

"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. 32.

New York, Friday, August 8, 1936

Price 2 Cents

Reorganization Strike In Industry Is Practiced

A Few Large and Small Independent Shops Still On Strike—Union Not Settle With Sub-Standard Shops—President Sigman Elected Member of Board of Trustees of Unemployment Insurance Fund—Arthur D. Wolf Is Chairman of Board of Trustees

The principal task of the big reorganization strike in the cloak and suit industry of New York has come to an end. What remains now to be done is to put the new departments established by the revised agreement in proper working order and to install the machinery necessary to supervise

that the contract in the industry is lived up to fairly and conscientiously. The bulk of the "legitimate" shops is settled and the workers in them are back at work already, though there is still little to be done in the shops. The season is as yet far from having reached its full swing. It is

expected, however, that the rush will soon start and the cloakmakers will begin to earn a living.

Meeting of the Strike Executive

Last Monday night, August 4, the executive committee of the General Strike Committee held a session in the International Council Room under the chairmanship of President Sigman, who called upon the chairmen of the various sub-committees to render reports in order that the Executive Committee might obtain a clear composite picture of the present state of the reorganization campaign in the cloak industry.

Vice-president Israel Feinberg, chairman of the Settlement Committee, told of all the settlements concluded until last Monday and the strict efforts of the Union to settle only with shops that would come up fully to the requirements of the new

(Continued on page 2.)

Baltimore Cloak Strike In Good Shape

The cloak strike in Baltimore is in excellent shape at the moment of this writing, as we are informed by Vice-president Jacob Halperin who just returned from that city after a visit of several days.

Several employers of the inferior shop type have applied for settlements but the Union steadfastly refuses to have anything to do with them until they oblige themselves to come up to full Union standards. Some of these "bones" are therefore endeavoring to spread false reports among the workers, claiming that the strike has already been brought to an end, but, of course, these rumors are refuted by the workers who await the official announcement from the organization before they would make any move.

The K. & U., the biggest non-Union shop in Baltimore, is at a standstill. They tried to obtain some scale, but their effort failed. The strikers met regularly in the Beth-Shalom Hall, and take care of picket duties. President Sigman recently forwarded a telegram to the Baltimore strikers in which he greeted their staunch fight and called upon them to continue it until they win.

Baroff In Boston to Negotiate New Cloak Agreement

Secretary Baroff left for Boston last Monday night to take a hand in the negotiations now pending between the workers and the employers in the Boston cloak and suit industry.

Vice-presidents Seidman and Monoson began conferring with the Boston jobbers and manufacturers some two weeks ago. The Union has made it clear to these employers that it would not be content until the substance of the changes adopted in the New York cloak market would also become the standard in the Boston shops, including such measures as an unemployment insurance fund, a minimum of operating machines, and the sanitary label. The employers were to have given the Union a definite reply to these demands by the end of last week.

To expedite matters, President Sigman requested Secretary Baroff to proceed to Boston and make an effort to bring the negotiations to a head. Secretary Baroff is no newcomer in the Boston ladies' garment field, as he has upon several occasions in the past succeeded in settling controversies between the workers and the local employers both in the cloak and dress trades to the full satisfaction of our members. The Boston Joint Board is ready to defend its demands to the fullest extent, if the

employers prefer a conflict. But if they have peace in mind, there is no doubt that Secretary Baroff, acting in conjunction with Vice-presidents Seidman and Monoson and the officers of the Joint Board, will reach an understanding with them and an agreement embodying the terms of the Union will be signed.

Hochman Doing Energetic Work In Montreal and Toronto

"Kitchen Shop" Issue Raises Stir In Toronto

The General Office is receiving encouraging news from Canada where International Organizer Julius Hochman has been operating for the last five weeks.

In a letter to President Sigman, Hochman states that the "campaign in Montreal is in fine shape. The second

mass meeting which he called was much better attended than the first. The Montreal cloakmakers are warming up to the campaign and there are fine prospects for enrolling a majority of the cloak workers into the Union this season. The workers who stuck by the Union for the last year

or so are of the best type and they are very eager to build up the organization. Due to the presence of Brother Shubert, the atmosphere in Montreal is congenial and fully conducive to such constructive work.

Brother Hochman remained in Montreal until Tuesday, August 5, on the evening of which the Montreal cloakmakers held another meeting and a large organization committee was elected to carry on the work for the next few weeks.

Hochman Returns To Toronto

Prior to leaving for Montreal, Organizer Hochman created considerable commotion in Toronto industrial and trade union circles by raising at a meeting of the Toronto Trades and Labor Council the issue of bad sanitary conditions in the local cloak shops and of violations of the State minimum scale wages. The newspapers took up prominently these charges displaying the "Kitchen shop" menace in big headlines, which elicited a denial from the President of the Toronto Board of Trades and vice-chairman of the Ontario Minimum Wage Board. Hochman came back strongly supported by the affidavit of Miss Mary MacNabb, organizer for the International in Canada and formerly a well-known social worker from Hamilton, Ontario. In her affidavit Miss MacNabb charged specifically that she has been investigating for the last five weeks conditions under which the cloakmakers of Toronto were working and found men and women employed in windowless rooms, some of them adjoining kitchen, others having most unsanitary arrangements and still others located in private homes. She stated that she was ready to divulge the names and locations of these shops.

The Toronto papers printed the affidavit (Continued on page 11)

Miscellaneous Trades' Council Active In New York

As yet, the Miscellaneous Trades' District Council of New York is confining itself to quiet preliminary work. Nevertheless, it is activity of a highly promising and important nature, as it involves a tremendous field, the or-

ganization of not less than 50,000 of unorganized workers in the various trades which are represented by the locals affiliated with the Council.

The District Council consists at (Continued on Page 2)

American Federation of Labor Executive Council Endorses La Follette and Wheeler

Will Campaign For Independent Candidates

Senator Robert Marion La Follette will receive the full support of American Labor for the Presidency as a result of the endorsement of his candidacy and that of Senator Wheeler by the executive council of the American Federation of Labor at Atlantic City last Saturday.

The endorsement is clear-cut, supporting La Follette and Wheeler as independent candidates. The report shows the great superiority of the Independent platform, taking it up point by point. It condemns the Republican and Democratic platforms without reserve, pouring hot shot into both documents for their repudiation of the interests of the people.

The council's report asserts American Federation of Labor leadership in

the Congressional campaign. The labor movement goes into the campaign for La Follette because La Follette is right and because his platform offers the people the greatest hope of progress in this present campaign. The report in full follows:

Conclusions and Recommendations

The executive committee of the American Federation of Labor National Non-Partisan Political Campaign Committee presented Labor's proposals to the Republican convention.

The Republican convention gave Labor's representatives a brief and curt hearing. The Republican platform ignores entirely the injunction issue. It fails to deal with Labor's

right to organize or the right of the workers, even in self defense, collectively to cease work. That platform sustains the Railroad Labor Board, with all that it means in the direction of governmental coercion of wage earners. It fails to recommend the ratification by the States of the Child Labor constitutional amendment.

The Republican convention nominated candidates unacceptable to Labor.

Its candidate for Vice-president is one of the most outspoken enemies of Labor and is the founder of an organization dedicated to the task of writing into all political platforms planks calling for the anti-union shop—an organization which also encour-

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Reorganization Strike In Cloak Industry Is Practically Ended

(Continued from page 1)

agreement. Reports were also given by Vice-president Dubinsky of the Organization Committee; Vice-president Joseph Breslaw of the Committee on Halls; Vice-president Harry Wander, chairman of the Picket Committee; Louis E. Langer, chairman of the Law Committee; Louis Levy, chairman of the Relief Committee; Joseph Fish, chairman of the Finance Committee; Joseph Lubinsky of the Out-of-Town Committee; Joseph Kesten of the Brownsville Committee; Abraham Levin of the Brooklyn district; Morris Shechter of the Harlem district; Abraham Rosenberg of the New Jersey district, and Max Broek of Newark.

In the course of the reports, it was brought out that a number of difficulties still existed as the workers were returning to the shops inasmuch as in some of these factories there is still little work, and the workers feel somewhat disappointed, some of them even gaining the impression that if they were to remain in their former petty shops they might have had more work at this moment. In speaking of this situation, President Sigman warned these men that "the Union will never settle with any of the petty

sub-standard shops and that the workers formerly employed by them and now transferred to the bigger and regular Union shops, instead of registering impatience and kicking, ought to help the organization to get rid of them forever."

Union Will Carry On Fight Against Some Firms

Though the strike is largely over, there are still a few independent shops against which the fight will be carried on until they accept in full the terms of the Union. Among these are a few large shops, such as R. Sadovsky, Weinstein & Kilpetein, and others. The fight against the smaller shops that cannot meet the terms of the Union will be carried on just as vigorously as before and the picket committee under the leadership of Harry Wander will continue to function until the conflict is finally ended all through the industry.

Union Machinery Being Perfected
Meanwhile, every effort is being strained to form and establish in proper working order the various new agencies sanctioned by the agreement.

Last Monday afternoon, August 4, at a meeting in the rooms of the State Industrial Commission, at which all

the factors in the cloak industry were represented, an "insurance committee" has been formed to bring into operation the Unemployment Insurance Fund. This committee consists of Jacob Rappaport for the Protective Association, Samuel Blumberg for the Merchants' Association, Charles Sussman for the American Association, Morris Sigman for the Union, and Arthur H. Wolf for Governor Smith's Special Commission. Mr. Wolf will

be chairman of the committee.

In passing, it might be stated here that President Sigman was one of the first officers in our Union to recognize the importance of introducing various benefit and relief funds in our organization. He always hoped for the time when unemployment insurance might be established in our industry, and now he sees his dreams realized.

Impartial Chairman Not Chosen Yet
The appointment of an impartial chairman for the cloak and suit industry has not been made yet, at the time of this writing. We hope to be able to announce in our next issue the name of the chairman who is to occupy such an important position in the industry under the terms of the new agreement.

Dr. Henry Moskowitz Director of Sanitary Label Department

As our readers are well aware, one of the important provisions of the agreement in the cloak and suit industry of New York calls for the introduction of a sanitary union label to be sewed on every garment produced in all shops whose owners are under contractual relations with the Union. Right after the settlement, a label committee to carry out this provision was appointed composed of representatives of all the parties to the agreement.

Last Tuesday, August 5, the label committee had a meeting at which all sides agreed upon Dr. Henry Moskowitz as the director of the new sanitary union label department. Dr.

Moskowitz is well known to the members of our organization, having taken a part in the settlement of the great cloak strike of 1910 and later having acted as honorary secretary of the Joint Board of Sanitary Control for many years.

The sanitary union label will be distributed, according to the terms of the contract, through the Joint Board of Sanitary Control, and surely, by his past record and general ability, no more fit person for this task could have been chosen. It is confidently expected that Dr. Moskowitz will prove to be a capable and competent director of this new enterprise.

Miscellaneous Trades' Council Active

(Continued from page 1)

present of the following twelve locals: Swiss Embroiders' Union, No. 6; Miscellaneous Branch of the Cutters' Union, No. 10; Raincoat Makers, No. 20; Ladies' Tailors, No. 38; Tuckers, Pleaters and Hemstitchers, No. 41; White Goods Workers, No. 62; Private Dress Makers, No. 90; Children's Dressmakers, No. 91; Bonnet Embroiders, No. 97; Button Workers, No. 132; Waistmakers, No. 25.

The District Council consists of three delegates from each affiliated local—thirty-six in all. It has a board of directors which consists of one delegate from each local. The Council is managed by Vice-president Samuel Lefkowitz, who has been identified with it from its very inception.

The council and its board of direc-

tors meet every other week to transact business. It has already a substantial amount of work on hand, such as the Union label for Locals 6, 66, 41 and 132, which is an absolute necessity for these locals, and requires the clearing up of mutual relations between the council and the employers in the miscellaneous trades in New York before it can be put in practical operation.

There is still other work which is in the course of preparation, namely, the organization campaign being planned for all the miscellaneous and auxiliary women's garment trades. It is no secret that these trades are only partly organized and that the majority of the workers employed in them are still outside the fold of the Union. These locals have fought

hard in the past to organize all the workers in their trades but found their individual efforts falling short of productive results. The joint campaign in all these trades, which is being laid out now to last from September until April next, is expected to add materially to the membership of the International Union in New York City.

