

"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. 31.

New York, Friday, August 1, 1924.

Price 2 Cents

Bulk of New York Cloak Strikers Back

Union to Meet This Thursday With All Employers' Associations in Cloak and Suit Industry to Pass Upon Selection of Impartial Chairman, Sanitary Label and Trade Mark—Governor's Commission Will Meet on Friday, August 1, to Settle Matters Left Undecided By Joint Meeting — Commission Will Also Announce Personnel of Experts to Investigate Cloak and Suit Industry—Workers of Standard Shops Being Fast Transferred to Standard Union Shops

The work of reorganizing the cloak shops in New York City is nearing its end. As we go to press, we still lack definite figures as to the number of cloakmakers who returned to work already, but we are safe in saying that in another few days all cloakmakers in every craft and branch of the trade will have permanent places in standard union shops.

Of course, it cannot be guaranteed that in all the settled shops there will be work plentifully right from the start. The season still has to begin, and the workers are advised not to leave their places if there is still lack of work in their shops. First, because they cannot get any other Union jobs, and, secondly, if there still remain some petty non-Union shops where they might be promised some work, they surely know from better past experience that these promises mean nothing and should not be tricked into such snares.

The principal thing to remember is that the big reorganization task is by this time over. Not a settlement has been made with any shop against which there could have been raised the least doubt that it would not or could not meet the full requirements of the Union. Suffice it to say that the money securities alone received by the Settlement Committee aggregate almost a half million dollars. Each settled shop has been sifted and examined over and over again before

the signature of the Union to the contract was given. As matters stand today, with the full aid and cooperation of the workers, there would not be a wheel turning this coming season in any sub-standard, "social," or "corporation" shops which have accrued the cloak and suit industry in past years.

A FEW MORE CONFERENCES

There are still a few important points pending between the Union and the employers' associations in New York that have to be agreed upon before matters will be running ahead smoothly. The question of an impartial chairman, of an administrator of the Unemployment Fund, and how this fund is to be collected, the question of the sanitary label—are subjects that still have to be adjusted be-

tween the Union and the employers.

For this purpose the Union will meet this Thursday, July 31, jointly with all the three employers organizations, the Protective, the Merchants, and the American associations. It is expected that no difficulties will develop at this meeting and that complete agreement will be reached on these points. Should, however, any disagreement develop, the Governor's Special Commission is to meet on the following day, Friday, August 1, to have its final say on any such mooted points. The Commission will also announce at the Friday meeting the names of the experts who will take charge of the investigation of the cloak and suit industry of New York which is provided for in the agreement between the Union and the employers' associations.

Conferences Begun In Boston Cloak Industry

Vice-president Sol Seidman, International representative in Boston and vicinity, has informed the General Office that the Boston Joint Board, upon his initiative, has begun conferring with the local manufacturers concerning changes in the agreement aiming at the introduction in the Boston cloak and suit market of the reforms brought about in New York by the decision of the Governor's Commission and the general strike which followed it.

Last week, Vice-presidents Seidman, Monoson and a committee of the Joint Board, had a conference with the manufacturers and the jobbers of Boston and outlined to them the position of the Union and its demands. They laid emphasis on the fact that Boston must conform in work standards to the New York market and that the Boston workers will not work under conditions inferior to those prevailing in New York. A minimum of fourteen machines for a standard shop, unemployment insurance for the jobless, and a sanitary label are among these demands.

The employers asked the representatives of the Union for time to consider these demands and promised to have an answer ready by Friday, August 1, when they would meet the Union again in conference.

Baltimore Cloak Strike Is Gaining Strength

The strike of the Baltimore cloakmakers which began last Wednesday, July 23, is in full swing now and developing very fast.

Several shops, big and small, have during the past week made an attempt to operate with strikers and the Union is, of course, resisting these efforts vigorously. The police, as us-

ual, is coming to the aid of the bosses, and is persecuting and even beating up the pickets. The brutality of the police in several instances has reached such proportions that the Baltimore "Evening News," a newspaper which cannot be suspected of particular friendliness to Labor, has come out sharply protesting against the unwar-

ranted acts of the bluecoats and calling upon the citizens to help the workers to protect the rights of free assembly and free speech in this strike.

Which after all is but an indication that the Baltimore cloak bosses are in a hole and their resorting to force is an act of sheer desperation. The Baltimore sweaters know that their goose is cooked, that the sweat shop must disappear from the local cloak market. The public opinion of the city is against them and is indignant about their mistreatment of the peaceful pickets. The few cops that they still have will, no doubt, soon abandon them too and join the ranks of the strikers. It is but a question of days before the Baltimore cloak strike will be won.

Some prominent Baltimore citizens are making an attempt to settle the strike by mediation. There is a proposal on foot to have Governor Ritchie of Maryland appoint a committee to take up the contentions of both sides, and settle the strike along the same lines as the controversy in New York had been settled by Governor Smith's Commission. The Union in Baltimore will, of course, acquiesce in such a proposal, as it has a strong and convincing case and fears no impartial investigation.

But, whatever the result of these moves for peace, the fight will meanwhile be prosecuted by the Union unrelentingly, and, according to Brother Sol Polakoff, the manager of the Baltimore cloakmakers, the strikers are conducting themselves like courageous and loyal Union men and women.

set in union and as a body.

The drive is on and the International is looking forward to very interesting happenings in that city as soon as the local is strong enough to begin making its influence felt.

Toledo Cloakmakers Flocking Back To Their Union

The Cloakmakers' Union of Toledo, Ohio, is getting back to life. The Toledo cloak manufacturers, who have begun to think that they are through with the Union "for good" are due for a rude awakening.

It is true that after the local employers have succeeded in obtaining several drastic injunctions against the organization about two years ago, the activity of the Toledo local came to a stop. The employers, however, are now discovering that the Union "affliction" is still here and quite alive at that as if nothing ever happened to it.

The fact remains that the Union has

been revived in Toledo and the steady work of Vice-president Perstein, International representative in the Middle West and of the local organizer Barkan, has brought astonishing results. Local 67, only recently practically dead, is today a healthy, virile body with a considerable number of members, and the expectation is general that it will soon be as strong as it ever was, ready to take up the fight against the Toledo cloak manufacturers, their sworn opponents and persecutors.

Naturally the activities of Vice-president Perstein and Barkan could not remain for long a secret in the

local cloak market. The manufacturers, having learned of the "resurgence" of the Union in Toledo issued an order to the effect that any cloakmakers discovered belonging to the organization would be summarily discharged. In fact, they did discharge a few men, but this terrorist act produced an impression which the employers never anticipated. It provoked immense indignation in the shops as the workers have been, of a sudden, made to feel that they are veritable slaves subject to the autocratic will of the bosses. The result of this move was that dozens of workers joined the local.

Of course, the workers are as yet joining the Union in Toledo clandestinely. They are still afraid of the iron hand of the bosses which is ready to descend upon them any moment and deprive them of their daily bread. One firm, which employs about 400 workers, recently hit upon the plan of forming a company "union" in the shop. Some of the workers in this shop—Kohn, Friedlander and Martin—have ostensibly joined the company outfit, but they are at the same members of Local 67, and it is quite likely that the firm will soon regret having organized this company "union" as in the end it will teach the workers to

Local 66 Elects Officers

Last Thursday, July 24, Local 66, the Bonnas Embroidery Workers' Union of New York, has held an election for officers, and according to the report of Manager Esselfield, the election passed off in an exemplary manner.

The installation of the officers takes

place next Tuesday, August 5. The new officers are to be congratulated upon the trust with which they have been invested by the members of the local and it is to be hoped that they will prove, during the term of their office, that they have fully merited this trust.

Chicago Cloakmakers Soon To Negotiate New Agreement

Like all other cloak centers Chicago will soon have to go through with the task of reorganizing the local cloak industry.

The Chicago cloak market is suffering from the same ills and abuses as have harassed the cloak industry in New York, Philadelphia, Boston and other cities for so many years past. Whether this reorganization in Chicago will be consummated peacefully or not is difficult to foretell. It will, of course, largely depend upon the local manufacturers, jobbers and sub-manufacturers. If they display intelligence enough to understand that such

a reorganization is inevitable, there will be peace in Chicago and the industry will not have to be dislocated. If, however, they will prefer war, the Union will have no alternative left but to accept the challenge.

Meanwhile the Chicago Joint Board is continuing its regular activity. Last week, the new officers of the Union were installed, and upon this new group of officers will doubtless fall the brunt of the activity which the Chicago Union will have to carry on—peace or war—during the next few months.

State Labor Party Convention to be held August 16, In Albany

The National Conference for Progressive Political Action has turned over the task of calling a state convention to Gilbert E. Roe, Morris Hillquit and Thomas E. Ryan.

The convention is to be held in Albany, August 16, and the call will be sent out shortly.

The groups represented in Cleveland will be eligible to representation at the Albany Convention, August 16, 1924.

Representation to this convention is arranged on the basis of the rules adopted at the Cleveland Conference of C. P. A. which reads as follows:

State Conferences: As soon as practicable, the National Committee shall call conferences of farmers' organizations, labor unions, cooperative societies and other progressive political forces, including individuals, in each State of the Union, for the purpose of perfecting permanent State organizations. Such conferences shall be composed of the State and local organizations of farmers and workers, local cooperative societies and Ward or Assembly dis-

trict organizations of the progressive political parties and groups represented in the conference. Each of such organizations shall be entitled to one delegate. The mode of voting at such State Conference shall be the same as herein provided for General Meetings of the Conference for Progressive Political Action, except that on roll call votes each non-political organization shall be entitled to one vote for every thousand members in good standing, or fraction thereof, and political organizations shall be entitled to one vote for every 5,000 votes cast for their candidate for the office of Governor in the last preceding election. State political organizations affiliated with this conference, which are already organized, shall be allowed to continue their existing forms of organization and methods of work. Organizations within the different States affiliated with this conference may take the initiative in constituting such State Conference unaffiliated to the National Committee.

Strikes In Out of Town Shops Almost All Settled

Immediately after it became known that a general stoppage of work in the cloak and suit industry of New York was imminent—of an organization nature or of a regular strike for the enforcement of Union terms—the Out-of-Town department of the International got busy, and the shops in the small towns in New York, New Jersey and Connecticut lying within the so-called out-of-town zone, were ordered to get ready for the strike.

Of course, the principal purpose of this move was to make sure that these shops be not converted into scab-nests in case the strike in New York takes place. And sure enough, as soon as the cloakmakers in New York were called out on July 8, the workers in these outlying shops followed suit.

This speaks volumes for the efficiency and the preparedness of the International Out-of-Town Department. It must be remembered that only a few years ago there was not a trace of Union activity in any of these localities. The open-shop reigned there supreme and with the aid of women workers who did not know better, unscrupulous non-union employers from New York could defy the Union from these towns at will, manufacturing scab-work to compete with strikers in New York. To-

day, however, these workers are organized, and as soon as the strike broke out in New York, they quit work too at the signal of the Union.

And the workers in these localities surely have no cause to regret their present affiliation with the Union. Just as soon as the Union in New York began to settle with the employers, the Out-of-Town Department with Secretary Baroff and Vice-presidents Halperin and Dubinsky at the head, together with the local organizers, proceeded to settle with the employers in the smaller towns, such as Yonkers, Hackensack, Mount Vernon and others, on the same terms as the settlements were being made in New York City.

The settlements proceeded rapidly and in a number of shops the workers obtained substantial increases, in some shops, as Vice-president Halperin informs us, amounting to ten and fifteen dollars weekly. Of course, the workers are quite satisfied with the outcome, and they are fast coming to the conclusion that it is a great deal better to belong to a great family of organized workers rather than to work at the mercy of the boss and entirely away from the protective wing of the Union.

Ladies Tailors Raise Dues

Boris Drasin, the secretary of the Tailors' Union, Local 38, announces that the local will have a very important meeting on Tuesday, August 5, at the Harlem Educational Center, 62 East 106th street, New York City, at 8 p. m.

Members are also requested to take notice of the fact that on and

after August 15, the dues of all the members of Local 38 will be increased to forty cents per week. It would therefore be advisable that the members pay up all their back dues and arrears before that date—as after it these back dues will be computed on the basis of forty cents per week.

