

"My righteous-
ness I hold fast,
and will not let
it go."

—Job 27.6

JUSTICE

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE INTERNATIONAL LADIES' GARMENT

Vol. VI, No. 26.

New York, Friday, September 5, 1924.

Price 2 Cents

New York Joint Board Issues Instructions To Shop Chairmen

Shop Heads Called Upon to Take Care That All Embroideries and Trimmings Carry Union Label—Label in Force Since September 2nd.

Shop Chairmen Also Receive Unemployment Insurance Regulations

Last week saw unusual activity in the main offices of the New York Joint Board in connection with final steps taken, under the management of Secretary Haroff and Vice-president Feinberg, to introduce the Union sanitary label on all accessories used in the cloak and dress trades in New York City.

Thousands of letters were forwarded to all shop chairmen and chairwomen in these trades informing them officially of their duties with regard to strict observance of the application of the Union label on all embroidery, novelties and buttons which go into the makeup of garments in the two chief women's wear industries of New York. A sample of the label was attached to each letter addressed to the shop chairmen and they were requested to be on guard against any possible misapplication or abuse of the label in their shops.

The letters to the shop chairmen, with slight variations for the different groups, the shops of the independent cloak manufacturers and the shops of the several associations, as well as the dress shops, reads as follows:

To the Shop-Chairmen.

Dear Sir and Brother:

You are hereby informed that on September 2, 1924, the following pro-

vision of our agreement with the employees becomes effective:

15 (c): The Employer shall not use any but strictly union-made embroidery, hemstitching, tucking, buttons and other trimmings, if such

trimmings are made by organized workers affiliated with the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union.

I am enclosing a copy of the same. (Continued on Page 2)

Boston Strike Ends in Victory for Workers

After a strike lasting eight days—from August 21 to August 29—the cloakmakers of Boston have signed an agreement with their employers which grants in full every demand made by the Union and which corresponds in its main features to the agreement reached between the employers and the workers in the New York cloak industry.

The fight of the union was directed largely against the jobbers and the small unscrupulous non-union contractor shop with its degrading work conditions. The legitimate cloak manufacturers, representing about seventy per cent of the local cloak trade, had agreed to accept the terms of the Union before the strike was called out and as far as their shops were concerned the strike was a demonstration only.

The agreement was signed at the Hotel Avery on behalf of the Inter-

national Union by Vice-President Sol Seidman and in the presence of Vice-President Fred Monosson and our Boston attorney, George E. Roever. Its principal clauses call for the registration of contractors by the jobbers, the minimum of six machines manned by six operators to a shop, the unemployment insurance fund, a sanitary union label, an impartial chairman for the entire local trade, equal distribution of work among all contractors, no discharge of contractors during the season without just cause, and an obligation placed upon the jobbers not to purchase any non-union made garments within the State of Massachusetts. In case of a strike the mere notification of the jobber by the Union is made sufficient for the jobber to cease to have dealings with the affected shop.

The workers received the news of the signing of the agreement with

Judge Denies Injunction to Jamaica Cloak Firm

The strikers of the shop of Gottlieb & Seiff, of 167 Rockaway Road, Jamaica, L. I., were in highly elated spirits last Tuesday, September 2nd, and more than ever determined to win their just and moderate demands, as the news reached them that the application for a permanent injunction made by their bosses has been denied and the temporary injunction obtained by them on August 6 has simultaneously been quashed.

The Gottlieb-Seiff factory, a reefer-making shop, has been on strike since July 8th, when the entire cloak and suit industry in the Metropolitan district came to a standstill subject to the general strike call by the Union. This firm has since stubbornly resisted the efforts of the workers to introduce moderate work-standards in the shop going to the extreme of obtaining a temporary injunction against the Union.

The case was heard in the Brooklyn Supreme Court before Justice MacCraty, who decided in favor of the workers. The Union was represented by Morris Hillquit, general counsel of the International Union.

Justification, hailing it as the beginning of a new era in the trade and as a deliverance from the miserable conditions which the petty cloak shops imposed upon them. Vice-President Seidman, ably assisted by Vice-President Monosson and the strike committee of the Boston Joint Board, have every reason to feel gratified with the speedy and successful outcome of the strike of the Boston cloakmakers.

R. V. Ingersoll Impartial Chairman for N. Y. Cloak Industry

Union Pleased With Choice of Governor's Special Commission.

As reported last week, Colonel Herbert Lehman, one of the members of Governor Smith's Special Mediation Commission, has consented to act as impartial chairman for the New York cloak industry for one month pending the appointment of a permanent

chairman by the Commission. The accumulation of a number of pressing cases made it imperative that they be disposed of as fast as possible so as not to clog up the adjustment machinery in the industry.

Last Saturday the Commission finally

succeeded in making a definite selection. It appointed Raymond V. Ingersoll of Brooklyn as the impartial chairman for the cloak and suit industry, who will, it is expected, enter upon his duties on September 15. Mr. Ingersoll is a prominent member of the New York bar, a former Magistrate, and for many years the secretary of the New York City Club. In the absence of President Sigman, Commissioner Sheintag, of the State Industrial Commission, notified Bro. Israel Feinberg, the manager of the New York Joint Board of the Union, that it had made a thorough examina-

tion of Mr. Ingersoll's record and found him eminently fit for the position of impartial chairman and fully qualified to handle without bias the complicated questions and disputes between the workers and the employers in the cloak and suit trade.

Vice-President Feinberg replied in the name of the Joint Board that the Union is satisfied with the choice and will be ready, at all times, to co-operate with the impartial chairman to make the adjustment machinery in the industry work smoothly and with benefit to all parties concerned. Several members of the Governor's Commission will continue to work with Mr. Ingersoll, stated Mr. George Gordon, Union's chairman of Governor Smith's Commission.

Unity Centers Will Open Next Monday, September 8

Our unity centers will be open on Monday, September 8. Classes will be organized exclusively for the members of our International. These classes are conducted in seven public schools in the City of New York.

East Side Unity Center

Public School 63, Fourth street, near First avenue, Manhattan.

Waistmakers' Unity Center

Public School 40, 320 East 20th street, Manhattan.

Harlem Unity Center

Public School 117, 103rd street, between Madison and Fifth avenues, Manhattan.

Bronx Unity Center

Public School 61, Crotona Park E. and Charlotte street, Bronx.

Lower Bronx Unity Center

Public School 45, Brown Place and 135th street, Bronx.

Brownsville Unity Center

Public School 150, Christopher avenue and Sakman street, Brooklyn.

Williamsburg Unity Center

Public School 147, Bushwick avenue and McKibben street, Brooklyn.

There will be classes in advanced, intermediate, and elementary English. Health nights will be arranged in each unity center under the direction of a competent-trained teacher. These will consist of physical training and lectures on health and hygiene which will be given by prominent physicians. There will also be given short courses in the history of the Labor movement, in social and economic institutions, and in the development of trade unionism in industry.

Our members can register for these classes either at the office of our Educational Department, 3 West 16th street, or at the Unity Centers, throughout next week.

Vice-Pres. Fannia M. Cohn

Returns From Europe

Fannia M. Cohn, vice president of our union and secretary of our educational department, returned from Europe this Wednesday where she spent one week, attending the International Convention on Workers' Education.

The convention was held in Rukin College, Oxford, and was attended by 70 delegates representing 26 nations, including Japan, Canada, British Guinea, New Foundland, Australia, India, South Africa, Palestine. The convention was called by the International Federation of Trade Unions

and great interest in it was displayed throughout by the trade union movements of the world. A letter from Mr. Samuel Gompers, president of the A. F. of L. was read to the convention in which he sent his congratulations and best wishes for the success of this movement. A cablegram from Morris Sigman, president of the I.L.G. W.U. in which he wished success to the convention was also received. The delegates appreciated the interest displayed by our International.

The great achievement of the con- (Continued on page 2)

Chairmen Receive Label Instructions

(Continued from page 1)

tary union label which will appear on all embroidery, hemstitching, tucking, pleating and buttons. If your employer sends out garments or parts of garments to embroidery shops to be embroidered, when such garments or parts of garments are returned, they must bear the union label. Garments or parts of garments which do not bear the label are made in non-union shops and you are therefore to refuse to work on them. This applies to bonnaz embroidery. You, as shop chairman, must therefore inform the operators, finishers, pressers and all other workers engaged in this shop that, before they do any work on such goods, they should look for the union label. If it is not there, they should not work on such goods.

If your employer sends out pieces of goods before they are cut into garments to be embroidered in schiffli embroidery shops (known as Swiss embroidery) when such work comes back to the shop embroidery, it must have a sanitary union label on each end of the piece, whether large or small. You as shop chairman, therefore, must inform the cutters that, before cutting such goods, they should look for the union label. If the label is not there, they should not cut the goods.

Medallions are strung, a dozen on a string, and sealed with the label. For the present, buttons will be placed in bags containing one gross each, each bag to be sealed with the label. Please advise the finishers that both medallions and buttons must be delivered to the finishers' table in packages sealed with the label—the medallions in bundles and the buttons in bags. If they are delivered to the finishers without the label, they should refuse to handle them.

So far as buttons are concerned, when the present supply is exhausted, the label will be stamped on the back of each button. Notice of such change will be given in our publications. Please watch for this notice.

The labels will carry serial letters as follows: For the schiffli embroidery, the letter A; bonnaz, the letter B; hemstitching, tucking, pleating and novelty work, the letter C; but-

tons, the letter D.

The carrying out of this clause in our agreement depends to a large extent upon you and the workers in the shop. It is the duty of every union man and woman to see to it that this clause is enforced and in this way help our brothers and sisters in the auxiliary trades to maintain better conditions and not appear as their competitors while working on the same garment.

In the expectation that you will watch for the labels in the true union spirit, I remain,

Fraternally yours,
ISRAEL FEINBERG,
Manager.

Letter on Accessory Label Also Sent To Employers

The following letter, with slight changes depending on the industry and the affiliation of the shop owner, was forwarded to all the employers in the cloak and dress trades:

Aug. 25, 1924.

Gentlemen:

Re: Use of Sanitary Label on Embroidery, Trimmings, etc.

On September 5, the following provisions of our agreement become effective:

The Employer shall not use any but strictly union-made embroideries, hemstitching, tucking, buttons and other trimmings, if such trimmings are made by organized workers affiliated with the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union.

In order to carry out this section of the agreement, the use of the sanitary union label has been agreed upon. I am enclosing a copy of the sanitary union label which will appear on all embroidery, hemstitching, tucking, pleating and buttons. It has been agreed that there will be a label on each piece of bonnaz embroidery. On schiffli embroidery, labels will appear on both ends of each piece, whether large or small. Medallions will be strung a dozen on a string, sealed with the label.

For the present, buttons will be placed in bags containing one gross each, each bag to be sealed with the label. As soon as the present stock

of buttons is exhausted, all metal and celluloid buttons will have the label stamped on the back; buttons on cards will bear the label on the back of the card.

Labels for schiffli embroidery will carry the serial letter A; on bonnaz, the letter B; on hemstitching, tucking and pleating, the letter C; and on buttons, the letter D.

Any goods embroidered in outside shops and returned without the label, whether sent out by the manufacturer themselves or given to them by the jobbers, will not be handled by any of the workers in the shops.