We shall discuss the details of this plan at some later occasion. For the time being, we may only state, that the International will have to provide the means of war, the means for carrying on this big campaign. The

District Council is still young and cannot finance its work by its own funds.

As the council grows stronger and becomes the effective factor in the lives of tens of thousands of workers in the miscellaneous ladies' garment trades it is confidently expected to be, it will be able to continue the big task of organizing the unorganized workers in these trades with its own resources, just as the Joint Board in the cloak and dress industries has been doing in its own great field for the past fifteen years.

Fannia M. Cohn Leaves for London Education Convention

Fannia M. Cohn, Vice-president of our International, left for Europe last Wednesday on the Aquitania as a delegate from the Workers' Education Bureau of America to the International Convention on Workers' Education that will be held at Ruskin College, Oxford, England, August 15 to 17.

The convention will be opened by Ramsay MacDonald, Labor Premier of England. Workers' education enterprises from continental Europe and America will be represented there. The foundation for this convention was laid in August, 1922, at the preliminary conference that was held in Brussels, Belgium, when a resolution presented by the American delegates was adopted, calling upon the

International Federation of Trade Unions to establish an educational division at its headquarters and authorizing it to lead this convention. The Workers' Education Bureau, as it was two years ago, will now be represented by its secretary, Spencer Miller, Jr., and Vice-president Fannia M. Cohn. The secretary was also the delegate to the Workers' Education Association anniversary convention.

JUSTICE sends its fraternal greetings to the delegates and hopes that the deliberation of the convention will be successful and that a firm foundation will be laid for greater solidarity amongst organized Labor in the Eastern and Western hemispheres.

Local 41 Elects Officers

Local 41 Elects Officers

The Tuckers; Hemstitchers, Pleaters and Novelty Workers' Union, Local 41 has held an election for executive board members on Thursday, July 28.

The new officers were installed on Monday, August 4, after which a regular meeting was held and the new board outlined a series of activities to be carried on by the novelty workers' organization during the next term.

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TRADE AND ORGANIZATION PROBLEMS

Letters to the Editor

Arguing With Local 22

Dear Editor:

The Sick and Tuberculosis Fund which Local 22 is planning may be a very good and worthwhile undertaking and the motives for its formation may be of the best—yet, I maintain that it should be brought about by democratic means only—by a referendum of the members of the local. And the fact that it was not brought into being in such a manner is truly painful to all of us who are anxious to preserve the high standards of the organization.

I could see some reason in the establishment of such a fund by executive order, if it were only a voluntary institution. But as it is a compulsory feature I consider it wrong and unwholesome.

Moreover—and this too is very essential—and must still be seriously considered, namely, if in order to become a member of the fund each candidate must pass a physician's examination—what about the physically less sturdy and weak members?

And again—if we are to pay thirty-five cents a month extra for the fund, what are we to get in return for it?

Sincerely,
WOLF EISNER.

P. S. The per capita tax has been raised five cents per week, and the members' dues are coming up fifteen cents; don't you think that our officers might practice a little more economy?

(Editor's Note: The decision to introduce the fund for sick and tubercular members was reached in a most

democratic way, at numerous meetings of the local. The local has in the past adopted many other recommendations in a similar manner, and we cannot conceive why the local should have been compelled to go through the involved processes of a referendum in this instance.

What concerns the physician's examination it does not in the least imply that an applicant cannot become a member of the Union if his health is not very good. He can, unless he is afflicted with some contagious disease, join the organization, but it is quite natural that he should not be able to join the sick benefit fund. What concerns the complaint that the local be called upon to determine at once the amount of the sick benefit, it would seem to us that this is asking too much. No definite sum can be fixed right now; it will depend on the forms and duration of the afflictions and still more on the experience which the administrators of the Fund will gain as it goes along. The local has not adopted yet any decision regarding the last point raised by Brother Eisner.

Once More About The "Red" Scab-Agents

Dear Editor:

I doubt if you have an idea of how deeply our workers resent the slanders of the "red" detractors of the good name of our Union and of our elected leaders. Let me just tell you what I heard the other day in the halls among the strikers.

I noticed a group of cloakmakers engaged in heated discussion. As I approached them I heard one exclaim: "Well, what do you think of that—the Union sends the workers to the shops and the bosses send them back!"

"Where did you hear such rot?" one of the group interjected.

"What do you mean—where? Did not I read it in . . ." He mentioned the name of a Communist sheet.

The crowd roars. The speaker peevishly resents the merry outburst of his auditors.

"Now, see here," someone from the crowd speaks reproachfully. "You seem to believe everything you read in that scandal-sheet. Let me tell you something that I myself know. I was sent the other day to fill in on a job. As I came to the shop the boss informed me that he had no work for me. Well, I naturally got hot under the collar and ran back to Beethoven Hall to speak my mind out to the Union chap that sent me over there. He listened to me patiently, then he says: 'Keep cool, brother, everything will be all right; go to the Joint Board, make out your complaint, and don't fear, you will work! His quiet way cooled me off considerably and I went. In the end I got that job, I work there and the boss is satisfied with me. That's about as far as I'll ever believe what these scandal-mongers are telling in their papers.'"

I left them discussing and went to another hall. I approached another group of debating cloakmakers and heard: "That scabby creature; makes believe he is a friend of ours. But who ever wants him to butt into our business, I ask? You say you are a

Communist; all right. But what right have you to try to break up a union? I am as much of a Communist as I am a rabbi. He is one of those employed by the bosses to go around with a pious mask and make trouble. 'I want to tell you it is an outrage, and you fellows don't know the half of it,' an old, white-haired man, apparently a tailor, was gesticulating heatedly; "Just let me tell you something. In the little town where we come from we had a bully who used to make our lives miserable. There was nothing too mean or low for him—until we hit on the plan to pay him regularly 'shut-up' money. Then everything became nice and quiet and we all thought it was money well wasted. I say we must give these scribbles some pay regularly so that they will keep their snouts shut. They are only barking because they are not getting any bribes, and if our . . ."

But the tailor was rudely interrupted by a huge, uncouth-looking person who brought his ranting to a sudden stop. "What do you mean money—give those good-for-nothings cash for keeping quiet? What do you think New York is, the little village where you come from? We ain't afraid of a dog's bark, are we?" and he turned to the crowd exhibiting a pair of huge fists.

Well, that's about the "register" of the sentiment of the great majority of cloakmakers with regard to our new-fangled scab-agents and provocateurs. It is certain, above all, that there does not exist the slightest danger that these "red" fakers will succeed in befuddling the minds of an appreciable group of our workers.

BEN ELIAZAR.

Practical Suggestions For An Employment Bureau

Dear Editor:

I am inclined to believe that I have the proper solution of the problem of how to install and make workable an employment bureau in our Union. I base my belief on twenty years of experience as a job seeker, which is something that entitles me to express my opinion.

First, concerning the foundation of this structure. It must be built on concrete and not on sand if it is to endure. Let me say therefore—that with the introduction of a degree of order in the cloak trade by our last agreement the Union has already laid the foundation for such an undertaking. Now let us get to the other parts of the construction and let us make them as convenient, workable and practicable as possible.

Until now we have been looking for our jobs through "ads," through friends in the trade and in the so-called "market." Those of us who have been seeking to obtain jobs through these means could tell you how many days and weeks they spend each year in anxiety and worry before they land anything. Until now, however, we had no choice, the trade having been split up into so many small parties and units. Today, matters have changed. We shall have to deal henceforward with responsible manufacturers who know how to make use of labor in a businesslike way. No sensible business man would eng help on a "hit or miss" basis. He knows the his success depends entirely upon the class of workers he employs and to him this question of a competent set of workers is one of the most important in his business.

Well, an employment bureau managed by the Union can solve these problems quite successfully for the employer. It could supply him the right workers at the right moment. Such a bureau would always have at its command an inventory of the

trade; it will have registered every worker in the industry according to his or her branch or craft, and according to their degree of skill. Armed with such information, it stands to reason that the bureau would have no difficulty in sending people to the proper places to the satisfaction of all concerned.

Yet, how can it be accomplished that employers should apply to the bureau and the bureau only for workers? Well, this can be answered quite simply. How is it that most of us use only this or that brand of soap? A certain soap manufacturer has for years conducted an advertising campaign for his product so that by today the name of this product is on the lips of everybody. The soap is all right and is therefore very popular. We refuse to take other kinds but insist upon that one. Moreover, it is comparatively cheaper than the other brands. Why, then, I ask, not conduct on the basis of this principle an intelligent and broad campaign among the employers, by circulars, in the trade papers and everywhere else for such a labor employment bureau?

We must adopt modern methods to "sell" the idea of such a bureau to the industry. We cannot afford to approach it by old-fashioned means which will get us nowhere. And as soon as the first attempt proves successful, you may rest assured, it will spread with lightning rapidity and even the "aristocrats" in our ranks and in the industry will not feel it below their dignity to come to the bureau for a job.

In my long experience as a job seeker I have had the occasion of looking for work through established employment agencies. I had to wait long and dreary hours and days until I would be sent to work somewhere, as jobs are not always plentiful and there is always more applicants than there are jobs in the market. This I

am saying by way of warning to our members. They need not expect that the moment they put their foot across the threshold of the bureau they would find the job waiting for them. They would at times have to wait until the right job is ready for them, but they would know that, once they are sent to a place, it would be the right kind of a place, suited to their working ability and the wages they are entitled to.

And now to the top of the structure, the finishing points. The administration of such a bureau must be in the hands of a fit person or persons, equipped, first and last, with infinite patience. And that is no joke either. Our workers have a way of trying the endurance of any mortal and it will take people with iron nerves and a steady smile on their lips to stand this sort of gaff. The bureau would have to operate from seven in the morning until nine in the evening so that the workers in need of a job will not have to waste time in chasing around, paper in hand, through the industrial district. The applicants would have to come to the assembly room and wait for their calls or assignments. The bureau clerks would have to get in touch with every advertiser, make inquiries and send representatives to the employing firms for the sake of negotiating jobs for the applicants, and use various

other means and ways which wide-awake officers are expected to employ.

Notwithstanding the possible protest from some of our members I suggest that a charge of one dollar be made for every job obtained for an applicant by the bureau. This would probably cover the full operating expenses of the bureau, and, in my opinion, would even add to its prestige and an applicant would surely feel better in paying for this service rather than to feel that he or she is receiving some kind of charity from the bureau.

In conclusion I should desire to mention about a central location for the bureau. It is my belief that our entire cloak and dress trade in New York is now being concentrated around Times Square. That is the vicinity where the future cloak and dress workers' employment bureau should be established.

MORRIS SUROVSKY,
Member, Local 25.

The excursion of the Students' Council of the I. L. G. W. U. in a private yacht with a capacity of 100 will be held on Sunday, September 7. Tickets \$1.50. Reservations must be made at once at the office of the Educational Department, 3 West 16th Street.

JUSTICE

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FROM OUR JOINT BOARDS AND LOCALS

On the Eve of A Conflict in Boston

By SOL SEIDMAN, Vice-president

The situation in Boston today resembles, on a smaller scale, the New York situation of a few months ago.

We in Boston, too, have jobbers, contractors, "corporation" shops and legitimate manufacturers, and the agreements which the Boston Joint Board has had with these various factors in the local trade are similar to the New York agreements. These agreements expired on July 1, but everyone in Boston preferred to wait for the outcome of the New York situation before acting. As soon, however, as the state of affairs in New York cleared up, the Joint Board decided to forward a letter to the jobbers and sub-manufacturers asking them to confer upon the terms of a new agreement. The local cloak manufacturers have no association.

Last Monday, July 21, we had here the first conference with the jobbers. We laid before them our demands which include a minimum of eight operators in a shop, the sanitary Union label, unemployment insurance, investigation of books and records, equal distribution of work, the responsibility of jobbers for contractors' wages in the event of default, fines for failure to observe agreement, and a machinery for adjustment of complaints.

On Wednesday, July 23, we had a conference with the local manufacturers and presented to them the demands that we desired to embody in the new agreement. After that the representatives of both associations notified us that they wished to get in touch with their members prior to giving us a definite reply.