Parliament of British Labor Meets Sept. 1st.

Program of the Fifty-sixth Trades Union Congress:

Important developments in Trade Union policy and organization are set down for discussion at the fifty-sixth annual Trades Union Congress, which meets at Hull under the chairmanship of Mr. A. A. Purcell, M. P., on September 1, and will continue for the five following days.

The final agenda of the Congress issued last week contain over a hundred resolutions, ranging from the prevention of war to the competition of policemen's and firemen's bands with civilian musicians.

More than a score of resolutions deal with problems of Trade Union policy and organization. The most important of them is the resolution standing in the name of the General Council proposing an extension of its powers in dealing with industrial disputes.

General Council's Powers

This resolution imposes upon the affiliated Unions the obligation of keeping the General Council informed on all matters arising between Unions and employers or between one Union and another, especially when large bodies of workers are directly or indirectly involved. The Council will then, if necessary, circulate this information to other Unions concerned. It will not, unless specifically invited to do so, intervene in any dispute until all negotiations break down and a deadlock arises.

If the deadlock is considered to be

of such a character as to involve other bodies of workpeople directly or indirectly in a stoppage of work or to imperil standard wages, hours, or conditions of employment, the General Council asks for authority to call a conference of the Unions affected and to endeavor to promote a settlement. Unions which refuse the assistance or advice of the General Council in such circumstances will be reported to Congress.

Should a stoppage of work result from the policy of the employers the General Council seeks authority to organize on behalf of the Unions concerned all the moral and material support that the situation warrants.

Amendments to this resolution, proposed by the Brass and Metal Mechanics and by the Furnishing Trades Association, would authorize the General Council to organize united resistance as soon as negotiations break down, and to raise funds by a call upon the Unions to meet the expenditure incurred. The Unions are asked to agree to such changes of their rules as would make these proposals operative.

Workers' Charter

The agenda also contain the new Congress program which the delegates will be asked by the General Council to ratify. It embodies demands for the public ownership and control of natural resources and services, including land, mines, minerals, and railways; a legal maximum week of forty-four hours and a legal minimum wage for each industry; ade-

quate maintenance for the unemployed, with training centers for unemployed juveniles and extension of training facilities for adults during periods of trade depression; and among other claims, old age pensions for all at sixty, and pensions for widowed mothers and independent children.

Craft or Industrial Unionism?

Three unions, including the M. P. B., propose reorganization of the

Trade Union movement on the basis of organization by industry. Two others advocate craft unionism, and one expresses disapproval of the action of the M. P. G. B. in compelling colliery craftsmen who are members of their own Craft Union to join the Federation. The National Seamen and Firemen's Union asks Congress to condemn the action of the N. U. R. in attempting to enroll seamen, miners, engineers, and other workers on the plea that they are connected with railways.

Are you receiving the Justice each week?

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

Take the matter up with your secretary, or write to

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

TRADE AND ORGANIZATION PROBLEMS

What Our Rank and File Members Think of the "Red" Scab Agents

Letters to the Editor

He Knows Them

Dear Editor:

From the first day the Union presented its new demands to the employers, we were all convinced that these demands were just. Our leaders, as a matter of fact, were so convinced of the justness of these demands that they openly declared that they were ready to submit these requests to an impartial committee for decision. Governor Smith having learned of that called both sides together and appointed such a committee.

This commission has already given out its verdict, and every person who is not blinded by prejudice can see now that the Union has won very much by this decision. It remains now for us, of course, to see that these gains are not paper gains and that they be carried into practice. I shall not enter into details as I am sure that our readers have read all about it in JUSTICE. But it would seem that our dear "friends," who are ready to "sacrifice" themselves every hour of the day for the poor cloakmakers are awfully upset because we have made such a fine showing with comparative little effort. So these black-red devils are trying now to break into our ranks and to smash up the things we have succeeded in building up after years of incessant labors. These "red" scab agents stop before nothing—lies, slander, criminal charges, fabrications, in order to set the workers against their Union and leaders.

When the Governor's Commission gave out its decision and the Union accepted it, these blackhanders came out yelling that the Union has lost everything, that the leader had been bribed, etc. But when they heard that the employers refused to accept the agreement and demanded time to consider it, they came out with another fabrication that the leaders of the Union asked the employers not to

accept the agreement so as to befuddle the minds of the workers. And when at the final hours the employers still would not yield, they spread another canard to the effect that the employers are now playing for more concessions and the Union leaders will surely grant them such changes.

Fortunately, the barking of these homeless curs is entirely lost upon the great masses of our cloakmakers. We know them, and we know that their tactics are aimed at putting the leaders of the Union off the right track. They wanted the Union to reject the recommendations of the Commission and to declare a strike rashly. That would have, of course, dissatisfied the members and then they could have had a chance for their ugly tricks. But the leaders of the Cloakmakers' Union would not be fooled, nor would the rank and file be easily misled. The workers know this game.

BEN ELIAZAR.

Ask the Old-Timers

Dear Editor:

Permit me, a cloakmaker who has been working at the machine for the past eighteen years, to say a few words to my young fellow-cloakmakers who arrived in the shops after everything had been made ready for them, after their predecessors had won for them some degree of self-respect and humanity in the factory. I want to tell you that you must not think that this all was accomplished without an effort. I want to tell that it was a great, hard task to organize the cloakmakers. It came as a result of the awakening of an enslaved generation of men and women and when the awakening came the fight followed and we won.

Since that day we have had many a conflict with the employers. Ask those who built the Union; ask those who suffered for many years before the Union was established—and they will tell you that the smallest victory

The New Jersey District Council

The readers of your paper are quite likely interested to know what the New Jersey District Council is doing these days. These few lines are intended to supply this information.

The council has been in existence for six months now. It has a chairman and a secretary. The chairman of the council is no other than former International president, Brother Abraham Rosenberg.

The Council consists of ten local unions, all, of course, situated in New Jersey. Each of the locals is represented on the council by two delegates and the dues are two dollars per month. The council meets once a month, each time in a different city.

It is certain that the council will benefit the members of the New Jersey locals. To be sure, the influence of the council is already beginning to be felt. Locals practically un-

heard from before have begun to be active. The strangeness between the locals has disappeared and a feeling of friendship has sprung up instead.

The last meeting of the council was held in Long Branch on Saturday, July 12, 1924. It was a well attended meeting and the delegates have shown a real interest in all proceedings. Brother Halperin, the manager of the Out-of-Town department of the International, was present at the last meeting and made a general statement with regard to the work of his department during the cloak strike. He declared himself satisfied with the work of his staff and expressed the hope that when the strikers return to work they will find themselves victors in the full sense of the word.

More—a second time.

LEO ARDIE,
Secretary.

for the cloakmakers means the biggest defeat for the bosses.

Don't let anyone mislead you. Ask the old soldier and he will tell you: We are going ahead in the fight for our just demands!

SAMUEL ROSINSKY,
Member Local 1.

Recognition For Our Leaders

Dear Editor:

I am a member of our Union since 1909, and have during this time gone through many strikes and settlements. Of all these settlements the present one appears to me to be the best and the finest we ever scored. Let us not fool ourselves; suppose Governor Smith had not appointed the Commission and the cloakmakers had been out on strike for three or four months and later, after some more negotia-

tions and conferences, won what they got now without a strike—would not that have been regarded as a great victory? And now we obtained it without sacrifice—is not there cause for real satisfaction?

Our "lefts" are raising their habitual tumult, of course. But it is time, indeed, that some of our members would get "wise" to this gang and not pay any attention to them. It is time that all of us unanimously congratulate our leaders upon this splendid achievement!

Our brothers will soon see that I am right and together we shall all express our thanks to the men who have led us to this victory.

M. BRENDEN,
Member Local 23.

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 7100. I. Feinberg, Chairman; S. Ninfo, 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. BARGAN, Chairman,
130 East 25th street.

JUSTICE

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FIFTH AVENUE

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Wage Theories and Arguments

The Worth of the Worker

Too often "Labor" is spoken of by employers and in economic discussion as if workers were a commodity that could be shifted about and traded just as are steel billets, and as if their quality and value were uniform. This conception is, of course, repugnant to the dignity of a human being and is untenable both in ethics and law. But aside from such considerations, it is not sound economics either.

The worker contributes to production a human factor just as do technicians and managers, which has a value entirely different from the inert qualities of materials or machinery. The same plant, with the same market possibilities, may be profitable or unprofitable according to how well it is operated. This fact is generally recognized—though perhaps not sufficiently so—when the contribution of management is under consideration. But it is not so generally understood what a difference is made by the presence or lack of skill, intelligence or good will of the wage-earner.

Tests of Worth

In the case of handicraft occupations it is easy to demonstrate the worth of the worker by referring to the degree of native intelligence demanded of him, his general educational background, his apprenticeship and training, his skill, etc. Among the factors which may be studied and described to demonstrate the worth of any group of wage-earners are the following:

- Requirements of Intelligence.
- Apprenticeship and Training.
- Difficulty or Complexity of Operation.
- Strain or Fatigue Involved.
- Responsibility or Character Requirements.

Health Hazard.

Productivity.

Concerning each of these matters definite standards of measurement are becoming constantly more available. Where general educational qualifications or examinations exist, they may be cited. Something may eventually arise in the way of psychological tests to indicate the degree of native ability required for a given job, though this matter is still uncertain. The apprenticeship period may easily be measured by its length. The operation itself can be analyzed to indicate the skill involved. It is now possible to measure the effects of fatigue by curves of output. Health hazards are plainly shown by studies of occupational diseases, or may be worked out from statistics of sick and death benefits. There are various means of measuring the productivity, not merely of one worker as compared with another, but of the average worker as related to the total output, or of the whole group over a period of time. Eventually every such factor may be scientifically determined, though at present general statements have to suffice in most cases.

Effect of Machinery

With the introduction of machinery, it is often claimed by the employer that the human contribution to production is reduced, and that almost any type of worker will do, since all he has to do is to perform an automatic, routine process. In some cases there is truth in this contention. But there is not so much truth in it as often appears on the surface. There are very few machine processes indeed where the skill or attention of the worker does not make a good deal of difference in

agement methods, its members have both quantity and quality of the output.

It is often said that the textile industry, for instance, has become so mechanical that the output depends entirely on the speed of the machinery. Yet, again and again reduction of working hours have increased the quality and quantity of output in this industry by making the human factor more efficient. England's cotton manufacturing has grown enormously in the face of American and other competition, chiefly because the heritage of skill and the forty-eight hour week of the British cotton operative enable the British manufacturer to turn out a very fine and varied product. Steel is another instance where machinery dominates, and yet where the human contribution is such that the lessening of fatigue due to the introduction of the eight-hour day has materially increased the hourly output.

Even in cases where the introduction of machinery does reduce the skill training required, it increases other factors. Fatigue may be greater, due to the effects of monotony. Health or other hazards may be increased. And, above all, the productivity of the worker is sure to be increased. This makes possible a higher general level of wages, or a reduction of hours, irrespective of any comparison between the skill of individuals or groups.

Group Responsibility

A union has a very strong argument to make that the wages on other matters if it has collectively assumed responsibility for any of the factors entering into the worth of the worker. If, for instance, it maintains or helps to maintain an apprenticeship school to increase skill, it can claim consideration on that account. Or, if by cooperation on the job it helps to eliminate waste or increase productivity or improve man-

INTERNATIONAL CALENDAR

By H. SCHULMAN

This Week Twelve Years Ago

New York Cloak Joint Board receives report that the Board of Grievances of the Union and of the Protective Association has in the course of two months acted upon 258 cases, practically all of them brought by the Union. Of these thirty-six cases were decided in favor of the Union, 151 cases were adjusted to the satisfaction of both sides, two cases were decided in favor of the Association, eight cases were dropped and thirteen were withdrawn by the workers themselves.

Of the thirty-five business agents elected on July 20 only four were elected for the first time; all the others were re-elected or have served the Union before in similar capacity. The newly elected are R. Bernstein of Local 9, Max Brodfield of Local 11, Samuel Praisant of Local 22 and J. Linnansky of Local 33.

