

"My righteous-
ness I hold fast,
and will not let
it go."
—Job 27:6

JUSTICE

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE INTERNATIONAL LADIES' GARMENT WORKERS' UNION

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

Vol. VI, No. 50.

New York, Friday, December 12, 1924.

Price 2 Cents

Vice-President Perlstein Murderously Assaulted

Gangsters Ambush Administrator of Operators' Local with Blackjacks on Second Avenue—Who Paid the Sluggers?—Bloody Incident Fills Workers with Horror and Indignation—International Making Every Effort to Run Down Assailants.

Last Saturday evening, December 6, at seven o'clock, Vice-president Mayor Perlstein of our International Union, was attacked and seriously injured by a gang of hired sluggers on Second avenue, near Eleventh street, in New York City.

Vice-president Perlstein makes his home in Cleveland and has been in

charge of the Western activities of the I. L. G. W. U. for a number of years past. Two months ago Brother Perlstein was appointed by President Sigman to act as administrator of the newly formed combined cloak operators' local of Greater New York, Local 2, and to carry into effect the decision of the G. E. B. with regard

to the amalgamation of locals 1, 11 and 17.

The assault upon Brother Perlstein was made a few minutes after he left a meeting of the newly-organized Local 2 at Manhattan Lyceum on East Fourth street. As he was walking with a group of cloakmakers and Union officers, among whom were Vice-president Israel Feinberg with his family, past the little park near the church of St. Mark's on the Bowery, two persons with caps drawn over their heads jumped out of a taxi which stood near the curb. In a flash they emerged behind Vice-president Peri-

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Established Label and Office of the New York and Dress Joint Board, has summoned a number of district meetings of shop chairmen in the cloak trade. These meetings have been called for each night during the past week and for Saturday afternoons in the building of the Joint Board, 150 East 25th street.

As Brother Jacobson, director of this department, informs us, these meetings are well attended and the chairmen receive with close attention the rules and instructions covering the application of the sanitary label in the shops and the administration of the unemployment insurance fund.

Next week a special article relating to the activity of the new label and insurance office will appear in Justice, written by its director, Brother Charles Jacobson.

Joint Board Confers With New York Dress Jobbers

Union Presents List of Demands

Last Wednesday afternoon, December 10, the first conference between the New York Cloak and Dress Joint Board and the Dress Jobbers' Association of New York took place to consider the terms of the agreement shortly to be renewed in the industry. The night before, on Tuesday, December 9, a special meeting of the Joint Board was held to consider the demands to be presented to the jobbers.

The conference took place at the Hotel McAlpin and was attended by President Sigman, Secretary Baroff and Vice-Presidents Feinberg, Wander and Schoenholtz, representing the workers. The meeting confined itself largely to a general discussion of the demands of the Union and of several suggestions advanced by the jobbers. Among these demands the more important ones are the following:

The establishment of an unemployment insurance fund on the basis functioning in the cloak industry.

The introduction of a sanitary union label on dresses.

The adoption of a minimum scale of wages. This subject is to be taken up in conjunction with the dress contractors' association.

Assumption of responsibility by jobbers and manufacturers for the wages of the workers employed in all shops, inside and outside.

Limitation of contractors.

Another conference with the jobbers will be held shortly to discuss in a more concrete manner the above enumerated demands and to endeavor to reach practical conclusions with regard to them. In the meantime other conferences will be held with the dress contractors' association covering these and several other demands relating to contractor shops, as it is quite apparent that the negotiations for the introduction of trade reforms in the dress industry must be carried on simultaneously and with one aim and purpose in view with all the factors in the industry.

Knit Goods Workers Busy Organizing

The organization campaign of the knit goods workers, under the leadership of Vice-president Jack Halperin, is proceeding at a lively pace.

Six offices have been opened in New York City as rallying points for this organization activity, and two special organizers have been appointed to work in this field—Miss Melinda Scott, of the United Textile Workers of America and Brother Harry Chaner, formerly secretary of the Brownsville Cloakmakers' local. They will work with the staff of the Eastern Organization department. The six offices are located in Manhattan, Harlem, The Bronx, Brooklyn and Brownsville.

Organizing work has also begun in Philadelphia among the workers in

the local knit goods industry. In the Pennsylvania city, this activity is under the supervision of Vice-president Elias Reiberg, who is calling frequent meetings of knit goods workers where attempts are being made to organize shops and to coordinate the distribution of union literature among the unorganized. Last week such a meeting of unorganized knit-goods workers was held in Philadelphia, and was addressed by Vice-presidents Jacob Halperin, Sam Andrus, Elias Reiberg and Miss Melinda Scott.

According to Brother Reiberg, there are in Philadelphia no less than five thousand knit goods workers with but a skeleton of a union, a remnant of the war days. Their work conditions are indescribably hard—work hours running from 56 to 60 a week and the pay exceptionally low. When these workers learned that the I. L. G. W. U. is beginning an organization campaign in their trade they have begun flocking into the local and now, for the first time in years, they are becoming hopeful of better times and better working conditions in their industry.

President Sigman Returns From El Paso Convention

Entire I. L. G. W. U. Delegation Attended President Calles Inauguration in Mexico City

After an absence of more than four weeks, President Morris Sigman, together with the other members of the I. L. G. W. U. delegation to the 44th convention of the American Federation of Labor in El Paso, Texas, returned to New York City, last Monday, December 8.

Brother Sigman left New York on November 9 and on his way to El Paso visited Chicago and conferred with the officers of the Joint Board and the active members of the locals with regard to the pending negotiations with the cloak manufacturers

concerning a new agreement. From Chicago he went on to El Paso where he was joined by the other members of the I. L. G. W. U. delegation—Luigi Antonini, Samuel Permuter, Charles Kreindler, Louis Pinkovsky and Louis Langner.

The El Paso convention lasted from Monday, November 17 to November 26. On that day, together with a majority of the A. F. of L. delegates, President Sigman left for Mexico City in special trains provided for by the Mexican Government to witness, as special guests of the new adminis-

tration of Mexico, the inauguration of President-elect Plutarco Calles, elected by the Labor and radical forces to the highest office in our sister republic

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Sigman Leaves Next Week For Chicago and Canada

President Morris Sigman will leave next Saturday afternoon for Chicago to take part in the first conference between the Chicago Joint Board of the Cloak and Dress unids and the Cloak Manufacturers' Association of that city on Monday, December 15, for the renewal of the collective agreement in the trade which shortly expires.

While in Chicago last month, President Sigman has made arrangements to participate in these negotiations. The Chicago market expects a better season in the cloak industry next spring and the employers appear to be in a willing mood to renew the agreement without friction.

From Chicago President Sigman

will proceed to Toronto to meet the Toronto cloak employers in negotiations for a collective agreement. It will be remembered that in Toronto no collective agreement in the cloak industry has been in force since 1921, when the Union lost a protracted strike with the organized employers of that city. The Toronto workers, however, kept up their organization and in recent months, due to the activity of General Organizer Julius Hochman, the Toronto Joint Board has become materially stronger and many of the local employers have been brought about to realize that a collective agreement is much preferred.

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Cloak Operators, Local 2, Open Lecture Season With Concert

Local 2 will celebrate the reopening of the Educational Season with a concert on Saturday evening, December 20, in the auditorium of Public School 61, Crotona Park East and Charlotte street, Bronx.

