stood there I remembered her journal—the record of her loves, ideas, ambitions, her opinions on art, science, literature and social questions. She died young—only twenty-three years old. I felt depressed. A queer sort of a grave for a queer, and at the same time of a most wonderful and gifted, young woman. She might have been even a greater artist and a greater writer had death not claimed her so early in life.

Those who have read Victor Hugo's "Notre Dame de Paris" go to see the Cathedral of Notre Dame. It is said to be the oldest church in Paris. It is a huge structure. There are three entrances to the interior. The great facade is surrounded by elaborate sculpture. There is a colossal figure of Christ, the Last Judgment, the Virgin Mary, and statues of Adam and Eve. The interior consists of a principal nave and a double series of aisles. Around the church—on the inside—are thirty-seven chapels. Before each chapel are men and women kneeling and praying to their particular saint. Though the church was dark, we did notice the fine wood carving and the many interesting works of ancient art.

After visiting a few more cathedrals and churches—there are plenty of them in Paris—we went to see the Arch of Triumph. It is a very beautiful monument, and was erected by order of Napoleon in memory of his achievements. It is said to be the largest triumphal arch in the world. It is one hundred and sixty feet high and a hundred and sixty-four feet wide. The history of France is told in groups of sculpture with names of officers and emperors who fought for the "glory" of France.

In a chamber above the arch is the grave of the unknown soldier. Hun-

dreds of natives and foreigners visit the tomb which represents a million and a half men who fell in the World War. Not so very far from this place stands the marvelous Eiffel Tower. From here one gets a most wonderful view of Paris and its surroundings. There are three "disco" with cafés and restaurants. The base covers an area of not less than two and one-half acres. The lightning protector surmounting the whole is over one thousand feet above the ground. We went up as high as the elevator would take us and had lunch while seeing Paris and miles and miles beyond it.

One also remembers Paris for the "Place de la Concorde." It is the finest public square we have seen in Europe. From here one can see the lovely Tuileries Gardens, the beginning of the beautiful Champs Elysées, the Rue de Rivoli and the Seine. The whole square is surrounded by statues representing various episodes of the life of France. It was also on this spot that the guillotine was set up and where Marie Antoinette and other nobles met their death at the hands of the revolutionists. Near there, toward the Tuileries Gardens, we saw a rather insignificant monument to Edith Cavell. The one we saw in England is much more expressive of the sacrifice she had made.

From here we drove through the world-famed avenue—Bois de Boulogne. It is beautiful—more so than Hyde Park of London. Under a very blue clear sky hundreds of automobiles and carriages were carrying men and women who came to see Paris and all it had to offer! Paris does seem to have something for everybody. The open air cafés with plenty of drinks; music halls aplenty to satisfy the popular taste; comic and classic opera; and sufficient other diversions that need disappoint no one. And for "us poor mortals" who do not speak French we find that English is quite popular in Paris. What more can one ask!

(To be continued)

Report of Mediators to Governor Smith

(Continued from page 2)

practices whereby the sub-manufacturers are compelled to resort to a disastrous and unfair competition, bringing about a complete demoralization of Labor standards. They asked for recognition as an important factor in the industry and complained that the jobbers for whom they were working had refused to accord to them any measure of the recognition to which they felt they were entitled.

Recommendations

"1. The Commission believes that unless all of the different factors in the industry, union, inside manufacturers, sub-manufacturers and jobbers, are brought together under a harmonious arrangement there can be no lasting peace in the industry. The question of the recognition of the union is not involved in this controversy. The union has been recognized by both the jobbers and the manufacturers who many years ago decided that it was to their advantage to deal collectively with the union and to maintain union standards in the industry. One point, and that is fundamental, must be emphasized. A group cannot agree to maintain union standards and then be permitted to resort to practices the only effect of which is to break down and weaken the very standards they have agreed to maintain and which they profess to regard as essential.

"The only hope for the future of the industry is to have the four elements mentioned assume mutual obligations that will bring about fair dealing, that will not give one group an unfair advantage over the other and that will tend to restore stability and insure the maintenance of proper Labor and sanitary standards in the industry.