A strike is declared against the Firm of Camp & Co., 135 Spring street, New York City, for having collected from the workers for some time "nickels" for each garment made by them as a form of price-reduction. It was also announced that the cutters used to return to the firm weekly from three to five dollars each.

given an object lesson of their independent, human contribution to the industry.

Sources

The sources of information will vary according to the trade or industry. The union should look for fatigue studies, job analyses, production figures, etc. Special advice or research by experts will often help in obtaining material on this subject.—Facts for Workers, June, 1924.

Why He Quit the League

(A Letter to the Editor)

Dear Sir:

When I became a member of the Trade Union Educational League, I actually thought that that league was an organization which undertook to carry into practice the ideas of amalgamation, the shop delegate system and unified political action, the only true method for the liberation of the working class.

To my regret, however, I have since convinced myself that it was not so. Instead of an educational organization, this league became a sectarian group for the realization of the personal ambitions of a few of its moguls who are ready at any time to use every honest worker for their own purposes. And if one looks around in time and begins balking, he is at once proclaimed an "enemy of the working class." That's what happened to me.

When Vice-president Perlstein brought charges against the league members that we were belonging to a dual trade union, he also charged us with calling a business agent of the Union to responsibility. I, as a member of the league, and several other members knew at that time of no meeting of the league where it ever was decided to call any business agent to account for what he had done or failed to do. I actually believed that the charge was without foundation. To my great surprise, however, Davidson himself admitted it, stating also that he was the chairman of the committee which called upon that business agent for a report of his activities.

Right away, I asked myself this question: What right have Davidson and a few other self-appointed leaders to call in the business agent for

such a purpose without having been instructed to do so by the league? If a business agent had to be called, should this matter first have been brought before the meeting of the league, where an exchange of opinion on the advisability of it could be had, and a committee elected for that purpose? But, it seems, for that purpose we have a Mr. Davidson who considers that he and his friends are the only ones to whom the liberation of the working class might be entrusted, and as such they, of course, need not inquire of any one else as to whether what they are doing is right.

I should not have troubled myself about him all, and ignored him entirely. For my record in the Labor movement is clear; I have always been consistent with my principles and I shall remain so. But knowing as I do that this gang which is masquerading under the cloak of radicalism will not halt before anything and will try to besmirch my name before everybody at every opportunity, — a job for which they are eminently fitted,—I decided to make a statement why I left the league. I will touch here upon one event, and the members of the International will quickly see from that, that as an upright union man I have no right to remain in the league after I had found out that it is not what it pretends to be, but that it has been converted into a means for acquiring power for a few individuals with the aid of honest and misled members of the rank and file.

As known, the appeal of the Chicago expelled members, of which I am one, was to have been presented to the Boston Convention of the International. That the appeal might receive proper attention, it was deemed

necessary that one or more of the expelled members go to the convention. Naturally, the question arose as to money for expenses. Finally we collected about \$400 which made it possible to send three delegates. Of a sudden I heard that Davidson was boasting that he was going to the convention. As this was before any one had been elected to go to Boston, and as I did not know of anyone else having elected Davidson to go to Boston, I was greatly astonished, as we went with Sam Cohen, of Local 104. I went to the office of the league and spoke to Johnston, who promised us that we should have an election. One Saturday evening, a week before the convention, we came to a meeting to elect delegates, when Orenberg came and brought us a telegram from the national committee of the Trade Union Educational League which contained an order in which we were told not to elect any delegates but that they would appoint whomever they saw fit to send to Boston. Orenberg declared that when we had elected the national committee, we gave them the right to appoint delegates to the convention.

I felt as if stung by a snake. Think of it! I suffered expulsion from my Union because I believed that the General Executive Board of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union had no right to decide that the league is a dual union without having first received the sanction of the members of the International, and here comes the national committee, which wages a fight against the officers of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union for their supposedly arbitrary rulings, and wants to enforce upon us unfair rules. Of course I, together with a few other members, did not hesitate to speak out and we made them understand that they have no right to force us to

adopt such a ruling. The few fellows at the top must have noticed that they could not carry through this contemptible job and they changed their decision. Knowing that Davidson could not be elected, and being under the impression that without Davidson the appeal would not be received by the convention, they decided that all the expelled members should make the trip to Boston.

Just imagine what would have happened if the General Executive Board of the International had sent a telegram to each of its local unions telling them that they need not elect delegates to the convention, but that the General Executive Board would itself select whomever it deemed fit! Imagine what this same Davidson, together with the leaders of the league, would have said on such an occasion! What a cry they would have raised over the plot of the General Executive Board to deprive the members of the International of their rights! In conclusion, I desire to say that I did not give up the league because I was influenced by any one. I am and I will always be for amalgamation and for united political action. But I shall never allow any self-appointed ring-leader to make use of my honesty and sincerity for his personal ambitions.

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A Social Utopia and an American Labor Party

By HARRY W. LAIDLER

The building of a social utopia after the pattern of the past performance is in part the lack of a labor party. However, this is by no means saying that it is unwise to trace the direction of social evolution and try to comprehend in broad outline the kind of society that the social groups likely to be in the ascendancy in the future will find it to their advantage to develop, and to frame in our own mind what the experience of the race tells us should be the goal of social endeavor.

Personally, I believe that the members of a Labor party should strive to define that goal as well as to formulate immediate plans in its platform. Many in the Labor movement disagree with this point of view. They take the attitude that expediency dictates concentrating all attention on the immediate reforms; that an attempt to define a goal would but lead to confusion and division. Outside of the Labor party movement, that is the attitude of such men as Samuel Gompers, whose program is better conditions today, better conditions tomorrow, better conditions the next day—no more, no less.

A more conscious social goal, however, has definite advantages. It serves as a touchstone as to the relative importance of various immediate reforms. To what measure should one devote one's major thought? What proposals should one ignore or oppose? If one has not formed some conception of the goal toward which humanity is marching, is it not difficult to know whether a particular reform suggested is leading to or away from the desired goal?

It is the vision of the ultimate social goal, furthermore, that has buoyed up thousands of reformers in their desperate fight for immediate reforms; that has kept them from utter discouragement when confronted with almost insuperable obstacles; that has kept them incorruptible when urged to betray their comrades, that has supplied that religious fervor which has proved the unifying force to so many great movements.

In 1914, on the eve of the World War, I had a talk with Ramsay MacDonald, at that time leader of the Parliamentary group of about forty Labor men. "Why," I asked, "has not the British Labor party formulated a broad, constructive program?"

"Well," his reply was in substance, "Many of them feel that if they adopted a program that could not be put into operation for a generation or two, the stodgy British workmen would consider the program so utopian that they would vote for the Liberal party. If, on the other hand," he continued, "we adopted a program that consisted merely of immediate reforms there would not be so great a difference between the two parties to warrant separate organizations. Therefore we prefer to have a Labor punch to be known as the representative of Labor, without formulating a wide flung program."

In the midst of the chaos of the World War, the members of the party realized that they must try to think through the social middle, to get clearly in mind their social objective, if they were to find their way to peace and liberty. They formulated their famous program of Labor and the new social order, declaring to the world, as you remember, that "whatever may be the case with regard to other political parties, the detailed practical proposals of the British Labor party proceed from definitely held principles," and that what has been constructed is not this or that government machinery or this or that piece of social machinery, but as far as Great Britain is concerned, society

itself. . . . We must ensure that what is presently to be built up is a new social order, based not on fighting, but on fraternity; not on the competitive struggle for bare life, but on a deliberately planned cooperation in production and distribution for the benefit of all who participate by hand or by brain; not on the utmost possible inequality in riches, but on a systematic approach toward a healthy equality of material circumstances for every person born into the world; not on an enforced dominion over subject nations, subject races, subject colonies, subject classes, or a subject sex, but, in industry as in government, on that equal freedom, that general consciousness of consent, and that

alone—does not exist only for wealth production."

It is hoped that the party might with ever more frequency return to this program and retain the vision. Personally I believe that a Labor party to be most effective should possess both an immediate program and an ultimate goal. American Labor should at least go as far as to decide what social evils must be eliminated and what social rights must be guaranteed before we can begin to lay the foundation for an ideal society; before we can enter into our minimum utopia.

(1) Today perhaps the majority of the heads of families in the United States obtain less than is regarded as

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widest possible participation in power, both economic and political, which is characteristic of democracy. . . . We do not, of course, pretend that it is possible . . . to build society anew in a year or two. . . . What Labor intends to satisfy itself about is that each brick that it helps to lay shall go to erect the structure that it intends, and no other."

And then follow, as you know, the four pillars of the House they intend to build: (1) the universal minimum of leisure, health, education and subsistence; (2) the democratic control of industry, beginning with the nationalization of railways, mines and electrical power; (3) the revolution in national finance; and (4) the use of the surplus wealth for the common good, for the maintenance of the sick and infirm and aged, for the promotion of equality of opportunity in education, the development of the means of recreation, the increase in scientific research and investigation, and the encouragement of music, literature and fine art, which have been under capitalism so greatly neglected, upon which, so the Labor party holds, any real development of civilization depends. For "society, like the individual does not live by bread

sufficient to permit them and their families to live a life of decency and comfort. No society worthy of the name can exist which does not guarantee sufficient income to its workers to permit its recipients to secure for themselves and their families wholesome food, a healthful and attractive home, comfortable clothing and a reasonable amount of education, of recreation, of leisure.

(2) Today over a million children between the ages of ten and fifteen are working in mines, in factories, in mills, in canneries, in the fields and on the streets. More are toiling unknown in tenement houses. Our minimum utopia would be impossible so long as this condition existed.

(3) Six per cent of the people of the United States are still illiterates. Only 40 per cent finish grammar school; but 8 per cent are graduated from high school; about 1 per cent complete our college courses. A minimum utopia would give equal opportunity to all to secure as much of an education as their capabilities allowed; and, I hope, would see to it that our educational methods were entirely reorganized.

(4) In the second decade of the twentieth century the casualties in

this country as a result of industrial accidents exceeded the total toll of life in the United States during all of the wars engaged in by our country from the Declaration of Independence to the present day. No stone would be left unturned under our minimum utopia to apply all possible safety devices, even at a heavy cost, to protect against accident all engaged in the productive life of the community.

(5) During the ten year period from 1900 to 1918 inclusive, the owners and managers of the industries of the country collected a toll of some \$181,000,000,000, or 45 per cent of the net product of industry. A large amount of this went to those who had done valuable work in the actual conduct of industry. But many, many billions were gathered by absentee owners who had contributed nothing in manual or brain work to any industrial effort. Can even a minimum utopia be possible so long as this kind of division of the product of industry prevails?

And so I might go on. Our minimum utopia would certainly demand the abolition of international warfare and the development of economic organizations which would eliminate the causes of war; it would certainly provide for adequate control of industry by all of those groups—the workers, technicians and the consumers—who by their training and their interest were qualified for representation; it would make it impossible for any group in the community to monopolize the necessities of life, and thus to tyrannize over the economic, the political, and the intellectual life of the people. It would provide for equality of opportunity as between the sexes and the races and nations of mankind. It would eliminate the crying wastes of the present competitive system, wastes which doom the mass of mankind to bitter toil for a mere livelihood, and would see to it that industry was organized on an orderly and scientific basis. Finally, it would provide for an industrial structure where service to the commonweal, not profit for the most aggressive individuals, was the guide to economic activity.

Some of the members of the Labor party should aim at a still more distant goal, at the securing of a society in which the major energies of mankind, released from the strain of modern economic life, would, in truth, be devoted to the enjoyment of the higher values—to poetry, to literature, to the pursuit of truth and the ennoblement of the human spirit, where, in short, for the first time in human history, man would begin to live. But this would be utopia.

"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,
Singly none, singly none."

—Anna.

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JUSTICE

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EDITORIALS

THE CHICAGO DRESS STRIKE

It so happened that as the cloakmakers of New York were getting ready to go out on strike for the enforcement of the demands which they presented to their employers, the general strike of the dressmakers in Chicago was given up. At that moment we could not give adequate consideration to this important event in the life of our Union. We shall do it now, as it doubt deserves a full and thoroughgoing appraisal. The Chicago strike and its outcome must not be passed over in silence. It is a chapter in our history of which we need not be ashamed; it is a fight of which we have every reason in the world to be proud.