The participants in the program will be: Madame Soloff, the well known soprano, who will sing opera airs and Yiddish and Russian folk

songs. Max Jacobs, the well known violinist, director of the Chamber Symphony Orchestra, will play selections. B. Gottesfeld, the humorist, will read humorous sketches.

A folder announcing the educational activities of Local 2 will be distributed.

No effort has been spared to make

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Vice-President Perlstein Murderously Assaulted

(Continued from page 1)

stein, struck him two heavy blows with iron pipes over the head, jumped back into the waiting taxi and disappeared. Second avenue at that hour is crowded with hundreds of persons, but this crowding, it seems, instead of aiding in the apprehension of the murderous assailants only helped them to make a safe getaway.

Brother Perlstein fell unconscious to the ground in a pool of blood. He was immediately removed to the People's Hospital, a block away, and after several physicians had worked on him for an hour they succeeded in stopping the fearful flow of blood from one of his wounds after having taken fifteen stitches in it. The physicians declared that if the force of the blow had not been to some extent broken by compact with the shoulder of Brother Wagner of Local 2 who was walking alongside of Brother Perlstein, he would have been killed outright. It is also obvious that the murderers were aiming not only at Perlstein but at Vice-president Feinberg as well, and only the presence of his wife and two children interfered with the design of the gangmen upon his life too.

Brother Perlstein is still in a serious condition, but the doctors attending him assure that he will recover, as fortunately the X-ray examination shows that his skull was not fractured. There is not a doubt in the mind of all those who witnessed the assault upon Perlstein that the attack was a premeditated one and was committed by gangsters hired for that purpose. It is quite evident too, that it was committed with the design of removing Perlstein as a factor from the New York situation and to make him "harmless" in his present activities.

Who could have planned and carried out this outrageous crime? Brother Perlstein has no personal enemies—surely not in New York—where he is almost a stranger, and his only business here, for the past several weeks, has been in connection with the merger of the cloak operators' locals. To solve this problem, the General Office has enlisted the cooperation of the best sleuths of the New York police department and is running down every clue to find the assailants. There is every reason to believe that their identity will soon be discovered and the miscreants will receive their due in short order.

South Norwalk Police Intimidate Workers

From the office of the Eastern Organization department comes the news that in South Norwalk, Conn., the workers employed in the ladies coat shop of the D. & S. firm, a contractor shop working for a New York jobber, have, with the exception of a few, walked out to enforce a demand for Union conditions in the shop.

The move of the workers appears to have been quite effective, as the firm, in desperation, is now calling upon the local police to help it break the strike. As usual in such cases, the cry is that the "outside agitators"

must be driven out of town, which, in plainer words means, that the strikers or the pickets be not allowed to approach any strikebreakers that might be induced by the firm to remain in the shop and work under the old slab conditions.

The workers in the South Norwalk shop, however, are not in the least disposed to have their strike broken by the kind efforts of the police on behalf of the D. & S. firm. They intend to continue their legitimate efforts to win to their side every cloak maker in the shop and to establish decent working conditions in it.

INTERNATIONAL MEMBERS IN NEW YORK, ATTENTION!

Members of the International who wish to help in the organizing campaign being conducted at present among the various miscellaneous trades in New York City and desiring to obtain information with regard to the form of aid and cooperation they might give to this big undertaking, are requested to call at any of the local union offices listed below where they will be given all necessary directions and instructions.

DISTRICT COUNCIL OF MISCELLANEOUS TRADES OF GREATER NEW YORK

Headquarters

3 West 16th Street Telephone Chelsea 2148
New York

Embroidery Workers, Local 6—501 E. 161st st.—Melrose 7690.

Cutters, Local 10—231 E. 14th st.—Lexington 4180.

Waterproof Garment Workers, Local 20—130 E. 25th st.—Madison Square 1934.

Waist Makers, Local 25—16 W. 21st st.—Watkins 7957.

Ladies' Tailors, Theatrical Costume and Alteration Workers, Local 38—877 Sixth ave.—Circle 8299.

Hemstitchers, Pleaters and Tuckers, Local 41—6 W. 21st st.—Chelsea 3823.

White Goods Workers, Local 32—117 Second ave.—Orchard 7106

Bonnaz Embroidery Workers, Local 66—7 E. 15th st.—Stuyvesant 3657.

Custom Dress Makers, Local 90—744 Lex. ave.—Regent 3091.

Children's Dress, Bathrobe and House Dress Makers' Union, Local 91—7 E. 15th st.—Stuyvesant 2957.

Embroidery Designers, Local 97—138 E. 31st st.—Lexington 5018

Salespeople's, Local 131—175 E. Broadway—Chelsea 2148.

Button Workers, Local 132—7 E. 15th st.—Stuyvesant 5952.

The Ladies Garment Workers' Resolution Adopted by the El Paso Convention

Last week, it was reported in the news columns of Justice that the forty-fourth annual convention of the American Federation of Labor unanimously adopted a resolution on November 25 expressing its felicitations to the I. L. G. W. U. on the event of its twenty-fifth anniversary. This resolution followed shortly after the impressive ceremony of the presentation of a marble bust of Samuel Gompers to the convention by President Morris Sigman on behalf of the I. L. G. W. U., and was presented by William Green, the secretary-treasurer of the United Mine Workers of America, as Resolution No. 50.

The resolution reads as follows:

WHEREAS, The International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union is now celebrating its twenty-fifth anniversary; and WHEREAS, The service and influence of this organization has transformed an industry suffering from sweat-shop conditions, misery and slavery, into an industry composed of free men and women, and has brought light, sunshine and great economic improvements into the homes and lives of vast numbers of workers employed in the ladies' garment working industry; and

WHEREAS, Under the guidance and leadership of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, the work day

in this industry has been reduced from a twelve-hour day and more, to a forty-four hour week, the earnings of approximately 100,000 men and women increased many fold, and many other humane conditions secured and established; and

WHEREAS, This organization has inspired hundreds of thousands of workers in the various apparel trades with the great ideals of the Labor movement, and has, because of its idealism and devotion to the betterment of mankind, withstood the onslaught of its arch enemies from within and without, and at the price of great sacrifice has finally earned a prominent place in the Labor movement; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the forty-fourth annual convention of the American Federation of Labor join in the celebration of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union and congratulate the officers and members of that organization upon their splendid achievements, and express the hope that they will go on and on with their activities for still greater accomplishments and a fuller life of happiness enjoyed by the men and women employed in the ladies' garment making industry; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor is hereby instructed to forward a copy of this resolution to the officers of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union.

The resolution was adopted by unanimous vote.

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FIFTH AVENUE AT 31st STREET

Sigman Leaves Next Week for Chicago and Canada

(Continued from page 1)

able to continued warfare in the industry. President Sigman will meet Brother Hochman in Toronto who will cooperate with him in the negotiations with the employers.

From Toronto, Brothers Sigman and Hochman will go to Montreal to take stock of the local situation and

discuss the state of affairs in the ladies' garment industry of that city with the more active workers, and the secretary of the Joint Board, Brother Joseph Shubert. Upon the result of this investigation will depend the further steps of the I. L. G. W. U. in the Montreal cloak market.

Concert of Local 2, this Saturday

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this evening an artistic success.

At 10:30 on Sunday morning, December 14, Max Levine will start his course on "The Industrial Development of Modern Society," in the Club Rooms of Local 2, 1561 Washington avenue, Bronx.