"2. In order to eliminate the chaotic condition that has been created, by the multiplication of the sub-manufacturers and contractors who conduct shops in the industry, the union has requested, and all factors in the industry have approved, a reduction in the number of shops in the industry from 3,000 to nearer 1,500 by a process of consolidation that will permit no shop to be recognized under the agreement unless it employs at least fourteen machine operators and a corresponding number of employees in other branches of the work and is operated under a contract with the union. This will tend to bring about greater stability in employment and the maintenance of proper sanitary and working conditions.

"3. The parties have agreed that they would have their garments produced in union shops as recognized by the agreement. We recommend further that, if they purchase garments from manufacturers or sub-manufacturers, they do so only from those conducting such union shops. Unless this practice is followed there will develop an unfair form of competition and the opportunity will be afforded to break down all of the requirements of the agreement and to bring about a demoralization in working conditions.

"4. The Commission does not recommend the adoption of a union label as requested. It does, however, recommend that an appropriate label shall be adopted by the Joint Board of Sanitary Control, which is made up of representatives of employers and employees in the industry and of the public, to designate that the garments carrying the same have been manufactured under proper sanitary surroundings. The Joint Board of Sanitary Control shall furnish such labels at cost to manufacturers conducting union shops and maintaining the sanitary and safety standards of the Joint Board of Sanitary Control. Each member of the association obligates himself to handle or deal in no garments that do not bear this label.

Any dispute as to the form or manner of use of such label shall be determined by the impartial chairman.

"Pending the time the sanitary label is prescribed in jurisdictions outside of the New York market, this Commission will lay down rules under which the manufacturer or jobber may deal in garments produced in such outside jurisdictions provided such garments can be shown to have been manufactured or produced in shops having contractual relations with the union. In this connection it should be noted that in practice, manufacturers or jobbers in the New York market do not buy from outside markets. Such purchases may be made in exceptional instances, hence this reservation.

"We make the recommendation for the sanitary label because we believe that it would protect the consumer against garments made under unsanitary or improper working conditions. It will operate as a very powerful influence in maintaining proper Labor standards and in preventing their undermining by unwholesome competition. Such a guarantee to the consuming public represents a considerable advance in enforcing enlightened sanitary and Labor conditions in the interest of all the parties in the industry.

"5. We believe that all of the factors in the industry should be represented on the Joint Board of Sanitary Control and should in the exercise thereof. In that event, the board, which has done such excellent work for over twelve years, would be able to continue and expand its efforts to bring about better sanitary and working conditions in the industry and to improve the health and efficiency of the workers.

"6. We recommend that the manufacturers and jobbers' associations shall cooperate with the union in establishing and maintaining an unemployment insurance fund for the benefit of the members of the union. The fund shall be made up by contributions from the manufacturers, sub-manufacturers or contractors and the union or individual members of the union; the contributions of the employers to the unemployment insurance fund shall be equal to 2 per cent of the weekly payroll and that of the workers to 1 per cent of their weekly wages.

The fund shall be administered jointly under proper rules and provisions to be agreed upon by both parties.

"7. We believe that the parties in a highly seasonal industry as the cloak and suit industry should establish an unemployment insurance fund by voluntary arrangement, with a view to encouraging the lengthening of the seasons of employment and to relieving the employees from some of the more acute hardships that a highly seasonal industry imposes upon them.

"8. The Commission recommends that each jobber shall be responsible to the members of the union for the payment of their wages for work done by them on garments made by their employer for such jobber, provided that such liability shall be limited to one full week's wages in every instance. We do not recommend that the jobbers' association as such guarantee the payment of such wages.

"9. We do not recommend the request of the union for a reduction of the hours of labor from forty-four hours a week to forty hours a week. We do not believe that such reduction is advisable at this time.