(True, the struggle in Chicago did not bring the desired results. Most of the non-Union shops against whom the strike was directed still remain non-Union. Neither shall we conceal the sad fact that a considerable number of Chicago dressmakers are still compelled to work in non-Union shops. We are not inclined to interpret our defeat into a victory and we are ready to admit that the Union was beaten in the conflict. The Union was compelled to retreat from the battlefield—nevertheless, we cannot help saying that we are proud, real proud of the fight we have waged for four long months in the Chicago dress industry.

An observer from a respectable distance is likely to ask the question: Why was the fight dragged out so long and could not it have been determined much sooner? Let us state in answer that, not being close to the fighting arena and not familiar with the details of the conflict, the writer of these lines was, for a time, himself of the opinion that the Chicago dress strike had been unduly protracted. Only after a discussion with Vice-president Perlestein who visited New York several days ago, did we come to realize that any other course in that strike would have been an impossibility. The Chicago strike was fought out under special local circumstances and these environs demanded that it be pursued along entirely different lines from any other fight in any other market or industry.

For those who did not themselves participate in that struggle it would be difficult to realize what a set of employers the workers have had to contend against in the Chicago dress industry. A hard-boiled lot, some of whom are ready to send thousands of workers to prison and to trample their employes into dust as that they might continue to lord over them unmolested, these dress manufacturers had spent a huge fortune in this strike to smash the effort of the Union to unionize their shops. These "gentlemen" do not recognize the existence of a public opinion; they are devoid of any civic sense and responsibility and are only interested in the sordid business of grinding and exploiting their fellow men.

The Union was quite aware of this type of Chicago dress employer. The Union knew them from the days of the first Chicago dress strike in the Winter of 1917 when after a bitter and bloody strike for the enforcement of union terms it was obliged to withdraw. The Union knew the kind of struggle it was facing when it decided to strike once more at these wolf-hounds. Undaunted it nevertheless entered the fight for the unionization of the Chicago dress shops. It began to prepare months in advance by conducting an organizing and publicity campaign which soon made the approaching fight for the unionshop in the Chicago dress industry the most popular subject in industrial and working class circles of that city.

This preparatory campaign succeeded in lining up public opinion almost entirely on the side of the workers. It also contributed greatly in developing the fighting spirit among the dressmakers to a marvelous degree, and imbued these girl workers with almost superhuman resistance which made it possible for them to endure four long months of heartless persecution, browbeating and sufferings that remain practically without parallel in the history of American Labor struggles.

Our workers know well enough how difficult it is to call off any strike before it is brought to a satisfactory end. And as they will realize the nature of the Chicago struggle—the type of manufacturers the workers had to contend against and the type of strikers the Chicago situation had produced—they will find it not difficult to understand why this fight could not have been given up earlier. They will understand why the International could not fail to help the Chicago strikers from beginning to end with every means at its command; they will understand why the Chicago-Joint Board actually threw itself body and soul into this fight making it its own life-and-death issue; they will grasp the reason why the entire Labor movement of that city could not remain a passive observer of this remarkable conflict and did everything it could to aid the

heroic girl-strikers in their plucky fight.

Yet, in spite of murderous tactics of the die-hard employers it is, nevertheless, certain that they would have been compelled to yield in the end, had it not been for the unfortunate and entirely unexpected coincidence that the dress season of last Spring was by far the worst Chicago ever experienced. Work practically disappeared entirely from the Chicago shops and faced with this additional terrific handicap the Union had to give up the fight.

It was a heartbreaking task, a bleak, cheerless moment both for the strikers and the leaders of the fight. They were all ready to continue, as spirited and unbending as on the first day, of the strike, but circumstances dictated otherwise. To continue the strike meant not only to endanger the partial gains acquired by it but to risk the existence of the organization, and the strike was therefore officially called off.

Thus came to an end one of the bravest battles ever waged by the International. Painful as it is to contemplate that this conflict did not terminate in a victory to which it was fully entitled, one cannot regard it as a failure. One must consider that at least a half of the dress shops were unionized through this effort, and one must not lose sight of the fact that though they have technically won, the obdurate union-hating Chicago dress bosses received a terrific beating in the course of the strike—many of them having been brought to the verge of bankruptcy, and many others driven out of the industry entirely—which will doubtless serve them as an unforgettable lesson in the future.

The Chicago dressmakers and their International Union will never feel ashamed of the fight they had conducted against the Chicago dress bosses in 1924. They feel proud of it, for they know that the sacrifices and the sufferings have not been in vain. The International is firmly determined, as soon as the opportune moment arrives, to strike again and to repeat the attack as often and as long as will be necessary to unionize completely the Chicago dress industry.

The terror of the Chicago union-haters will not continue forever. Such valiant fighters as the Chicago dress strike has produced can be beaten for a time but never defeated. We congratulate them upon their wonderful fighting spirit, their undying resistance and their loyalty to their organization. And we congratulate to the cloakmakers of Chicago who have helped their sisters and brothers of the dress shops so generously and so nobly.

Our sincere congratulations are also due the Dressmakers' Union of New York which gave the Chicago strikers such fine assistance during the fight, and we express our thanks to the Labor movement of Chicago in general for the splendid aid they extended to the girl-workers in this struggle—especially the Amalgamated Joint Board of Chicago which added substantial material assistance to its moral encouragement.

It was a fight in which the solidarity of the whole Labor movement was splendidly demonstrated, and for this fact alone the Chicago dress strike of 1924 will forever occupy a place of honor in the history of the struggles of our workers.

THE BALTIMORE CLOAK STRIKE

The strike of the Baltimore cloakmakers was not a premeditated planned out event in the ordinary sense of the term. It simply could not have been otherwise.

The strike was inevitable. The Baltimore cloakmakers could not go on calling themselves union people and belonging to the International and yet continuing to work in their shops under the conditions prevailing in them. Of course, were the Baltimore cloak manufacturers capable of seeing further than their own shadows, the strike might have been averted and a settlement peacefully reached. But it seems that the Baltimore employers are not made of such clay and they chose to remain callous to the warning of the Union leaders in the hope, perhaps, that the storm will somehow blow over and everything will remain as before. By this time, however, they must have come to realize that they are face to face with a house-cleaning that will root out every abuse which heretofore prevailed in the local cloak trade.

The International and the local organization are of a firm mind to make an end to the conditions which made Baltimore a sweating center in the cloak industry. Baltimore must make its cloaks under the same conditions as New York manufactures them or none at all. The time when Baltimore could supply some factors in the New York market with cheaply produced sweat cloaks is gone. The Baltimore workers will henceforth refuse to make them and the New York jobbers and manufacturers will not be able to buy such products from Baltimore sweaters or have them produced in the Baltimore market. Every cloak produced either in Baltimore or elsewhere will henceforward have to be a union garment, bearing the Union label, as testimony that it was made in a Union shop and under real union conditions.

Such is the situation, and the Baltimore manufacturers will have to reconceive themselves to it, if they still retain some sound judgment and business acumen. They will have to do this without delay too and not unduly protract the fight. Baltimore, as a cloak city, must become full-fledged Union.

We also hope that all the Baltimore cloakmakers will finally realize that the time is gone forever when they could, by cheap labor, long hours and by sweating themselves to death, compete with their New York brothers for a crust of bread. They surely never gained anything by it, except hurting their New York fellow-workers.

The time has come for the Baltimore cloakmakers to become real Union men, by deed as well as by word, Union men who know better than to work against their own interests, Union men

The New Economic Crisis In Soviet Russia

By DR. BENJAMIN STERNBERG

Moscow.

Russia is passing today through a new economic crisis, a severe crisis, which affects the hardest the finances of the State. To be sure, it is hardly correct to call it an economic crisis for it is principally a financial breakdown of the first magnitude, as we shall immediately see.

After the Soviet Government came to see that it could not continue existing by the mere process of printing mountains of paper money which lost every semblance of value both inside and outside of Russia, it decided to adopt a firm currency. To do this it needs, first of all, to create some order in the State budget and to equalize expenditures with income. A period of retrenchment ensued, in the course of which most pressing cultural needs were sacrificed. On the other hand, the Government began to pile upon the population taxes and assessments of every possible description. It must be borne in mind that the Soviet Government needs financial resources not merely for the maintenance of a huge army and of a tremendous bureaucracy, but also to bolster up the State-owned industries which, while yielding meagre results, are, nevertheless, costly and are run on big deficit.

Where were these means to be obtained? Well, three years ago the Soviet powers made a compromise with reality and again permitted private industry and private commerce in Russia. For a time the country seemed to breathe more freely. As soon, however, as the class of the so-called "nepmen" began to show signs of strength, it was all but smothered in an avalanche of State taxation. The hen which was to lay the golden egg was thus killed early in this process, and today one often finds that small tradesmen are being taxed several times the value of the entire stock of goods in their possession. The storekeepers are frequently led to turn

over to the tax assessors the key to their business as long as they are left alone. These liquidations occur now daily and, a mile before the State treasury gets anything out of these sales, the bureaucratic red tape has swallowed up the proceeds.

The Domestic Market

The market of Russian industry is the village, and the village is also groaning under unbearable taxes. The Russian peasant cannot do two things: pay high taxes and buy the inaccessible high city products. So he shuns the city and its industry, even the things which are most necessary for him. As a result of this, there has developed in the villages of Russia a new local home industry which produces cheaply, in tax-free and cannot be controlled by the city. In a word, the peasants are practicing a collective sabotage against the city, a form of sabotage which cannot be broken. Of course, the most difficult problem in Russian economics is the fact that Russian agriculture is terribly backward and makes no progress whatever. To be sure, in certain respects Russian agriculture today is in a worse condition than the war. The division of the land, or rather the planless grabbing of the land, has somewhat increased the average tillable area of the peasants. But without an improvement of work methods, without intensification of tilling, this increase amounts to very little.

And as long as no important changes take place in this respect, the agrarian problem in Russia will remain unanswered and the Russian situation will be hopeless. This is felt keenly in the leading Soviet circles, where it is realized that only a big international loan might mend the deplorable agricultural situation. But persons who could negotiate such a loan have not yet appeared on the Russian horizon—save that, there may have been some among those about 4,000 "nepmen" who not long ago had

been exiled from Moscow to Siberia and other remote districts.

Landless Young Peasants

The land question is becoming sharper and more disturbing with the rising of a new generation in the villages. There are already today in Russian villages hundreds of thousands of young men who arrived too late for the great division of land and who today can get no land and have no steady occupation. And if this is the situation today, what will happen in the villages of Russia five or ten years hence?

It appears already that the provinces which suffered in 1921 from the ravages of the famine have this year nearly as bad conditions. It is to be hoped that Russia will not have to pass again through the horrors of three years ago. For one thing transportation in Russia today is in a much better state and a considerable number of reserve rolling stock and locomotives has accumulated. But a failure of crops could not help affecting very badly the State finances, for the Soviet Government cannot afford to leave the farming districts to their fate—not so much for reasons of humanity and charity as for unwillingness on the part of the Bolsheviks to make themselves hated by the peasants.

Hatred of Intellectuals

Shall we touch here also upon the stark spiritual darkness which continues to reign in Russia? It is a sad chapter, to which for lack of space we can only devote a few lines. The hate for intellectuals is wide-spread today in Soviet Russia and it is growing from day to day. In official circles this hatred is not merely left unchallenged, but it is being looked upon with favor and even supported. It has reached the point that calling a person an "intellectual" is becoming a term of derision. And it seems that the time is not distant when we may hear again on the streets and highways of Soviet Russia the old Czarist slogan, "Kill the Intellectuals." The student youth finds itself in a state of utter helplessness and desperation. In recent months 30,000 of them have been excluded from secondary and higher schools of learning, or they are on the verge of being expelled.