The Union Is Ready

At this moment it is difficult to say what the outcome of these negotiations might be. But the Boston organization is ready for any emergency and will insist upon carrying through its program. The conditions in the shops must be improved and the workers will back up every move by the leaders. At these conferences the Boston locals were represented by a delegate from each unit, in addition to Vice-president Monosson and the writer who acted as spokesmen. The following represented the locals: Ben Kurland, chairman Local 73; Abraham Heller, Local 12, and chairman of the Joint Board; Abraham Brunner, Local 35; Samuel Spiegel, Local 73; Beckie Schwartz, Local 49; Joseph Webber, Local 24; Nathan Ginsburg, Local 56; Abraham Tuckdick, manager Joint Board; Meyer Frank, business agent, and Mania Teitelbaum, business agent.

The Boston locals are in the meantime mobilizing their forces for the possible conflict. They are taking stock not only of the Boston shops but of the shops in every nearby town and locality where it is quite likely the Boston bosses will make an effort to manufacture cloaks in case a strike is called. The Joint Board, at its last meeting, issued a call to all affiliated locals to appoint ten persons each for a general organization committee to do the organizing work in the non-Union and the so-called "corporation" shops. An investigation of all the shops was also carried out by Vice-president Monosson, Manager Tuckdick, Business Agent Frank and myself.

We have had this week a meeting of all shop chairmen and also a joint meeting of all the executive boards of all the locals, and as soon as we hear from the associations we expect to call a mass meeting of all the members.

In the Dress Trade

There is still so much in the dress trade, and the Joint Board is impatiently waiting to see what sort of a season we shall have in that trade this Fall.

It is the opinion of many active workers in the Union that it would be the right thing to begin organizing work to bring into the fold such dress shops as have eluded the Union during the last drive in the dress trade—provided, of course, the season is more or less tolerable. Some of the Union shops which were recently neglected—owing to the slack period—will also have to be reorganized and conditions in them made proper and stable.

We expect to have soon some conferences with the employers in the dress trade, too. Local 7, the rain-coatmakers, is also about to begin negotiations with their employers concerning the renewal of the agreement. In a word, there is feverish activity everywhere in Boston and we have high hopes that we shall come out on top in every one of these situations.

Worcester Next

In Worcester, Mass., Local 75, which comprises the cloakmakers as well as the dressmakers of that city, is getting ready to renew their contracts with the local ladies' garment employers. Vice-president Monosson is in charge in this city, and we have reason to believe that the Worcester agreements will be renewed without any trouble.

INTERNATIONAL CALENDAR

By H. SCHOOLMAN

This Week Twelve Years Ago

Morris Skitchel, business agent of Local 71, Chicago, writes in the "New Post," organ of the New York Cloak Joint Board, concerning the ladies' tailors strike called out to counteract the move of the employers to reintroduce the nine-hour workday in place of the eight hours which they have been working since 1910.

Leibel Bess, a member of Local 16, expresses dissatisfaction with the proposal of Brother Halperin that the cutters be paid one extra week extra to engage "watchmen" to control the shops so that the men might not violate Union rules with regard to hours, division of work in slack time, etc. He proposes that a Yiddish-speaking section be organized in the local so that a bigger portion of the membership might participate in the affairs of the organization, which is bound to improve matters greatly.

Chicheston culture via, after a week's striking, a minimum wage of eighteen dollars per week and a fifty-hour work week.

Only one manufacturer remained adamant and would not concede the terms of the cutters, but after the Union had withdrawn its operators and promoters he yielded to the cutters.

M. Strickner, owner of the cloak store located at 185 Manhattan avenue, Brooklyn, pays fifteen dollars fine for having insulted the delegate of the Union when the latter demanded that Strickner rebuke a Union girl worker whom he discharged and to send via the next train to her home to look her place. The fine was turned over to the Joint Board of Sanitary Control.

With the New York Bonnaz Embroiderers

By MAX M. ESSENFIELD, Manager

We have had in our local a general semi-annual election for all offices on Thursday, July 24, and we desire to state that the balloting passed off in a most praiseworthy and to all of us satisfactory manner. There was no electioneering, no distribution of "campaign literature" of any kind and the members came and voted for the candidates of their choice without noise, advertising or molestation.

The following officers will represent our local for the next term: Z. L. Freedman, president; Samuel Chaytin, vice-president; Nathan Elsie, secretary-treasurer; K. Anisichin, recording secretary; Max M. Essenfield, manager; Louis Hailtan, business agent; C. Welch and Elsie Walsh, trustees; Sol Rayfield, sergeant-at-arms; Abraham Puchalsky, relief committeeman; Rose Auerbach, Joseph Bernstein, Max Halsehsky, Samuel Halperin, Jacob Jaffe, Abraham Kalowit, M. La Guardia, M. Lederman, A. Flotkin and J. Smoller, executive board.

The new officers were installed last Tuesday, and the Union is now expecting important achievements from the new administration.

Prospects For The Season

The last season did not come up to the expectations of the Bonnaz embroiderers. There was not enough work and the season lasted only a few weeks in most of the shops. This "season" was followed by a protracted slack period lasting over four months, and, of course, under these circumstances both the individual members and the organization as a whole have suffered.

But things appear to be on the mending now. We hope soon to be

able to place every man and woman in the trade on a job.

And speaking of trade troubles and abuses we desire to point out the following: Our trade does not suffer from the evils which prevail in some other industries, such as the discharging of workers for union activity, reduction of wages, etc. That is impossible with us, first, because in our trade an employer can get no workers except through the local; our scales are firm and fixed, and it stands to reason that a boss, even if he desires to be mean, can gain nothing through the discharge of an older employee.

Yet, there have been cases in our trade too where wages had been reduced, but this happens usually along entirely different lines. The workers in our shops, as a rule, get from \$5 to \$15 above the scale; so if they manage to remain in their shops through the slack period, they retain their old wages. But if they happen to change, they frequently lose their higher rates as in the new shops they only get the minimum scale. The net result of such job-changing is, as a rule, very meagre. They lose their higher wages and, at the same time, they seldom get more than a few days of work, during the slack season, in these new shops. We have called the attention of our members on more than one occasion to these facts, and we trust they will heed this warning and stop hurting themselves by migrating from place to place.

Our New Problems

Our new administration will have a number of new problems to solve. Our agreement will not expire before

next January, yet preparations for its renewal will have to be made in time. Several of the old clauses will have to be changed, some of them very materially too. We shall discuss these subjects at some later time, but we emphasize the necessity of giving these matters thorough preliminary consideration.

The most important question before our new officers, however, is the preparatory work for the organizing drive to be made in our trade. We do not yet know at this moment of plans which the recently formed Council of the Miscellaneous Trades has formulated. Nor are we as yet in a position to state whether this Executive Council will be able to do organizing work for all the ten or more

locals which are affiliated with it. It is not at all unlikely that we shall have to do a good deal of organizing work ourselves—and we must make ready for it under all events.

We must well that every one of our members is loyally devoted to his organization and would like to see it grow and get stronger and more influential. Local 66 must control the entire industry, and in order to accomplish this we must all redouble our interest in the affairs of the local and be ready, at the signal of the Union, to join with the organization campaigners in the drive for a one-hundred-percent Bonnaz Embroiderers' Union.

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.

Revolution New Style

By GEORGE SOULÉ

From The Nation, July 23, 1924.

The recent victories of the needle-trades unions in New York emphasize the function of labor organizations as creative forces in industry. Not one was fought over simple questions of wages and hours. Not one was an out-and-out conflict for power between exploiter and exploited. The chief gains of each battle were greater cohesiveness and better organization of the industry, elimination of economic waste, and constructive measures like unemployment insurance.

It is a dogma of the extreme-left that industry is inevitably drifting toward larger units of production and concentrated capitalistic control. A corollary of this dogma is that the only proper course for labor is amalgamation of the unions and a "militant" spirit leading to strikes on an ever larger scale. At every point the workers must refuse to cooperate with employers. Anything of that sort is damned as "class collaboration."

The lefts in the heat of their dogma apparently have failed to make a realistic examination of the clothing industries of New York. Here the development has been precisely opposite to that which they say is inevitable. Units of production have been growing smaller. The amount of capital necessary to start a shop is so small that the industry has become overcrowded and competition has been intensified beyond endurance. The comparatively large "inside shops" which make entire garments under one roof have been gradually giving way. The jobbers or stock-brokers have been encroaching on their market to the retail trade. The small contractors, making up orders for the jobbers, have been encroaching on their manufacturing function. In the cloak-and-suit industry the jobber furnishes the material, and sometimes even the design, to the contractor, who gets the

jobber's order through the blindest kind of competitive bidding.

The result of all this overlapping is manufacture in wastefully small shops, overequipment of machinery and personnel among the contractors, heavy seasonal unemployment, a dragging down of Labor standards, deterioration of quality of the product. No amount of union amalgamation or "militancy" could help a situation such as this. The need is not for a simple test of power. It is a problem in industrial engineering.

Likewise the type of trade unionism which thinks of the task of labor as a matter of shrewd bargaining with an employer who can if he will grant any desired concessions, and which concentrates on wage rates and hour schedules to the exclusion of problems of industrial organization, would not have much to offer in a situation such as this. A traditional argument is that seasonal unemployment may be minimized by shorter working hours, and that it should be compensated for by higher wage rates. Such arguments did, indeed, crop up in the recent struggles in New York. But a strike for these objects alone, even if nominally successful, could not have made much headway against the industrial chaos which set the limits to the advantages which the workers might win.

A short strike of the men's clothing workers, conducted by the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, brought an element of cohesion into their industry which had been lacking ever since the break-up of the Manufacturers' Association and the impartial chairmanship after the 1921 lockout. A new association of employers was formed and an agreement was made with it. There will be a guaranty of union conditions in all shops. There will be minimum-wage scales based on production—a measure

which will tend to deprive the small shops of any competitive advantage. There will be an unemployment-insurance fund, beginning next December, built up by a weekly contribution of 3 per cent of the pay roll, one-half contributed by each side. There will be an impartial chairman to administer the agreement and settle minor disputes. Thus the measures for ability which have been successfully tested in the Chicago market have been introduced in New York, and the industry may be expected to convalesce under a scientific treatment.

The International Ladies' Garment Workers had a more difficult situation, and had been working at it longer. For months before the expiration of the agreement on July 1, they had been endeavoring to bring about a scientific investigation and a remedy for the ills of their industry through cooperation of the big manufacturers, the jobbers, the contractors, and the union. A joint commission formed for this purpose failed to elicit the necessary detailed information on account of the reluctance of the jobbers to help it. The jobbers, though ultimately involved in the disintegration of the industry, were temporarily profiting from the surplus of contractors and were not prepared to cooperate in good faith. When the agreement expired the union presented demands embodying the best remedies it could devise, and threatened to force cohesion in the industry by another strike. This threat led to the appointment of a competent investigating commission by Governor Smith, which heard all sides at length and eventually handed down recommendations embodying much of what the union wanted. The jobbers, at first refused to accept the verdict, but another strike threat at the beginning of the busy season, which was

now at hand, brought them to terms.

The remedies offered by the commission are more complicated and extensive than in the case of the men's clothing industry. They include a stipulation that jobbers shall order goods only from contractors having agreements with the union, that such union contractors' shops shall have at least fourteen machine operators and a corresponding number of employees in other branches of the work, that a sanitary label shall be used in products of union shops which shall be subject to the Joint Board of Sanitary Control, that jobbers shall be responsible for the payment of wages by the contractors, that an unemployment-insurance fund shall be built up by contributions from the employers and the union, and that there shall be an impartial chairman to decide disputes in the industry during the life of the agreement—one year. Regarding further proposals of the union for amplification of the industry expert investigators are to work under the Governor's Commission with full power to get the necessary facts from all sources. Another committee is to devise a code of trade practices as between the contractors and the jobbers.

The United Cloth Hat and Cap Makers have won an agreement for unemployment insurance in New York, and the International Fur Workers are to have one also if it is found to be practicable in their industry.

Thus the power of the unions is being employed, not in aimless or primitive struggles, not in theoretical "militancy," but in order to revivify competitive trades which have run to seed under the profit motive. If we mean by "revolution" the substitution of social purpose in industry for the chase of individualistic gain, that revolution is on the way in the clothing industries by the invention of a new technique of cooperation and control, by the formation of new group habits and standards. It is built upon the conscious power of labor and the application of painstaking experiment,—

The Unemployment Fund of the New York Cap Makers

(Readers of our Journal will doubtless perceive with interest the terms of the unemployment insurance arrangement agreed upon between the Cloth Hat and Cap Makers' Union of New York and the employers' Association in their industry. This arrangement is of special interest to our readers in view of the Unemployment Insurance Fund created in our own chief industry, the cloak industry of New York, by the terms of the recent agreement with all our employers.—Ed.)