"10. We do not recommend in the form submitted to us the demands of the union for a limitation of the number of sub-manufacturers to work for each jobber, and for a guaranteed period of employment. Those demands have as their object a mere

equitable distribution of the work in the industry and a more equal opportunity of labor to the workers. With this purpose the Commission is in full sympathy. The subject, however, is a very complicated one, highly technical in character, and we are not in a position to pass upon the points involved. We recommend an impartial investigation of this, as well as other technical problems of the industry, by a group of experts designated by the Commission to conduct these investigations in such form and manner as the Commission may prescribe, and to report it not later than January 1, 1925. The expenses of these investigations are to be borne by the four organizations in the industry to which reference has been made. When this report is submitted to it, the Commission will be in a position to make definite recommendations on the technical problems presented to it based upon knowledge of the actual facts and conditions as they exist.

"10. The Commission is firmly of the opinion that in order to maintain peace in the industry and to promote the welfare of all the parties concerned, as well as of the consuming public, machinery should be set up for the impartial determination of all questions in dispute that may arise between the four factors already mentioned—that is, the union, the inside manufacturers, the sub-manufacturers and the jobbers. Each party to any dispute may name a representative to serve on a trial board, but in the event that the representatives do not reach an agreement satisfactory to all of them, the decision of the impartial chairman shall be final and binding upon the parties involved. If the parties are unable to agree upon the impartial chairman within two weeks after the agreements have been entered into, he shall be appointed by the Commission.

"11. The American Association, the association of sub-manufacturers, should be given a definite standing and the necessary recognition by the other factors in the industry. In connection with their arrangement with the jobbers, we recommend the adoption by all of the members of the Merchants' Ladies' Garment Association of the uniform order blank which apparently is satisfactory to all of the members of the jobbers' association, but which most of them have not used in their transaction with the sub-manufacturers. We also recommend that such order blank contain a provision that the cost of insurance be not charged against the sub-manufacturers. We further recommend that a committee of three impartial business men designated by this Commission having no connection with the parties in interest be appointed to formulate a code of trade practices to govern the dealings between the jobbers and sub-manufacturers.

The findings of this committee shall be submitted to the Commission. The latter will then make such recommendations on the subject to the parties in interest as it deems necessary and proper. The Commission recommends that the proposal of a minimum labor cost discussed at considerable length in the hearings should be included in the expert investigation which the Commission has proposed outlined in paragraph nine thereof.

"The Commission has already recommended the participation of the American Association in the machinery creating an impartial chairman for the adjustment of any disputes that may arise between any parties in the industry to which reference has been made.

"12. The Commission recommends that the terms of the present contract be for a period of one year in order that there may be an opportunity for the Commission to act on the report of the expert investigation, and to submit such recommendations for changes in the contract as may be deemed advisable after such report has been received.

"13. If there is any dispute concerning the interpretation of any of the recommendations made by the Commission, the dispute should be submitted to the Commission, whose decision shall be final.

"The foregoing sets forth briefly the more important recommendations made by the Commission. The detailed recommendations of the Commission concerning the proposed agreement submitted by the union are set forth in Appendix A attached hereto.

"We wish to express our appreciation of the very helpful attitude of the four organizations in the industry that have appeared before us, of their counsel and of their officers. We are mindful that much remains to be done by the Commission to bring about a solution of the highly complicated and technical problems with which the industry is confronted. With the cooperation of the various factors in the industry, we believe that, after the report of the expert investigation has been submitted to us, we shall be in a position to make recommendations that will lay the foundation for permanent peace and stability in this important industry.

"Respectfully submitted,

"GEORGE GORDON BATTLE,
Chairman.

"BERNARD L. SHIENTAG,
Industrial Commissioner.

"HERBERT R. LEHMAN,

"ARTHUR D. WOLF,

"LINDSAY ROGERS."

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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

Sessions 1922-23 and 1923-24

LESSON 10—Continued.