(By the way, in Leningrad and Moscow two-thirds of these are Jews.) These expulsions, as a matter of fact, have an economic foundation; they are closing gymnasia and the universities because there is not enough money in the State treasury to maintain them. But these measures are being carried out with a customary Bolshevik "fairness." Communist party politics and party protection are the only yardstick applied in the process of selection of the students who are to remain in the schools or such as are doomed to expulsion.

Leo Tolstol Guilty!

We shall cite here a pertinent instance which is characteristic of the spiritual condition in Soviet Russia, which by the way the Bolshevik papers did not seem to feel ashamed to report.

In the Lenin Club, of Moscow, a trial was recently held over—Leo Tolstol. Madame Kroupskaya, Lenin's widow, was the prosecutor and Commissar of Public Education Lunacharsky was the defender. After a short consultation, the court brought out the following verdict:

"Leo Tolstol, a former officer in the Czarist army, a nobleman and a landlord, who died thirteen years ago, has been found guilty of writing and spreading books full of bourgeois ideas, while obstinately maintaining silence on everything pertaining to the dictatorship of the proletariat. In view, however, of the fact that Tolstol lived in a world of bourgeois culture and that to him the great ideas of the unforgettable Ilyich (Lenin) remained unknown, the court recognizes these extenuating circumstances and decrees: To remove Tolstol's most harmful books, Anna Karenina and Resurrection, from all libraries; to grind the paper into pulp and to make it into paper again for the publication of the works of Lenin, Zinoviev, Bukharin and other leaders of the world revolution."

No appeal against this decision was allowed. After this highly cultural act the assembly dispersed, singing the Internationale and lustily cheering, "Down with Tolstol! Long live Lenin!"

What's next?

When will the entire "bourgeois" literature—from the Bible down to Shakespeare and Chekhov, — be burned on the pyres of the Bolshevikist inquisition?

who know how to fight for their rights and defend them. We are confident that the victory which the Baltimore cloakmakers will have gained through this fight will be a lasting one that will make unnecessary the frequent fighting which has continually disturbed conditions in the local cloak industry.

A RESEARCH BUREAU AT LAST

A research bureau, as part of the fighting equipment of our International Union, has for many years been considered by us as a valuable weapon in the incessant struggles to advance the interests of our own workers. We have never lacked sound arguments in our controversies with our employers, but we often, we admit, lacked facts, systematized and marshalled in a manner that would convince the doubters.

Besides, an organization like ours, with its wide and diversified interests, should be fully posted upon every phase of its own and allied industries. A research office as would fully meet such a need has been authorized by several of our past conventions—yet, until now, for one reason or another, it did not materialize. At present, however, this plan is nearing realization and will very soon become an active institution at the General Office.

We feel confident of this as it would seem that President Sigman has, at last obtained the services of a capable director to supervise the work of such a research bureau. The failure to get a competent person to take charge of this work in the past has in part been responsible for the fact that this research bureau was not started long ago. And now that it has been turned over to Mrs. Margaret Gadsby we feel hopeful that such a research office will soon become a reality.

All who know Mrs. Gadsby appear to agree that she is the ideal person to direct such a research bureau. She has been for ten years connected with the bureau of Labor Statistics of the United States Department of Labor, first as librarian and later as statistician and investigator. In addition to her familiarity with Labor research work, we gather from her contributions to the "Monthly Labor Review" issued by the Labor Department, that her sympathies are entirely on the side of the workers in their struggles for a better life and more humane work conditions.

We need such intelligent and loyal coworkers in our International Union, and we sincerely welcome Mrs. Gadsby into our midst. We hope too to print from time to time some contributions from her pen in the columns of our journal after she becomes better acquainted with our problems, needs and aspirations.

HERE AND NOW

By ELLA WHEELER WILCOX

Here, in the heart of the world,
Here, in the noise and the din,
Here, where our spirits were hurled
To battle with sorrow and sin.
This is the place and the spot
For knowledge and infinite things;
This is the kingdom where Thought
Can conquer the prowess of kings.
Wait for no heavenly life,
Seek for no temple alone;
Here, in the midst of the strife
Know what the sages have known.
See what the Perfect One saw—
God in the perfection of each soul,
God as the light and the law,
God as the beginning and goal.
Earth is one chamber of Heaven,
Death is no grander than birth;
Joy in the life that was given,
Strive for perfection on earth.
Here, in the turmoil and roar,
Show what it is to be calm;
Show how the spirit can soar
And bring back its healing and balm.
Stand not alone nor apart,
Plunge in the throng of the fight;
There in the street and the mart
That is the place to do right.
Not in some cloister or cave,
Not in some Kingdom above,
Here, on this side of the grave,
Here, we should labor and love.



IN THE REALM OF BOOKS



The Labor Press for July

By A JOURNALIST

As the dog days of July laid their heavy hands upon sweating, sweating New York it became ever more difficult to believe that there could be stir and endeavor anywhere among men. Workers moved sluggishly into hot factories and shops, and were hurried through underground tunnels, ports of steaming paths of humanity. But then men must live, and somehow we move through work under any and all conditions because we have to. On the other hand, activity in the Unions might show its tempo in response to the driving heat of mid-summer. For Unions are but combines of men, and men do slow down and quicken with changes in the external environment.

Thus it is that even July contributes one more bit of evidence of the vitality of the Labor movement. However the pulse of its members may respond to heat waves, the Union pulse beats steadily on. The past month has seen some of the most significant and stirring events of Labor history. The passage by Congress of the Child Labor Amendment, the war in our needle trades, new experiments in workers' education, conventions, court losses and victories, the La Follette candidacy, and many other developments have emerged from torrid July. Little wonder the Labor press is on tip-toe with the excitement of these things. Labor, like the tides, waits not for men or time or seasons.

As usual these new developments fall into the three regular channels of Labor interest. The industrial struggle looms large in importance with the approach of an industrial crisis; internal affairs attain added significance from the approach of the elections, and together these two items squeeze the "world-at-large" to minor space in the journal columns.

The Industrial Struggle

Strikes and court cases of unusual importance mark the course of the industrial struggle through the reflecting columns of the July press. Perhaps these are harbingers of better months to come; perhaps they are even more. But certainly there are sufficient other signs of approaching hard times to make it imperative for unionists to ponder protective measures in advance.

Many of the journals, e.g., *Organized Labor*, the *Locomotive Engineers' Journal*, the *Typographical Journal*, etc., testify to the appearance of wage cuts. The United States Department of Labor has collected figures which show how widespread this downward trend. The *New Majority* reprints these startling figures through a Federation Press report by Leland Olds. Payrolls have decreased, according to these figures, in forty out of fifty-one industries investigated! These decreases have been compounded by both wage cuts and decreased employment. Per capita earnings in the fifteen largest industries show over May, 1923, decreases ranging from 1.4 to 16.4 per cent for twelve industries and increases of 0.8 to 3.9 per cent for three. Part-time employment bears chief responsibility for these decreases.

Similar testimony of even worse conditions in specifically unorganized industries is furnished by the report of the Labor Bureau, Inc., repeated

by several of the journals, e.g., *The Machinists' Monthly Journal* and *The Seamen's Journal*. A study of the recently published balance sheet of the Republic Iron and Steel Company, one of the largest "independent" steel manufacturers revealed the facts that the company has netted an income of \$22,080,809 during the first three months of 1924 and forced a wage reduction of from ten to fifteen per cent upon its workers!

The L. L. C. W. U. Victory and the Press

The gloomy shadows cast upon the future by these forbidding trends may have contributed a little to the jubulations displayed by the press over our Union's recent victories in New York and elsewhere. For they show what tremendous odds the workers can win out against, if only they marshal their will and wisdom to clear-cut ends. Practically every important Labor Journal for the past two months has carried extended comments on our New York fight and now grants full recognition to the significance and possibilities of that fight and the agreement that marked its close.

In dismissing the measure passed by the recent conventions of the three needle trades unions, the *Locomotive Engineers' Journal* characterizes our Union (together with the *Amalgamated Clothing Workers* and the *Far Workers*), "all in the vanguard of the progressive Labor movement," as follows:

"All three unions have added tremendous strength to the progressive Labor movement of the country. Faced with overwhelming problems, arising out of the revolution now taking place in the business management of these industries, they are meeting these problems with constructive proposals. The stabilization of the industry, the regularization of the Labor supply—the basic Union proposals for industrial prosperity and peace. The three conventions for the extension of unemployment insurance, not only as a relief measure for the unemployed, but also to force the employer to regularize his industry. They further intend to continue with the unionizing of the shops of the migratory 'out-of-town' employer, who has increased in numbers and importance during the past two or three years, making it so difficult to 'nail' industrial control into naturally chaotic industries."

"All three voted to continue their excellent educational programs, on which the International, for one, spends \$17,500 a year. They urged the utmost local and national use of the facilities of these successful banks in New York and Chicago. The International and Amalgamated declared for Union life and health insurance. The Furriers and International are going to study the feasibility of launching Union-owned co-operative shops as standard setters for their industries. All three conventions voted to send delegates to the Cleveland Conference for Progressive Political Action, while the Amalgamated voted in addition to be represented at the St. Paul Farmer-Labor meeting . . ."

I make this full quotation from a still fuller summary and tribute to show how our Union appears in a bird's-eye view to other unions. The

specific comment made upon our recent struggle to bring order into our industry reveals very similar praise.

The American Federation of Labor Weekly News Service calls the agreement we have just signed "an unusual extract" which has won for us marked union recognition and "a series of constructive demands . . . submitted . . . to check the general demoralization . . . of the cloak and suit industry." This may almost be regarded as the official American Federation of Labor estimate of our victory.

Organized Labor reported regularly our proceedings before the commission and its favorable report. Apparently reports of the agreement did not reach San Francisco in time for inclusion in the July issue. But will the *New Majority*, which, in addition, points out that the Boston manufacturers and our workers there have tacitly agreed to permit the renewal of their expiring agreement to wait upon the signing of the New York agreement. Labor Age also has carried full stories of the present disorganization of our industry, its menace to the workers' lives and the importance of the program we have designed to meet it . . . And so on.

On Other Fronts

It has been worth while, perhaps, to yield so large a part of this review this month to Labor's discussion of our fight. Those in the thick of an important battle are always heartened by learning what others think of their progress. But we shall be forced, in consequence, to grant the merest citation to the other items which usually find fuller space in our story.

The United Mine Workers' Journal and others give serious attention to the dangerous conditions again developing in West Virginia. Mine guards in Brandy, a town in Monongalia county, "shot-up" its streets and burned the mine workers' hall. Union workers are being systematically terrorized and the International has been asked to take over the jurisdiction of the district (No. 17). So story is the workers' march to freedom.

Child Labor, of course, is another item of general interest. The Congressional ratification of the child

Labor amendment now puts the decision to the States, thirty-six of which must accept it if it is to become law of the land. The American Federationist devotes its leading story to an account of the fight for this amendment and points out that Labor began the struggle in 1911. It has been a long, often discouraging and barren battle, this. May victory at last be in sight!

Finally the courts have been contributing much of importance to the history of Labor's industrial struggle in America. The miners have at last put the completing stroke to their victory in the Coronado case. But while their victory in the particular case at issue is complete, the court opinion ruled that trade unions can be sued under the anti-trust act. Will that be the first shot in a battle similar to that which gave the English workers the Trade Union Act from the Taff-Vale case?

The Leather Workers' International won an important case in St. Louis, when the court reaffirmed former decisions separating manufacture from commerce. Workers, that is, cannot be sued for strikes which interfere with the manufacture of articles entering into interstate commerce.

Finally the Bridge and Structural Iron Workers have just launched an important court fight which seeks to prevent the employers through injunction from preventing unionization of their employes. The Union counsel includes Samuel Untermyer and Frank P. Walsh.

Internal Affairs—and the World

The high points of internal affairs have been the development of Union attitude toward the political campaign, reports of conventions (e.g., the Locomotive Engineers and the Postal Clerks), launching of new banks and reports on old ones, and comment upon workers' education. Among the last has appeared the reprint of an article by our Fannia M. Cohn in the Weekly News Service of the American Federation of Labor. And interesting as are the reactions of the Unions to the political situation, they are still developing. We must better leave them therefore in view of the shortness of space, for final summary just before election time. And the world, too, must wait.