We have informed our shop-chairmen where the labels should appear and have instructed the workers to refuse to use materials that do not bear the union label. In order that there may be no misunderstanding, we are informing you of this effort. We trust that you will comply with our agreement and cooperate to the fullest extent in carrying it out, I remain,

Very truly yours,
ISRAEL FEINBERG,
Manager.

Shop Chairmen Instructed on Unemployment Insurance

Simultaneously with the instructions forwarded to the shop chairmen in the cloak and dress trades on the rigid observance of the application of the union label on accessories in their shops, another letter with shop report forms was sent to the shop chairmen in the cloak shops instructing them on the rules governing the unemployment insurance fund which went into effect on August 2, 1924, and which is now being collected in all the cloak shops pursuant to agreement between the Union and the various factories in the New York cloak and suit industry. The letter reads as follows:

August 26, 1924.
UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE
Instructions for Your Guidance
To All Shop-Chairmen.

Executive Council of A. F. of L. Issues Appeal for Campaign Funds

In following out its plan for energetic and wholehearted support of the independent-progressive campaign for the election of Senators La Follette and his running-mate; Senator Wheeler, the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor issued this week a broadcast appeal, directed to all Labor organizations and central Labor bodies all over the country, for generous moral and financial support of the Progressive Labor ticket. The appeal, among other things, states:

"The American Federation of Labor purposes to engage in this campaign with its full resources. Political campaigns cannot be conducted without the expenditure of money and effort. For that reason, we call upon trade union and trade unionist friends and sympathizers and forward-looking men and women generally throughout our Republic to contribute immediately and as generously as possible to the work of the American Federation of Labor National Non-Partisan Political Campaign Committee. Our contributions must come from the great rank and file. Our battle is the battle of the people and it must be financed by the people. We have neither the desire nor the opportunity to avail ourselves of the large contributions of the vested interests. We are in opposition to these interests, fighting against them for the freedom of the people and for justice to the people in every respect.

"We needlessly call upon national and international unions to assign the

Dear Sir and Brother:

The unemployment insurance fund provided for in our last agreement was to begin to function the first week in August. The fund, as you undoubtedly know, is to be made up of 3 per cent of the total weekly payroll of each shop in the industry. Two per cent is to be contributed by the employer and 1 per cent by the workers. The 1 per cent that the workers are to contribute is to be deducted by the employer from their weekly pay.

The payment of the 3 per cent towards the unemployment insurance fund should begin with the first pay day after August 4.

Special forms have been printed and distributed among the employers providing for essential information, such as earnings, hours worked, etc. These forms are to be filled out weekly by the employer, checked up and signed by you as chairman of the shop, and by the employer, and mailed by the employer weekly to the office of the Board of Trustees, Unemployment Insurance Fund, located in the Chatham and Phoenix Bank, Fifth Avenue at 30th Street, New York.

In order that you may get thoroughly acquainted with these forms, we are enclosing one in this letter. You as shop chairman must see to it that this report form is filled in and sent each week to the unemployment insurance office. If you find any difficulty in understanding any of the questions provided for in this form, or if you want any information pertaining to the unemployment insurance fund, communicate with your business agent, the manager of your department, with me. We shall be glad to have a talk with you about this matter.

Your complete and hearty cooperation is essential to the enforcement of this great reform in our industry. We are sure that you as a chairman and an active worker of the Union, realize this and you will do your share to make the unemployment fund a success.

Fraternally yours,
ISRAEL FEINBERG,
Manager.

N. Y. State Federation of Labor

Endorses La Follette-Wheeler Ticket

The annual convention of the New York State Federation of Labor which concluded its sessions in Schenectady a few days ago adopted practically unanimously a resolution endorsing the independent progressive and labor candidacy of Senator La Follette and Wheeler. Only three or four delegates voted against it.

The endorsement was adopted on the floor of the convention without heated debating, though it has been known all along among the delegates that a backdoor campaign by Democratic and Tammany Hall politicians

had been in progress all the while behind the stage to prevent this endorsement. All of this, however, was in vain and the New York State Federation went on record as being in full accord with the position of the executive council of the A. F. of L. at the historic Atlantic City sessions.

The strongest appeal for the endorsement of the La Follette-Wheeler ticket was made by Joseph White of the Textile Workers, Union; James Moran, of the Marine Engineers, New York City, and Abraham Lefkowitz, Teachers' Union, of New York.

Fannia M. Cohn Returns From Europe

(Continued from Page 1)

vention is that a permanent foundation was laid for an International Federation on Workers' Education.

Tailors Arrange Mass Meeting of Welcome

The Ladies' Tailor and Garment Workers' Union extended a welcome to Sister Cohn. They called a mass meeting at West End on Monday evening, August 17th, which she addressed. The audience's interest in our organization and in the last strike that the clockmakers went through

A detailed description of this convention by Vice-President Cohn will appear in following issues of JUSTICE.

was demonstrated by their questions. They also showed that they are following up the political situation in America. At the end of the meeting, they decided to send through Sister Cohn their fraternal greetings to the members of our organization and their best wishes for success.

largest possible number of organizers to work throughout the campaign under the direction of this committee and to authorize these organizers to report to this committee at the earliest possible moment.

"Privilege has thrown down to us a double challenge. Let us take up that challenge in all of the proud consciousness of right and in that spirit let us engage in battle for the right— for freedom, for justice, for democracy, for government by and for the people, for a better nation and a better standard of living for all mankind. Ours is the great opportunity. Ours is the great duty.

"The American Labor movement should and can contribute more effectively than any other organized body to the great work of spreading the literature of the campaign and awakening the people generally to the great issues of the time.

"We call upon every trade union organization to act at once, either in regular meeting or in special meeting if necessary. There is no time to lose.

"Our struggle is for economic and moral righteousness. We are contending against those hostile to the people's interests and against those powerful organizations which are defenders, advocates and apologists of great special interests and privilege. Against this great organized force of special interest we place the moral force of an armed and determined people."

Norman Hapgood on La Follette

Norman Hapgood, editor and publisher, issued a statement yesterday strongly indorsing the La Follette and Wheeler ticket and describing Senator La Follette as the most constructive statesman in public office. His statement follows:

"My vote in November has to do not only with this year. It looks forward to 1928 and many decades to come.

"I vote for La Follette and Wheeler because I am a progressive, a liberal, and hope for the growth of a party in this country that shall restore meaning to our politics. The old parties have come to mean nothing. There is no essential difference between them.

"I believe there should be a wider distribution of power, political economic, and social. There would then be a wider distribution of responsibility, and of the training and fulness of life that come with responsibility. Power today is primarily economic and financial and it is in the hands of too few. We have universal

the public out of sympathy with confessed materialism as a basis for aspiration. If the element is sufficiently large the movement will go ahead and increase our moral and intellectual health.

"Robert La Follette is the most constructive statesman holding office in the United States today. If anybody denies that claim, find out what he knows about La Follette's record.

"Beginning with no backing he used his convictions to make himself Governor of Wisconsin. His work there, in close cooperation with the famous university, has made the State a leader in the great experiment of democracy. Devices change. Purposes and ideals remain. For La Follette's innovations it can be said that no one of them has yet been abandoned and all have been trials toward a civilization more honestly diffused.

"It was in the days when big business was supposed to have anything it desired, and when paid lobbyists infested every legislative body, that La Follette began to regulate insur-

News in Local 17

By JACOB HELLER

We have not written for a long time, though we do not plead guilty. We all were involved in a great strike and in times of fighting much cannot be said. Now that more or less normal times have returned, we shall revert to our old custom of reporting from time to time the doings of the reemakers' local.

"First in importance among our workers is the lookout of the workers from the shops of Reisman, Rothman & Beaver. This firm has not yet settled with the Union and is playing a shrewd game which will be combated by all the members of the local to their fullest ability. This firm is not, as it is claimed the oldest in the business; though it is true it is today the biggest and richest in its line. Only a few years ago no one ever heard of it, and the same workers whom this firm has now thrown out of work have taken a hand in building it up to 1 present greatness.

Success has gone to the head of the Reisman, Rothman & Beaver firm. Today they are attempting to introduce methods of industrial tyranny in their place and to disregard the workers entirely, as an element which has had nothing to do with their phenomenal rise. They first began to conspire against their workers by opening a shop in Jamaica, L. I., and filling it with children to whom they paid \$14 a week or so with the purpose in mind gradually to get rid of their inside shop and their union contractors. In the course of the last "stoppage" the Union succeeded in stopping their Jamaica shop, and having become enraged on this account the firm locked out all its workers in New York and in addition took out an injunction against the Union so that it might go on un molested with its exploitation in Jamaica.

The Reefer Makers' Union accepts the challenge of this firm. Henceforth, all the members of Local 17 will be on guard as part of a fighting army against this firm until it recognizes that it has had enough fighting and is ready to listen to reason.

The next important matter that our members should bear in mind is

that they must remain Union men at all times and under all circumstances. We have just gone through quite an important event in our organization, the general strike and stoppage. Our members have a right to debate whether the last agreement signed with the employers is a complete victory for the Union or not. But we should like to remind them that both the optimists and the pessimists owe it to themselves to discuss this question in a Union-like way and in no other.

Those members of our Union who believe that the recent attempt of the Union was not entirely successful must bear in mind that if they are to rectify conditions in the future they must have a strong and effective union to carry out this purpose. To them we say: Cling close to your organization, make it strong and ready for every possible emergency.

The next important question on our order of the day is the raising of the weekly dues. It is not a pleasant matter to touch upon, we know, but we cannot help that. It will have to be solved very quickly as the very existence of the local depends upon this problem of higher dues.

In some locals this question is perhaps colored with the taint of politics, but we are convinced that in Local 17 the problem will meet its proper and treated solely from the point of view of the local's welfare and its ability to carry on its work. We trust that the reemakers will discuss this question in the same spirit as they have discussed all other vital problems in the past and will see to it that their local continues its existence financially and morally as independent as ever before in its long history.

Our regular meetings have begun again. The last one was devoted almost entirely to the fight against Reisman, Rothman & Beaver firm. The local decided to give the strikers financial support as long as the strike lasts. We know the reemakers will keep their word. Let the other members come to the meetings. There are important problems ahead of us; let us all help to solve them.



suffrage but we have been slow to use it for universal advancement.

"England worked for some forty years to create a party that should take seriously the task of social justice. The British Labor Party was born because neither the Conservatives nor the Liberals took seriously the lives of laborers, farmers, and families living on small salaries. Our hope is that the La Follette-Wheeler vote may be large enough to assure a similar party here.

"By slow growth and a final triumph of team-play there have come together all the large forces that wish progress in our social system. The big farm organizations are behind La Follette. The big labor organizations are behind him. The Socialists have left their theory-addicts outside and endorsed a ticket which is not Socialist but is against the rule of money. A fourth element is made up of intellectual journalists and other special students of public affairs. Most important of all is the large, uneducated mass that know that social justice is not keeping up with mechanics, wealth, and science, and desires some party to deal seriously with that vast fact.

"The election will show whether there is a sufficiently large part of

ance and railroad companies in his State. No business man would undo his work today.