2. Indeed within recent years the Italian immigrant workers have manifested as keen and intelligent an insight in the Labor movement as the Germans and Jews. And the other races are rapidly assuming their full share of responsibility in the conduct of the affairs of the union.
- VII. 1. Nor have these needle trades unions been content with merely imitating the progressive German and English speaking Labor movement.
2. In addition to practicing the progressive policies of unionism, socialism and cooperation, they have been the pioneers in launching and initiating many vital activities.
 - (a) They were the first to appreciate the significance of Workers' Education in which the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union was the pioneer.
 - (b) These unions were among the first to appreciate the importance of research and investigation as a basis for effective and intelligent action.
 - (c) They were the first to improve on the old collective bargaining practices by introducing methods now characterized as the first steps in constitutionalism in industry. This consists of a form of machinery functioning continuously and giving the workers an equal voice with the employer in the administration of working conditions.
 - (d) To the needle trades unions also goes the credit of being the first to wage successful campaigns for the forty-four-hour week.
 - (e) At present these unions are leading in the attempt to stabilize industry and reduce unemployment to a minimum through the pressure of unemployment insurance financed by the industry.
 - (f) These needle trades are also equaling the efforts of the remainder of the Labor movement in organizing Labor banks so as to use the financial resources of the workers in controlling credit in the interests of Labor.
 - (g) And now the needle trades workers are turning their attention to the organization of the American workers in their trades. While this is a difficult task their experience thus far seems to indicate that they will master it as they have other difficult undertakings.

REFERENCE BOOKS

Howrick—Immigration and Labor, Chapter XV.

Jenks and Lauck—The Immigration Problem, Chapter XI.

Saposs—The Mind of Immigrant Communities, Chapter IV, in Interchurch Steel Strike Report on Public Opinion and the Steel Strike.

Leiserson—Adjusting Immigrant and Industry, Chapters IX, X, XI and XII.

Schaller—The Brewing Industry and the Brewery Workers' Movement in America.

Bodich and Seale—The New Unionism.

Exercises at the Pioneer Youth Camp

A number of men and women prominent in the Labor and workers' educational movements and those in the field of learning who are interested in the development of the child will assemble Sunday, July 20, in Pawling, New York, and will celebrate the inauguration of the Pioneer Youth Camp, which is run under the auspices of the National Association for Child Development.

Short addresses will be given by a few persons, and the audience will have an opportunity to see the camp with all its equipment.

Interest in this first youth camp is shown by the number of registrants. We are delighted to know that so many of our members appreciate

the need for outdoor life for their children, in congenial surroundings and an atmosphere that will inculcate in the child a desire to serve the progressive movement of our time.

DR. E. C. LINDEMAN TO LECTURE AT UNITY HOUSE

Dr. E. C. Lindeman, the well-known sociologist, will lecture in our Unity House on "Functional Groups" and will particularly emphasize the trade union. Dr. Lindeman is an authority on this subject, and we are certain that his lecture will be of great educational value to our members.

These weekly lectures will be continued by our Educational Department throughout the season.

The Contribution of Trades-Unions To Modern Civilization

By FANNIA M. COHN

The trade-union movement is not the result of caprice. It is a normal response to an urgent economic and social need. With the development of steam and electricity came the disappearance of the artisan with his small workshop. He was displaced by immense shops and factories, where multitudes of workers were brought together under one roof. These industrial wage earners had no share in the ownership of the tools and machinery with which they worked and were reduced to the level of "hands." Their health and lives were endangered by unsanitary and unsafe conditions. They were at the mercy of autocratic management who acted most of the time for absentee employers.

In our highly organized industrial society, the personality of the individual is reduced almost to insignificance. Nowadays, he functions through his organization—professional, economic, political, or otherwise. The individual takes pride in the collective achievement of the organized group to which he belongs. At the same time, our industrial society tends to subordinate men to machines. The worker, whether he works with brain or brawn, is affected by technical developments more than a member of any other group. He must be an efficient human machine if he is to keep above the water.

The trade-union movement is the gathering of those forces which are discontented with the modern industrial society where the individual worker is reduced to insignificance, and is merely an efficient human machine easy to replace.

Under the present system of industry, man follows the machine. There is no chance for personal development

or initiative on the part of the worker. It is only through the trade-unions that workers obtain an opportunity to act in many capacities on the industrial, economic, political, cooperative and educational fields. As members of unions, they have a chance to develop their creative faculties. Through their trade-unions, they act collectively and think of the good of the group, rather than of their individual advancement.