Aftermath of Shopmen's Strike

The shopmen's strike, which began on July 1, 1922, had virtually terminated, so far as its effectiveness is concerned. Its effects, however, as measured in maintenance of equipment and control of accidents, have continued through 1923 and into the present year.

During the fiscal year ended June 30, 1923, there were reported on all the railroads coming under the jurisdiction of the law 522 accidents resulting in the death of thirty-three persons and the serious injury of 709 others. During the fiscal year ended June 30, 1923, there were reported 1,548 accidents resulting in the death of seventy-two persons and the serious injury of 1,560 others, an increase of 117 per cent in the number of accidents, 118 per cent in the number killed and 120 per cent in the number injured over the preceding year. From July 1, 1923, to April 1, 1924, nine months of the current fiscal year, there have been reported 925 accidents, resulting in the death of fifty-five persons and the serious injury of 1,022 others. The data given for the current fiscal year may be somewhat changed when all of the accident investigation reports have been received and carefully analyzed.

On the Pennsylvania Railroad the figures for the fiscal years are as follows: 1922—69 accidents, 55 deaths, 87 serious injuries; 1923—181 ac-

cidents, 8 deaths, 197 serious injuries; 1924 (i. e., nine months prior to April 1)—150 accidents, 5 deaths, 201 serious injuries.

During the fiscal year 1922 there were inspected on all of the railroads coming under the jurisdiction of the law 64,554 locomotives, 20,478 or 48 per cent of which were found defective, and 3,089 ordered out of service. During the fiscal year 1923 there were 63,657 locomotives inspected, 41,150 or 65 per cent of those inspected found defective, and 7,075 ordered out of service. During the period July 1, 1923, to April 1, 1924, the current fiscal year, there have been inspected 48,458 locomotives, 27,902 or 58 per cent found defective, and 4,726 were ordered out of service.

On the Pennsylvania the figures are as follows: 1922—4,684 locomotives inspected, 2,659 (59 per cent) defective, 279 ordered out of service; 1923—5,432 inspected, 4,141 (76 per cent) defective, 687 ordered out of service; 1924 (to April 1)—5,669 inspected, 4,267 (75 per cent) defective, 1,219 ordered out of service.

These figures indicate the stupendous task of operation and maintenance which a railroad faces in carrying through a labor struggle which involves the sacrifice of large numbers of skilled workmen.—Fed. Council Information Service.



LABOR THE WORLD OVER

FOREIGN ITEMS

FRANCE

BROADCASTING PROPAGANDA.

At last week's meeting of the General Council of the French Confederation of Labor, a commission was appointed to study the question of broadcasting propaganda speeches by means of wireless. The General Council also approved a proposal for the organization of an "excursion week" to Saint Claude, where there are model arrangements for workers' welfare. This last scheme is of special importance, because it will also constitute a kind of Summer School, and owing to unfavorable conditions, the French have been able to do very little in this direction since the war.

GERMANY

THE TRADE UNION BANK IN GERMANY.

On May 31 the first general meeting was held of the "German Capital Investment Company, Ltd." Its first meeting was also its last; it came into existence only in order to found the "Bank of the Workers, Salaried Employees and Civil Servants' Jointstock Company," which has a fully paid-up capital of 750,000 marks.

The first German workers bank has therefore seen the light. The partners are the great bulk of the unions affiliated with the German National Trade Union Center and the German Federation of Salaried Employees. The root cause of this new departure is a growing sense of the importance of freeing the trade unions from their present dependence upon private banks. It is thought better that the interest accruing on trade union funds should swell the capital of Labor, than that it should go to line the pockets of capitalist bankers, and shareholders as has hitherto been the case. It is hoped that trade union funds will now be deposited in the new bank, which will exist simply and solely to advance the interests of Labor, whereas the ordinary banks have used trade union money merely to promote their own interests.

All the unions of the Federation of Trade Unions, most of those of the Salaried Employees' Federation, and some of those belonging to the Civil Servants' Federation have taken part in the founding of this bank.

A MAGAZINE BY THE GERMAN FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS.

The long-promised magazine of the German National Trade Union Center is at last to appear. The times are gone by when it was regarded as the exclusive function of the political party to deal with the Labor movement from the abstract point of view, and to theorize upon its methods and aims. The trade unions are also pioneers, and they have long since shown that they have a wide outlook in social questions. The new magazine will provide opportunities for the free exchange of opinion, and for the practical settlement of points on which there are opposing theories. Still more, it will be a guide to new paths which have been explored, but are not yet accessible to the common wayfarer. The editor of the new venture is Lothar Erdmann.

AUSTRIA

THE LABOR BANK OF VIENNA.

The Labor Bank of Vienna has already set a fine example. This bank was only founded in 1923, by the amalgamation of several Labor savings banks. Of the capital, 40 per cent was provided by the cooperative societies, 40 per cent by the trade unions, 10 per cent by the Social Democratic party, and 10 per cent by credit institutions. In March, 1924, the amount of the deposits was about fifty millions of kronen (about \$1,370,000), no inconsiderable sum for so small a country as Austria. Most of the deposits have been supplied by the trade unions, while the cooperatives have furnished the credit required. In this way the Wholesale Purchasing Company of Vienna is already said to be completely independent of all outside capital. It has also been found possible to advance money for the building of homes for workers, and even to give short credits to private firms applying goods required.

GREAT BRITAIN

THE EIGHT-HOUR DAY IN GREAT BRITAIN.

The British Trades Union Congress recently made inquiries from the affiliated organizations, with a view to discovering to what extent the eight-hour day exists in Great Britain. One hundred thirty-three trade unions, with a membership of 4,688,609, sent in replies, from which the following statistics have been compiled:

24,300 trade unionists work forty hours per week; 800,000 trade unionists work forty-two hours per week; 305,687 trade unionists work forty-four hours per week; 8,500 trade unionists work forty-six hours per week; 11,590 trade unionists work forty-six and a half hours per week; 964,224 trade unionists work forty-seven hours per week; 1,409,612 trade unionists work forty-eight hours per week. There are therefore 3,524,714 trade unionists who work forty-eight hours a week and less, that is to say, "three-quarters of those covered by the inquiry. A notably large percentage works only forty-two hours per week.

FOR A "CLOSED" MINE.

One of the most important points dealt with at the recent congress of the British Miners' Federation was the demand that none but organized workers should be given employment. Another resolution instructed the executive to take steps to form an alliance with the railwaymen and the transport workers, or any other union with whom it could be done. A resolution was also passed in favor of nationalization. It was decided that the future wage policy should be determined by a joint meeting of the Federation executive and the miners' members of parliament, and should then be

submitted to the Federation for ratification before the opening of negotiations with the employers.

RAILWAYMEN DRAW UP DEMANDS.

The National Union of Railwaymen held their annual congress last week. The congress passed a resolution to request the executive to draw up a scheme for the nationalization and democratic management of the railways, which scheme is to be submitted to parliament. The railwaymen are urging their exemption from the expected bill for the ratification of the Washington Convention on the eight-hour day. They point out that they now enjoy a free Sunday independent of the stipulations providing a forty-eight-hour week, and that the change would put them back to their position of twenty years ago. They therefore desire the insertion of a clause exempting them from the operation of the new bill. They threaten to refuse to run any trains on Sundays unless their demand is conceded.

HOLLAND

UNION OF PUBLIC SERVANTS FIGHTS COMMUNISTS.

The congress of the above-named organization, which belongs to the national center affiliated with the I. F. T. U., and has a membership of about 15,000, was opened on July 7.

A resolution was unanimously adopted urging the executive to make a determined effort to resist any attempt to undermine the union and to expel all members at once who try to build Communist "cells" in accordance with the well-known Communist policy. With the approval of the whole congress, one member was expelled for having pursued this policy.

PALESTINE

HELP FOR TRADE UNIONISM IN PALESTINE.

The Jewish trade unions in America are raising money on behalf of the Jewish trade unions which are now being founded in Palestine, and in this way they are being warmly supported by other foreign workers of the United States. Not long since a great demonstration was held at Chicago to aid in raising a \$250,000 fund for the working class of Palestine. The demonstration was attended by representatives of Italian, Swedish, Chinese, Russian, Japanese, French, Bulgarian and Indian workers, so that it was genuinely international in character.

ITALY

ITALIAN CENSORSHIP SHOWS FASCISTI POWER.

The natural sequence of autocracy is shown in the muzzling of the Italian press by the Fascisti Government. Censorship follows the abduction and murder of a Socialist deputy who opposed Mussolini.

The decree lays special stress on "the growing tension between the Fascisti and the subversive elements, whose activities show a decided increase."

If a newspaper violates the decree the editor shall be warned, and if repeated within the same year the newspaper shall be suspended.

CLEAN MILK LOWERS CHILDS' DEATH RATE.

Nathan Straus, originator of pasteurized milk depots, urges the extension of this system to smaller towns. He shows that with the development of milk pasteurization in this city the death rate among children under five years has dropped from 92.2 per thousand, in 1892, to 24.7 per thousand last year. Mr. Straus established his first milk depot in 1893, and in 1920 there were 297 in thirty-six cities, and their number is increasing. In connection with the depots, prenatal work and the care of children, including proper feeding, are taught to mothers.

ACCIDENTS INCREASE.

Industrial accidents caused 160 deaths during the month of June, according to a statement made by the New York State Department of Labor. This is an increase of thirty deaths over the number reported in May. "Of special interest," said Industrial Commissioner Shientag, "is the death of two employes who were electrocuted when steel tapes with which they were taking measurements came in contact with high voltage live wires."

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EDUCATIONAL COMMENT AND NOTES

Look Before You Leap

(Reprinted from "New Standards," Edited by G. D. H. and Margaret Cole.)

We pleaded, in our notes last month, for a new working-class society, cutting across the largely unreal divisions of existing bodies, and devoted to the thinking out in common of a new policy for the times, and to propaganda of the results of its thinking. "Why," we have been asked more than once during the past month, "Why, if that is your view, do you not get ahead and form the society which you say is wanted? What can be simpler? You say a nucleus is needed. Make yourselves the nucleus, and if the need is really present, others will speedily rally round." To reject this challenge is to lay ourselves open to the charge that we are idle talkers, abusive of existing bodies, but lacking the will to provide a substitute.

Yet, for the present, we do reject the challenge. The formation of such a body as we have in mind is not merely a matter of gathering a few people into a room, and drawing up a constitution and statement of objects. If it were, the workers' movement would not be in the plight to which it is now reduced. A new society is a serious undertaking, especially in these days of large-scale organization, high costs, and megaphone methods of attracting attention. But that is not the only reason why we refuse to take the plunge here and now into the icy waters. It would be a false step for the new body, indispensable as we believe it to be, to form itself nationally without any sort of local preparation. The I. L. P. was not formed nationally till the ground had been prepared for it by a number of local societies: even the S. D. F., pioneer of modern Socialism in Great Britain, was largely based, as its name implied, on already existing local organizations. If the new movement is to be a healthy growth, it must not be made in London, as an artificially constructed national body; it must be born in the places where men and women work and face the daily problems of existence under Capitalism. A people's movement is hardly worth founding, unless it founds itself at once in a dozen places, as the natural and instinctive response to a real need.

Society-building, then, at the present stage, is not for us, or for any existing group that is trying to work on a national scale. A new movement must have new blood, flowing directly through the arteries of modern capitalist production. Where will this new blood be found? There is good reason why there ought to be no lack of it. During the past few years the growth of workers' education has been extraordinarily rapid. The W. E. A. has four times as many students in its classes as it had in 1919, and nearly seven times as many as in 1914. The Labor College movement, though it is not so large, has grown even more rapidly in proportion. The W. E. U. O. C. has students all over the country; and there are many smaller movements doing largely similar work. At least 70,000 to 80,000 students must have been enrolled during the past session in classes of one sort and another.