"I was in the Republican convention at Cleveland in June when Congressman Cooper, amid the jeers of the delegates, reminded the convention that it had always joined at the time and accepted the Wisconsin proposals a few years later. Out of thirty-two planks offered since 1908, twenty-six have already become law. These terrible proposals, so soon accepted, dealt with strengthening the Interstate Commission's control over railroad practices, the creation of a tariff commission, of a labor department, of the Federal Trade Commission, governmental acceptances of the eight-hour day, employers liability, exemptions from the anti-trust laws of co-operative enterprises, checking the abuse of injunctions in industrial disputes, publicity of campaign contributions, regulation of telegraph and telephone rates, a government railroad in Alaska, the creation of coal and oil reserves, made famous lately by Daugherty, Denby and Fall.

"La Follette might be called a dangerous radical in China. I do not know. In England he would belong to the conservative branch of the Labor Party."

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Thoughts on Mobilization Day Wastage of Men is National Tragedy

By NORMAN THOMAS

It is interesting to observe the people who are in the fore-front of the picture for Mobilization Day, September 12. (Oh yes, beg pardon, we understand the War Department has changed its baby's name to Defense Day).

Well, first or foremost in the advocacy of Defense Day is the present administration and general staff of our army and navy. Such executives as President Coolidge, Assistant Secretary of the Navy Roosevelt, and others who saw the navy's oil reserves given away for a song—or for a bribe—to Doheny and Sinclair. Of course, they themselves got no bribes but they did not stop the carnival of corruption; they did not save the nation's oil for the nation's uses. It was that good pacifist, Senator LaFollette, who began the investigation which led to whatever action has now been taken.

Next in line comes Judge Gary, and with him other big industrialists who are mobilizing their factories to show what they can do. This is particularly appropriate. Judge Gary is an honorary member of the Italian Fascisti. He is the man who according to recent disclosures was compelled only by direct threat of the nationalization of the steel industry during the war to come down a bit on the prices he was going to charge. While he profitably served his country on a cost plus basis a lot of his employees were risking their lives in the trenches in a war to make the world safe for democracy. But when those employees came back and wanted a little democracy in their own industry Judge Gary fought them to the bitter end.

His trust has a direct financial in-

terest in all kinds of arms and ammunition made out of steel whether for the United States or sold to foreign powers. There could be no more appropriate figure in charge of Mobilization Day. No one more perfectly exemplifies the alliance between economic imperialism and militarism.

Leaving satire aside, we call upon all true Americans to show their sorrow at this unfortunate gesture—a gesture bound to be misunderstood abroad and to create at home a false sense of militarism. No such day as we are to observe on September 12 is demanded by the National Defense Act. It is simply a bit of advertising on the part of the War Department. It will not make our army more efficient. It will tend to make our people more jingoistic. It certainly will keep them from realizing that the true strength of the country is not in militarism such as Germany tried in vain but in a determination to do justice and to walk in brotherhood with our neighbors.

The best use patriots can make of Mobilization Day is to dedicate it to a study of the causes of war and to their removal.

It appears that Japan is going to have a mobilization day. Of course, it is to be understood, we suppose, that Japan, like the United States, does not really mean "mobilization day" when she says it but only "defense day" and that her military men arrange such a performance because they love peace and want to prove it. Seriously, isn't it a shame that our own War Department's bombastic gesture should have set this fashion?

By DR. ETHELBERT STEWART

Most of us are too far removed from the real workaday world to appreciate the everyday tragedy of human waste. Nobody seems to care particularly that the 700,000 in our coal mines, for instance, are idle more than half the time.

The average aggregate of idleness, or the low percentage of full employment in various industries, amounts to about 1,750,000 persons being idle all the time. This is based on a study of manufacturing industries that employ 11,000,000 persons.

This does not take into account the two or three-days' periods of idleness; sickness, much of which is preventable; loss of time due to accidents, most of which are preventable; nor does it take into account the turpener.

Probably 3,500,000 men change jobs on an average once a year. The average loss of time between job and job is two weeks. Most of this 7,000,000 weeks of lost time is unnecessary and is a pure wastage of men.

If the cotton mills of Alabama were as efficient as the cotton mills of New York, 19,514 persons instead of 13,607 would have produced the cotton output of Alabama in 1914.

We have boot and shoe factories where the output per worker per day is two pairs of shoes and we have other boot and shoe factories where the output per one-man day is 12 pairs of shoes.

We have saw mills where the output per one-man hour is 13 board feet and we have saw mills in which the output per one-man hour is 323 board feet. If the higher efficiency obtained

in all the plants, practically 45,000 men could do the work now being done by 292,000 men. I simply give these figures to indicate the extent to which we are wasting men.

Most of the brickmaking plants in the United States today are using precisely the same methods as that used in Egypt with the Hebrew slave labor at the time Moses led the great brickyard strike.

In the manufacture of pig iron we have blast furnaces in which the time cost is one hour and 12 minutes of one man's time per ton of pig iron; we have other blast furnaces which require 11 hours of one man's time to produce the same result. There can be no real labor shortage while some plants in an industry like this are consuming five times the number of men which would be intelligently required. It is far better to stop wasting men than to let down the immigration bars and flood the country with more men to waste.

In agriculture the situation is still worse.

The drudgeries in our industries, which heretofore have been left to cheapen men, must be removed. We must provide a condition of industry, including agriculture, in which men will feel that their labor is valuable, that what they are doing is worth doing. We can not escape the conclusion that industrial wastage is moral wastage; and I want to emphasize the moral wastage which all this implies. The habit of industry is a moral right.

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Unemployment As An International Problem

By DR. HERMAN FRANK

At the Sixth Annual Convention of the International Labor Organization attached to the League of Nations, which took place a short time ago in Geneva, the unemployment problem occupied a prominent place. In the last three or four years idleness of labor has become one of the most burning economic questions in all countries and this problem is becoming more acute from year to year. During the debates at the Convention it was agreed that, at this moment, there are no less than thirteen million of men employed all over the world, and when considered that on the average, each grown-up person supports three more persons—as members of his or her family—the astounding total of fifty-two million idle persons would be reached, a number considerably in excess of the total population of all England.

Labor representatives of practically every country took part in this highly interesting debate, as it obviously affects directly the very existence of hundreds of thousands of working class families in every land. All of them pointed out that the solution of this extremely painful problem which is fast growing to be an international crisis, must become the principal task of the League of Nations and of the International Labor Office. The workers' representatives asserted they did not come to the conference merely for the sake of acquainting themselves with some figures and data on unemployment but for the purpose of achieving some concrete results and to cease the desperate lot of the millions of unemployed in their countries.

Naturally, no practical results have as yet been achieved by this debate. A long resolution was adopted with proposals of a general nature, such as the cooperation of the Labor Office with the economic and social organizations of the League of Nations; new investigations of the causes of unemployment, uniform international statistics concerning unemployment and so forth. Such a resolution could not, of course, have satisfied the labor delegates who wanted to bring back to their organizations a report promising tangible help to the unemployed.

One characteristic feature of this highly instructive debate, nevertheless, deserves attention for a specific reason. While seeking for the main cause of unemployment the representatives of the workers almost unanimously declared that the idleness of the workers in the various countries can be squarely laid to the general disorganization of finances or rather the dislocation of the currencies which paralyzes international commerce and creates industrial depression in all lands.

Of course, the present chaotic condition of finances in Europe is one of the principal factors responsible for unemployment. More than fifty years ago the international labor movement advanced the slogan of abolishing international competition which is based upon the inequality of living conditions of the working class. In other words, it proclaimed the truth that after only living conditions and standards in all countries are equalized will the race after new markets by means

of commercial underselling come to an end. Only then will cease the exploitation of the workers in the countries which export cheap products and create thereby unemployment in other industrial countries which lose their markets for export through the dumping policy of their cheaply-producing competitors.

The steady sinking of the European financial crisis has wrought havoc everywhere as to the result of the general war with all the former achievements of the international labor movement. The balance of industrial competition between land and land was entirely destroyed, as the earnings for a day's labor in one country, as expressed in real wages, came to be the equivalent of the wages for an hour's work in another. This fact stood out in bold relief at the convention and it is not at all surprising that the Labor delegates should have demanded unanimously, as they did, that an end be made to this abnormal and unnatural post-war development. The Labor delegates, however, did not point out the means whereby the currencies could be stabilized and the international finances brought into order

They only demanded that a special conference be summoned as quickly as possible to take action on this matter.

It is to be hoped that the League of Nations will soon call together such a conference, though it would be unwise to become too optimistic regarding practical results. The might have come from it after the other unsuccessful attempts during the past five years to find some way out of the European financial tangle. At the first world conference on finances in Brussels, in 1920, a number of practical and sound proposals had been made, but the relief plans submitted at that conference still remained like a voice uttered in the wilderness. It is almost certain that the disastrous effects of the "peace" could at that time have been averted had the voice of sane counsel been listened to. It is really quite remarkable that the Labor delegates four years afterwards would retain enough faith in such conclusions as to call for a second financial conference in 1924 fashioned along the first conference of 1920.

One thing must be said by the way of warning against possible further disappointments of the workers. There is a strong tendency among the representatives of Labor to explain all very difficult and highly complicated industrial problems by the simplest of causes. It is applied by them to every modern social and economic problem, but particularly so with regard to the question of industrial unemployment. This, however, is a distinct error, for the shortest road is not always the right road and a simple statement is frequently quite wrong. Mr. Rhys Davies, the representative of the English Government at the convention, and a member of the Labor Party, had pointed this out in the course of the debate. He emphasized that "we must not become the blind followers of any motto or issue," and reminded his hearers that England had nearly a million unemployed in 1908 when all currencies in Europe were stable and safe. On the other hand, it must be admitted that it was the stabilization of the currencies in Germany and Poland

which gave rise to the unprecedented idleness which afflicts these two lands.

If one attempts to discuss the unemployment question with a "left," one is, of course, invariably met with the ready and universally applicable recipe of nationalization of all industry. Of course, our "left" will at the same time conveniently forget that in Russia, where industry has long been nationalized, unemployment is today the most acute problem and is getting more and more threatening from month to month. Unemployment is the product of a great many factors of which only a small number have been investigated and surely the problem of the chronic idleness of Labor cannot be solved wholesale by either of the two above-mentioned remedies or the stabilization of currency or general nationalization of industry, both of these methods being measures directed from above down to the masses.

The economic and social bases of present-day civilization, particularly the rapid growth of the big cities, make unemployment a logical if not an inevitable sequence. A deeper insight into the causes of unemployment leads us to believe that it is interwoven and entwined with all the phases of the modern industrial order and that it will continue in its phases. No single principle, no matter how important, can be made the issue in the fight against unemployment. Unemployment will disappear entirely only after a free working community in the spirit of the cooperative ideal is built up in place of the system which holds sway today. Of course, greater or lesser palliatives and temporary remedies are possible now or in the near future, but these measures are only half-way steps, though even these temporary measures require a much deeper insight and a wider mental horizon than what we have employed in approaching the problem of unemployment in industry in the past.

If the International Labor Bureau has not yet accomplished anything practical up to date in regard to unemployment, we must feel gratified that it, at least, succeeded in preparing in some way the ground for it—by opening for the workers a wider perspective and together with it the hope for the eventual abolition of the curse of industrial idleness.

In Italy—Milan

By PAULINE M. NEWMAN

Our journey was nearing its end, and this realization held no thrill for us. On the contrary, it was depressing. Retaining home meant a return to the old grind, back to the routine of every-day life, back to hardships, annoyances, misunderstandings and social injustices. Back to the slow, creeping speed of the American way of living! The long dreamed of holiday was soon to be over. And the thought that we may never again have another opportunity to see Europe saddened us beyond words.