(a) The Association agrees that every one of its members shall send to the Joint Council of New York of the United Cloth Hat and Cap Makers of North America on each and every pay day during the life of this agreement a sum equal to 3 per cent of the payroll for that particular week, covering all the workers coming under the terms of this agreement. These payments shall be by check made payable to the Joint Council of Greater New York of the United Cloth Hat and Cap Makers of North America, and each payment shall be accompanied by a statement on a form supplied by the Union, setting forth a list of the workers, the amount of wages paid for that week, thereby supplying the data on which the 3 per cent payment for the week in question is being made.

(b) These payments shall begin as soon as the Joint Council shall make arrangements for the receiving of moneys, which shall in no event be later than September 1, 1924.

(c) The sums of money thus received by the Joint Council are to be used in its discretion in such ways or forms as it may deem necessary for the payment of unemployment benefits to members of Locals 1, 2, 3, 15, 23, 30 and 40 of the United Cloth Hat and Cap Makers of North

America, and for no other purpose, except incidental expenses that may be incurred in the administration of this unemployment fund.

(d) In arranging for the payment of the weekly sum to the Joint Council, the Association as herein described, it is not intended that either the Association or the members of the Association shall have any right, priority or interest in the funds accumulating from such payments, and shall incur no other responsibility in connection with the disbursement of the said funds and beyond the obligation to make the weekly payment of the sum herein specified, namely, a weekly payment of a sum equal to 3 per cent of the payroll of the workers coming under the agreement. Nor is it intended that any worker employed by the members of the Association shall in any way acquire specific rights, property or interest in the said fund, but that the Joint Council of New York of the United Cloth Hat and Cap Makers shall be deemed to have completely fulfilled the requirements of this provision of the agreement as far as the Association or any of its members are concerned, or any individual worker working for such firms by using the said fund for the payment of unemployment benefit to members of the locals herein mentioned under such arrangements as the said Joint Council may agree upon.

Security Trust Fund

(a) For the faithful performance of this agreement on the part of the individual members of the Association, it is hereby agreed that the Association will collect from each member of the Association a sum equal to \$200 per member. This sum shall be deposited either in cash or United States Government bonds with a bank

or trust company in the name of the trustee to be agreed upon by the Association and the Union. Until such time as the Association and the Union have designated the trustee herein provided for, the Association shall be the custodian of this fund and shall to all intents and purposes be deemed the trustee of the said fund.

(b) In the event the complaint by the Union before the Board of Adjustment against any member of the Association shall after a trial result in a decision awarding to the Union or to any workers of said firm a sum or sums of money, a member of the Association affected by said decision shall pay the said sum or sums so awarded within seventy-two hours after rendering the decision. If the

member fails to pay such sum or sums within the time specified, the chairman of the Board of Adjustment shall certify in writing the fact of such failure to the trustee of the fund or to the Association while it is custodian of said fund. The trustee or the Association, as the case may be, shall thereupon draw upon the security fund for the amount of the award rendered by the Chairman of the Board of Adjustment, up to the amount of the sum of money in the security trust fund, namely \$200. The member of the Association affected by such proceeding shall be required to deposit with the trustee the equivalent of the sum drawn out within seventy-two hours of the drawing of such amount from the security trust fund. If he shall fail to do that he shall forfeit the protection of the agreement.

Chicago Dressmakers Ready for New Activity

One would naturally expect that after the recent desperately fought strike in the Chicago dress trade, which lasted four months, the workers would be tired and dismayed and by no means disposed to think of another fight.

The situation, however, is precisely the opposite. Local 709, the Chicago dressmakers' organization, is today a beehive of activity and is already "forging weapons" for a new fight against the employers. As a matter of fact, even those Chicago employers who were left with cash shops after the strike feel rather uneasy concerning their "victory." So while they are browbeating and oppressing the girl workers on one hand, they appear not to be interfering with the cutters joining the Union on the flimsy pretext that girls do not want

an organization though men may have one. They are thus seeking to drive a wedge between the men and the women workers in the shops.

Meanwhile, the local is constantly acquiring more and more members. After the strike was called off, there were several hundred strikers left without work and the employed dressmakers taxed themselves a dollar a week each to aid the jobless. It is only too bad that right now there is hardly any work in the shops and, with the best of intentions, these payments cannot proceed regularly.

On the whole the local is going on with its work in a normal way and its business is attended to fully and properly. Last week the local had a special meeting at which new officers were elected.

JUSTICE

A Labor Weekly

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EDITORIALS

A WORD TO SOME MISGUIDED CLOAKMAKERS

Who would have thought it possible, at this late day, that among our enlightened and supposedly level-headed New York cloakmakers some would be found, with minds enslaved enough and spirits battered, to invoke the old Biblical chant—I love my master, I love his household; I want to remain his servant.

We assure our readers that the facts, as we know them, fully warrant this comparison. True, they affect only a handful of workers, but the indictment which their conduct richly deserves, is not made less severe on that account. The Union has declared this year of 1924 a year of liberation, a year of eternal riddance of the petty, pestiferous two-three men shop in the cloak industry. It has fought with heartening success for the installation of the fourteen-machine shop, as a minimum requirement for the proper observation and control of Union rules and work conditions. It would stand therefore to reason that this eventful achievement should have been greeted with unbounded joy by all the cloakmakers without exception as a signal of final deliverance from the woes of the puny shop and master. Yet, so we are informed,—there are cloakmakers here and there who persist in chanting to the Union:—We love our petty boss, we love his little shop; we'd rather stay here, we wouldn't go into the big shops!

We can understand how the aggregation of the puny cloak employers would oppose with every ounce of energy they could muster, the new order in the cloak industry. Pitiful as the condition of these "bosses" has been, as the tools and handmen of the jobbers and manufacturers, it would seem that for some of them the name "employer" holds enough charm to make them stick tooth-and-nail to their two-by-four establishments. Perhaps, they still dream of becoming some day great manufacturers and jobbers—even though today they are in many instances in a worse plight than their workers.

But we fail to understand those of the men and women employed by them who hesitate to leave the small shops and constitute themselves as intermediaries to plead with the Union on behalf of their "bosses," though they know well themselves that these "firms" cannot settle with the Union as they could not meet the work-standards set by the Union agreement. What are we to think of such cloakmakers who, after all these years of educational work and agitation, still fail to grasp the vital difference for them and the industry between the former chaos and disorganization which reigned supreme in the abnormal distribution of production among 3,000 shops, and its present concentration to about 1,200 to 1,300 shops, a number abundantly sufficient to take care of the interests of the New York cloak trade!

Some of these cloakmakers advance the specious argument that they may not have enough work for the season in the new places they are being sent to. Of course, such fears amount to nothing. If these men have had enough work in the small shops which employed from three to four operators each, it would stand to better reason that they will be able to get more and steadier work in the larger units.

There is little danger, of course, that this blind obstinacy of a few hundred persons would endanger the introduction of the bigger-size shop standard in the industry. What these workers cannot conceive with their mind, as the rational and wholesome thing for the industry, they will understand as these petty shops will eventually close up, one after the other, being unable to settle with the Union, on the one hand, and deprived of work by the jobbers and manufacturers who under their agreement with the Union cannot supply these sub-standard shops with orders. Even if a few of them should manage to elude the control of the Union and in a stealthy way get some work from a jobber, it will not amount to anything and in the end prove disastrous both for the contractor and his employees. The jarring thing about this matter, however, is that these workers should have to be compelled to do the thing which they ought to have acclaimed with joy and enthusiasm.

Another thing. The Union, though it has entered into an agreement with the jobbers, has not lost sight, for one moment, of the fact that there are some among these employers of labor who only half-heartedly assented to the Union's terms and would just as soon leave them as a "barren of paper" at the first opportunity. The Union will therefore have to exert a great deal of vigilance and care to enforce the strict observance of the new industrial rules and it can do it efficiently only after the number of the shops has been brought down to a reasonable limit, and when every shop suspected in not being a real Union shop is deprived of Union help.

The very fact that there is only a limited number of cloak operators in New York City—about 17,000—makes it impossible, under the new fourteen-operator minimum arrangement, to have more than 1,200 or 1,300 shops in the trade. Consequently, of the formerly existing 3,000 shops about 1,700 would have to go. This may not be a pleasing prospect for some jobbers who have waxed fat on this chaos; they would rather see the old petty shop remain. But that exactly the reason why the workers and their Union should be interested in a greater concentration of the cloak industry. It is as simple as daylight, and those cloakmakers who turn up at Union headquarters pleading for a settlement on behalf of their petty contractor-bosses are only acting to the detriment of themselves and their fellow workers.

We do not suspect these workers of being in league with the jobbers, mind you, or of being their conscious agents or tools. But we do say that these men have failed to understand the purpose of the Union's fight, the meaning of the issues for which it has been battling these long months and that by opposing the practical carrying out of the reorganization plan as far as their shops are concerned, they are playing directly into the hands of the unscrupulous and undesirable elements in the trade.

The Union is determined not to allow anything to interfere with its set policy of eliminating the sub-standard shop in the cloak industry. It will fight its outspoken enemies as well as the shortsighted, backward workers who might offer hindrance to its plan. We only ask these men to think twice before they continue in their obduracy. The Union will not declare the fight at an end until every "sweater" and every unconscionable employer is driven out of the cloak industry or made to comply with standard Union conditions and we only hope that in this fight these workers—no matter how small their number—will line up fully on the side of their organization.

They must also bear in mind that only a short while ago they, together with the overwhelming majority of the workers in the trade, have voted to strike for the enforcement of Union conditions in all the shops, to strike weeks and months if necessary. The decision of the Governor's Commission has made such a fight superfluous. And these workers, who were ready to endure hunger that these new conditions be enforced in the industry, should certainly be ready to face the temporary inconvenience which the change from one place to another might incur for some of them.

We are sure that this small flurry will blow over in a few days. We are certain that these men will soon see how unfairly they have acted towards their Union and will be glad to abandon forever the petty sub-standard shops and take their places in the shops held ready for them by the Union, shops where Union conditions will be observed and the Union regulations prevail in spirit and letter.

THE A. F. OF L. AND THE LA FOLLETTE CAMPAIGN

We welcome heartily the attitude of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor with regard to the La Follette campaign. It would have been a misfortune and a shame had the Council acted otherwise. Its enemies could have deservedly charged it with serving the interests of the reactionary forces of the country. The Executive Council has made history by its present decision. It gave the signal to the organized workers of America to break away from the old and to join with their meaningless platforms and candidates and to join the supporters of an independent candidate who has had the courage and the daring to declare war upon them.

We like it still more because the Executive Council deemed it wise not to come forth with an "ukase" or preemptory order to the organized workers informing them that they must vote for La Follette. That would have smacked of dictatorial action, something of which the Council of the American Federation of Labor never has been guilty. Besides, such an act would have brought little fruit. The American workers have not been brought up to take orders from anyone with regard to political action. It was, however, quite sufficient for the Executive Council to come out flat-footed for the La Follette-Wheeler campaign and its platform. To minimize the importance of this declaration by pointing out that this indorsement does not apply to the La Follette party is ridiculous, for, as a matter of fact, there is no such thing as a La Follette party. There is a La Follette movement, if you will, but no party, as far as we have been able to discern.

What is the nature and the essence of this La Follette movement?

Its sense and meaning lies in a great rising protest of the thinking, progressive elements against all that is corrupt, rotten and reactionary in America. And Senator La Follette, by his record and life-long activity, expresses this protest superbly. That's why La Follette is the man of the moment. That's why there are gathering about him today the best and politically cleanest men and women of this country, and it is really a joy to find in this great company the chosen representatives of the organized workers.

To what extent these representatives are in step with the masses of the workers and express through this decision their thoughts and wishes—or are way ahead of them—is difficult to say at this moment. The election in November will give a clear and decisive answer to that. We, on our part, would hope that in this case, like in cases involving economic problems and decisions, the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor has given expression not only to its own convictions but to

A. F. of L. Endorses La Follette and Wheeler

(Continued from page 1)

aged and supported the Daugherty injunction against the railroad shopmen.