What becomes of these students? What do they do with the knowledge, the power for the good or ill of the workers' movement, which they get in these classes? Many of them, of course, go on working, with added

skill and zest, in the various sections of the working-class movement, slowly leavening it and raising its standards of aspiration and efficiency. This is good; but it is not enough. For of all this educational activity ought to come more than an accession of personnel to the daily work of the movement. There should come also a new capacity for cooperation and group thinking. The workers who have passed through a good class ought not only to be making to the Labor cause a better individual contribution; they should also be making a collective contribution, the ripening fruit of their collective study. Are they? Or, at any rate, are they in the degree which the movement has a right to expect?

We want, not simply more education, but a fuller appreciation of the ends which education can be made to serve. Our object is to supersede capitalism, with all its denials of human fellowship, by a system based on fellowship and compact of fellowship in all its parts. The whole working-class should be one great fellowship of common endeavor. We pay some regard to this principle in industrial and political organization. We recognize, in theory at least, the unity of Trade Unionism, the oneness of the workers' political movement. But we hardly conceive at all that we ought to pool our thinking in exactly the same way as we try to pool our action. We are inclined even to treat education as a thing apart, having no relation to the other aspects of the workers' struggle for freedom.

This criticism does not, indeed, apply to the devotees of the Labor colleges, who combine a lively sense of this quintessential truth with an incapacity to give to it a broad enough content to appeal to more than a tiny fraction of the working-class movement. When we appeal to the students in classes under the various educational bodies to pool their thinking, we are not asking them all to agree on a common statement of dogma. There is a basis of agreement, indeed, or we could not work together in our Trade Unions and Labor parties. But there is room, upon this common basis, for a world of differing interpretations and attitudes. And the existence of these differences is good and healthy, if they are regarded in the right way, as a means not to isolation in separate camps, but to fruitful discussion. We can well afford to differ, if we can only agree to differ intelligently and with courtesy.

Our differences, indeed, if they are used to unite us in discussion, instead of drawing us apart, are the best guarantee we can have of progress in policy-making and of realism in facing the ever-changing facts of the situation with which we have to deal. What is the use of getting into a corner with the dozen or so who agree with us, and passing a resolution expressive of our agreement? We had much better get among those with whom, within the common standard of a working-class outlook, we disagree, and try, by mixing with them, to work out a new truth superior to any of our conflicting views. The aim is always to get agreement in the end, but to get it, not by ignoring differences, but by resolving them as we can.

If, then, a new workers' society is

Economics and the Labor Movement

By SYLVIA KOPALD

Given at the

WORKERS' UNIVERSITY

of the

INTERNATIONAL LADIES' GARMENT WORKERS' UNION
Seasons 1922-23 and 1923-24

LESSON 1.—The Bases of Economics.

1. Economics is the study of man's fundamental social activity—making a living. It is concerned primarily with two things: (1) Man's wants and desires; (2) his means for satisfying them.

2. The first basis of economics lies in Man—in the facts that

- (a) Man is an animal who has certain wants.
 1. He must get food, clothing, shelter, fuel. These wants must be satisfied first, for if he does not get these, he dies. Therefore we call them **Man's Primary Wants**.
 2. As the highest of animals, he wants recreation, education, creative activity, art, science, etc. These we call **Man's Secondary Wants**.
- (b) Man is a social animal.
 1. Man works and plays in groups. He is a social animal, as are ants, bees and monkeys and not a solitary animal, as tigers or lions.
 2. He obtains the things which he must have in order to live by social group activity. This we call **Economic Activity**.

(b) Man is a domesticated animal.

A moment's thought will reveal to us why anthropologists compare man to the domesticated rather than to the wild animals. Like the former (and unlike the latter) man enjoys a more continuous food supply and the various species of man can interbreed, one with the other. Certain anatomical characteristics of man, moreover, are found only among domesticated animals (e. g. blue eyes, blondness, curly hair, spread, broad skeletons, etc.) The concept of man as a self-domesticated animal is an important one, which probably should underlie all explanations of man's "higher" developments. (Franz Boas, "The Mind of Primitive Man," pp. 65-75; Clark Wissler, "Man of Culture," Chap. 14. There are other references to this important subject, but not in English. They will be furnished on request to those of our students who can read German, French or Italian.)

(d) Man is a tool using animal.

1. Over vast stretches of time, then, the constant fundamental human problem has been to get food, shelter and clothing.
2. In this search, man has been aided by tools.
3. Tools have been so important that they have been called a third arm or third eye.

(To be continued)

to come to life, and to do the work that wants doing, it must come as the creation not of a group agreeing with itself, but of those who disagree and are eager to know why, and to strike out new truth with the hint and tinder of mutual discussion. And, if we are right, there is no reason why anyone should wait before beginning on this work until someone in London or Manchester or Glasgow makes a move, and founds a new national organization. If, in Bristol and Huddersfield and Arbroath and Carnarvon—if, in places like these, groups of workers set about discussing the basis of their faith and the burden of their hopes, national organization will come fast enough in the train of local effort. And what new bodies of men are better suited to light the torch of the new illumination than they who are students because they hope, by getting knowledge, to become better servants of the class to which they belong? Let the worker-student lead, giving thereby a new meaning to workers' education as well as a new

hope to the whole working-class movement.

In brief, new thought there must be if our movement is not to be of a self of stale doctrine. We are fast reaching the stage when we shall be called upon, both politically and industrially, to put our principles into practice. If we do not win the next General Election, we shall win the one after. If the next wave of unrest does not culminate in the industrial movement, having to assume some form of control over production, the next wave but one will. We have demanded power; we shall reap responsibility. Are we ready for it? Or, if we are not, how can we make ourselves ready save by thinking out our faith anew every day, pooling our thoughts and plans, readjusting ourselves constantly to changes in the world of fact? We are organized for acting together. How can we hope to act together sensibly, unless we think together too?

Joint Conference of the I. F. T. U. with Second Labor International

On July 14, 1924, a joint discussion took place at Amsterdam between the executives of the I. F. T. U. (Amsterdam) and the Labor and Socialist International (London). This meeting was attended by the following: as representatives of the I. F. T. U., Percell (Great Britain, president); Mertens (Belgium), Lelpart (Germany), and the Secretaries Oudegeest, Sassenbach and Brown; as representatives of the Labor and Socialist International, Blum (France), Vandervelde (Belgium), de Broeckere (Belgium), Hermann Müller (Germany), Vliegen (Holland) and the Secretary Adler.

The subjects of discussion were the questions connected with the reparations problem, especially the experts' report, the forthcoming London Conference of Governments, and the defense of the Eight-hour-day. After lengthy discussions, which gave all these present full opportunity of expressing their opinions, the following resolution was passed unanimously:

"The conference refrains from again examining in their entirety the economic and political difficulties with which the world has been overwhelmed as a result of the great war. The resolutions passed at the meetings at Amsterdam (April, 1921), at the Hague Congress (December, 1922), and at the Hamburg Congress (May, 1923), set forth in detail the views of the proletariat in this respect. The conference is therefore satisfied to reaffirm the following claims, which are formulated in accordance with the Frankfurt resolution:

(1) The final settlement of the sum still due from Germany at a figure equivalent, at present values, to the actual amount due for material reparations.

(2) The adoption of a plan of payment, which, by means of international credit operations, shall make it possible for Germany to free itself in the shortest time practicable from its burden of indebtedness, whilst at the same time placing at the disposal of the creditor states the funds necessary for their reparations.

(3) The conclusion of agreements between the various Governments, securing that all such payments shall be devoted exclusively to reparations in the strict sense of the word.

In consequence, the United States and the Allied Powers must:

(a) Abandon any claim for payments from Germany towards military pension.

(b) Agree to the universal canceling of the inter-Allied Governmental debts.

The conference declares that, in several of its stipulations, the plan of the experts is in conformity with the first two of the above claims, but it is not satisfied with whatever on the third point. It places on record that this solution of the reparations problem lays upon the German working class burdens which are proportionately much heavier than those imposed upon the capitalist class of that country, and that it places the State railway system under the control of foreign capitalist influences. It declares that for these reasons it is impossible to look upon this resolution as fully meeting the claims of the Trade Union and Socialist International.

In spite of these defects and omissions, however, the failure of the present attempt, instead of offering any prospect of a better solution, would on the contrary only serve to aggravate the present European crisis. Under these circumstances, the execution of the Experts' Plan ap-

pears to be the only solution immediately possible.

The Governments concerned have, however, agreed to accept the Dawes Plan without reserve or restriction in respect of the economic evacuation of the Ruhr, including Dusseldorf, Ruhrort and Duisburg, as soon as the conditions laid down in the plan shall have been fulfilled.

Furthermore, any attempt to prolong the military beyond the economic occupation would lead to:

(1) The continuance of the present disturbances and insecurity, which are hindering the reestablishment of peace and the restoration of Europe;

(2) The impeding of the execution of the Experts' Plan by preventing the growth of the confidence which the experts consider necessary to its success.

Consequently, the conference demands the simultaneous cessation of both the military and the economic occupation of the above-named territories.

The conference further demands that Germany shall be invited to the London conference and negotiations on a basis of equality instead of being compelled, either to accept or reject the proposals without discussion, as has hitherto been the case.

The conference declares it to be essential that all countries should forthwith ratify the Washington Eight-hour convention, and, as the Dawes Plan implicitly excludes any attack upon the eight-hour system in Germany, it demands an agreement concerning the practical working of the report which shall safeguard the maintenance of the eight-hour day in Germany. It also demands that the International Labor office shall continue its efforts in this direction, in accordance with the unanimous resolution of the Labor group at the recent International Labor Conference at Geneva.

In addition to this, the conference also demands that the Dawes Plan shall be extended as soon as possible by the inclusion of such measures as will take account in every particular of the demands formulated in the Frankfurt Resolution.

The secretaries of the two international organizations were instructed to take the necessary steps for the convening of another joint meeting, for the special purpose of discussing the question of treaties of mutual assistance.

OUTING ON THE HUDSON RIVER 'ARRANGED BY THE STUDENTS' COUNCIL FOR SUNDAY, AUGUST 24TH

The Students' Council of the Workers' University and Unity Centers have arranged an outing for Sunday, August 24, on the Hudson River, on a small private yacht with a capacity of eighty-five persons. These annual trips of the Students' Council have proved a great success. At the request of many of our members, the Council decided to engage a larger boat than in previous years. Reservations can be made at once at our Educational Department, 3 West 16th street. For further information as to the price, route, etc., also apply to the Educational Department.

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РУССКО-ПОЛЬСКИЙ ОТДЕЛ

RUSSIAN-POLISH BRANCH

НОВЫЙ ДОГОВОР

(продолжение)

В течение метода существования этого договора, никто не должен был бы заботиться ни в одной мастерской работать для "дизайна", а затем не должен был бы "выпускать". В случае остановки работы на заводе, оставшаяся в отдельной мастерской, Ассоциация должна немедленно закрыть от этого завода и никого не обязана допускать рабочих в мастерскую в 24 часа с момента получения заявления. Работать на заводе по окончании работы должен иметь преимущество перед всеми другими мастерами, которые должны рассредоточиться на заводе. Работники должны быть уведомлены о прекращении работы на заводе в шестидесяти 15 этого договора.

10) Если Ассоциация не должна посылать рабочих на работу, которая, если она не совершит своей собственной (выплаты) мастерской.

11) Каждый член Ассоциации является ответственным за поведение члена, который работает на заводе, который должен отвечать за поведение члена, который работает на заводе, который должен отвечать за поведение члена, который работает на заводе.

12) Ассоциация должна иметь своего представителя в Деловой Бюро Санитарного Контроля и должна давать пропорциональную часть денег на содержание этого учреждения.

В этот фонд должны вносить 2% от заработной платы каждого члена. Работники должны вносить 1% от заработной платы каждого члена.

Фонд будет контролироваться обеими сторонами по правилам, которые будут для этого выработаны.

13) Подходящий закон (договор) должен быть принят в промышленности, которая работает на заводе Санитарного Контроля, который будет контролировать, что каждая компания должна была сделать, при принятии санитарных условий, на которой мастерской. Договор должен быть принят на заводе Санитарного Контроля, который будет контролировать, что каждая компания должна была сделать, при принятии санитарных условий, на которой мастерской.

Каждый член Ассоциации обязуется не нарушать условий во время этого закона.