Such were our thoughts when we left Zurich for Milan. But, we were to see Italy—cradle of European history, citadel of European art, land of blue waters and still bluer skies, of warmth and sunshine! Italy, whose beauty and charm captured the hearts and the imagination of Shelley, Byron, Browning, Keats and Longfellow! For many weeks we shall read the story of mankind in the ruins of Rome. We shall understand Dante better after staying in Florence, his birth town. We shall see the works of the men whose effort has crowned them with immortality. In short, we were to see the stage where so much of the human drama took place—and which is not yet ended!

Milan is the industrial center of

Italy. It is said to be the financial capital of the country. Its chief industries are silk, woolen, cotton goods and art furniture. It is, therefore, natural that its population should be almost as big as that of Naples. Modern industrialism has penetrated Milan more than any other city in Italy. It is not, therefore, surprising to find the workers there deeply interested in their economic conditions. We were told that in spite of many obstacles they are fairly well organized. They are on the alert as regards the movements of their industrial and political masters. It is undoubtedly due to these organized workers that Milan enjoys the distinction of being anti-Fascist, and for this they deserve our admiration. It requires courage to resist against a current.

Industrialism, however, is not the glory of Milan, no more than is our own industrialism the glory of America. So far it has not become the glory of any country. A stranger in our land may admire the Woolworth building, and if he will ascend at night to the very top, he will see almost as many light as there are stars. He will see high and low buildings beneath and in the distance; and under the roofs of these buildings laughing, weeping, dancing, eating, toiling, sleeping, living and dying are

the people—mere cogs of an industrial machine. And in Milan the same conditions exist, though perhaps in Milan they are even worse. In the midst of their fine department stores, splendid hotels, large factories and elaborate restaurants the poverty of the masses is apparent to every one who cares to see. The narrow, dirty streets, the filthy, dark and stifling hovels bespeak a very low standard of life. The hundreds of beggars on every street corner, ragged children swarming in the dark and nasty alleys, show one clearly that the "wonders" of industrialism are about the same everywhere. Only in Milan one can see all this so plainly, and not from the top of a Woolworth building, but from the height of Milan's glory—its Cathedral!

Of all the cathedrals we have seen in Europe, none we have seen many—the one in Milan appears to us the most beautiful of all. How can we attempt to describe the immensity, the beauty and the dream-like charm of this loveliest of all Gothic structures? As well attempt to describe a fairy land. It stands in the heart of the commercial center. In spite of the business arcades so close to it, the tram, the crowds and the noise of the streets, the Cathedral rises above all this with a magnificence and splendor that leaves one in a state of awe. In the distance, or better still, by moonlight, the central tower surrounded by ninety-six little turrets looks like an apostle leading the way and followed

by his admirers. When you come closer to it you notice the bronze doors on which is such relief, the story of the birth of Christ is told. The details of the figures are superb.

The exterior alone contains no less than 2,000 white marble statues. The Cathedral as a whole is built entirely of white marble. And it is this whiteness, under a blue sky and a bright sun, that makes this edifice unforgettable. The interior is as wonderful as the exterior. The Cathedral is the finest of the fifty-two marble pillars supporting the roof are most impressive. A bronze candelabrum—in the form of a tree, the bronze and marble statues of saints and popes, the gold and jewels of every description in the various chapels; beautiful old paintings on the choir-windows and the fascinating ceiling—like a lace pattern—gives one enough to see and plenty to think about.

While the Cathedral is the chief attraction of Milan it is by no means the only thing to see. There are the old palaces, museums, huge statues of Garibaldi, Leonardo da Vinci and other Italian celebrities. The public park is a delight to the traveler. The lovely flower beds, the ponds, the magnificent trees and it is a very pleasant place to spend the day. But Milan was only an augury of what was in store for us—before we left this paradoxical country. It is indeed one of life's paradoxes that so much dirt and ugliness can exist side by side with so much charm and beauty!

JUSTICE

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EDITORIALS

ON THE QUESTION OF DUES INCREASES

There was a time when the members of our Union used to pay very small weekly dues to their organization. Besides, these weekly contributions would come in irregularly—not because the members would not want to pay them but for the weightier reason that they could not afford it. Their earnings were miserable and their work-conditions even worse. The Union was a weak body and for years could not muster enough strength to win better wages and labor standards for the workers in our trades.

Small dues at that time implied, as they always do, a weak Labor union, one that cannot fulfill the mission for which it was organized. A Union with higher member-dues generally implies a stronger and more influential organization, one capable of giving more service to its members and invariably the kind of service they need most.

This, in point of fact, belongs to the A. B. C. of trade unionism and we never had an idea that we should have to make mention of it in these columns or to have to dwell upon it in our utterances to our members. But the recent occurrences in our cutters' organization, Local 10, prove to us that, willy nilly, we must, from time to time, reiterate the plain, obvious and elementary truths of trade union theory and practice to our members—particularly when we are faced with the annoyance of a certain group within and without our ranks which is ready to make use of every event in the life of the Union to boost its own petty and fast dwindling partisan stocks. It is true, these intriguers, as a rule, always get soundly trashed, as the good sense of the majority of our workers invariably gets the upper hand in the end. But that they should even temporarily succeed in befuddling the minds of otherwise clear-headed men on such a plain and sober question as the raising of dues by the infusion of personal issues is in itself quite irritating.

We yield to none in appreciating the ability and earnestness of Vice-President Dubinsky, the manager of Local 10. We know him as a loyal and devoted Union leader, endowed with energy and a genuine enthusiasm for his work. His popularity among the cutters is great and it is well earned. Yet, we frankly regret the fact that the question of the increase of dues in Local 10 should have been so inseparably linked with Brother Dubinsky's personal services and achievements. The impression is gained that had Dubinsky not treated the vote against the increase of dues as an expression of lack of confidence to himself, the dues in Local 10 would not have been raised.

We are delighted with Vice-President Dubinsky's personal triumph over his "opponents" and we feel quite certain that he fully deserves this triumph. Yet, we say, the problem of the increase of dues in Local 10 should have been solved in a different way. If this increase was not called for, Vice-President Dubinsky and the Executive Board of the local had made a mistake by recommending it to the members and the decision of the members should have remained unchanged, even if Dubinsky and the entire Board were to resign. If, on the other hand, the increase of dues was badly needed, the decision would have eventually been changed after a more thoroughgoing consideration of all the facts and factors involved in the proposal.

Why did not Local 10 act in such a manner? Why was it necessary to inject the personal element so as to create the impression that the decision to raise the dues had been adopted out of the fear that the Union might have otherwise lost one of its best leaders and not because such a raise was dictated by the best interests and the welfare of the members?

This, of course, was not the fault of either Vice-President Dubinsky or of the Executive Board of Local 10. It was not they who had placed this question upon a basis of personalities. They came to the member meeting of the local with the proposal to raise the dues of the members fifteen cents per week—first, in order to meet the increase in the International per capita ordered by the Boston convention; secondly, to cover the increased expenditures of the local made necessary by recent developments in the industry, and, thirdly, to make it possible for the local to save something for a rainy day.

The leaders of the local never had the intention of converting this proposal into a personal issue. Unfortunately, there is still in this local a handful of persons who, influenced by some outside quasi-literary charlatans, are always on the alert to discredit the leadership of the Union. It was this element who at this time clutched at the proposal for an increase of dues and sought to make a personal issue of it. They raised a yell against the increase and by appealing to the pocket instincts of the members succeeded in swaying the meeting to vote against the increase.

Under such circumstances, Vice-President Dubinsky, of

course, could not help interpreting the adverse vote of the meeting as a vote of lack of confidence. And he acted well by tendering his resignation. He acted as a leader with dignity and self-respect should act and the results that followed fully justified it. It soon became manifest that his work is so widely and deeply appreciated by the entire local that within one week the members at a great general meeting reversed their former decision adopted under the influence of the handful of "red" agents and voted overwhelmingly for an increase of dues.

This vote, however, we fear, came not as the result of a change of opinion on the part of the members of Local 10, not because they have been persuaded by sound argument, but on account of the resignation of their manager, Brother Dubinsky. And much as we admire the manager of Local 10 and his unquestionable worth and value to our movement and our Union, we feel sorry that the members of the cutters' local did not measure up in this case to our opinion of their intelligence. By this time they have probably recognized the error of their first act, yet, in view of the fact that this same question is coming up for discussion in some of the other locals of our Union, it might not be amiss to say a few words concerning it to these locals.

From our point of view, each increase in dues should be welcomed by the members of a trade union with unmistakable joy. To begin with, the very fact that the executives of a Labor body propose to raise dues is an indication that the members could afford it; they surely would not court defeat if they knew that the members could not possibly do it. Secondly, no labor union would ask its members for an increase in dues unless it could point to a record of achievement. A trade union with little to its credit would not have the courage to ask for a dues increase even if one is badly needed. Thirdly, an increase in dues, as a rule, implies a widening of the union's activity and of its functions.

In speaking of labor unions, we, of course, have in mind not such organizations in which the voice of the members is stifled and where a clique rules the entire body. In such "unions" an increase in dues is quite liable to be interpreted as a source of greater income for the "leaders." If such unions still exist anywhere in the Labor movement, we are sure they are but inglorious exceptions and are rare and far between.

We are speaking of labor unions in which the members have a voice and make that voice heard, where the leader is the elected helmsman of the organization chosen on account of his greater ability, familiarity with the problems of the trade and his loyalty to the interests of the workers he is to represent. Such a union, as it grows and develops and expands its activities into ever greater fields, must not be conducted on the principle that the dues of its members are never to be raised but are to remain as they were when the union was first born. It is only too obvious that a conception of this kind would only serve to arrest its growth and stunt its development.

It does not require any particularly great mental acumen to understand that a child of five could not subsist on the measure and quality of food it found fully satisfactory for itself when it was but two years of age. Every intelligent worker expects a growing labor union, with constantly developing activities and channels of service to its members, to be able to carry on its work on a budget provided for it many years before, at the time it was first organized?

True, there may still be some among us who like to recall with pride the time when an active union worker used to go ragged and often hungry and never knew how he might meet the needs of the next day. But those days were also the days when his union was helpless and in a practical sense meant nothing to its members and to the trade. The clear-headed union man of today, however, is proud of the fact that his union can afford to pay its executives a standard of wages that enables them to make a living while engaged in working for it. The clear-thinking union man is too proud to have anyone sacrifice himself for his own interests. All he wants is loyal, efficient and capable service.

In other words, as the trade union grows and becomes stronger, the element of sacrifice is becoming less and less pronounced in its daily life. Every active worker in the union is getting paid for his labor and well paid, for, we believe, that a trade union, less than any other organization, can afford to exploit those who work for it. The labor union which sets before itself the goal of abolishing exploitation should not and ought not underpay those whom it engages to work in its own service.

And the greater the labor union becomes, the more active help it requires in carrying on its work. True, the growth of the union also means the increase of its membership and a greater income. But it must be conceded that this increase in income never corresponds to the increase in expense accruing from such a growth and from growing administrative costs. The fact that special taxes have to be levied from time to time in order to meet these extraordinary expenses, is sufficient proof that the member-dues are frequently not enough to efficiently run the organization.