Democratic Platform a Failure

Labor's representatives submitted to the Democratic convention identical proposals to those submitted to the Republican convention. At this convention as extended hearing was granted, the Democratic platform pledges that party to legislation to regulate hours and conditions of all labor, a proposal against which the American Federation of Labor has struggled throughout its whole history. It is silent as to the injunction. It does not meet the Railroad Labor Board issue. Or that point it is so equivocal that the enemies of Labor may well feel that their desires will be met. It, too, fails to recommend the ratification by the States of the Child Labor constitutional amendment.

The Democratic convention nominated candidates unacceptable to Labor.

As to the candidates and platforms, both the Republican and the Democratic National party convention flouted the desires of Labor, the Republican convention in an arrogant manner, the Democratic convention by that evasiveness which is the customary mark of insincerity.

There remains the candidacy of Robert M. La Follette and Burton K. Wheeler, the first an Independent Republican, the second an Independent Democrat, running as such.

These candidates have proffered a platform in which the economic issues of the day are met in a manner more nearly conforming to Labor's proposals than any other platform.

The La Follette Program

This platform pledges a remedy for the injunction evil.

It pledges the right to organize and collectively to cease work.

It pledges protection of the rights of free speech, free press and free assembly.

It pledges abolishment of the Railroad Labor Board.

It pledges a measure to annul the power of the Supreme Court to declare laws permanently unconstitutional.

It declares for direct election of President and Vice-president and election of Federal judges.

It recommends prompt ratification by the Child Labor constitutional amendment.

It pledges subsequent Federal legislation to protect child life.

On international issues this platform does not conform to Labor's proposals, but it does more fully than any other political platform meet Labor's views in relation to domestic economic issues.

We cannot do other than point out this fact, together with the further and perhaps more important fact that the candidates Mr. La Follette and Mr. Wheeler have throughout their whole political careers stood steadfast in defense of the rights and interests of the wage earners and the farmers.

We cannot fail to observe that both Republican and Democratic parties through manipulated control are in a condition of moral bankruptcy which constitutes a menace and a peril to

our country and its institutions. Machine politicians have brought upon our country moral obliquity and unexampled betrayal. We are judging on the basis of the condition which exists and this judgment will be reversed only when the conditions upon which it is based are changed.

Service to the people is a noble cause which demands consecration and the American Labor movement demands that there be that consecration in candidates to whom it gives support.

The Course of the A. F. of L.

Our course is clear. In pointing to the platform and records of the Independent candidates, we do so with the confidence that no other course can be pursued if we are to remain true to our convictions and our traditions. Those who are hostile to Labor and to the people generally and who devoted

therefore leadership must lie with the only organization having the right to speak for the entire Labor movement. In this the American Federation of Labor yields to none but will maintain steadfast its leadership guidance and direction.

In the selection and election of men to public office within the several States, leadership must lie with our State Federations of Labor and in city or county elections this right must rest with central Labor bodies.

Organized Labor Partisan to Principles

Organized Labor owes allegiance to no political party or group. It is not partisan to any political party or group. It is partisan to principles—the principles of freedom, of justice, of democracy.

It is the duty of trade unionists, their friends and sympathizers, and all

SHOULDER TO SHOULDER—1924



Courtesy of American Federationist

their energies to the service of reaction and special interests must be opposed.

We call upon the wage earners and the great masses of the people everywhere who stand for freedom, justice, democracy and human progress, to rally in this campaign to the end that the representatives of reaction and special interests may be defeated and the faithful friends and servants of the masses elected.

Cooperation hereby urged is not a pledge of identification with an independent party movement or a third party, nor can it be construed as support for such a party, group or movement except as such action accords with our non-partisan political policy. We do not accept Government as the solution of the problems of life. Major problems of life and labor must be dealt with by voluntary groups and organizations, of which trade unions are an essential and integral part. Neither can this cooperation imply our support, acceptance or endorsement of policies or principles advocated by any minority groups or organizations that may see fit to support the candidacies of Senator La Follette and Senator Wheeler.

In the campaign to elect men to Congress, regardless of their political group or party affiliation and deserving of Labor's support, there must be unity of purpose and method,

lovers of freedom, justice and democratic ideals and institutions to unite in defeating those seeking public office who are indifferent or hostile to the people's rights and interests. It is the duty of all to support such candidates to public office who have been fair, just and outspoken in behalf of the welfare of the common people.

We shall analyze the record and attitude of every aspirant to public office and shall give our findings the widest possible publicity. Labor's enemies and friends must be clearly known and be definitely indicated.

In calling upon all affiliated and recognized national and international federations of Labor, central Labor and brotherhood organizations, State bodies, local unions, Labor's friends and sympathizers, to give unified, unrestricted, loyal and active support to the non-partisan campaign now set in motion, we emphasize the imperative need of an intensive educational campaign to enable all to act with discrimination and wisdom in this election, and to stand faithfully by our friends and elect them and to oppose our enemies and to defeat them.

SAMUEL GOMPERS,
FRANK MORRISON,
JAMES O'CONNELL,
MATTHEW WOLL,

Executive Committee, American Federation of Labor National Non-Partisan Political Campaign Committee.

La Follette Thanks Gompers

Senator La Follette's telegram of acceptance, which was given out after he received the news of his endorsement by the Executive Council, reads as follows:

"Washington, D. C., Aug. 4, 1924.

"Hon. Samuel Gompers,

"President American Federation of Labor.

"Ambassador Hotel,

"Atlantic City, N. J.

"I desire to express my deep appreciation for the action taken by the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor in endorsing the independent candidacy of Senator Wheeler and myself. In taking this step after deliberate judgment the American Federation of Labor for the Progressive ticket cannot be overestimated. Your Executive Committee in stating the American Federation's political purpose says:

"Organized Labor owes allegiance to no political party or group. It is partisan to principles, the principles of freedom, justice and democracy."

"It seems to me that in this brief paragraph you have set forth a creed of citizenship which, if accepted and acted upon by the great body of common citizens, would rapidly make the Government of our country what it was intended to be—the people's own instrument of service. I have in my public record attested my accord with the aspirations of American wage-earners as represented by the American Federation of Labor. I welcome this endorsement. To break the combined power of selfish interests upon government is the paramount issue of this campaign, and with the support of organized Labor, the farmers, business men, professional men and all other men and women whose sole interest in government is that of good citizenship, I feel confident we shall win.

"ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE."

Gompers Attacks Old Parties

President Gompers in a subsequent statement attacked the two major parties and stated that Labor is going to do its best to elect La Follette and Wheeler. The statement in part follows:

"Our Executive Council has approved the candidacies of Senator La Follette and Senator Wheeler and we have every resource at our command will be used in the effort to bring about their election. We have acted in strict accordance with our long-established policy of non-partisan political action. We have never endorsed a political party or a political organization, and we stand by that refusal in the present instance. We have made it clear that between three candidates for the Presidency we find one distinctly preferable to the other two; and the same thing applies to the platforms.

"We have protested against certain grave injustices and inequalities year after year. The platform upon which Senator La Follette and Senator Wheeler are candidates pledges definite action to correct those injustices, and we propose to do what we can to make possible the correction of those economic injustices through their success at the polls.

"It is no fantastic thing to look for the success of Senator La Follette in the coming election. America is seething with protest against the machinations of big business, the betrayal of public trust and the lack of patriotic, constructive statesmanship in the two major parties. From these we have on the one hand a frank championship of reaction, and on the other a cunning evasiveness which probably deceives not even the blindest partisans.

"We are going to do our best to elect La Follette and Wheeler. We believe the conscience of America is aroused to the need of a new deal in our national Government and a new morality in public life generally.

the feelings and opinion of all the organized workers and that the coming presidential elections will prove a tremendous surprise to the politicians of all the parties.

Once more we congratulate the American Federation of Labor and its spokesmen upon its decision to help with every means at their command the great La Follette movement, a decision which expresses fully the best aspirations of the vanguard of the American working masses.



IN THE REALM OF BOOKS



Smillie's Life for Labor

My Life for Labor. By Robert Smillie, M. P.

Robert Smillie's autobiography comes at a timely moment. Plain-spoken and modest as its author, like him, too, the book carries gleams of humor and kindness shining through the gloom of pit life and the doggedness of political propaganda.

Keir Hardie and Robert Smillie had many qualifications in common, and they will ever remain in the calendar of our Labor pioneers as the foremost of their time. It is a quaint recollection that these two young fighters first came in contact, all unknown to each other, in a lad's cricket match on a village green.

"Straight bats" indeed have they played in sterner contests in later life; and their bowling has been as fearless as as deadly. Keir has passed to the pavilion, alas! but Bob still "plays the game," a bright example to the younger folk coming in and the pride of all of us who have witnessed his eventful innings: at first hand.

Some twenty years ago Smillie's was the only voice that spoke for Socialism and Independent Labor representation on the Executive of the Miners' Federation of Great Britain. He played his lone hand with a tenacity that is almost his chief characteristic, and was out as younger men came along to aid him and to bring to the council table the fire and enthusiasm of their campaigns in their own particular localities.

The Great Days

Those years—round about the nineties were great days—days of strenuous sacrifice by unselfish apostles of the new freedom that seem remote and vastly overgrown in these more successful times.

Smillie's election contests—all as avowedly anti-Liberal as much as anti-Tory—formed one long list of defeats until he won the Morpeth victory in June last year. Victory was the last thing he thought of in any of them; his causes were usually far too hopeless for that. He was content to leave the harvesting for others to reap—his fights were simply occasions for "the sowing of the seed." There were more incidents on the political side of his work, conducted in intervals of his steady service to the miners.

Industrial historians may have difficulty in tracing the marks of his efforts in the improvements in mining conditions that have been secured during the last thirty years, but long before his more spectacular and more enjoyable contributions to the Sankey

Commission, he had brought to the solution of mining problems that same wide knowledge and strength of purpose that has marked his duties in other directions.

The Good Comrade

Intimate contact with Smillie is a desirable corrective to much that one suffers from the scribes who know him not. How often have we on our native fellsides seen an upstanding boulder, dark, dull, forbidding when the clouds have lowered and the craggy heights have been wreathed in misty silences; and then have seen that same giant landmark catch the reddealing gleams of the western sun and glow with all the radiant hues that Mother Nature alone creates. Then indeed does the very rock seem all tenderness and incarnate with a kindling warmth.

So with Bob Smillie—fixed, immovable as any rock—good vantage ground for younger fighters to lean upon or even to remember as a near-by backing—dour as need be when his shaggy brows lower and his firm jaw sets. Though tender to tears is he when pity touches, so it all too often does; and as humorously as a boy when a good story or a queer memory is in the telling. Yet withal, good and solidly human all through—"a man of independent mind," as Burns pictured one: "the good comrade" that Whitman would have loved.

Human and Humorous

Friend of all the "friends" of lost causes and downcast fellows in distress, Smillie has always seemed a refuge and a strength to victims fighting against heavy odds. He has a perfect gift for loving to do the daring, naughty thing, and has a soft side for the "cranks" and "nuisances" that other cleverer people have "no time," "no use for."

In his book he has set down the plain tale of his own life, and good reading it makes. Already the story has gone round the world as a serial in the pages of *Answers*, but here in handy form, neat and well-printed and cheap, with a happy little appreciation from the Prime Minister as a foreword, it will stand as the good record of a good man's life—a modest, dignified chronicle of faithful service to his fellows that will ring down the years and strengthen the purpose of many another planner yet to come.

New Haldsch Books

ALTYELD OF ILLINOIS. By Waldo R. Brown. 12mo, cloth, \$3.00, net.

Governor John P. Altgeld of Illinois, was one of those tragic protagonists of the people whose fame, smothered by calumny and misunderstanding in life, flourishes posthumously and attains to heroic proportions as time goes on. Some thirty years removed from the crucial period of American history, in which Altgeld was a major political power and a great moral force, but still close enough to the man and his times to see him undimmed by the pathos of myth-makers, this first biography presents without romantic coloring one of the most dramatic careers in our annals.

THE GARMENT WORKERS. By Louis Levine. A History of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union. 12mo, cloth, \$5.00, net. (Will be out in September.)