The Friday evening lectures will also be given down-town in Beethoven Hall, 210 East 5th street. The first lecture will be given by Dr. B. Hoffman, December 19. The subject will be "The First Attempt of American Trade Unions in An Independent Political Struggle."

In the Club Rooms of Local 2, the

same evening, Mr. H. Rogoff will lecture on "The Meaning of the Expulsion of Senator La Follette and His Colleagues From the Republican Party."

In Harlem Dr. R. Hoffman will start his course of six lessons on Sunday, December 21, at 10:30 a. m., in the headquarters of the Harlem Socialist Educational Center, 62 East 106th street. The subject of the first lecture will be "Twenty-five Years Labor Movement in America."

Admission to the concert, courses and lectures is free to members of the I. L. G. W. U.

President Sigman Returns From El Paso

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south of the Rio Grande. In Mexico City, President Sigman spent several days, leaving for the United States on Tuesday, December 3, and arriving in New York last Monday after six days of continuous traveling.

In last week's issue of Justice, we have given an account of the presentation by Brother Sigman of a marble bust of President Gompers to the Federation on Monday, November 24, his speech and Gompers' reply. When asked concerning the effect this event created among the delegates, President Sigman confirmed the impression that it was one of the most stirring moments of the entire meeting. On the whole, Brother Sigman stated, it was one of the most satisfactory conventions in the history of the A. F. of L. The report on political activity, together with the additional statement issued by the convention committee, appeared to satisfy all concerned and undoubtedly registered a marked step in advance. While this report advises against the Federation allying itself with any distinct political party, it speaks favorably of independent political action in general and calls for the Federation's cooperation with other groups friendly to Labor to achieve the political demands of the

organized workers. The report certainly does not discourage the individual internationals and other groups in the Federation from going ahead with political activity along independent lines and speaks in glowing terms of the results accomplished by the A. F. of L. in the congressional district campaigns all over the country.

Another very remarkable feature of the convention was the attitude of the delegates toward the subject of Labor adult education and the generous support manifested by them for this rather new branch of trade union activity. As known, the convention recommended that all the internationals in the Federation assess their members a half a cent per year to help carry on the work of the Workers' Education Bureau, and from the temper of the delegates it may be hoped that this recommendation will be cheerfully concurred in by the rank and file of the Federation.

President Sigman was very enthusiastic about his Mexican trip. The new Government in Mexico is beyond doubt a proletarian administration and derives its whole strength from the producing classes of Mexico who stand ready to defend it with their all. The entire spirit of the new Government is thoroughly and genuinely democratic and it has gathered around itself the best and most enlightened spiritual force of the country. A feeling of gratitude and of wholehearted recognition of the efforts of the American Labor movement on behalf of the Mexican workers and for the help rendered by President Gompers in particular is evident all over Mexico, and the tie which binds American and Mexican Labor together has never been stronger.

Impartial Chairman Ingersoll To Decide Dispute With Sadowsky Firm

A few days ago, a hearing took place before the impartial chairman in the cloak industry of New York, Mr. Raymond B. Ingersoll, on the complaint lodged by the Joint Board against the firm of R. Sadowsky, Inc., that it is violating its agreement with the Union and is not dividing its work among its contractors equally. Chairman Ingersoll listened to extended arguments by Morris Hillquit, representing the workers, and Joseph Goldstein, representing the employers, as to just what obligations were imposed upon R. Sadowsky, Inc., by the signing of the contract with the Union.

The attorney for the firm contended that it was the intent of the employers to rid themselves of the distribution of work system within their own factory and that they had no in-

tention of adhering to such a system in their outside contracting shop. He further contended that it was the intent of the firm to guarantee wages received prior to the signing of the agreement during its life, one year, and to afford the workers certain other rights incident to their employment in the Sadowsky factory proper.

Mr. Hillquit, for the Union, insisted that during the life of the agreement the firm is bound to uphold the system of distribution of work within its shop and within its contracting shops. All the work available at the Sadowsky organization, Mr. Hillquit argued, should, according to its contract with the Union, be divided equitably among all the workers, inside and outside of the plant, just as if they were one unit.

There was another complaint lodged by the Union against this firm, namely, that it had failed to allow the Union to have access to its books as provided for in its contract. But as the Union was promised access to the books in the very near future, this complaint was withdrawn for the time being. On the major grievance Chairman Ingersoll will render a decision within the next few days.

"Activities of I. F. T. U. for 1922-24"

This compendious book contains within its 375 pages the official reports of the International Trade Union Congress of Vienna; the June conference of the I. F. T. U. with the International Trade Secretariats; the International Conference of Women Trade Unionists; and the revised Rules of the International Federation of Trade Unions.

It also contains special reports presented to the Vienna Congress on the eight-hour day, the International campaign against War and Militarism, the position of the International Federation of Trade Unions in the International Labor movement, International Social Legislation, and the organizational relations between the International Federation of Trade Unions and the Trade Secretariats, the first three of which were written respectively by C. Mertens, General Secretary of the Belgian Trade Union Congress; L. Jounaux, General Secretary of the French Confederation of Labor; Th. Leipart, President of the German Federation of Trade Unions, and the last two by J. Oudegeest. In addition, it includes a full account of the negotiations between Amsterdam and Moscow, and the va-

rious speeches and statements on that subject by well-known leaders.

This book, which brings up to date the history of the International Trade Union movement, should be read by all earnest workers in the trade union world. Mr. A. A. Purcell, President of the I. F. T. U., recently wrote that "there exists little enthusiasm for international knowledge among our British working class." A publication of this kind, bringing together under one cover facts from so wide a field, should do much to build up a healthy interest in Labor internationalism. The book should certainly be in the possession of every national and branch trade union library, and of every person who is concerned with the general advancement of Labor.

This book can be obtained in New York City at the Rand Book Store, 7 East 15th street. Price \$1.00.

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New Lawyers to Defend Sacco and Vanzetti in Final Fight for Life

A new start to save the lives of Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti has been made by the Sacco-Vanzetti Defense Committee at Boston in the appointment of new lawyers for the two Italian workers convicted in July, 1921, of the murder of a paymaster. Both men are Italian radicals and the defense claims their radical activities are responsible for their prosecution on charges of which they are innocent. The legal defense in the appeals to the higher courts will be headed by William G. Thompson, noted Boston attorney, ex-president of the Massachusetts Bar Association and lecturer at the Harvard Law School.

Mr. Thompson will represent both defendants. He will argue a bill of exceptions before Judge Webster Thayer, preliminary to appealing to the Massachusetts Supreme Court for a new trial. The appeal will be on a series of five motions, based, according to the defense, on "a mass of new evidence."

The most important of the five motions is the so-called Ripley motion, based on affidavits that Mr. Ripley, foreman of the jury at the trial in which Sacco and Vanzetti were convicted, had three .38-caliber cartridges in his pocket which, without the knowledge of the defendants'

counsel or the court, he introduced when the jury was considering the evidence to impress his own beliefs on the jury. Counsel for the defense will argue that this is contrary to the law which provides that men accused of crime must be confronted by all the evidence against them.

The five motions were argued before Judge Thayer who on September 30 last refused to grant a new trial. If the Massachusetts Supreme Court sustains him, efforts will be made to get the case to the United States Supreme Court.

The new counsel has the approval of the defendants, the Defense Committee and the Boston Committee of the American Civil Liberties Union. Efforts to raise \$50,000 to carry on the final fight for the lives of the two workers are being made by the Defense Committee.