It must also be kept in mind that a labor union does not, as a rule, grow by itself. Organization activity, which swells the ranks of a union, is costly and each new member represents an outlay of money which cannot be reimbursed by the dues-paying of that member for several years to come. And as any red-blooded and virile labor union cannot remain stationary and must always grow, its organizing activity is perforce a great drain on its treasury. This is even more true in the case of a Labor union which, by the circumstances of its industry, is compelled to continually wage a fight for the improvement of the

Here and There in the Workers' Movement

By HARRY LANG

Naive people, unsophisticated Don Quixotes—that's what must occur to one upon reading the recent bulletin issued by the International Federation of Trade Unions known as the Amsterdam International. I refer specifically to the account of the negotiations between the representatives of the Amsterdam organization and the leaders of the "All-Russian Trade Union Council."

The latest press bulletin issued by the I. F. T. U. contains a letter forwarded by the secretariat of the Amsterdam International to the central body of the Soviet unions and the reply of M. Tomski, the chairman of the Russian Council, to it. And as I read this correspondence the feeling grew upon me that the men who sit in the secretarial office of the I. F. T. U. are a mighty glib lot, to say the least. I emphasize, not the leaders of the Russian unions but the leaders of the Amsterdam International.

These negotiations center around the proposed admission of the Soviet unions into the Amsterdam International. The secretariat of the I. F. T. U. in the above-named letter informs the Russian unions that they could find room in the international labor movement provided they are willing to adopt its democratic methods and principles of the world-wide movement of the workers. The Russian leaders, however, are endeavoring to drive a bargain. They insist upon being admitted unconditionally, leaving the question of principles and methods for discussion at a later period. For the time being they are interested solely in the activity of the international trade union movement and would form a fraternal bond with the Amsterdam International for this lofty purpose.

Could anything be nobler? Working class solidarity is a great and sacred objective and many an obstacle should be sidestepped in order to attain it. But here is an example of this "international labor solidarity" as understood and practiced in the workers' republic, in Russia. In the self-same bulletin in which these letters are published, there appears

condition of its workers. In such environments the need for higher dues, from time to time, is self evident and requires no further debating.

That much for labor unions in general. What concerns our own locals, there can hardly be any doubt that they are fully justified in asking for an increase in dues. The Boston convention decided to increase the dues to the General Office five cents a week after it became fully convinced, from the figures presented to the delegates by the report of the General Executive Board, that the International cannot meet its expenses under the old per capita tax. And as the delegates concluded that these expenses could not be cut without injuring the organization or curtailing its influence, they voted almost unanimously for the increase.

And what is true about the International and its activity holds good with regard to every one of its important divisions, locals and joint boards. Organizers know the great task which the cloakmakers' organization in New York has set before itself—to drive out of the trade the sweater evil and to do away with all other abuses that have plagued our workers in the last few years. This task has been partly accomplished, but the end is not yet. The fight still has to go on from day to day. Can there be any doubt that the Union needs the means for waging the fight at this moment?

It must be remembered, too, that this campaign is not confined to New York only. The cloak and dress trade is spreading out to numberless towns and cities all over the United States and Canada and these must be organized under all circumstances. The greater the means at our disposal the sooner will this task be accomplished. The request for a dues increase of a few cents a week to enable the Union to go on with this stupendous job is a very moderate one and we fail to understand how a good Union man can even for a moment be opposed to it.

We hope, therefore, that the dispute in Local 10 over the question of a raise in dues is the first and the last one of its kind in our locals in New York and that in all our other sub-divisions the majority of the workers will accept without much debating the increased weekly dues which have but one objective—the strengthening of our Union and the widening of all its vital activities.

also a speech by Tomski delivered before the Congress of the "Red International of Trade Unions" and in that speech Tomski lets the Russian cat out of the bag. The thesis of his speech is that—the Amsterdam International is a traitor to the workers and the unions which belong to it, the organized workers of Germany, England, Belgium, France, etc., are mere agencies of international capital and that they must be attacked and destroyed, except that, since many millions of workers still adhere to these unions, it is a good policy for the Russian unions to penetrate them and break them up from the inside.

Tomski delivered this speech on July 19th, 1924, and on July 26th he wrote his letter to the "traitorous" Amsterdam International advising it that he is willing to negotiate concerning the admission of its Soviet unions into the I. F. T. U. The letter is full of sweet amenities for the "capitalist" International of Amsterdam, and as one reads it one is surprised not so much about the sly trickery of Tomski, not about the underhand performances of the leaders of the "red" unions who are obviously trying to "put something over" on the Amsterdam leaders—anyone who has followed the Russian policy in general and the policy of the Communists with regard to the Labor movement all over the world in particular has ceased long ago to wonder over such matters. What astonishes one is the credulity of the leaders of the I. F. T. U. who apparently believe that the Russian leaders state "on the level" with the leaders of the Soviet unions who still cling to the idea that a "bond of solidarity" with the Communists can be formed.

It is a spectacle of sincere and upright leaders of Labor, of true and tried Socialists, allowing themselves to be mocked at by a band of politicians.

Speaking of the Communists—The last congress of the labor unions of Belgium decided that no Communist may be an officer of a trade union.

It was adopted, together with a resolution to that effect, by a vote of 324 to 88. The resolution recites that such action is absolutely necessary in view of the past experience of the Belgian Labor movement with Communists. Wherever a Communist became a representative of a Labor body in that country he either broke it up, "exploded it from within," or attracted into it all manner of provocateurs and spies. Besides that, they have learned in Belgium that Communists who become union leaders are employing the prestige of their office to pull the Belgian unions into the "Red Trade Union International."

Communists the world over, it seems, have but one mission to perform and one guiding principle—to disrupt the Labor movement on the inside and to sell it from without.

What approximately is the strength of the organized miners all over the world?

There was recently held an international congress of miners in the city of Prague—and here are the figures.

In Czechoslovakia there were in 1922 116,000 organized miners, but today there are 70,000. In Great Britain there are now 800,000 miners in the union; in France there were 100,000 in 1922 but only 80,000 today. In Germany there were 460,000 in that year, but this number has been reduced to 249,000. In Hungary there were 17,000 in 1922, while today they have 18,500. In the United States there were 500,000 organized miners in 1922, and now their number has been increased to 600,000. In Roumania there were no organized miners in 1922, but today 21,500 are in the union. Austria had 30,000 in 1922, while today she has only 20,000. Jugoslavians had 300 in 1922 and today 1,000. Belgium had 98,000 in 1922 and today has but 60,000. Holland had 2,500 and now has 2,000. Luxembourg had 2,000 and now has none. Poland had no organized miners in 1922 and now has 45,000. Spain had none in the union in 1922 and today has 15,000.

The same total shows a decline—from 2,128,000 in 1922 to 1,972,150 of organized coal diggers now. The economic situation of the European countries must, however, be taken into account as we discuss these figures. It must be borne in mind, for instance, that the unprecedented crisis in Germany has been responsible for the huge loss of membership in that country and that in the two countries where no sharp crisis affected industry, such as England and the United States, the miners' unions have lost no members.

The above mentioned Miners' Congress in Prague instructed its executive to prepare plans of action for avoiding future wars. In America, we have all but forgotten the ravages of the late war, but the Labor movement in Europe still vividly remembers it. Practically every Labor assembly and congress devotes time and effort to it.

There used to be in Europe an international of fur workers. It is disbanded now and the furriers of Sweden, Germany, France, Denmark and Hungary have joined the International Clothing Workers' Federation.

In spite of a notion to the contrary, we, in America, have arrived at the idea of Labor banking the last of all other labor organizations. In Europe, Labor banking got an earlier start, but it seems that we have overtaken them a great distance already. In Denmark, for instance, the Workers' and Farmers' Bank is making a great advance over some 104,110 kroner in profits made by its last year. Imagine what a small figure this would "cut" with our labor banks.

Did you ever hear of the Labor movement of Iceland?

Iceland has a population of 95,000, and of these four thousand are organized in trade unions. The strongest is the sailors' union with a membership of 1,200.

Little Iceland, nevertheless, has a Labor daily paper with 3,000 subscribers and also two Socialist weeklies. The trade union movement and the Socialist are identical in color, black Iceland.

Quite an interesting fact.

The English Labor Government in Action

By FANNIA M. COHN

When one sets foot on English territory one's first interest is to find out something about the Labor Government, and it was to be expected that whomever I met, whether a trade unionist, a radical, a conservative, or a Socialist, I should ask about the Labor Government. These questions I presented to the rank and file as well as to the leadership of the Labor movement.

The person with whom I discussed politics was the taxi driver who suggested that we drive through Hyde Park, but, knowing that in England it is forbidden to drive through the parks, I called his attention to it. But he said, "No madam, the Labor Government abolished this custom," and then he continued, "We have too many customs and traditions in our country. We must break them some day—the sooner, the better. The capitalist class retains its rule through them."

The waiter in the restaurant and the porter in the railroad station, the stewards on the boat with whom I discussed the Labor Government, all agreed that "it is doing well under the circumstances," and they all added "You must remember it is a minority Government and it cannot therefore carry through Parliament its social program. Even with this handicap,

what they have accomplished already under the circumstances is of great importance to the Labor movement. For instance, the extension of the unemployment insurance to some classes of alien workers and to include workers who are forced to strike because the employers broke the agreement." They all emphasized the fact that the Labor Government is trying to tackle the housing problem and the importance that they attach to this tells how acutely the workers feel about it. They also appreciate the fact that the speedy and successful settlement of some of the recent strikes is due to the influence of the Labor Government.

The porter who carried my luggage to the train on my way from London to Oxford, animatedly told me that the capitalists always try to oppress the workers that is a university man only who can be a minister of the Government, but said he, "Now we have in the Government ministers whose only education is their experience in the Labor movement," which means that men and women who worked from early childhood are in charge of the affairs of the Empire, and they are doing well." Working men and women realize the import-

(Continued on page 10)



IN THE REALM OF BOOKS

Short Cuts

Maxims of Life and Business

By John Wanamaker. With an Introduction by Russell H. Cromwell.
New York: Harper and Brothers, 1923.

By SYLVIA KOPALD

The desire to play God is strong in all men. Little children "play-house," each anxious for the chance to be father and mother; grown men "play God" with unconscious eagerness to lead the way by the light of what seems their own wisdom. Thus many Solomons since the son of David, king of Israel, have come to judgment and life hardens eternally into proverbs and rules of conduct.

Perhaps no country has had a larger crop of maxims than America. Folk experience emerges as broad and innocent proverbs everywhere; all rulers have set the bases of their power in sweeping, traditional ethics; many Squires Federal have broken fresh lives on the hard sublimity of No-Books. But in America every Pilgrim Father had his catechism, every Poor Richard his Almanac, every successful business man his maxims. And so copy-books with their smug injunctions become a regular and important part of American elementary school training; and the walls of Main Street homes are strung with framed reminders of home, mother, thrift, industry and the man who may be down but not out.

It is not difficult to understand, this American love of short cuts to success and conventionally "good lives." For many years the rich virgility of our country spent its prices before the beaten, disoriented and adventurous of Europe. To the first streams came the high task of subduing and settling the continent; to the post-Civil War waves were offered the tremendous opportunities of rising industry in a land teeming with natural resources. Life, therefore, was largely external; the environment held rich rewards; the conquest became the highest and, in truth, the most social

success. Getting-rich-quick, however, needs formulae and all the hungry millions of Europe looked to the already successful for the secrets, the open secrets of their success. And the rich men, who are only men, after all, were usually most willing to oblige. Identifying their success entirely with their own personal qualities they handed out maxims set in terms of thrift, industry, punctuality, integrity, truth, love of mother, wife, home, children, Sunday-school, God and so on, and revealed themselves and their conquests as they fondly thought themselves to be. And the same mystified young Babbitts who read the magazine advertisements of "How YOU can develop the Personality that COUNTS," study the maxims with fervor and undying hope.