A thorough study of one of the strongest unions in the United States by an eminent economic expert. The dramatic history of the I. L. G. W. U., is recounted in such fashion that the book is of great interest and value to the general reader as well as the specialist. It is a splendid text for the study of trade union organization and government—offers an analysis of this general subject in a particularly vivid concrete instance by one of its highest authorities.

ESSAYS AND ADVENTURES OF A LABOR M.P. By Josiah Wedgwood. 8vo, cloth, probably \$3.00, net.

This volume constitutes the informal memoirs of the present representative of the family whose name is associated with the famous English pottery. Colonel Wedgwood, D. S. O., is a gallant figure in British life. He has a bit of the adventurer's blood

in him. He writes at first hand about fighting in South Africa, at Gallipoli, before Antwerp. But what is more important, perhaps, than his military career with its record of extraordinary bravery written between the lines, is the fact that Colonel Wedgwood is one of the best heads in Parliament. At present he is a member of the Labor cabinet.

LEONID ANDREYEV. By Alexander Kamm. A Critical Study. Large 12mo, cloth, \$3.50, net.

The two decades of Russian literature that ended with the Revolution are focalized in this study of the author of "The Seven That Were Hanged," "He Who Gave Slapped," "The Red Laugh," and the many other plays, novels and short stories, less well-known to Americans, that enjoy an equally high reputation in Europe. The influence of Tolstoy, Gorky, Chekhov, Nietzsche, Schopenhauer, and the chief tendencies of Russian and West-European literature and philosophy of the Nineteenth Century are viewed directly and through the prism of Leonid Andreyev's romanticism. Dr. Kamm's access to private papers, the generous aid given him by Andreyev's wife, his wholly dispassionate treatment of the subject, and his scholarly fitness for the task.

"Stop by stop the longest march

Can be won; can be won.

Single steins will form an arch

One by one, one by one.

"And by union, what we will

Can be all accomplished still.

Drops of water turn a mill.

Slightly more, slightly more."

—Aunt

CANNED CHILDHOOD

By SARAH N. CLEGHORN

Benbath the label "Oysters," "Shrimps,"
Or "Beans," or "Peas," or "Corn,"
Is canned a pound of frolic missed
Upon a summer morn;
Lost fun and frolic, soldered tight
Where no child finds them morn or night.

A pound of health, a pound of strength,
From cradles snatched we find:
A pound of young intelligence
Robbed from a childish mind.
Packed here together, snugly fit
Teresa's eyesight, Tony's wit.

And wasted sunshine here is canned,
With wasted smells of flowers;
The wasted sparkle of green fields
Washed bright by early showers.
And pleasant scampers never run,
And shouts unheard in breeze and sun.

Yea, in the cans are voices hid
Of little sons and daughters,
That should be singing "London Bridge,"
"I Spy" and "Sally Waters,"
"Where oats, peas, beans and barley grows
'Tis you nor I nor nobody knows."

Come buy, my fellow-countrymen!
Canned childhood's selling cheap,
And what though little Jack should tire
And fall too fast asleep?
There's work for little Marianne,
Come buy sweet childhood by the can.

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DOMESTIC ITEMS

WORKING GIRLS JAILED BY INJUNCTION JUDGE.

Two girl strikers and two male strikers, in Rock Island, Illinois, have been sentenced to jail for sixty days and ninety days, respectively, by Circuit Judge Church for alleged violation of his injunction.

The strikers are employed at the Boone Woolen Mills, a notorious low-wage establishment. Previously one of the strikers was arrested on a forgery charge and kidnapped into Iowa, but the crude frame-up collapsed.

The company is attempting to enforce the "yellow dog," This is a contract which provides that the worker who signs the document agrees not to join a union or interest others in a union while he is so employed.

COMPANY-OWNED TOWN WILL HEAR UNIONISM.

At its annual convention at Olympia, the Washington State Federation of Labor voted to hold its next convention at Kelso. This is a challenge to the anti-union policy of the company-owned town of Longview, near Kelso. Unionists at the latter place are resisting the union-smashing program of the Long-Bell Company, one of the biggest lumber firms on the coast.

Kelso delegates told the convention of the company's efforts to strangle unionism. Contractors are forced to operate under long-hour, low-wage conditions that threaten to extend beyond the boundaries of the company town.

DECENT LABOR LAWS USED AS BOGEY MAN.

"Your business is going to be still further burdened with unnecessary and unelected legislation," shrieks C. C. Gilbert, secretary of the Tennessee Manufacturers' Association, in calling for contributions of at least \$10 from every firm to "prevent the enactment of such unjust, unfair, and illegal legislation" that is urged by Labor.

The program that this spokesman for business objects to is as follows: Repeal of law creating the State Public Utilities Commission; enactment of a qualification law for miners; eight-hour day for women and minors; protection of workers in the erection of buildings; improved workmen's compensation law, free textbooks for public schools; outlaw the use of health-destroying paint spraying machines; abolition of the convict contract system; and abolition of child labor.

"PICKETING IS LAWFUL"; ERECTOR'S ARE CHECKED.

Supreme Court Justice Lydion, of New York, has refused the Iron League's request for an anti-picketing injunction against striking iron workers, who have been on strike since last May to enforce a higher wage rate. Only members of the Iron League, employing 1,200 iron workers, have refused to grant the new rate or recognize the Union.

Justice Lydion would not accept the Iron League's generalizations that threats and intimidations have been used against its strikebreakers.

"There is no evidence of prohibitive force in the many affidavits to show that the picket on the different jobs have been guilty of any violence or have in any way substantially interfered with the plaintiff's business," said the court.

The iron workers charged that the employers do not come into court with clean hands, as the steel mills aid their conspiracy against the union by granting them a rebate of \$6 a ton on steel erected by non-unionists.

Justice Lydion did not overlook the workers' charge, which, he said, raises the point that a conspiracy does exist, and, if established "would be decisive of the fact that the plaintiffs are not entitled to come into equity for relief."

WILKERSON IS BUSY; HAS INJUNCTION MILL.

Federal Judge Wilkerson's court, in Chicago, is the busiest Labor injunction mill in these parts. This jurist came into fame when he enjoined the railroad shop men at the request of an attorney general named Daugherty.

Later the judge enjoined building craftsmen from quitting work when non-union electrical workers of the Western Union Telegraph Company started to wire the building. The judge held that the right to quit work is not absolute and conditions could arise when an exercise of the right to quit would be a conspiracy.

After this interpretation of "Americanism" the judge enjoins striking poultry handlers, commission drivers, and chauffeurs.

TEXTILE WAGES CUT.

Textiles has witnessed the heaviest wage cut in the industrial recession; that has been developing in New York State in the past three months, according to the State Department of Labor. Wages have been cut over \$2 weekly in the cotton, carpet and knitting mills.

OPPOSE RAIL BOARD.

The United States Railroad Labor Board has failed to function with any degree of fairness to employees and should be abolished, declared the convention of the Amalgamated Sheet Metal Workers' International Alliance, in session in Montreal, Canada. The Howell-Barkley bill, now pending in Congress, was approved. The convention pledged its support to the Federal Child Labor Amendment.

HIGH-CLASS MOBBERS TERRIFIED STRIKERS.

The terrorizing of Harrison (Arkansas) railroad shop men and the lynching of one striker is described at length in a book by Rev. J. K. Farris, who was located in Harrison at the time. The book is declared "an amazing

revelation" by Editor Martin of the Blacksmiths' Journal.

The clergyman shows that the mob was instigated by railroad officials who used this method to break a peaceful strike. Gregor, one of the strikers, was hanged by the mob from a railroad bridge after his home was riddled by rifle fire.

The background of the mob was a mass meeting of citizens who called on all business men to declare for the anti-union shop.

Editor Martin compares the failure of Daugherty and his department of justice to act in this case with his injunctions hurled at the shop men when business interests were affected.

OVERWORK CAUSES DEFECTIVE CHILDREN.

"Defective children are the offspring of overworked mothers. It is one of the accepted doctrines of modern science that women seldom have the strength to engage in economic life and at the same time bear children," said Bird S. Coler, head of the New York Department of Public Welfare.

BAR HAWAIIAN JAPANESE.

Secretary of Labor Davis has ruled that Japanese residents of the Hawaiian Islands can not enter the United States under the new Oriental exclusion law. Large numbers of Japanese are in Hawaii and claim they are entitled to admittance to the mainland of the United States because of their residence in the territory of Hawaii.

\$1,000,000 Annually Out of Convict Labor.

The Reliance Manufacturing Company, which uses Oklahoma convicts on its shirt contract, makes a profit of \$1,000,000 a year.

This information is given wide circulation by citizens in Oklahoma who oppose the leasing of convicts. The Reliance is an Illinois corporation. It is capitalized at \$5,500,000.

Organized Labor and sympathizers are opposing a contract this company has secured from the Oklahoma State Board of Public Affairs. The State is paid sixty cents a dozen, or five cents apiece, for making shirts.

The Employers and the New Policy in France

One of the most reactionary groups which helped to determine Poincaré's policy, was the Union or Economic Interests (Union des Intérêts Économiques) which organized the whole electioneering campaign of the National Bloc, expended huge sums of money and left no stone unturned to keep the Government firm in the old course.

The National Bloc is at an end, but the employers have not for one moment given up their plans. On the contrary. They took advantage of the breathing-space between the elections (May 11) and the accession of the new cabinet (June 1) to break the force of the fall. This they did by at once rushing through a resolution for the creation of a so-called "Advisory Committee for Trade and Industry," which plainly intended to forestall any new departures in democracy, and to prevent the founding of the "National Economic Council," so long demanded by the French trade union centers. Moreover, the ministers of the retiring cabinet took care to leave men whom the National Bloc could trust in occupation of all the strategic points of the great departments of state.

No sooner had the new government come in, than the employers immediately set to work to undermine it by insidious influence. Before the ink on his new portfolio was dry, the Minister of Commerce, Finance and Labor was invited to a dinner by the most extreme of all the employers' associations, the Association of Textile Manufacturers. Small wonder the Labor press sounded a warning to the new ministers!

The acid test of Herriot's powers of resisting the moneyed interests will be the question of reparations. He has always been in favor of reparations in kind. Even before the elections he pointed out the error of the last Government in this respect, and it is not long since he made comprehensive statements, supported by statistics, to show that the German Gov-

ernment had offered France 950,000,000 of gold marks' worth of goods in 1922, but the French Government only accepted goods up to the value of 209,000,000, that is to say, the coal and coke needed for manufacturing. The French industrialists were so much afraid of "dumped" German goods that they turned down the rest of the offer!

In other ways the employers' associations are trying to recover lost ground. The Labor press pointed out in January last that the employers might very easily lose in the elections because their unbridled profiteering had turned the small retailers and consumers against them. The Union of Economic Interests is now trying to pose as the champion of the retailers' and consumers' interests. This subtle change of front, and the old policy of the formation of the "Committee of Industry and Trade" are encouraging the reactionary party to feel that, after all, things may not be so bad. A member of the "Comité des Forges" recently went so far as to prophesy that "before three months are over, we shall have made a breach between the Radicals and the Socialists and the parliamentary situation will again be in our favor."

But in the meantime, the Retailers' Federation has sent a deputation to the new Government, declaring its willingness to cooperate with it. The employers' association may be counting its chickens before they are hatched.

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Exclusively



EDUCATIONAL COMMENT AND NOTES



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

(Continued from Last Week.)