As members of trade-unions, workers give conscious and planned consideration to problems not only of their own group and industry, but of society as a whole. They also make efforts to solve them.

To millions of workers, their union is not only the organization that protects them on the economic field, but is also the organization that gives them an opportunity to develop character and personality. It gives them dignity, self-confidence, and self-respect as citizens and as human beings. The union, which is built by the workers themselves without "company interference," is the true reflection of their intelligence.

The trade-union movement gives an aim and a philosophy. It formulates a constructive plan and creates new economic and spiritual values, not only for the millions of workers and their families, but for society as a whole. That the trade-union is an important institution in our modern industrial society cannot be disputed. It is only the nearsighted, those who do not see and understand the world we live in, and who are not concerned with the future of our civilization, who challenge workers' organizations and stop at nothing to destroy them.

—Molders' Journal, June, 1924.

"Workers' Education Quarterly Journal"

The quarterly journal issued by the Workers' Education Bureau of America is just out, and contains some very interesting articles. The editorial notes deal with problems of the workers' education movement, touching upon the problems of the classroom, teachers, etc., the progress that workers' education is making in this country, and giving an account of the conventions held by the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, the United Mine Workers, District No. 2, and the Pennsylvania and Colorado State Federations of Labor. At all these conferences workers' education was seriously discussed in one way or another.

There is an interesting article "The Perils of Over Specialization," by Prof. Chas. A. Beard, which is reprinted elsewhere in this issue. There are remarks made by Professor Beard in an informal address to a conference of teachers and professors of workers' study classes, which was recently held in New York under the auspices of the Workers' Education Bureau. Other articles are "More Real Wages for All Workers," by Prof. John R. Commons; "A Regional

Teachers' Institute," by Spencer Miller, Jr., secretary of the Bureau; an article by Frieda S. Miller, on "An Oasis in Germany"; "Workers' Education in the South," by H. L. Brunson, field secretary of the Workers' Education Bureau of America; and one on "Workers' Education and Internationalism," by Fannia M. Cohn. Then there is a review of the International Conference of Education, and three pages contain notes of the workers' summer schools which are now held in different parts of our country. This is followed by book reviews.

The quarterly contains thirty-two pages of valuable information. Members of the Bureau receive it free. Otherwise the price is twenty-five cents a copy and one dollar a year. We advise our members either to become members of the Bureau and obtain it free or subscribe to it. This will keep them in touch with the progress of workers' education in this country and will also keep them posted on the aims and problems of this movement and how they are being solved.

The Week In Local 10

By SAM B. SHENKER

A meeting of unusual proportions of the striking cloak and suit cutters took place Monday afternoon, July 14, at 2 o'clock, in Arlington Hall, at which Manager Dubinsky addressed the men and reported to them the progress of the strike. Brother Perlmutter, who is hall chairman, acted as chairman of the meeting. Other speakers who addressed the gathering were Edward Collins, general organizer of the American Federation of Labor, and John Coughlin, secretary of the Central Trades and Labor Council.

Members Heartily Approve New Pact
For attendance and manifestation of a remarkable spirit, the meeting was practically without precedent. The large meeting-room of Arlington Hall and the balcony were packed to capacity, with every inch of standing room occupied. Hundreds who were unable to gain admission gathered in the lobby of the hall in an effort to hear Brother Dubinsky. The number present nearly reached the 2,500 mark. There was no need of asking the members of Local 10 their opinion as to whether they approve of the agreement which the Union has accepted. The applause which greeted the mention of the points gained by the Union was more than ample evidence of endorsement.

This was the second meeting of the cutters which Manager Dubinsky addressed since the calling of the organization strike. The first was held on Wednesday, the day after the calling of the strike. This meeting, too, was remarkable in point of attendance and display of fine spirit. At this meeting, the first since the Manager's reading of the new agreement before the members at their regular meeting, the men had already shown their hearty approval of the new agreement.