John Wanamaker's "Maxims" belong to the old familiar order of their kind. On the whole, they reveal a fundamentally lovable man, kindly, generous, upright, yet complacent and smug with worldly success. He knows that any man can win the success he has won if that man has qualities similar to his and similar love of sheer hard work. He offers the secrets generously to the world. Regularly those secrets have been printed as parts of the Wanamaker advertisements in the daily newspapers. Now they have been collected by admiring friends and presented to the public in book form. The whole reveals an attempt to combine religion with sure-fire go-getting, social ethics with individual profit-making, that is at once annoying, amusing, unctuous and pathetic. Every worker should read these Maxims. He need only test them by his own life experience, by his dreary, unending toil and the meagre life it wins him and his family to discover

why the union and not the Wanamakers hold the secret of his way out.

The Maxims, strikingly, are labelled "Maxims of Life and Business." Life and Business. How revealing that parallelism is! To industrial America business is not a subordinate part of life; like the Kaiser's "me and God," it has marched in one harness through our American minds. Indeed for many life is Business, or at the best something you give as much time and energy to as the concerns of business hours leave you. Work, work, work, is the avowed refrain of this good man's book. No appreciation of leisure, of living for its own sake, of beauty, art, abandon, paganism, duties done not for Sunday-school reasons but because of a driving inner need to do them. No! Life and Business.

The shares of the book given to the different departments of maxims, so to speak, point even more sharply the turn our American past has given to our folk experience and to men's minds. The book contains 129 pages. The first 60 are devoted to "Business and Success." Almost half of the whole, and the first half! Then "Character Building" obtains 19, each of which shows more strongly than the last that characters are to be built toward "business and success." "Human Relations" then obtains 20 pages of mother, neighbor, wife, employee, mankind and the "Knights of Politeness and Princes of Sunshine." One of Mr. Wanamaker's remarkable discoveries in this field—and the fact that he wrote it so seriously proves how unusual it must have been among the Americans of his day—reads: "A man may love his business, but he needs more love than that in his life." After "Human Relations," the Wanamaker "Maxims" take up "Citizenship" in 6 pages, "Education" in 7; and, irony or ironies, "Life" an entity separate from all these earlier things, in the last 1.

Thus life spread itself before Mr. Wanamaker. Before considering the details of the design as he saw it, I felt almost forced to trace out the content of that section labelled "Life," distinct and separate from Business, Human Relations, Citizenship, Education and Character Building. What does a lovable, slightly unctuous but successful business man consider "Life" in capital letters? The amusing melody which constitutes the answer to this question is a true document of American Sociology. Such facts as "The art of costumeing a woman may rightly be classed as 'one of the fine arts' and 'There is more blue sky above us than clouds, if we take the whole year through,' mingle with panegyrics to nature, birds, animals, children, women, God, Spring, uncanonized heroes and heroines, and copy-book virtues. Wanamaker store explanations of why "money will not buy as much as it did fifty years ago" stand near exhortations to sacrifice and loudly strident cords of Sunday-School truisms. No, as Mr. Wanamaker, himself says, "I cannot touch a key that has a minor note in it."

When life, or rather LIFE was such a thing for Mr. Wanamaker, the things that came before it in the maxims can be quite different. No minor notes, no Wagnerian discords, no Beethoven overtones, nothing but Mother Goose Jingles, Majesty or

which would force the union to terms, but nobody responded except a few whose records in the union were rather dark.

He faded away into obscurity. During the time of a strike for work-week he reappeared upon the scene. He issued leaflets to the strikers, urging them not to follow their leaders because they had "sold" out to their employers. At the same time he advertised in an anti-union newspaper, calling upon the manufacturers to come up to a certain address where they could settle on a basis of peace

INTERNATIONAL CALENDAR

By H. SCHOOLMAN

This Week Twelve Years Ago

The New York Joint Board calls upon all its members to take part in the Grand Labor Day parade. Badges are being distributed to all members and special badges to all shop chairmen.

Cloak manufacturer Altman of 45 Canaan Street, is in argument with the shop chairman about prices, as suits him with a chair. The workers leave the shop as a protest. After four days, the employer agrees to pay a heavy fine and the workers return to work.

The second anniversary of the historic general strike in the New York cloak industry is commemorated by an editorial in the "New Post" in which the workers are being reminded that they must live up to the standards of Union membership if they want to reap in full the benefits of belonging to the organization. The editorial, among other things, says: "Yes, we have a right to feel proud as we think of that great day, September 2nd, 1916, when we victoriously revolted to the world. We must not forget the condition of the cloakmakers before the strike, before a great and powerful cloakmakers' union was organized. If our members will keep these facts vividly in mind, they will learn how to appreciate their Union."

terror or doubt is not for real business men—even the best. "Only poverty and idleness embitter life," remarks Mr. Wanamaker. But there is nowhere in the maxims recognition that most of our present poverty and idleness is forced by our social arrangements upon eager, toiling men, human beings as unwilling as Mr. Wanamaker was to know poverty and idleness. For him both are products of innate frailties; obey his maxims and the most damned of the slums can be aved.

Before we believe it, we might ask the publishers of the Maxims (for alas, Mr. Wanamaker is dead) one question. The Wanamaker store in New York still lives by the Maxims. But it is on 8th street, while passing years have placed New York's shopping district within the 24th to 42nd street neighborhood. Why have the Maxims proved inadequate against this environmental situation? The workers pause for an answer.

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A Demagogue

By WM. BLOOM

He is physically underized, of short build. A creased suit with long sleeves and trousers, a dirty collar and necktie, shabby shoes and an unshaved face make up his usual attire and appearance. His eyes shine brightly; they give one the impression of something abnormal about him. His inner self does not compensate for his outward appearance. He is illiterate, impudent, self-seeking, intolerant and abusive. He is unscrupulous without principle: "All ends justify the means."

When he came to America he joined a labor union. In the beginning he was not active; he first looked around. He saw a big union with many officers who played important parts. The union had its own weekly paper where the activities of the union and the names of officials were featured. The daily Jewish press devoted columns to the union and often mentioned the names of the officials. He became uneasy. Nobody knew him; nobody had heard about him. But, as if by sheer instinct, he soon found out the means for acquiring some notoriety. There for nothing in his makeup that looked for con-

structive work, for an ideal of mutual help and cooperation. He discovered that he could shriek and yell and that when he did some would come around and listen. And so he suddenly became a "revolutionist." He organized an opposition and became active at meetings of the union. He played upon the emotions and ignorance of the masses and appealed to their lowest instincts. He posed as a savior. His usual way of talking was: "The leaders are your betrayers . . . They live by your sweat and blood . . . The only remedy for your troubles is to throw those parasites off your backs."

After a few years of such tactics he succeeded, with the aid of his organized clique, in becoming the secretary of the union. But, having neither the ability nor the necessary intelligence to accomplish anything, he blamed the officials of the union. "They are opposed to all my measures and reforms," was his cry. His tactics finally led to his being expelled from the union. Such a catastrophe to his sudden prominence he did not expect. He issued a call for an opposition union. He expected a large following

work and be supplied with workers. His actions had no effect upon the strike.

About a year later he succeeded in rejoining the union. He posed as a hero, a martyr, an "insider," and sought revenge. He became a "left" and began to carry on his old methods; but the officials of the union tolerated him only until his abusive-ness reached certain limits. He is now an expelled member for the second time. He walks the streets silently—nobody notices or cares to know anything about him.

LABOR THE WORLD OVER

DOMESTIC ITEMS

Battling Bob Indorsed By Type Convention

At its annual convention in Toronto, Ontario, the International Typographical Union instructed its American Federation of Labor delegates to "support the indorsement of Robert M. La Follette as Labor's candidate for President of the United States at the forthcoming Presidential election."

The convention indorsed the American Federation of Labor attitude toward courts by commending the attitude of their American Federation of Labor delegates for efforts to "curb the powers of the courts by giving congress final authority to express the people's will."

The convention refused to start a Labor bank or to adopt a five-day week policy. A proposal to start newspapers was referred to the executive board for consideration. Kalamazoo, Mich., was chosen as next year's convention city.

Employment Drops

Employment in the representative plants in Pennsylvania and New Jersey decreased in July, as did wage payments, reports the local Federal Reserve Bank.

"In this State employment fell off 4.4 per cent and per capita earnings declined 5.9 per cent," said the review. "New Jersey establishments report a decline of 4.1 per cent in employment and 3.7 per cent in per capita earnings."

California Labor Invites Japanese Federation

While statesmen are quibbling over Japanese exclusion, the California State Federation of Labor invites the Federation of Labor of Japan to exchange fraternal delegates with it for the California State Convention to be held in Santa Barbara next month. The California workers have sent their greetings to the Japanese Federation with the assurance that "any exclusion of persons ineligible to citizenship did not imply inferiority and certainly did not mean animosity toward the Japanese."

Steel Eight-Hour Day Not General; New System Pays

Two reports on the shorter workday in steel mills, which has been in operation one year, refute the claims made by Judge Gary and other steel barons in May, 1923.

One report is made by Iron Age, spokesman for the steel industry, and the other is a survey by Miss S. Adele Shaw of the Cabot fund. This fund finances researches in industrial problems.

The reports sustain trade union claims that the eight-hour day is not the rule in this industry. Miss Shaw says a large proportion of employees engaged in basic steel processes work more than ten hours a day, while the eight-hour men generally work seven days a week. This report emphasizes that the steel industry "has by no means gone to an eight-hour day and a six-day week." The reductions that have been made, however, "have had a marked social effect upon the workers," and testimony is overwhelming to the effect that the movement toward shorter hours has had a beneficial effect on production.

Presidents of steel trust subsidiaries furnished the information to Iron Age. A summary of these reports would indicate that the long-hour workday is yet in vogue and that the eight-hour men work seven days a week, with one day off "if they want it."

Low wages is the driving force that compels men to labor twelve hours, which is quite common in the Pittsburgh district.

A feature of the two reports is the refutation of direful prophecies made by Judge Gary and a committee of steel officials to the American Iron and Steel Institute on May 25, 1923. This report was the last desperate stand of the steel barons to resist a lowering of hours, which they were forced to adopt two months later because of agitation started by the nation-wide steel strike.

The cost of production would be increased fifteen per cent, if the twelve-hour day were abandoned, said these business men, who are now forced to acknowledge that this claim has not been verified. It was also claimed that 60,000 additional employees would be necessary. This, also, has not proven true.

The reports by Iron Age and the Cabot fund prove the necessity for organization in the steel industry.

Electrical Workers Fight Telegraph Trust

The non-union Western Union Telegraph Company is at grips with the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers. Their strike in Chicago has so seriously interfered with the Western Union's profits that it has secured an injunction from the same infamous Judge Wilkerson who issued the Daugherty injunction two years ago depriving the striking shopmen of their constitutional liberties.

This worthy injunction judge makes it unlawful for the electrical workers to cease working for the Western Union, and any of them who do so may be haled before him for "contempt of court" and sentenced to prison without trial by jury. The International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers is preparing to combat this sort of slavery by taking the case to a higher court where the constitution is still recognized.