3. The second basis of economics lies in the tool. The tool has developed steadily through the ages.
 - (a) Man has not always had the tremendous tools with which he works today. Only late in the ice ages, for instance, did man develop the bone needle and the spear point. But these were the ancestors of the Wilcox machine and the machine gun.
 - (b) Material culture has two phases: A gradual widening in the sources of supply and a development in the tools of production. Each is related to, and dependent upon, the other.
 - (c) The widening of sources of supply carried man through these various stages of development.
 1. Food gathering.
 2. Hunting.
 3. Fishing.
 4. Domestication of animals or pastoral.
 5. Domestication of plants or agricultural.
 6. Commercial and industrial.
 - (d) The development of the tools of production show two great types of changes:
 1. Changes in the materials used: rough stone, polished stone, copper, iron and steel.
 2. Changes in energy used to move the tools: human energy, human energy supplemented by animal energy and wind and water power; manufactured energy (The Industrial Revolution).
4. This development of the tool shows certain important characteristics.
 - (a) It is cumulative—which means that the amount of new inventions you get at any one period depends upon the amount brought up from the past to that period; e. g., if you have 100 tools to improve you may get 200 inventions; but if you have 1,000 or 10,000, etc., you must get so many more. The amount of inventions grows with time.
 - (b) It is inevitable—which means that since the amount of new inventions depends upon the amount already at hand, you are bound to get a greater number as the stock of knowledge increases. Most great inventions were discovered at the same time by two or more men working independently. Moreover, a great invention appears to be an integration of smaller, previous inventions.
 - (c) It is social—which means that it belongs to the group. No one man produced it; what individual men do at any time depends upon what the group has done before. (William Fielding Ogburn, "Social Change," Part II.)
5. But the analysis of these characteristics of the tool suggests at once two significant questions: (1) What is the role of the inventor—the great man—in this process. The popular conception of inventions always carries with it the learned scientist or engineer whose great mind alone is responsible for the invention. Studies on inventions tend to mark the role of the inventor a somewhat smaller thing. According to these studies human ability in any field tends to follow what is known as the normal curve of error. In every generation, that is, there are a small number of geniuses and a number of idiots and imbeciles. Between these two extremes there is a larger number of talented people on the one hand, and of dull and stupid, on the other. In the middle there is the great average. This curve of mental ability is thought to remain constant from generation to generation. Now since the number and quality of geniuses tend to remain more or less a constant we must look at inventive changes in culture (a variable) as a product of the growth of culture itself. The inventor's role is important, of course, but the number of inventions is greater today than formerly, and greater among the white race than among others for cultural reasons. We have not more or greater geniuses, but their opportunities have been made more ample by the great growth of culture. This growth also gives a wider field to the merely talented men. (Ogburn, above; Franz Boas, "The Mind of Primitive Man," Chapters 1, 2, 4, 6 and 7.)
6. The second question suggested by this analysis of the tools is this: If our tool development has been social, if it has been a product of the work of all past ages of man and the growth of culture itself, how can we account for the private ownership of the social tools of production?
7. The third basis of economics lies in this private ownership of the social tools.

(To be continued.)

Outing on the Hudson by Students' Council on Sunday, September 7.

The Students' Council of our Workers' University, Unity Centers and Extension Division has arranged an all day outing for Sunday, September 7. For this purpose they chartered a private yacht for 100 persons. The committee on arrangements is hard at work on the day's program and they assure us that the excursionists will spend a most pleasant and fruitful day, as there will be dancing, singing, story telling, bathing and also "refreshments."

Tickets are \$1.50. Reservations can be made with the Educational Department, 3 West 16th street, in person or by mail. The capacity of the boat is limited, and as the Students' Council wishes to give preference to those of our members and their friends who are interested in the activities of our Educational Department, we advise them to make early reservations.

Lectures at Our Unity House

The lectures arranged by our Educational Department at our Unity House are a great success. The lecturers, as well as the audience, are inspired by them. About 400 persons assembled on Wednesday mornings in the Pine Grove, overlooking the beautiful lake with its refreshing breezes, to listen to the lecturer. Most of the lectures are an introduction to the courses that are given by our Educational Department during the winter. The teacher's outline of his subject stimulates in the audience an interest in it, and then follow discussions.

Among the lecturers were Professor Lovett, Alexander Fiehandler, Max Levin, Ch. Niegar, Herman Epstein and others. The next lecture, Wednesday, August 13, will be given by Max Levin. The subject will be "Modern Economic and Social Institutions and the Place that Organized Labor Occupies in Them."

Further Comments on Dr. Carman's Outline

Raymond G. Gettel, University of California:

"It is an excellent piece of work."

Paul W. Brissenden, Columbia University:

"I am very glad to have this outline, and to know that Mr. Carman's course at the Workers' University is making such splendid progress. I shall be very glad indeed to hear, from time to time, of the new developments in this educational work of the International."

Norman Thomas, Chairman, Executive Committee, The League for Industrial Democracy:

"I like Dr. Carman's syllabus very much and have said so in a brief note for publication in our News-Bulletin."

E. S. Furness, Yale University:

"I have read the outline with great interest and am very favorably impressed by it."

David J. Saposs, Brookwood College:

"I have enjoyed going through Dr. Carman's outline. This pioneer undertaking is indeed in line with the other initial efforts of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union and deserves the highest commendation. No greater function can be performed by a union than to make knowledge available to its membership."

A Fable

A Pileus Leaguer and a W. E. A. er set off for Paradise together.

By and by they came to a place where two roads diverged.

There was a sign, with two finger-posts. The first said "To Paradise, by the Broad Highway." The other said "Bridle Track to Paradise, via Marx."

They disputed for some time which way they should take. As they could not agree as to the road, they agreed to part.

The W. E. A. er took the Broad Highway.

The Pileus Leaguer kept to the left, along the Bridle Track.

By and by, the Highway got so broad that the W. E. A. er lost his way, and wandered about with no idea where he was.

By and by, the Bridle Track, winding along a high hill, got so narrow that the Pileus Leaguer lost his head, and fell off into the abyss.

That was the end of them.

STOP PRESS NEWS. Owing to grave inconvenience to the public, caused by the unsatisfactory state of the roads to Paradise, it has been decided to make a new straight road, swerving neither to right nor to left, and broad enough to take all traffic with ease. The making of this road will provide much useful work for the unemployed. It has not yet been settled whether it will receive grant aid from the Government.

(Reprinted from "New Standards," England.)

In Belgium—Ghent

By PAULINE M. NEWMAN

From Ostend we took the train to Ghent. Along the road we saw flat, marshy country, tall trees, red tiled houses and wind mills—which reminded one of old Dutch paintings. Ghent itself is a small and attractive town. The Cathedral of St. Bovo, the Belfry, the Nunnery and the old Castle provide the visitor with a program long enough to warrant the stay of a few days.

From the Belfry we got a lovely view of Ghent and its surroundings. Here one could see the beautiful seventeenth century bells which play every fifteen minutes—all day and all night long. On Saturdays they play for an hour as the natives gather around the Belfry to listen to the concert. The ruins, dating back to the ninth century, where the Counts of Flanders ruled, offer the visitor a historically interesting place where to spend a few hours. The Nunnery deserves more space than we can give to it, as it provides the visitor with a view of life such as we are not accustomed to.

Here is a little community all by itself. The people live in seclusion—away from the crowds; they support themselves by making and selling lace—mostly to foreigners. We saw the "mistresses" at work, and we then took us through the church. They are not in a hurry; they do not rush; they do not hustle. Having, evidently, enough to eat and a roof above their heads encircled by lovely flowers and trees, they watch the seasons go and come. One wonders what, after all, they miss by not pushing their years ahead thus speeding toward death?

The Cathedral of St. Bovo is the most interesting place in Ghent. Here we find some of the best works of the Van Eyck brothers,—natives of Ghent and of whom the people are very proud. And well they may be, for they are among the foremost artists of the Flemish school. Their paintings are to be found in every museum in Europe and they are regarded as unequalled masters in the matter of details. The Cathedral as a whole, with its space, light, color, and mural decorations is a very much worth-while place to visit.

Generally, Ghent has the appearance

of an ancient town. The houses seem to have survived for centuries. They are not like our tenements. They can easily be taken for well-to-do private residences—until you see the people who go in and out them. Only then one becomes aware of the fact that the occupants are hard working, struggling-for-an-existence people. We are able to distinguish them by their wooden shoes, felt slippers—known to us as "bed-room shoes," or by their lack of footwear at all. We watched the men, women and children come home from work. It was a hot day, and they looked hot and tired. Dressed in dark clothes, hatless, some of them barefooted, they look a sorry lot when compared with our better-paid men and women. We knew no one in Ghent who could tell us about wages and hours. But if low prices are an indication of low wages, then the workers in the lace-making industry receive very little for their labor. It is conceded by women who travel that Belgium is the best shopping place in Europe, because the best hand-made and hand-embroidered under and outer-garments can be gotten there for less than a third of what one would have to pay in the States.

We went into several stores to price various articles and we were amazed at the beautiful workmanship—being somewhat of a judge on ladies' garments myself. I could not help but come to the conclusion that if these can sell for so little, the labor power must be bought for next to nothing. Hand-made, hand-embroidered velvet dresses, made to order, for six dollars! The finest of silk dresses, with beautiful hand-embroidered capes to match, for less than thirty dollars! All these are not ready-made garments, mind you, and we were quite sure that were some of these garments sold in one of our New York stores they would bring a hundred or two hundred dollars. Other articles which human beings need and seem to want sell very cheaply, and while we realize that the cost of material may have something to do with the low prices, it is evident that labor power in Belgium as a whole is selling at a very low rate.

РУССКО-ПОЛЬСКИЙ ОТДЕЛ

ПОРЯДОК.

В прошлом номере "Джастис" изданный циркуляр отдела парграфов 17-го и 18-го номеров. Сразу же после него строк парграфов 10-го должно быть записано так:

11) Ассоциация совместно с новым аскаут и ассоциацией стрелкового и безработных для членов новиков.

В этот фонд должны входить 2% с уплачиваемого им заработной платы. Рабочие должны входить 1% с заработной платы заработной, а так далее, как указывается.

НОВЫЙ ДОГОВОР.

(Особые).

16) Новик обязуется не заключать никаких сделок, которые прямо или косвенно дадут бы преимущество в выгодах фирм, ассоциаций или отдельных лиц в промышленности, на которых выгода указана в этом контракте с членами Ассоциации.

Термин "Метровые Нью Йорк" употребленный в этом договоре, подразумевает город Нью Йорк и другие города в штатах Нью Йорк, Нью Джерси, Коннектикут и Пенсильвания, в которых производится одежда для членов Ассоциации или для других деловых или фабричных предприятий в г. Нью Йорк.

17) Запрещается какая-либо деятельность, которая исключает все промышленные в "Метровые Нью Йорк" (а также). Для того чтобы это сделать, новик примет все меры для организации всех мастеров и рабочих в промышленности, а Ассоциация будет включена в этот содействующий комитет.

18) Договор этот вступает в силу с дня подписания такового и будет действителен в течение одного года со дня подписания.

ПОДПИСАНИЕ.

Президент Ассоциации "Джаббер".
Президент Нитрама, Индия.
Управляющий Дж. Бердом.

СОБ-ФАБРИКАНТЫ СТАРАЮТСЯ УСТАНОВИТЬ МИНИМУМ ПЛАТЫ ЗА СВОЮ РАБОТУ.

Ассоциация "соб-фабрикантов" в настоящее время желает усилить агитацию среди своих членов, чтобы они требовали от "джаббер" реконструкции Ассоциацией минимальный стандарт стоимости промышленности одежды.

Джаббер, заявляет Ассоциация соб-фабрикантов, пришла к концу старания реконструировать называемой Губернатором Советом Комиссией в джамби быть ответственными за такую же практику. Если мы не поставим "джаббер" платит нам минимальную стоимость производства одежды, то мы не сможем выразить от реконструкции промышленности

вместе на то, что число мастеров значительно увеличилось.

Наш минимальный плати таковы: 60 центов средняя стоимость производства отдельного предмета, т. е., работа швейной, фабричной, прореза и др. производителей, к этому прибавляется пеня за пенсацию, износа машин, консервация работ в время самого сезона. В этот расчет не входит: прибыль, страхования, приклад — ливинг, жетон и др. желаемые расходы.

Как костюм так и плато разделяются на три следующие группы:

КОСТЮМЫ.

Группа 1-ая:

- a) Вся работа минимальная. Цена \$4.75
- b) Минимальной работы с подкладкой подкладкой. Цена — 5.75

Группа 2-ая:

- a) Губной работы, фронт минимальной работы. Цена — 7.25
- b) Губной работы. Цена — 8.50

Группа 3-ая:

Перекладывший губной работы. Цена 11.50

НА Б И Т О.

Группа 1-ая:

- a) Минимальной работы. Цена — \$3.50
- b) Минимальной работы с подкладкой подкладкой. Цена — 4.50

Группа 2-ая:

- a) Губной работы, фронт минимальной работы. Цена — 6.25
- b) Губной работы. Цена — 8.50

Группа 3-ая:

Перекладывший губной работы. Цена 10.75

В КИНОНЕ.

К диску на нечетный номер плати будет назначено заключительное контракты со всеми мастерами, которых кино не издает соответствующим установленным стандартам в которых плати в обязательном к работе всех фабричных клубов-мастеров.