In an appeal to Labor organizations and individuals broadcast throughout the country, the committee warns that if the appeal for a new trial is denied there is no alternative to the death penalty for Sacco and Vanzetti. Contributions to carry on the fight for a new trial are being received by the Sacco-Vanzetti Defense Committee at P. O. Box 95, Hanover street station, Boston, Mass.

JUSTICE

A Labor Weekly

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The Fakirs' Masterpiece

By GEORGE R. KIRKPATRICK

The richest city in the richest country in the richest age in all time is New York. And the greatest business in that city is not farming or stock raising, not mining or lumbering, not manufacturing or transportation, or distribution of goods. The greatest business in New York, measured in dollars, is buying and selling stocks and bonds, trading on change. Really this is the supreme, proud, crowning business of the big men of our time. These "create great fortunes," buying and selling on change.

But these creators of great fortunes are fakirs, the superlative frauds of all time.

This biggest business of these biggest men in the world's richest city creates nothing, produces no actual values, creates not one single nickel's worth of wealth. Their claims are stupid and their pretensions are utterly ridiculous. These counterfeit creators, these fakir producers, do not add even what the political economists call "place value"; they do not change the position of the goods bought and sold. They simply swap ownership, swap the paper evidence of ownership.

Now this is a hard saying, a mean slander, a most unneighborly charge. If I cannot make good the accuracy of my charge. So here goes:

In Wall Street they buy and sell. That's all.

Well, if buying and selling a thing increases actual values, really increases wealth, creates wealth,—then I can make my hat worth fifty dollars in twenty minutes. Thus: I will sell it to you. Then I will buy it back again. Then sell it again, immediately buying it back. We will keep up this wonderful Wall Street stunt with the hat for twenty minutes exchanging the hat at least forty times.

Of course if simple exchange of ownership, simple buying and selling, creates wealth, the hat thus so frequently exchanged will be worth at least fifty dollars, a wonderful hat indeed, a fifty-dollar hat!

Now you know of course that after all these exchanges the hat will be the same hat, in no way improved, in not the slightest degree a more valuable hat. The same would be true if we repeatedly exchanged a small bond representing the hat.

Well, if the Union Pacific Railway, or stocks and bonds representing the Union Pacific, are bought and sold, swapped a dozen times or forty times in a month of "Great Wall Street activity," will the locomotives be more powerful? Will the cars have greater capacity? Will the track be improved? Will the train schedule be in anyway improved? Nothing of the sort will result from all this buying and selling. No actual railway goods, real railway wealth, will be increased. Certainly not. Nothing whatever will have been created. Absolutely not one nickel's worth of wealth. It will be the same railway though the total exchanging processes may have totalled \$5,000,000,000 worth of "business in Wall Street."

The corn crop of the United States in one recent year was bought and sold in the Wall Street business way sixteen times before it was harvested—that is, the gamblers' Wall Street houses pocus of big business, of "creative genius" in the born pit, amounted to sixteen times the actual value of the total corn crop. Yet not one grain of corn was thus produced or improved. Nothing was created. No wealth whatever was added to the nation's total, not a nickel's worth.

Yet note the editors. One of them, a \$2,000 a week man whose columns reach 10,000,000 people, writes, very

profoundly, that "our great men of brains, our creative business men, have made millions, have created vast fortunes, in the few days since Mr. Coolidge was elected; fortunes surpassing the wildest fortune-dreaming of all time,—so powerful, so superior, so creative are these mighty men who do the wonderful work of Wall Street."

And yet all this is no more than a fakir's masterpiece.

If buying and selling creates wealth, why not list the public school buildings, the university buildings and the post office buildings, list them in the stock market and buy and sell them over and over again year after year? If exchange, simple swapping of ownership, produces — creates — wealth, we can thus create sufficient wealth each year to defray all the expense of the education, replace old buildings, cut off postage charges, pay all the expenses with the winnings, with the brilliant creations of wealth through the buying and selling of these great public properties. Thus too we could easily pay off the National debt. This trick of creating wealth should be taught to all school children, college and university students, preachers, ladies' aid societies, the Red Cross Society and the foreign missionary societies. Why, we can crowd the world with wealth, drive poverty from the earth, make it a little as close to a Rolls-Royce, make a \$20 worth of its weight in gold in half an hour—if buying and selling (which is the "great business of Wall Street") actually creates wealth.

This so-called creative genius operating productively, creatively, in the stocks-and-bonds market on change—this is the hugest hocus pocus on the planet, the supreme fraud of our time; and these creative-master-mind-Rolls-Royce rogues are rotten and dishonest, the master-fakirs-and-plateaus of the twentieth century in the richest city in the world, the great trick-'em-and-pluck-'em town on the Hudson by the sea.

How the noble phrases roll: "This is the age of steam, the age of steel, the age of electricity, the age of science, the age of universal wireless communications, the age of education, the age of creative genius and big business."

No! This is the age of the slave and the pirate, the sucker and the fakir. This is the age of the master counterfeit.

Review of November in Industry

The most striking development of the month has been the boom on the New York Stock Exchange, in which prices of shares rose rapidly, in many cases to the highest levels of history, and the number of shares changing hands reached larger records than since the boom of 1901. On account of the common tendency to regard the stock market as a forerunner of general business conditions, many have assumed that this indicates a period of long and marked prosperity, with the accompaniment of greatly increased employment, rising prices, rising cost of living and increased wages. It is therefore important to find out, if possible, just what the real situation is.

In trade and industry generally no such boom seems yet to have started as is seen in the stock market. Almost all conditions have improved a little, but this appears merely to be a natural continuation of the tendencies which were evident before the election. Production is slowly rising,

A Peaceful Convention

By NORMAN THOMAS

The American Federation of Labor convention was a peaceful and harmonious affair. Its most encouraging features were its international aspect and the support it gave to workers' education. It adopted an admirable statement on the power of the courts. The most disquieting statement had nothing to do with "radicalism" or "conservatism" or a new party, but with the report that the unions had again lost in membership.

Now it is all very well to say that fluctuation in number is not the best and only test of the strength of the organization. It is quite true that thousands of workers can be trusted to act as union men even though they temporarily forfeit membership by not paying up their dues. The loss this year was relatively small, being about 60,000. The open shop drive seems to be checked. But this is not enough. If American Labor is to accomplish what it ought it must begin to increase its membership. Even strongly organized unions like the United Mine Workers are feeling the pressure of non-union jobs. Factory labor, which is especially characteristic of our modern era, from the makers of steel to the makers of textiles, is either unorganized or very imperfectly organized. Agricultural workers are not organized at all. So long as these things are true, Labor is relatively weak in this country. No number of labor banks or even of workers' education classes will replace the hard and sometimes even dangerous task of organizing the workers in unions. We congratulate the American Federation of Labor on its pleasant and harmonious convention. Its leaders know better than we that the real judgment upon it will be passed not by the applause of delegates or the approval of the press but by their success in inspiring the workers to undertake with new zeal their own emancipation through intelligent labor organization.

A. F. of L. and a New Party

When the American Federation of Labor Convention refused to endorse a Labor party, it did what was to be expected of it in the light of its history and the conditions the convention faced. It did not by any means prove that a Labor party is undesirable or impossible. It is no disrespect to the officials of the American Federation of Labor to say that their convention

is the last, not the first, place to look for endorsement of a new political party. They have to follow the line of least resistance and try to preserve harmony between their constituent parts. The campaign for a Labor party must begin in the local unions and international bodies and gain headway there before the American Federation of Labor is likely to act.