Food Prices Increase

From June 15, 1924, to July 15, 1924, the average family expenditure for food increased in 37 cities and decreased in 11 cities, reports the United States bureau of labor statistics. The largest increase was in Boston, Indianapolis, and Portland, Me., with 3 per cent. Cincinnati, with 3 per cent, reports the largest decrease.

Employers' Gun Men Blamed For Chicago Murders

The semi-animal hysteria against murders in Chicago has again appeared. In discussing causes no reference is made to the employment of gun men, spies and private detectives by big business.

The Federation News, official paper of the local federation of labor, declares that the Chicago crime commission has done nothing to discourage crime in this city.

"Instead of using its unquestioned prestige and influence to bring about a clean and effective crusade against crime," the labor paper says, "it has closed its eyes to one of the most potent reasons for the growth of crime—the employment of private detective agency spies and gun men."

"Throughout its five-years' existence the Chicago crime commission has been peculiarly lenient to 'higher ups' who encourage the employment of thugs and labor spies. These anti-union employers not only increase crime, but they attempt to fasten responsibility of the outrages upon organized labor."

State's Attorney Crowe is a dependable ally of employers of gun men and thugs. He has turned his office over to the attorney of the Manufacturers' association and that worthy has had striking trade unionists arrested and brought before him.

Greedy Mill Barons Exploit Unorganized

Anti-union textile barons, both north and south, are reducing wages from 10 to 15 per cent. The northern manufacturers claim "they can not compete with low wage labor of the south, while the southern barons, located in company towns, make no attempt to excuse their sweatshop policy. One of the largest plants to reduce is the Riverside and Dan River mills in Virginia. This concern started a company "union" shortly after the armistice. This was hailed as "industrial democracy." At Greensboro, N. C., where the largest denim mills in the country are located, the workers will receive 12½ per cent less wages.

The profits in textiles is indicated by President McMahon of the United Textile Workers in a letter to Edwin Farnham Greene, treasurer of the Pacific Mills, two years ago, when these workers were resisting a wage cut. The unionist cited the corporation's reports to show that in the last generation it "has paid stockholders in cash the par value of its capitalization four and one-half times over."

Less Immigrants Entail

Only 4,369 persons, representing 20 nations, have been authorized to enter the United States under the new immigration law, which became effective July 1, according to compilations by the state department. Great Britain and northern Ireland head the list with 1,554. Of the principal nations of Europe, Spain has used the greatest percentage of the allotted quotas. The Spanish quota for the entire year is 131, and 21 Spaniards have received immigration visas.

Farm Earnings Drop

The American farmer is not getting an adequate return on his investment or for his personal labor, according to the department of agriculture, following an investigation that has covered several years. Estimating the labor of the farmer and his family on the basis of pay for ordinary farm laborers, the return in most cases is as low as to yield no profit, or such a small profit that it is eaten up in interest charges.

"Interest paid on total farm indebtedness consumed all capital earnings in the crop years 1920-21 and 1921-22," says the report. "In the next two years there was a return of 3.1 per cent on the total capital invested in agriculture, including rewards of management."

"Even this meager showing was only made by valuing the labor of farm operators and their families at no more than the current rate for common labor. While agricultural capital as a whole had only the small returns above mentioned, it was paying an average of more than 6.7 per cent on mortgage and other indebtedness."

Life Insurance in Company "Unions"

According to press statements, the Northern Pacific railway has taken out a \$2,000 life insurance policy for each of its 25,000 employees. This corporation is in the front rank of trade union opponents. It has broken agreements with union shop men and disregarded numerous railroad labor board orders that it cease discriminating against organized labor. Trade unionists consider this latest move a trap for its company "union."

"The Northern Pacific's life insurance scheme, as announced in the public press, can not compare with the life insurance plan of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers," said Secretary-Treasurer Charles P. Ford of that organization.

"Our members carry life insurance at a cost of 90 cents per month for \$1,000, or \$10.80 annually. This is at the rate of \$21.60 per year for \$2,000. The Northern Pacific will pay the private insurance company approximately \$30 a year to carry a \$2,000 policy. Of this probably one-half will go for overhead."

"The public is unaware that from 35 to 50 per cent of the money they pay for life insurance is eaten up by overhead expense. The electrical workers do not have to meet this charge. Neither do they have to consider profit. This makes it possible for our members to sell life insurance to themselves at such a low rate no private company can meet it."

"Another advantage we have over the Northern Pacific paternal system is that we own ourselves. When our members quit our employer they do not lose their insurance. And they know that their insurance continues if they dare to strike for improved working conditions."



EDUCATIONAL COMMENT AND NOTES

The Individualist

By LEMCO

One of the strange things about the published play of "Saint Joan" is that it adds so little to the knowledge of it which the performance gave. Generally, one takes up a Shaw play expecting that the printed dialogue will disclose new pleasures which the spoken dialogue has blurred, and, at least, that the preface will provide material for prolonged thought and violent indignation. But the preface to "Saint Joan" is, frankly, rather stale stuff for the most part, repeating the old Shaw gospel about vaccination and such; and adding nothing to the argument of the play itself which is not better said by the characters, by Joan, by Cauchon, and by Warwick. And the dialogue is so clean cut, and so dramatically fitted to the action of the play, that this spectator, at any rate, found little new on reading it in print. The only surprising discovery which I did make was that Shaw apparently regards his epilogue, in which Joan's enemies in their old age greet her spirit with admiration and entreat it not to return to earth, and an absurd frock-coated priest announces her canonisation, as a magnificent vindication of his saint.

When I saw this epilogue staged I chuckled and thought that Shaw was still at his old tricks, still giving his own heroes and pointing out what senseless and ludicrous rewards are heaped upon them when they have no further use for them. I thought it was first-class irony; but Shaw speaks of it in all seriousness as a "glorious ending." Well, everyone to his taste in the matter of rewards.

If this interpretation is correct, I think it is a blemish. Otherwise the play is a fine play, and should be bought or stolen—as my own copy has been. It is extraordinarily moving at times, and that without reverence.

It sticks much closer to its subject than any other Shaw play—some may like it less for that, but it shows at least that our greatest living dramatist can play just as well when he keeps his eye on the keys as when he turns round all the time to talk upon anything that comes into his head. Incidentally, it is good history, and gives the lie to the common belief that true history cannot be dramatic because it is concerned with ideas and forces as well as with kings and captains. Shaw dramatizes the forces of the Renaissance and the Reformation without agreeing with either side's contention that the other was a fiend. The first obvious idea for a hero or heroine in that like Jack the Giant-Killer, he should fight against enormously wicked foes, and the hero himself probably fights the better for that belief. But Shaw would call such a story a dirty tale of

crime, and rightly thinks his heroine has a story more dramatic when she is pitted against foes as idealistic as herself, but moving on different lines. So he does rather more justice to Cauchon, the Bishop of Beauvais, and to the Inquisitor; and if he fails to make us sympathize equally with the Earl of Warwick, it is because his Irish blood forbids him to draw an English public man who is not either a bit of a scoundrel or a bit of a fool.

In "Saint Joan," then, the historical drama of the fifteenth century comes alive, and both sides get their say in full measure. But this does not mean that Shaw leaves us in doubt where his final judgment lies. He is all for the Protestant, as he has been throughout his literary history—for the Protestant who protests against Protestantism no less than any other. His highest admiration goes out to the force of individual human will, whether it is carried along by belief in God, in the life-force or simply and solely by its own fierce conviction. All his life he has preached that every man can do what he wants if he only wants it enough, and he holds that the vigorous individual is the highest product of humanity. His Superman, perhaps the most unapathetic idea Shaw ever produced, is only Saint Joan stripped of human weaknesses and standing out as incarnate Will.

He is not, of course, so blind as to pretend that this triumphant individualism can be nicely squared with present-day society, or indeed with any organized society at all. Society, he has declared with vigorous clarity, means intolerance, and government oppression; the only question is to get a social system which involves as little as possible of either, and as much scope as possible to the vigorous single will. When he was younger, he expressed this by saying that we must expect the Superman when he came to oust all our common canons of morality. Now he contents himself with observing that the world has always stoned and burned its saints—and will continue to do so, according to "Back to Methuselah," until the said saints contrive to live 300 years. The idea is the same.

It is a gospel slightly out of date at the moment, when all the talk is of mass movements and raising the general level. But there are points about it nevertheless which will bear thinking over. In Saint Joan, who indeed confronted the power of Church and State, Shaw has the ideal impersonation of his teaching. There is only one other Western story which would compete with hers, and I shall hope before long to see Shaw's dramatization of the Crucifixion.

From "New Standards," London, England, Edited by G. D. H. and Margaret Cox.

street and Riverside Drive. The excursionists will go up the Hudson to Croton Point. Many attractions are provided for entertaining the audience. There will be music, dancing, refreshments, chorus singing, etc. Everyone will have to bring food for the day. The arrangements committee is sparing no effort to make this excursion a memorable one. Only ticket holders will be admitted to the boat. Some tickets can still be acquired for \$1.50 each at our Educational Department, 3 West 16th street.

A Community School for Children

Labor people and Educators of national prominence will meet on Saturday, September 6, for a two day conference, at Manhattan School, Pawling, Dutchess County, N. Y., for the purpose of organizing an Experimental Community School for the children of Workers.

Forward looking educators and progressive labor people have been seeking a type of education that will develop the creative critical and social capacities of children. Witness the effort last spring on the part of the Teachers' Union to get the Board of Education to establish an Experimental School in one of the public schools of New York City. Now comes the organization by these same forces of a modern community boarding school for the children of workers at Pawling, N. Y.

The call to the conference is signed by such prominent labor people and educators as: James H. Maurer, President of the Pennsylvania Federation of Labor; Thomas F. Curtis of the Building Trades Compensation Department; Rose Schneiderman, Vice President of the Woman's Trade Union League; Fannie M. Cohn of the Workers Education Bureau and

Vice President of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union; Professor William F. Osburn of Columbia University; Dr. Henry R. Linville, President of the Teachers Union; Miss Elizabeth Goldsmith, Psychologist of the Walden School; Dr. Joseph K. Hart of the Survey; Dr. John Lovejoy Elliott of the Ethical Culture School; and A. J. Muste, Chairman of the Faculty of the Brookwood Labor College.

According to the call these men and women believe that; "If the Labor movement is ever to realize its ultimate aim, 'the good life for all men,' it must not only foster the growth of educational enterprises for adult workers, but once again, as in the early thirties of the last century, when it was influential in helping to establish the Public School System, interest itself in the problem of elementary and secondary education in order that there may be developed an educational system under which children will grow alert and intelligent with regard to the fundamental social and economic issues of our day, and capable of functioning as useful and constructive citizens of a free commonwealth."

The English Labor Government in Action

(Continued from page 7)

ance of demonstrating "the ability of the Labor Party to carry on the Government of the Empire."

Some of the leaders of the trade union movement and the Labor Party think that the Labor Government should have introduced part of its social program, in Parliament, such as the nationalization of the basic industries and a plan for solving the land question; if necessary even stand defeat, and then appeal to the nation to be returned as a majority party. Others think that if the Labor Government were defeated even on the most important issue, before it had a chance to demonstrate its ability in office, it would be a historic mistake.