The members who attended the regular meeting at which Dubinsky read the agreement will recall the impatience displayed by the men over the fact that the Union had permitted the employers to drag the dickering on. Hence, when the day after the calling of the strike, the cloak and suit cutters gathered to hear Dubinsky's report, they took advantage of the opportunity and expressed their approval of the agreement, in spite of the fact that the meeting was not called for that purpose. The men no doubt sought the opportunity for this and took advantage of it then. The meeting which was held last Monday surpassed the first one in point of attendance and demonstration.

Jobbers Forced To Accept Responsibility

In spite of the fact that the creation of the sanitary label and the unemployment insurance fund are remarkable and unprecedented gains for the Union, nevertheless the points which the manager stressed before the men at the meeting on Monday were those which dealt with recognition by the Governor's Commission that jobbers are employers, and the importance of enforcing the clause which compels manufacturers to install fourteen machines and employ at least an equal number of men.

It was very important for the Union to establish the fact that the so-called jobbers are in the real sense of the word manufacturers and employers. Dubinsky said that when the representatives of the Union stressed this point, the jobbers were insistent in their denial of this fact. They implied that it was an imposition for the Union to make this claim and fasten on them the term employer.

The representatives of the Merchants Association claimed that they merely bought their merchandise and

it should make no difference to any one where they bought it.

During the course of the hearings before the Commission the Union was compelled, owing to certain difficulties, to call a number of shops out on strike which were engaged on work for some of the jobbers, members of the association. Immediately after this became known to those affected, they appeared before the Commissioners and charged the Union with attempting to ruin their business. The Advisory Commission seemed not to understand their indignity and asked why they complained if they were not employers and secured their merchandise by purchase anywhere.

Union Must Enforce Large Unit Shop

Manager Dubinsky pointed out that since it was the Union which won the point it stressed so much—that of the installation by employers of fourteen machines and the hiring of an equal number of operators—responsibility for the enforcement of this rests solely upon the shoulders of the Union.

Heretofore the organization inserted this clause in independent agreements, but it could not be enforced because the Protective Association and the jobbers did not recognize this clause. In the present agreement it is made mandatory upon all employers, association as well as independent.

The enforcement of this clause, however, rests finally with the Union in the settlement of shops. At the meeting of the general strike committee, last Monday night, International President Morris Sigman dwelt on this point. He pointed out that if the Union settles a single shop with less than fourteen machine operators, the union could rightly be charged with abrogation of the agreement.

President Sigman said that a great responsibility is placed upon Manager Dubinsky, whose duty it is, as head of the Organization Committee, not to pass upon any applications for settlement unless employers submitting applications could prove conclusively that they had on their premises fourteen machines and would hire at least an equal number of operators.

Dubinsky said that for the Union to neglect the full enforcement of this clause would justify the jobbers' accusing the Union of failure to live up to the agreement. In respect to a clause which the Union had insisted upon.

Another Important Gain

Another very important gain which the Union has to its credit, Dubinsky said, was the right granted to it to investigate the books of members of the Protective Association. The manager said that this is the first time in the history of the Union's relations with the Protective that such a point was scored by the Joint Board. And one of the most important functions of the many with which Dubinsky is charged, is the investigation of the shops the employers of which apply for settlement.

The manager told the members at their meeting on Monday afternoon that not a single shop would be sent back to work until a complete investigation is made.

Dubinsky said that when he came to address the cutters, he had in mind warning them against clamoring for the immediate settlement of their shops. He also intended to warn them against being made victims of unscrupulous employers who are anxious to place obstacles in the way of the Union's present constructive work. There were, he said, people who are anxious to do this and who cause members of the Union to besiege the headquarters of the Organization

Committee and insist upon immediate a.k.-ing of shops regardless of whether or not investigations were made.

But, the manager told the members, the moment he saw the fine display on the part of the members of the Cutters' Union of the spirit of organization men, he was confident that the enemies of the Union would fall miserably in their attempts to use the cutters to these ends.

Manager Heads Important Committee

In his opening remarks as chairman of the meeting, Brother Perlmutter said that Local 10 should feel itself fortunate in having its manager heading so important a committee as the one on organization.