As advocates of a Labor party we see encouragement in those paragraphs of the report recognizing that State laws should be changed so as to permit independent movements to function effectively, "whenever the need for the same may arise." That statement combined with other statements on the conflict between groups desiring to conserve property rights as against "the human aspiration and personal well-being of all our people" encourages us to believe that even the cautious and conservative leaders of the American Federation of Labor are not wedded to the Republican and Democratic parties beyond hope of divorce.

From all over the country and from the most reliable sources comes the tale of direct intimidation of masses of workers in the interests of the old parties. When men are threatened with the loss of their jobs, individually or collectively, if an independent candidate should be elected or poll a great vote, it may temporarily arrest the progressive movement. At the same time it ought to show the absolute necessity of such a movement if the workers are really to be free men. Industrial workers were not the only ones who suffered from such intimidation. Bankers, we are told, brought similar pressure to bear on the farmers. If farmers and workers are incapable of resenting such intimidation effectively, and are incapable of organizing on the political field, they will deserve their fate. Very soon, thoughtful farmers and workers must ask themselves whether those leaders are fit to represent them who lie down so pleasantly in the same political parties as the industrial bosses and bankers and their political tools who practiced this gross intimidation.

"When Time rings down the curtain on our age,

And other eras come upon the stage,
God grant, O, Future, there may ever be
Among thy people—the minority."

characterized business since 1922.

Basing our conclusions on this industrial foundation, it appears that the boom on the stock market has gone far beyond the reasonable expectation of improved business conditions, and is largely speculative in character. There was a great amount of money waiting to be used—much of it in idle bank balances of business men and much of it in the enormous credit resources of the banks, to which the low interest rates attest. A combination of circumstances, of which the election was the last, prompted those who had access to his money to use it in stock speculation, and the frenzied behavior of the market is the result. What we are seeing is an unwarranted inflation of stock prices, which sooner or later will probably collapse close to the floor level.

If the above analysis is correct, the chief danger at present is that trade and industry will follow the example of the stock market and rush into an inflationary boom, bound to be temporary and injurious. We have during the past year often pointed out the possibility of such inflation in (Continued on next page)

Scientific Organization of Labor

By DR. HERMAN FRANK

A few months ago, there took place in Prague, Czechoslovakia, the first international congress for the scientific organization of Labor. The congress was convoked by the Prague Academy of Labor together with the committee of an American engineering society. Among the 252 European and forty-four American delegates there were present a number of outstanding scientists, engineers and trade unionists. A delegation of seven persons represented Soviet Russia where three years ago a central institute for the scientific organization of Labor had been formed.

This movement affects very closely each individual worker and the working class as a whole. Its purpose is quite simple: To make production as economical as possible and to eliminate waste of time and energy in industry. It affects the worker because, in the final analysis, human energy is still the most important production factor and every reorganization of technical processes in the factory, first of all, affects the worker.

The popular president of Czechoslovakia, Prof. Thomas Masaryk, has lived many years in America and is familiar with the American so-called system of scientific management. Little wonder, therefore, that he is endeavoring now to adapt the American system to European conditions in general and to the needs of the workers for whom Masaryk always retained warm sympathies, in particular. With this aim in view he aided in the forming in Prague of a Labor Academy which bears his name and which strives not merely to conduct research work but also to popularize ideas of scientific management among the masses.

"Scientific Management"

As stated, the system of scientific organization of work was first tried out in America. Its father was the engineer Frederic W. Taylor with whose name this system has been identified the world over for the last thirty years. According to Taylor, the processes of production must be organized on a scientific basis in the interests of both employer and worker. The moves of the worker at his task must be studied carefully and analyzed to the minutest detail in order to learn what part of the work-

ing processes and motions may be eliminated and how much time, material and energy could be saved. The numerous followers of Taylor have formulated, on the basis of his theory, a comprehensive system of practical devices for economy in production. Fundamental changes in factory management: centralized control and standardization—are some of the important principles of the Taylor system which slowly permeate deeper and deeper modern industry.

The system of scientific management did not meet, at first, with a cordial reception among organized workers. The trade unions frequently argued that the gain accruing from

tem lost a great deal of its former bitterness and the sharp antagonism centered about it abated considerably. Practical people came to see that the Taylor system could, under certain safeguards and conditions, be made not only harmless to the workers but even be of great use to them. It could hardly have been expected that the workers would receive the Taylor system with open arms, just as the laborers of England a hundred years ago had been anything but cordial in their reception of the labor-saving machinery which threw them out of their jobs by the thousand. Another generation of labor, however, had come to see that the machine is not its enemy but its greatest friend, as the new industrial civilization with its technical wizardry created conditions for an immense social and economic advance of the working masses.

The Taylor system can become a dangerous weapon in the hands of a capitalist employer but it can also be a useful and a good institution if applied with the sympathetic consent

The Shutdown

The mill's shut down; three months they say,
And maybe more, but anyway —
We're out of luck; there'll be no pay.
Now how about the eats.

Vacations are all very nice;
They add to life a little spice,
But when you haven't got the price,
It's quite another tale.

The family needs a shirt and that;
A pair of shoes, a shirt, a hat;
We've not enough to feed a cat,
And how about the rent?

But we'll pull through somehow we doubt;
No use our misery to spout.
And should the landlord throw us out,
We'll camp upon the street.

Thank God, the Company is all right;
The stockholder's safe and tight.
The storeholder can sleep at night,
Though we feel rather blue.

God feeds the little bumble bees;
The birds that fit among the trees,
The flies, mosquitoes and the fleas,
And we—well, we can starve.

But charity will do its part;
Soup kitchens will be on the mart.
And when the mills again do start,
We'll have our load of debts.

So they're shut down. They might as well;
They've been curtailing quite a spell.
It seems the country's going to hell.
Small loss! Then we'll go to!
—Anonymous.

raw materials and the means of transportation, etc.

Workers' Control in Industry

The first part of Taylor's life, about forty years ago, coincided with the early boom days of America's great industries. Small factories and shops were fast being converted into huge industrial units which later became combined into mammoth trusts. The condition of the workers was most unenviable; they were being mercilessly exploited by the "captains of industry," and their organizations have not yet grown sufficiently strong to offer serious resistance to the endeavors of capital to "Taylorize" industry for their own benefit exclusively.

The tremendous development of the American workers during the past twenty-five years has contributed to a change of their attitude with regard to the Taylor system. The trade unions are having today a voice in questions of factory management in American key industries and they, quite naturally, are in a position to have their opinion influence the application of such a significant industrial measure as scientific management and production.

The trade unions of Czechoslovakia are already using this right to a considerable extent by their participation in the work of the Prague Academy of Labor. They have ceased to regard the Taylor system as a menace to the workers, as the workers in America treated it about twenty-five years and the workers of Europe only fifteen years ago. The steady rush of realities is thus constantly raising new tasks for the workers, among which not the least important is the participation of the workers in the control and management of industry.

The second international congress for scientific organization of Labor will take place in Philadelphia in 1926. It is hardly necessary to say that it is very important for the American Labor unions to adequately prepare themselves for the role they can and ought to play at such a gathering.