English Labor is almost unanimous in its opinion that Great Britain will never come into its own or recuperate from the four years of war and the six years of the after-effects of the war without the rehabilitation of Europe. Even the Englishman on the street knows that the economic basis of England is an artificial one, that, at the most, England can only feed 20 per cent of her population. They realize that England for the last ten years has been living on "currency" as a result of unemployment.

It is acute. Hundreds of thousands of workers are idle. Therefore, the Labor Government considered one of its foremost duties to bring about order in Europe. Although the time was ripe for this rehabilitation long ago, political leaders of the French and English nations who had it within their power to accomplish it failed to do so. Fortunately, the change in the English Government from Tory to Labor encouraged liberal opinion in France and there, too, new blood was instilled into the French Government. Ramsay MacDonald and M. Herriot set out to accomplish the great task of convincing Europe of the interdependence of the nations,

that the destruction of one nation does not mean the prosperity and happiness of another nation. They vigorously emphasized the necessity of once for all putting a stop to this economic warfare. The people had learned through bitter experience that the toll of the six years' economic war was just as horrible and destructive as that of the military war. The result of it was the signing of the Treaty with Russia and the acceptance of a basis for the settlement of the German reparations.

I reminded many of my friends and comrades that on my visit two years ago when I discussed the possibility of the ascendancy of a Labor Government, they were almost unanimous in their opinion that Labor was not as yet ready to take over the affairs of State, that it had not yet developed the people to carry on the Government and that the nation would not support an amateur government. Of course, the London Times, the Express and other papers representing the other side, continually impressed on the minds of the rank and file that only the capitalist groups were capable of running the affairs of the nation, but the most radical elements among the critics of the present Labor Government have to admit that the six months' trial of the Labor Government left no doubt in the minds of Englishmen that the Labor Party is capable of assuming national and international responsibility. They also admit the importance of it, due to the fact that Labor suffers more from lack of confidence in its own ability than from lack of ability.

A few Labor comrades called my attention to the fact that the Labor Party at the elections in 1922 and 1923 put forward a program of constructive social transformation which would lay the foundation for the Socialists' commonwealth. Two points

(Continued on next page)

OUR STUDENTS' COUNCIL OUT-
ING ON THE HUDSON RIVER—
SEPTEMBER 7th, 9:30 IN THE
MORNING—SOME TICKETS STILL
ON SALE AT EDUCATIONAL
DEPARTMENT

This Sunday, September 7th, at 9:30 in the morning, a number of our members and their friends will board the private yacht "Anna" at 158th

The Week In Local 10

By SAM B. SHENKER

Following the two special meetings at which the question of dues was taken up, the organization set about tackling the many problems that confront it.

An unusual stir was created as a result of these meetings. However, after the action of the members at the last meeting, the storm abated as suddenly as it broke.

The new rate in dues is not in effect as yet. In accordance with the statement of Manager Dubinsky at the last special meeting, the higher rate will not be collected until the dues have been increased by the rest of the locals of the Joint Board.

Advised Against Being In Arrears

The manager could not say just when action by the other local unions will be taken on this matter. The question was taken up by the Joint Board and discussed at length. In view of the fact, however, that there seems to be a division of opinion as to the advisability of an immediate increase, it was decided that a committee be appointed which is to look into this question and report.

This committee is at work at the present time and is expected to render its report soon. In the meantime, the members of Local 10 are still paying their dues at the 35 cents rate.

However, Manager Dubinsky wishes to be impressed upon the minds of the members that as soon as the Joint Board will decide upon a higher rate of dues, arrears by the members of the Cutters' Union will be collectable at the new rate. Hence, the membership is advised against neglecting to pay its dues promptly.

This should not be a difficult task for the majority of the cutters as they are in good standing at the present time. As a result of a letter sent out a few weeks ago, advising them of the contemplated action by the union with regard to an increase in dues, they at once complied and paid up to the time of the grace allowed. If, therefore, the Joint Board should increase the dues, the members of Local 10 will not be very much in arrears. It will therefore be comparatively easy for them to keep in good standing.

Heavy Picketing on Labor Day

In response to the request of the manager before the Executive Board that he be empowered to send a committee out on Labor Day to apprehend possible violators, some fifty men were distributed throughout the garment district.

At promptly 7 o'clock on Labor Day, Monday, September 1, the fifty men chosen reported and were sent out to transit stations between Chatham square and Third avenue and Thirty-fourth street and Seventh avenue. These stations included the I. R. T. Fourth avenue and Seventh avenue lines, the B. M. T., and the Sixth avenue "L."

Various Excuses Given When Apprehended

The picketing consisted of two methods. First, the fifty men were distributed throughout these stations and were instructed to turn back any cutter who was found in the vicinity. The pickets, under the supervision of Brothers Perlmutter and Shenker, then reported to the office and were assigned to about two hundred shops, the cutters of which were suspected by Manager Dubinsky of desiring to work on Labor Day.

There is little time for mirth in connection with our work. Nevertheless, there was a good deal of humor in the course of this picketing caused by the many and varied excuses given as reasons by the men who were stopped by the pickets.

One cutter who was stopped at Twenty-eighth street and Seventh avenue, just as he came out of the subway, said that he was bound for Coney Island. He could not very well explain, however, how he happened to have gotten off at this station. The committee reporting on this case to the office said that it was possible that the brother in question was a victim of the heat. They directed him explicitly how to reach Coney Island.

A second member was seen getting out of the B. M. T. subway station at Twenty-third street and Fifth avenue. This occurred at about 8:30 in the morning. Asked what he was doing in the neighborhood, he replied that he was going to a barber shop in the neighborhood, after which he was going to meet his wife to go shopping. The brother lived in Brooklyn and said that there were no good barber shops available in his neighborhood. He seemed slightly confused when reminded that the large department stores were closed on that day.

There were many more excuses offered by men who were found near their shops. It is important to mention the fact that all of the men stopped by committees got off stations nearest their shops.

Shops Visited

At ten o'clock the pickets returned to the office. They were then split up into committees of two and three, each of which groups was assigned to a number of shops. The number of shops assigned totaled nearly two hundred.

The committees then went from shop to shop and wherever a cutter was found he was ordered to stop.

As a result of this picketing the Executive Board's sessions will last well into the night as these cases are to come up for hearings.

Temporary Impartial Chairman

An important and interesting item was carried in last week's issue of Justice on the first page. Part of the item is reprinted here in order that all of the members of the local may familiarize themselves with it, as it affects the progress of the recent reorganization campaign.

It will be recalled that among the recommendations of the Governor's Commission, in connection with the renewal of the agreement, was contained one which called for the selection of an impartial chairman in the cloak industry. No one man could be agreed upon by the various sides involved.

In such an event the commission had further recommended that it, the commission, is finally to choose an impartial chairman.

"The commission thereupon," the item reads, "summoned on Thursday, August 21, a plenary meeting of all interested parties and appointed Colonel Herbert Lehman, a member of the commission, as temporary impartial chairman. Both sides appeared very pleased by this choice, though, of course, this selection does not solve the problem permanently. Colonel Lehman accepted the post for one month, until the commission is enabled to pick a permanent person for the position."

The union and the association were compelled to refer this question to the commission owing to the fact that quite a number of problems had arisen which called for immediate solution. The various organizations hope that these accumulated matters will be cleared up.

Clearing these up is absolutely necessary in order that many other pressing problems may be taken up.

Controllers Still at Work

Manager Dubinsky had hoped that there would not be any need of special controllers except for the first few weeks following the recent strike. However, the result of investigations proves that a constant control is necessary.

It was hoped that work would begin in the industries, particularly in the cloak industry. A good season would go far towards eradicating a number of evils with which the union is confronted at the present time. However, the hope is not as yet realized. For a time it seemed as though a good season were about to begin. The outlook is more or less fair. There is work but not enough to give the union the necessary advantage.

Because of this condition Dubinsky saw that he would have to retain some controllers. These men are mostly taken up with investigations of shops the cutters of which are working overtime or shops where there is enough work for an additional cutter.

Overtime Not Permitted

Seeing a number of men still unemployed, Dubinsky at once issued an order that no cutter is to work overtime, but that the employers should be told to hire additional men. One particular shop was called before the Executive Board lately on a charge of working overtime, contrary to the orders of the manager.

Executive Board members stated that they are very familiar with the conditions of this shop and know that were the cutters willing additional men could be placed.

The controllers also found employers assisting cutters in turning out work. A number of men have already been placed as a result of these investigations.

Dress Trade Big Problem

Organization activity in the dress trade has not ceased. That the expiration of the agreement in this trade at the end of this year will result in a struggle of unusual proportions is instanced by the number of shops which are daily being organized.

The Joint Board is compelled to keep up the Organization Department if for no other reason than to safeguard the interests of the organized shops. The shops which spring up are a menace to the workers. A day does not pass but that the manager stops a cutter on the ground that he is either a partner or violates many conditions of work.

The controllers investigating these shops find sufficient evidence of chaos. On the surface there appears to be work in the trade. However, on close examination this proves spasmodic.

A Case of Interest

The Executive Board had under consideration lately a case which proves conclusively that appearances do count. Cutter Frankel was employed for about two years by the

Favorite Dress Company. He was employed by this firm at the time when he joined the union.

This shop was one which Manager Dubinsky had assigned to the controllers since he suspected that the cutter worked outside of regular hours.

About two months ago Frankel was seen working on a Sunday, but for lack of positive evidence that case was not tried then by the Executive Board.

The shop was watched thereafter until two weeks ago, when the cutter was again seen working on a Sunday. Upon being called before the manager the cutter pleaded that there was a mistake and that on the particular Sunday he was bathing with a party of friends. However, this time the evidence was conclusive and Dubinsky ordered the cutter not to go to work in this shop pending the outcome of the case before the Executive Board.

It also struck the manager that the cutter was not a regular mechanic and that he was kept by the firm for other reasons than that he was capable of doing the work of a mechanic. He ordered the cutter to take an examination, and it developed, according to the Examination Committee's report, that the cutter was a very poor mechanic.

This further convinced the manager that the cutter should not work for this firm. The Executive Board had in the meantime decided that the cutter's working card be withdrawn on a charge of working on Sunday.

The cutter appeared at the office following the withdrawal of his working card. He was asked as to whether he had in the meantime carried out the decision of the Executive Board—not to work for the Favorite Dress Company. He replied with emphasis that he was carrying out the decision and that he did not report to the shop.

Nevertheless, in spite of his innocent appearance and request that he be permitted to bring his friends as witnesses to prove that he did not violate any of the union's rules or the Executive Board's decision, he was found in the shop after the action by the Board.

On Thursday evening, August 28, he was found working in the shop and on Friday, the following day, he was found by the controller working behind locked doors. He will again be called before the Executive Board and this time it is expected the punishment will be still more impressive.

Contributions to Lewis Fund

The following donations to the trust fund for the widow of deceased Brother Lewin are reported:

Donation of \$25—Bonnas Embroiderer's Union, Local 66.

Donation of \$15—Jacob Robin, Member Local 10.

Donations of \$5—Morris Feldman, Sam Lewin, Isidore Reisman, Members of Local 10.

CUTTERS' UNION, LOCAL 10

NOTICE OF MEETINGS

REGULAR MEETING Monday, September 8

MISCELLANEOUS MEETING Monday, September 15

Meetings Begin at 7:30 P. M.

AT ARLINGTON HALL, 23 St. Mark's Place.