По заявлению Премьера М. Стилман, число мастеров в которых кино издает с заключительными контрактами в том случае не превышает 1300-1400 мастеров, которое число является достаточным для того чтобы можно обслужить всю нашу индустрию.

Раньше в индустрии было примерно 2500 мастеров, с увеличением этого числа до 1400 и привлекло во внимание нормы обязательства "джаббер", кино, что все нововведения работ, которые ранее распределялись между 2500 мастеров в др. не-экономических мастеров, кино входит в эти 1400 мастеров. Это показывает, что на каждую из реконструированных мастеров в среднем приходится до 85 процентов больше работы, ввиду этого, если кино допустить, что в этих мастеров прибавилось на 50 процентов новых работ, то все кино можно рассчитывать на большую работоспособности работ и на дальнейшее сезона.

И. Шевченко, Секретарь.

Ten Years Ago

By NORMAN THOMAS

Ten years ago the World War broke out. It was caused less by the devilry of particular rulers—though some of them were bad enough—than by the folly of stupid politicians who played about with fire in a powder magazine piled high with the explosives of great armaments, imperialistic greed and nationalistic passion.

It is not our intention to recount the familiar history of the war but simply to remind our readers of the tragic fact that the world has very imperfectly learned the lesson of that disastrous struggle. We have not yet peace. More men are under arms than before the war. Our statesmen and financiers and editors, and the jingoistic mobs they stir up are scarcely wiser than they were ten years ago.

Some light there is in the growing strength of Labor and its appreciation of the causes of war. In Europe, MacDonald and Herriot are an enormous advance upon their predecessors, but it is not yet certain that they can make even a truce out of which peace will grow.

The statesmen, the imperialists and concession hunters are not solely to

blame. People blinded by nationalistic passion bear their share of responsibility. Our own country is among the foremost of imperial powers, especially in its relation to Latin America, and the proposals for mobilization may be tragically in conflict with American professions of love of peace.

Humanity is on trial. It can have peace if it will pay the price. The price of peace is international cooperation, the elimination of the worship of the state, jingoistic nationalism and the system of production for profit, under which the few claim possession to that which is needed for the life and well-being of the many.

Our Jingo War Department

For a strong executive President Coolidge shows an extraordinary ignorance of what his own War Department has been doing. His War Department has been advertising extensively mobilization day, and it has done it in quite other than the routine spirit which Mr. Coolidge would have us believe. It has announced that all the business firms which have "cost plus" contracts of the sort that made

some of them so rich during the last war would show what they could do. (The prospect of cost plus is an enormous stimulus to this kind of patriotism.) The Department has played its waste bands and parades. No sensible man believes that any mere routine military end will be attained by mobilization day. It will, so far as the War Department is concerned, be a crass appeal to militarism and jingoism. It will be an insult to the peace professions of the United States. No nation in Europe or Asia will take seriously our professions if we are to insist upon pulling off such a day.

This is a matter which transcends party interests. The progressive movement is already committed by resolution adopted at the Cleveland convention in opposition to this mobilization day.

Governors Baxter, Bryan and Sweet have done well in making their positions clear. We hope many other

governors will follow their example. Every true patriot and lover of peace will join in demanding that the War Department be effectively restrained from a militaristic gesture at this juncture in human affairs.

HOCHMAN IN TORONTO

(Continued from Page 1)

fidvrit in full and carried the story throughout Canada. In point of fact the Health Commissioner of Toronto practically conceded Hochman's statement and promised to put out of business all shops where violations would be discovered. If the Union succeeds in accomplishing this, the moral effect upon the industry and the community will be immense.

Organizer Mrs. MacNabb, Brother Hochman reports, is doing good work. She has succeeded in getting into contact with a large number of girls and there are good prospects of enlisting them into the Union.

The Week In Local 10

By SAM B. SHENKER

The reorganization campaign in the cloak and suit industry is practically all over. Manager Dubinsky resumed his duties in the office last Wednesday morning. The first two or three days of this week he spent winding up his affairs as chairman of the Organization Committee. Brother Perlmutter completed his week as chairman of Arlington Hall last Saturday. On Monday morning all of the records were transferred to the little work that there remains for the office from the cutters' hall and the completion of the reorganization is being handled directly from the office now.

A number of important points are still pending between the union and the various associations. In addition to these there remain to be settled the question of appointing the permanent impartial chairman, the securing of an administrator for the unemployment fund, the manner in which this fund is to be collected, and the application of the sanitary label.

Some Sessions Yet

For these reasons a conference with the Association took place this week for the final disposition of these matters. The Governor's Commission also was to have met, to whom a report of the conference was to be submitted. The commission also had under consideration the appointment of the investigators. These investigators, it will be remembered, are to make a study of the cloak industry and render a final report by the end of the year on the demands of the union submitted in the original program.

The results of the conference and of the Governor's Commission are not known to me at the time of writing. No doubt, however, a detailed report will be found elsewhere in this issue.

What is wanted now is a rigid control by the Union of the settled shops. In spite of the fact that this campaign lasted but four weeks, the task which faced the union during its duration is without precedent. To Manager Dubinsky has fallen the lion's share of enforcing the Union's program of reconstructing the industry.

The important detail of this work has been to take the workers out of the small shops and place them in larger units, those employing no less than fourteen operators. What is most necessary now, in order that the program of the union may become effective, is work. The past week has been somewhat encouraging, as we judge from the calls which came in for cutters. Once the season is well under way, there is no doubt but that the industry will have been placed on a healthy basis.

Office Back On Normal Basis

With the closing of Arlington Hall and with Dubinsky's return to the office about the middle of this week, the local is practically back on a normal basis. With this comes the usual routine work: control of shops, adjustment of complaints and the summoning of men to the Executive Board for various infractions of the rules during the strike.

It is necessary only to give part of Brother Perlmutter's report to realize what is confronting the office right now. His report is submitted to the Executive Board of his control of shops for a little over two weeks, and of his adjustment of complaints.

Need For Immediate Control

Of the total registration of 2,114 cutters Perlmutter reported, 1,825 returned to work to the 1,029 settled shops. The balance of the cutters who did not return to work were not connected with any shop at the time the strike was called. In this number are also included those

cutters whose shops have not settled, the owners of which having failed to comply with the fourteen-machine operator clause.

As the shops were returned to work complaints began to come in and Perlmutter realized that he would have to appoint a few controllers. The controllers whom he appointed not only had to control shops but also attended to the adjustment of complaints.

In a little more than a week seventy shops were visited. These shops were suspected of not employing cutters, or keeping cutters who failed to secure working cards. Twenty-two cutters were found in these shops with working cards. The six men who were found without cards were stopped and made to secure them. Perlmutter found that seven of the shops which had sufficient work had failed to take on cutters, and members were placed to work in these.

Twenty-four shops had no work, hence no action could be taken. In one shop, the workers did not return to work. Five shops received cut work. This leaves a balance of five, two of which were not settled, one was closed, and another was found to be a model house; in the last instance a fine was collected from the firm, one of whom was found to have done his own cutting.

A few discharge cases were handled which were adjusted to the satisfaction of the union.

Upon the conclusion of Perlmutter's report to the Executive Board, Manager Dubinsky suggested that the Executive Board discharge with thanks the additional men who were appointed for the duration of the strike. It will be recalled that immediately before the calling of the walk-out for the reorganization campaign, Manager Dubinsky had recommended the appointment of a number of board members who were to take the place of the Dress and Miscellaneous members of the Board who, because they were employed, could not serve on the various committees. Now, that the Union is practically back on a normal basis, there is no longer any need for these men continuing to serve on the Board.

Dress Outlook Promising

At the time of writing, a decided change for the better has taken place in the dress trade. The last two weeks have shown this by the number of working cards issued to dress men. This was further borne out by the number of calls which came for men.

As was stated last week, the larger houses are already fairly well filled up and have been so for the past two and a half weeks. Shop meetings with these are being held and many cases have been taken up.

Manager Dubinsky, in spite of his being taken up so much with his duties as chairman of the Organization Committee, paid a few visits to the office and left instructions for the beginning of a control.

A survey of the past three months' activities shows the slackness which existed in this trade. The largest number of complaints filed related to shops the owners of which did their own cutting. In the majority of the cases either fines were collected or cutters were placed.

A fair portion of the total number of shops against which such complaints were filed are pending due to the slackness which existed at the time of the visit to the shop. In only six cases were instructions given the firm or the complaints found without ground. Three shops were not under contractual relations with the Union.

Nine discharge cases were handled, six of which were decided in favor of the cutters and as a result the men were reinstated. One cutter accepted compensation in lieu of his discharge, one is pending and one firm turned to jobbing.

A number of cases relating to cutters being laid off in the middle of the week without proper notice was handled. These men were not given notice when the employer found that he did not have a full week's work. The cutter consequently reported to work on Monday morning and was laid off before the end of the week. The men concerned were either placed back to work or paid for time lost. A more complete report will be rendered at the membership meetings of the activities of this division as soon as the office is placed back on a peace-time basis.

Some Executive Board Cases

Now that regular meetings of the Board are being held, a number of important cases which were held up were taken up at the session of the Board which was held on Thursday, July 31. Among those were the following three interesting cases.

About three weeks ago Morris Bearman was summoned on the charge of having stabbed. Manager Maggie of the Mt. Vernon office appeared with a committee of the shop of A. Spiegel of Ouisling, N. Y., and testified that Bearman was seen by the pickets coming and going in and out of the shop. The cutter resorted to the lame excuse that he was engaged in the capacity of a salesman and denied that he was cutting during the period of the strike.

It was simply proven that Bearman did not picket and did not report to the strike headquarters. At the time when the case was first taken up, it was held for disposition in order that Bearman's future behavior might be judged. However he failed to picket and when he appeared before the Board at the July 31 session asking that he be permitted to work in another shop, a fine of \$75 was imposed.

Another case related to the two cutters, Leo Zarowitz and David Shore, of the firm of Rosen Brothers. For some time Manager Dubinsky suspected that these cutters were working on Saturday mornings. But Controller Hanel could not get into the shop because the doors were locked. Finally one Saturday morning Hanel stationed himself in front of the shop and saw the men as they were leaving the shop. He ordered them to the office.

During their cross-examination in the office they admitted that they were working on the Saturday in question. After some deliberation the men also

informed the office that they were receiving them and one half pay for overtime. A complaint was filed and a collection was made. When they appeared before the Board they made no defense but asked for leniency.

In view of the fact that the men had confessed to the second charge of their own accord and in view of their plea and promise to behave, the Board imposed a fine of \$25 on each of the men.

The third case related to the assault by cutter Ben Rosenberg, employed by the R. & A. Dress Co., on Simon Miller, a member of Local 22, who was employed as operator by the same firm. It appeared that Rosenberg took upon himself the duties of an employer. The operator admitted that he had made some slight error on some garment he was working on. This seemed to have aroused the cutter and after some words he punched Miller. The Executive Board was fully convinced that the assault was unprovoked and imposed a fine of \$25 on Rosenberg.

Important Meeting

As will be seen from the notice posted on this page, the meetings of the organization will now continue regularly. The first meeting following the cloak and suit reorganization campaign will take place on Monday, August 11, in Arlington Hall, 23 St. Mark's Place.

Manager Dubinsky in all likelihood will at this meeting review the entire situation from every angle. His report will be interesting in that as chairman of the Organization Committee for the duration of the campaign he headed one of the most important committees and had charge of the most important end of the enforcement of the Union's program for reconstructing the industry.

Additional Donations To Lewin Fund

The following contributions towards the trust fund for Mrs. Lewin are reported:

Contributions of \$100: Cloak, Skirt and Dress Pressers' Union, Local 35; Cloak and Suit Operators' Union, Local 1.

Contributions of \$75: Cloak and Suit Tailors' Union, Local 9.

Contributions of \$5: Sam Kaminsky, Joseph Deglin, Meyer Katz, Levy Resnick, members of Local 10.

WALDMAN & LIEBERMAN LAWYERS

302 Broadway - New York
Telephone: Worth-5023-5624

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 a working card from 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.

IMPORTANT NOTICE: Special controllers will be sent out during next week to visit the shops. If any member will be found working without a working card he will be summoned before the Executive Board and fined, as per the constitution.

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