ROCK OF AGES



—American Federationist

Review of November in Industry

(Continued from page 4)

view of the large amount of gold in this country and the low interest rates of the banks. There is no such increase in the purchasing power of wage earners and farmers as would warrant a rapid and enormous increase in the production and buying of goods. If such increase in production occurs it will be due to plentiful money and credit in the hands of dealers and manufacturers rather than of the ultimate consumer. That means that it would merely build up surplus stocks of goods which would lead to a crash later.

Three things would help to avoid such an unwholesome boom—prompt restriction of credit on the part of the Federal Reserve System the moment the signs of inflation occur in industry, caution on the part of business men in making too large forward commitments, and a slowly but steadily rising wage level, to increase the buying power of the industrial consumer and provide use for the surplus capital.

Increased productivity and even higher wages would be more than offset by the consequent injury to health and to the spirit of the worker resulting from intensified labor. Only the capitalist-employer would derive the major gains from the application of this system as to him it meant only greater output and greater profits, while the speed and the greater specialization required by the Taylor system would affect badly the physical and mental well-being of the workers converting them into living automata dominated and driven by the time-saving devices of the scientific manager-engineers. Workers Beginning to Change Attitude

The Taylor system, like many another innovation, has created a strong following and no less a powerful opposition. Only in later years has the fight around the Taylor sys-

tem and under the guidance of the workers. Then scientific organization of work may become an added means for the conquest of natural forces and for the utilization of the earth's wealth for the satisfaction of human needs. The Taylor system can be adapted to the interests of the workers if kept within definite limits. But only an extreme adherent of this system could maintain that it can lead to such an increase of production that would in itself be sufficient to solve the social problem. This is humbuggery pure and simple. Scientific production has discovered certain laws of production but has not affected any laws of distribution of production among the different social classes. As far as the working class is concerned it will fight for an equitable share in the distribution of production through its own union organization, through the social control of

JUSTICE

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EDITORIALS

THE MURDEROUS ATTACK ON VICE-PRESIDENT PERLSTEIN

Words fail us to give expression to our feeling of indignation and wrath over the attempt upon the life of Vice-president Meyer Perlstein and our scorn for the perpetrators of this heinous crime. Our contempt for the miscreants who planned and carried out this astoundingly plot is even greater because they themselves did not possess the courage to wreak their dark vengeance upon Brother Perlstein in person but hired some beasts of the underworld to do the bloody work for them.

Who these contemptible creatures are we cannot yet say with full certainty—long as proof positive of their identity is still not at hand—though in our heart we may be convinced that we know the ringleaders of this bloody affair. We know enough, however, to satisfy ourselves, by a process of elimination, as to who were not and could not possibly have been the perpetrators of this crime against our Union and the whole Labor movement.

Only a short time ago, the Cloakmakers' Union of New York had fought a bitter economic struggle as a result of which several hundred petty contractors were forced to go out of business. These ex-contractors, it can be easily imagined, have not at that time felt very kindly towards the Union—and especially towards its leaders. And if during the days of that struggle any of them would have made a murderous assault upon any of the leaders of the strike, horrible as such a crime might have been, we could, at least, have understood the motives behind it.

But, of course, it is out of question to suspect that any of these petty ex-bosses had committed the assault upon Perlstein. The fact is that Vice-president Perlstein has for years been away from this city and has taken no part in any of the New York struggles and has never come in contact with any of the local factors on the employers' side whose personal enmity he might have earned.

Is there any other group or element upon whom the suspicion for this attempt to murder Perlstein could be fastened? Brother Perlstein has waged, as International representative in the Midwest, a bitter fight against the so-called "lefts" in our Union in *Chicago*. This fight, however, has long since come to an end, and we must admit, even at its white-heat moments this conflict never assumed the form of personal assault. The "lefts" in *Chicago* have stooped to all sorts of despicable methods in combating Brother Perlstein but they never sank to the level of inflicting bodily injury upon him—a thing which could have been done with greater impunity in *Chicago* than, perhaps, in any other big American city.

It would be preposterous, therefore, to suppose that what these hotheads had not done nor contemplated of doing in *Chicago* during the heat of the fight, they would have attempted to carry out here, particularly now that Brother Perlstein is engaged in a task concerning which, as we understand it, all his former opponents in our Union are fully in agreement, namely, the consolidation of the former three cloak operators' locals of New York into one.

The thought that this assault may have been carried out by a personal enemy of Brother Perlstein should also be dismissed at once. Perlstein has no personal enemies nor friends outside the Union, especially in New York where he is practically a stranger. His whole life is absorbed by his activity in our Union, one of which leaders he is.

The question is still open—who could have staged this attack with intent to kill upon Brother Perlstein? Who could have gained by his removal from the scene of our activities? If logically considered, of course, this attempt on the life of Perlstein, even if it succeeded, could not have affected or changed any of the policies of the I. L. G. W. U. Only blind rage and the spur of ungovernable low instincts could have led any one to believe that such murderous tactics could make the International swerve one inch from its position or course.

The attack on Vice-president Perlstein obviously was an attack planned and directed not against him personally but an attack upon our International Union as a whole and the I. L. G. W. U. will not rest until it discovers the perpetrators of this crime which has filled with horror and indignation every member of our Union. It was an attempt aimed, through Brother Perlstein, at the tens of thousands of our workers who form the International Union, and we shall leave no stone unturned and no clue neglected until we bare the malefactors before the whole

WHY DON'T THEY KEEP THEIR WORD?

The officers of the so-called "reefer" local have stated in a telegram, two weeks ago, to President Samuel Gompers of the American Federation of Labor that they were ready to leave the whole matter in his hands and to abide by his decision. To that message President Gompers replied in a few terse unequivocal words: "Comply with the decision of your International and help carry it into practice!"

President Gompers has thus rendered his decision. The leaders of the "reefer" local have promised to abide by it. Why have they failed to live up to their promise? Why haven't they, immediately upon the receipt of Gompers' telegram, withdrawn their injunction suit? Why haven't they turned over their books and property to the secretary-treasurer of the International and made an end to this unseemly and on the whole disgusting procedure? How long will this handful of irresponsible fellows continue to defy the united judgment and opinion of the whole Labor movement?

This indefensible breach of the solemn promise made by this group of injunction procurers to President Gompers—a promise they obviously never intended to carry out—should serve as final and convincing proof of the utter unreliability of these fellows, of their total lack of integrity and sense of responsibility for their actions. We ask the few members of the local who still appear to cling to them: How long will they follow these few men who have made such a sorry exhibit of themselves before the world of Labor and have brought such infamy upon their adherents and the organization they were supposed to represent?

UNITY HOUSE—AN INTERNATIONAL SUMMER HOME

From its earliest days, we have more than once maintained that the splendid estate in the Blue Ridge mountains of Pennsylvania acquired by the Union to serve as a summer place for our workers, should be owned and managed not by a single local but become the property of the whole I. L. G. W. U. Under the management of one local, we stated, the Unity House could be neither efficiently administered nor could it extend equal hospitality to all the members of our Union, no matter how sincerely its managers may have desired it.

The experience of the last few years has only tended to strengthen our belief that the Unity House should become the property of the entire International Union. Moreover, its owners, the dress makers' local of New York, have themselves become convinced that the Unity House cannot fulfill its purpose if it is to remain under their sole charge. The House grew by leaps and bounds but the demands upon it have grown even faster. More room has to be made for the ever-growing family of visitors; a number of costly improvements have to be introduced in order to make the house a place of real rest and genuine comfort, and the local, with its limited means, could not afford to make this investment and to meet the constantly expanding needs of the Forest Park House.