В случае возникновения несогласия между членами и ассоциацией в форме утверждения этого закона, контролеры должны быть направлены на разрешение несогласия мастера и работника.

До разрешения вопроса все санитарные законы будут введены на рынок. Нью-Йорк, Комиссия по рабочим правам, на которых "дизайн" имеет получить одобрение Нью-Йорк. Условием, что он должен знать, что такая работа была сделана в каждой мастерской.

14) Подписание любого параграфа этого договора, все законы, несогласия в дискуссии между заинтересованными сторонами или их членами, должны быть приняты письменно обеими сторонами и мастерской ассоциацией совместно с мастерской или на их рассмотрение. Каждый спор, который должен быть рассмотрен, должен быть рассмотрен, должен быть рассмотрен, должен быть рассмотрен.

В случае если мастерской или их ассоциация не могут прийти к соглашению, спорный вопрос будет передан на решение судебного совета (Трибунал), состоящего из одного члена от каждой заинтересованной стороны и одного независимого арбитра. Такой независимый арбитра будет

быть выбран в течение двух недель со дня подписания этого договора, совместно с "Протектом" в Ассоциации. В случае возникновения спора, стороны не могут согласиться на выбор такого независимого арбитра или в случае указанного двухнедельного срока — Комиссия, назначенная Губернатором Нью-Йорка, состоящая из гг. Джордана, Г. Леймана, А. Вейла, А. Реджера и Н. Шанталя, по требованию одной из заинтересованных сторон, назначит такого независимого арбитра по своему собственному усмотрению.

Каждое дело будет рассматриваться по своему содержанию и этот коллективный договор будет служить основанием для решения споров между работниками. Решение вынесенное по одному вопросу не будет служить основанием для решения следующего дела.

В случае если избранный или назначенный арбитра выйдет в отставку, стороны должны выбрать или назначить нового арбитра, который будет рассматривать дело. В случае если избранный или назначенный арбитра выйдет в отставку, стороны должны выбрать или назначить нового арбитра, который будет рассматривать дело. В случае если избранный или назначенный арбитра выйдет в отставку, стороны должны выбрать или назначить нового арбитра, который будет рассматривать дело.

Иммунизация проекта для урегулирования споров между членами и ассоциацией дизайнера, будет также применяться в спорах между членами и др. Ассоциацией, при несогласии ассоциаций между собой, в несогласии арбитра должен служить для решения всех вопросов, возникших споров в индустрии.

14) Все правила и методы промышленности, необходимые для практического применения этого договора не урегулированы в этом черновике, должны быть выработаны в течение 21 дня после подписания этого договора и если заинтересованные стороны не могут прийти к соглашению по поводу применения этого закона, стороны не могут, такое соглашение должно быть рассмотрено и урегулировано по порядку установленному выше для разрешения споров.

15) Для того чтобы установить в индустрии более благоприятные условия работы в индустрии, стороны должны быть рассмотрены, должны быть рассмотрены, должны быть рассмотрены, должны быть рассмотрены. Сметен Комиссия немедленно арбитра, который должен быть рассмотрен, должен быть рассмотрен, должен быть рассмотрен, должен быть рассмотрен.

Решение по вопросу промышленности будет рассматриваться между заинтересованными сторонами в ассоциации по усмотрению комиссии.

(Одобрение в силе, восторг).

Н. Шанталя, Секретарь.

The Week In Local 10

By SAM B. SHENKER

In reviewing the situation at the beginning of the fourth week of the present reorganization campaign, Manager David Dubinsky, chairman of the Organization Committee, said that over seven hundred shops have already been settled. One hundred and seventy of these belong to the Cloak and Suit Protective Association, four hundred belong to the American Association, and the balance of one hundred and thirty are independent shops.

There are still very many applications that are being considered by the Organization Committee. A large number have already been settled, the workers of which, however, will first go back to work at the beginning of next week.

Talk of Unusual Importance

Dubinsky was placed within the past four or five weeks, two of which have been spent in preparation for the work of the committee which he heads, with a tremendous task. He has been in attendance from early morning until late at night and on Sundays. His biggest job was the replacing of the workers from the small shops into larger ones.

Except for those who are in close contact with the work headed by the manager of Local 10, few know what the new agreement means to the organization. To install fourteen machines, to hire an equal number of operators, and to secure sufficient work for these operators in order to work with the terms of the new agreement, requires, for the average owner of a small shop, a considerable outlay of capital.

The majority of these, particularly the small contracting and "social" shops, conduct their business on a basis of cut-throat competition. They never intend, on going into business, to conduct legitimate shops along legitimate business lines. Their prime purpose was to undersell and underbid the legitimate manufacturers and profit by the resulting chaos.

Hence, when Manager Dubinsky received applications for settlement he was faced with the gigantic task of weeding out these shops. Having accomplished this, he was faced with the problem of securing employment for those of the workers whose shops were not settled due to the non-compliance of their owners with the fourteen-machine clause.

Workers Must Be Patient

The beginning of the fourth week of the strike finds the situation clarified. Plans have been perfected and have been put into operation. The workers of small shops have been assigned by Dubinsky to larger shop units. "What is most needed now," Dubinsky said, "is patience on the part of the workers. We are on the way to establish order in the industry. Under ordinary circumstances it could be said that there is more or less a sufficiency of work. The creation of the larger shop units is something new in the history of the activities of the union. If the workers placed in these large shops were secured with work at once our aim towards establishing order in the industry would be well on the way to success.

"However, we have been fortunate in many things. And the one thing which is necessary now is for the workers who have been taken out of small shops and placed in the larger ones to exercise patience until they get work."

For various reasons, some of which may be obvious, workers taken out of small shops and assigned to those with fourteen machines were not very anxious to quit their old places of employment. While some of these reasons may be well founded the Union

was nevertheless compelled to make this uniform operation for the success of its aim, that is, the reconstruction of the industry.

Outlook Hopeful

Manager Dubinsky, however, is optimistic regarding the immediate outlook in the trade. In speaking of the situation he said that he expected work to begin in a short time.

"Right now," he said, "except for three of the larger shops, Reisman, Rothman and Biber, R. Sadowsky, and T. Klepstein, all the big shops have been settled. All the small shops which are left have been settled. At the present time the Organization Committee is left with the applications of the smaller shops. And from now on these will be considered. It is these shops which are on strike at the present time. The reason why the employers of these are not making any attempts towards complying with the new agreement is that they hope in some way to evade the provisions of the agreement."

Machinery For Control Being Perfection

The chairman of the Organization Committee stated that after this campaign the workers will no longer be split up into 2,500 or more shops. The number will have been greatly decreased and the way will have been paved for the establishment of the larger shop units.

The union is determined not to settle with any shop which does not employ fourteen operators. Many employers at first thought that by holding out they could avoid securing a settlement without compliance with this point. If these have not yet seen that the Union is intent upon wiping out the small shops, they will learn so within a very short time.

Manager Dubinsky expects to have in complete working order within a short time the machinery for the control of shops with a view to seeing to it that no shop will operate with less than the required number of machines and operators.

The Organization and Settlement Committees, the latter under the chairmanship of Israel Feinberg, Manager of the Joint Board, are the two committees which are working beyond capacity. In addition to the workers who are clamoring for the settlement of their shops, employers are also besieging the headquarters of these committees. However, Dubinsky cannot over-emphasize the fact that the workers must be patient. The union is aiming at reconstructing the industry in this struggle, and for settlements to be made without due consideration would, in all likelihood, make for the old chaos and the effort and energy of the union would thus have been wasted.

Practically All Cutters At Work

Insofar as Samuel Perlmutter, chairman of Arlington Hall, is concerned, his work is almost completed. Up to date he had issued over sixteen thousand working cards. By the end of this week he expects all of the cutters who registered with the legitimate shops to be back at work.

This leaves a few hundred unemployed who have so registered themselves. These were not with any shops at the time of the walkout. In addition to these, there are about forty cutters of the three large independent shops mentioned above, that is Reisman, Rothman & Biber, T. Klepstein, and R. Sadowsky, who are also out. These three shops have not yet sent in their applications for settlement.

Manager Dubinsky said that the Union is concentrating its energies upon bringing these to terms. The workers of these shops, as well as

those who have been working for the contractors of these shops, will be placed on a full strike basis. The strike committee is ready to wage an endless campaign against them, or as long as they refuse to fully comply with the provisions of the new agreement.

Perlmutter stated that he has placed thus far 100 unemployed cutters to work. A number of these have been placed in shops where additional cutters were needed. Others have been placed in shops where employers had sufficient work for two cutters, but hired only one.

It will be recalled that last week there was contained a statement in these columns by Perlmutter to the effect that the Union as certain employers could not use two cutters to fourteen operators. Shops which placed fourteen operators were investigated and where an employer could not prove that he could only supply one cutter with work, an additional man was placed.

Last week the Joint Board placed to work additional investigators and controllers, for the purpose of checking up the settled shops. Many of the regular business agents are taken up with work on the various strike committees. Since the new agreement was put in effect the officers of the Joint Board decided that checking would have to begin at once if the Union expected compliance.

This week again, Perlmutter said, some shops were stopped because the organization was convinced that these could use more than one cutter. The bulk of the controllers placed last week are mainly at work in the small shops. A close watch on these shops is necessary and the Union made an early start for this reason.

Perlmutter said that in the larger shops there are employed four cutters and more. The smaller shops employ two men, while some of these shops, though their number is not very large, employ one cutter. There is no doubt but that these will eventually employ two men. Some have been investigated and it was found that only samples and duplicates are being made. Others have yet to be visited for controlling purposes. These visits will show whether there is need for an additional man. If that is proven to be the case another man will be placed there.

Executive Board and Membership Meetings Called

Manager Dubinsky thought it was opportune for the meetings to be regular session of the Board took place. The cases taken up were largely dress cases, some of which were pending and had to be taken up for final disposition.

CUTTERS' UNION, LOCAL 10

CLOAK AND SUIT cutters are not to return to work or accept a new position without securing the necessary permission and working card from the Hall Chairman of Arlington Hall, 23 St. Mark's Place; or beginning this coming Monday, at the office of Local 10.

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

REGULAR MEETING.....Monday, August 11, 1924
MISCELLANEOUS MEETING.....Monday, August 18, 1924
REGULAR MEETING.....Monday, August 25, 1924

Meetings Begin at 7:30 P. M.

AT ARLINGTON HALL, 23 St. Mark's Place

The regular membership meeting is taking place a week from this Monday, August 11, in Arlington Hall. No doubt the greater part of it will be taken up with reports by Dubinsky and Perlmutter of the reorganization campaign.

Now that there are so few men left in the hall, Dubinsky said that Arlington Hall would be given up about the early part of next week and the balance of the business for the cloak men would be handled from the office of the local.

Excellent Behavior of Cutters

In speaking of his various experiences as chairman of the cutters' hall, Perlmutter said that it was a pleasure to deal with members of Local 10, particularly during the first few days. The order and discipline which prevailed could not have been better.

Long lines of men seeking information and securing working cards by those whose shops had been settled were seen daily. At no time was there any disturbance. A system of registration and checking was installed on the first day and every man was daily accounted for. Each man's wants were seen to, and men who could not report regularly and who failed to register had to give an account of themselves.

Of course, there will be a number of cases to be handled by the Executive Board which pertain to men who violate rules, but these are not many.

Miscellaneous

Donations Towards the Lewin Fund
The following are reported as traditional contributions towards the fund for Mrs. Lewin:

Contributions of \$10.00 each:

Waterproof Garment Workers' Union, Local 20; M. K. Mackoff, ex-secretary of former Waist and Dress Joint Board; M. Rosen, member of Local 10.

Contributions of \$5.00 each:
David Habel, member of Local 10, Executive Board; Julius Kwait, member of Local 10.

WHEN MISTAKES HAPPEN

When a doctor makes a mistake he buries it.

When a lawyer makes a mistake it's just what he expected.

When a lawyer makes a mistake it was just what he wanted, because he has a chance to try the case all over again.

When a judge makes a mistake it becomes a law of the land.

When a preacher makes a mistake nobody knows the difference.

BUT WHEN AN EDITOR MAKES A MISTAKE—GOOD-NIGHT!