Of greatest importance with regard to the work of the committee insofar as the cutters' end of it is concerned, is that shops sent back to work should contain, among workers of the various crafts, a cutter. Perlmutter is confident for that reason that no shop will be a.k.-ed unless the employer whose application is being considered hires a cutter. He said that he had made the necessary arrangements with Dubinsky.

Perlmutter is not alone in expressing his gratification over the fact that Dubinsky is heading the Organization Committee. President Sigman, in his report to the General Strike Committee, expressed the same opinion. The President said that he was confident that Dubinsky would not let a single shop slip by unless he was certain that the proper number of operators, cutters and workers in other crafts are employed in it. This is due, the President said, to the fact that Dubinsky is not "a loose fellow."

Dame Rumor Also Active

Sinister influences are not idle in this strike. There are elements in the ranks of so-called friends of the Union, as well as employers, who are anxious to cause dissension. When the question of the label was before the Commission for interpretation and when the interpretation was agreed upon, these elements thought they saw their opportunity and began sowing seeds of distrust.

But the members saw through the scheme. The so-called modification was but natural. The jobbers wanted to know whether they would have a right to purchase garments made in the Chicago, Philadelphia and other markets where the sanitary label was not in effect. To this the jobbers received the reply that, if it is proven that the garments they purchased were manufactured in union shops, there would be no objection.

Systematic Handling of Cutters

Hall Chairman Perlmutter has perfected his system of handling the in-

cluding of working cards for cutters whose shops will be settled. Settlements, by the way, were due to start the middle of this week. And there is no doubt that many cutters will have their working cards by the time this issue reaches the hands of the members.

Perlmutter said that a special member of Local 10 would be placed in the Hall who will act as an information clerk with regard to settled shops and working cards. One thing which the chairman of the cutters' hall emphasized was that no cutter will be permitted to go to work without having first secured a card in Arlington Hall.

It will be a serious violation for a cutter to go back to work without a card, Perlmutter said. He said he would urge upon the Executive Board the imposition of a large fine on members thus found guilty.

Many men took advantage of the present organization campaign and began taking their vacations. At first they were allowed leaves of absence, but when these became too frequent, Perlmutter was forced to put a stop to it. He wishes to impress upon the members the fact that no one should leave without his permission.

Registration Shows 100 Per Cent Response

Within twenty-four hours after the walkout, nearly 2,000 had registered. At the present time, taking into consideration the cloak men who have been working on dresses prior to the strike and 293 who were not connected with any shop, the registration is complete and nearly every one of the 2,500 cloak men is accounted for.

Those who have ably assisted Perlmutter in the supervision of registration, taking complaints and other matters pertaining to the strike are Executive Board members Samuel Karmeyer, Skulsh and President Ansel. These men are in daily attendance at Arlington Hall and give considerable help in aiding the members with all necessary information and instruction.

Isidore Nagler is one of the heads of the picket committee. Not a delinquent member escapes him. In his work he is assisted by thirty-two members of Local 10. These men have been divided into a few committees and are headed by Samuel Greenberg, Abe Reiss, Harry Friedman, Ruby Berman, Louis Polonsky and Max Silverstein.

Owing to lack of space the contributions received for the trust fund for Mrs. Lewin will be omitted here and printed in next week's issue of JUSTICE.

CUTTERS' UNION, LOCAL 10

ALL CUTTERS IN THE CLOAK AND SUIT TRADE during the present organization strike must register and report daily to Hall Chairman Samuel Perlmutter in Arlington Hall, 23 St. Marks Place. All complaints are accepted there and working cards issued.

No cutter should absent himself from the hall without permission of the hall chairman.

Upon the settlement of a shop, no member is permitted to go back to work without first securing a working card in Arlington Hall.

DRESS AND WAIST cutters must renew their working cards beginning now. All cutters found working on the old card are liable to a fine.

NOTICE OF MEETINGS

MISCELLANEOUS MEETING Monday, July 21st

Announcement of next regular meeting will be posted here.

Meetings Begin at 7:30 P. M.

AT ARLINGTON HALL, 23 St. Mark's Place