The Unity House has now become, by mutual agreement, the property of the International Union. The General Office is already at work on the long renovation plans, and by the time the next season, the season of 1925, will have arrived, these plans will be fully completed. There is a pleasant surprise in store for Unity guests next summer; the new management of the House intends to leave nothing undone to make it the most comfortable and attractive summer place in the whole region.

We have a proposal to advance to our members—in New York and elsewhere—that might serve as a means of making sure that during next summer they will find it within their means to take a little vacation.

It is not a new plan, but that, of course, does not detract from its worth-whileness. It happens frequently that when vacation time comes around, during the summer months, which coincide with the slack months in the garment trades, that a great many of our workers find themselves short of funds required for a two-weeks' stay in the country. We would suggest, therefore, that our members form vacation clubs in all shops, elect a treasurer and contribute weekly, during the busy months, a certain small sum that would go towards the raising of a sum sufficient to cover their expenses of a couple of weeks' stay in the Unity House. These contributions would have to be made to the treasurer promptly—on the penalty of loss of membership in the club, so that by the end of the busy season, the workers in each shop would be definitely assured that they could take their well-earned rest when vacation time arrives.

These vacation clubs in the shops may each work out their own regulations with regard to the time they would prefer to take their vacation at the House. They may take it all at the same time or individually as they please. There is no doubt that these clubs would introduce closer and friendlier relations between the workers and would, on the whole, add a great deal to the spirit of unity which so characterizes our Forest Park House and is the cornerstone of our entire Union.

We believe it is a desirable plan and one that can be materialized without difficulty in every shop. We should like to hear from our members concerning it—particularly from those who favor it and who are ready at once to take steps to realize it.

Economic Problems of Soviet Russia

2.

Berlin, November 24.

We have observed in our preceding article the tragic paradox in which Soviet Russia finds itself today. Its political regime demands and presupposes the highest form of economic development and industrial technique while its economic reality shows a disheartening backwardness and even a regression as compared with other industrial countries. It is not an exaggeration to state that Russia is fast becoming a land of Hilipintus industrial enterprises.

The Bolsheviks who are aware that such a state of affairs cannot endure for long and that the political system of a country must in the end adapt itself to the demands of its economic life—if the latter does catch up to the conditions of its political regime—are frantically endeavoring to solve this contradiction of the Russian reality and seeking a way out of this impossible situation.

International Loans

For a long time there persisted in Russia a hope of obtaining a huge international loan from abroad which would make possible the purchase of implements and machinery necessary for the exploitation of the immense natural wealth of the country. On this hope great stress had been laid, and for the attainment of this object the Soviet regime was ready to make a number of sacrifices—not all of them of a material character. This hope, however, has failed, and even the comparatively small loan of thirty million pounds which the late English Government had consented to advance to the Soviets, is raising today on the Continent a tremendous amount of opposition. The international capitalist class, it would seem, has principles of its own, and after it had failed to destroy Soviet Russia in active open warfare, it is loath to help it out of its difficulties by as much as the lifting of a hand abroad though the lure of fat interest rates is held out to it. We are, no doubt, face to face with a silent international boycott of the money market against Soviet Russia, and the only loans the latter might expect to obtain from the international financiers are, perhaps, short-term advances in goods, which could not even approach the solving of the fundamental Russian problems.

Help from Inside

This disappointment has caused in Russia, in recent months, a new turn in the direction of seeking relief for this disheartening state of affairs within the confines of Russia proper. Since the hope for a loan from abroad has gone more or less a-glimmering, an effort is being made to call upon the workers in Russia itself for greater sacrifices and returns, to make Russian industry pay its way and to accumulate money for the improvement of the industrial technique of the country through Russia's own resources. This new policy is definitely outlined in a speech delivered recently by Kamenev before the Moscow Soviet in which he pointed out that the textile industry in Russia is yielding but 55% of its pre-war output and that the big metallurgical plants, which in 1913 with 99,000 workers had turned out 173,000,000 golden rubles worth of products have produced in 1924 with 80,000 workers but 96,000,000 rubles worth of goods.

"Everywhere," he states, "have the wages of the workers exceeded the productivity of Labor," and (according to "Trud" of October 1st):

"I cannot thus continue. This is a breakdown. The worker receives for his labor 60% of what he used to, but he produces only 30% of his former output; in other words, we are

"The Second Trial of the Russian Proletariat"

(Special Correspondence to JUSTICE)

By LEON CHASANOWICH

running the country in a way that will make us soon "go through the chimney." In the future the fund for wages should be found nowhere but in industry itself, and we must all work in the direction of eliminating the differences between the workers' wages and their production yield in the process of the development of industry." Kamenev declares as false the opinion that only through organizational and technical improvements can Russian industry be placed on a paying basis. He further reminds his audience that while the State had adopted a budget of but six hundred million rubles, it will need not less than three or four times that amount. Even the small budget adopted, however, is not assured. The taxes on the agricultural population bring only half of the estimated figure; the excises and the taxation of the bourgeoisie are not sufficient to cover the other half. It could be seen therefore that industry must contribute a greater share towards the State budget.

Very characteristic is the following part of his speech:

"We are building a Communist economy and are building it without the aid of the bourgeoisie. We were compelled to face two trials in the course of this constructive effort. The first was a trial by fire and we have passed it successfully. Now we are confronted by the problem: Are the masses clear-headed enough to pass the second trial, i. e., shall we be able to construct a better economy than the one maintained by the bourgeois State? The bourgeois profits have been derived from the hunger and exploitation of the masses. We must make therefore the people not poorer but more prosperous. This trial we have not yet passed. In 1919, Vladimir Ilyich Lenin said in his article about the Communist 'Saturday workers' that the productivity of Labor is the most essential thing, the most vital thing for the success of the workers' own."

The problem of the economy of the Soviet State is thus put forth sharply and boldly in Kamenev's speech. He states, for instance, that the Russian worker not only does not create any surplus value but, on the other hand, gets a wage 100% higher than what he produces. In other words, he accuses the Russian industrial worker with being an exploiter. For, if there is someone in Russia who is getting more for his labor than what he is entitled to, there obviously must be someone who is receiving less than the wage he ought to get. Who, then, is being exploited in Russia today? The peasant, naturally—for, as Ginzburg stated in a former address before the National Council of Economy, "only the village creates a surplus of products in Russia today." The economic relations between the city worker and the moujik in Soviet Russia are thus very similar to the relations between a capitalist and a worker in capitalist society. Now, let us see how this "exploiter" lives in Soviet Russia these days.

The central organ of Russian trade unions, "Trud," says:

"The wages of the workers in the heavy industry represent but a half of the pre-war wage, while in the light industry it has reached nearly the condition of the period before the war." How "splendid" the economic condition of the Russian proletariat

was before the war is generally known. Yet, that condition is today the ideal of the Russian workers. And when one compares present wages with the wages of a decade ago, one must bear in mind that the real worth of wages is today much lower than ten years ago, that for the same amount of money the worker can obtain much less today. If the worker in light industry received today nominally as much as he did ten years ago, he earns in fact a great deal less and if the worker in heavy industry gets but half of what he used to get, he actually earns much less than half of that.

How, then, has the Russian industrial worker, according to Kamenev's declaration, become an exploiter with regard to the peasant? That can be explained only on the ground that Russian industry has, on the one hand, slunk backward and that, secondly, the industrial worker is working today far less intensively than what he used to. It is on this last point that the greatest emphasis is being laid in Russia at present. What Kamenev expressed in his speech before the Moscow Soviet is not merely the opinion of a single leader but the judgment of the entire Communist party and its organs—i. e., of entire official Russia. The central committee of the Communist party adopted on this subject some very earnest decisions embodied in a resolution, which is one of the most remarkable documents of present-day Russia. The resolution begins by registering the fact that in "the fourteen most important branches of nationalized industry" the value of the productivity of each worker has grown from October, 1922, to January, 1924, from four rubles and thirty-eight kopecks to five rubles and forty kopecks—23%, while the average wages in these branches of industry increased almost 90%." The resolution remarks that this process of constant growth of the workers' wages has been quite natural, but that "the existence of such a permanent relationship between wages and productivity in industry is a menace to the interests of industry in the State."

"The development of industry," the resolution continues, "the power of the State, the opportunity for a further regular growth of the workers' wages and its fixation at the present level, all demand a reversed relationship, a greater growth of production on the part of every participant in industry. The growth of the workers' productivity must keep pace with the growth of the workers' wages."

And here is the proposed new course:

"The slogan of the day must therefore be—A steady progress of the productivity of work, the expansion of production, the lowering of the cost of industry. The entire attention, all forces must be bent to this effect." A number of practical measures are enumerated and it is decreed that in the branches of lighter industry where the wages are higher "the further increases in wages must be stopped." In the transport, mining and metal industries "account must be taken, when increasing wages, of the economic relations and the possibilities of the given industry."

The Communist party therefore demands that the workers cease for the time thinking about getting more wages. It demands, however, something else in addition, namely: "As the most important problem in the realm of the wage policy we must consider the question of the increase of both individual and general Labor productivity."

In other words, it decrees that the workers ask for no higher wages but work harder and more energetically

INTERNATIONAL CALENDAR

By H. SCHOOLMAN

This Week Twelve Years Ago

The firm of A. Heller & Co. has carried on for some time a system of discrimination against shop workers as found scant favor in the eyes of the foremen by cutting them off from work entirely or by reducing the amount given to them.

The workers finally complained to the Union against this practice. The Union made a vigorous protest and the foreman, Mr. Schmitt, was compelled to leave the shop.

Brother Wisniewski, manager of the Brownsville office of the Joint Board, reports that he has under his control 114 shops, 90 of which belong to contractors, 28 to sub-manufacturers and four are stores. 71 of these shops manufacture cloaks, 23 make shirts and the rest make miscellaneous work. The total of workers employed in them is 2,919, of whom 2,666 are Jews, 265 Italians and 48 are Poles. Only 5 shops have introduced electric presses for ironing the garments.

A district council under the rules of the I. L. G. W. U. is formed of all the international locals in Chicago. It has 12 delegates from each of three delegates from each local. The officers are H. Stranberg, President, S. Morris, Treasurer, S. Lieberman, Secretary.

than before. It takes courage on the part of a workers' party and a workers' government to address such a demand to industrial workers and one must, without reserve, recognize this moral daring of the Russian Communist party and of all its organs which are now making proposals in the name of the above enumerated slogans. Whether these measures will achieve any results, is a different matter. It is possible to induce the proletariat to exert a maximum of intensity in production, and, second, if this is achieved—will Russian industry begin to pay its way, produce cheaper and make possible the accumulation of capital for substantial technical improvement?

The propaganda in the direction outlined by the Russian Communist party is, nevertheless, proceeding with unabated vigor. The trade unions are taking a strong part in this agitation. Concerning these unions the above-referred to resolution says: "Under the dictatorship of the proletariat the trade unions must consider the increase of productivity their own cause," and calls upon them not to set forth any wage demands before fully considering the means and the wants of the given enterprise and of the whole industry, and that with the consent of the directing organs of the party only."

This surely is not a comfortable position for the Russian trade union to occupy.

Step By Step

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

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

BUY
WHITE LILY TEA
COLUMBIA TEA
ZWETOCHNI CHAI

Exclusively

-:- Blind Pockets -:-

By AARON CHIZINSKY

Wednesday I was happy. So I fed my machine madness and "dhe" vomited heaps of finished pockets. I was happy. For I received a letter from my tall, dark-eyed, hump-nosed, bobbed and bibbled button sewer,—so what did I care for the fatherland? This turned out to be the cause of a scrap I am going to tell you about. My co-pocket-tacker on my left unmuffled to me in the most proletarian terms an A to Z account of his most serene, most moonlit, starlit family prerogatives. The belt stitcher on my right told me how he fought on the barricades in the year 1905. But who cared? I was drunk with joy and energy so I harried my machine until the circumstance squeezed out a smile from the red face of my boss. Then he began to move in my direction. "Hey, lissen, man, a dretter," he asked me. This is his method for conveying to me appreciation of my diligence. I hurled it to him over my shoulder—indifferent whether he got it or not.

"I say, Art, Archie, how is the social-revolution?" This is another form of approach. "Say, lissen, when youse gois to 'natiosle' then women in this country you let me have about a half a dozen? You know I was kind to the working class. Wouldst you oblige an old friend and let him have some six of 'em when you abolish private property in wivres?"

At other times I would have told him that he is a fat idiot. But then I would not profane my breath to say a word to him. In my fancy I saw the world-embracing eyes and the cloud-melting smile of my girl. Everything else seemed chaos and didn't matter.

Late in the evening. People had left the park. For the first time in the last three weeks—since we two quarrelled over trade union tactics—we found ourselves curled up in each

other upon a bench overlooking the lake. The opposite bank was studded with lamp lights which twinkled like the windows of a distant village in the night and were reflected in the water like red-hot swords. Locked in my arms I held what you might call a concentrated solar system. I only wanted to my desk break up into infinitesimal meteorites that should everlastingly be attracted to my charming star-conglomerate. Brother, did you ever kiss a planetary system?

* * *

Quoth that system: "Tell me, are you attending your union meetings regularly?"

"O, sweetheart! Why in the world do you want to talk about union meetings at this time of the moon?" It seemed to my sense of ideal love that it be stripped of whatsoever trade union drapery that it may have been cast upon it—for its own welfare.

My pleadings did not avail. So I resorted to retribution. To punish her I told her that I hate the masses, that if you'd squeeze a proletarian a John D. Midget (for biographical names look up Webster's) would spring out, that their greatest fault is mental laziness, their greatest virtue—well, of this they have none whatever.

My words took effect. She tried to cover every disagreeable part on the proletariat with traditional rage: poverty, big families, bread and butter questions, religious influence, etc. But I pulled down her arguments and bared—to her dismay—all sorts of bothersome growths: pinochle, poker, beer, gossip, etc.

By the time the working class had been muffled and unmuffled violently between us two for a dozen times, the moon had completed its roost and had sunk with a begrimed nose somewhere in Columbia Circle; our quarrel had

attained the breaking point of silence. A few minutes later silence parted us.

Thursday morning. I woke up early. So did my headache. I sat up—my headache revolved upon an axis that had its pins in my right and left temples respectively. To drink or not to drink a flask of iodine—that bored my mind. I wanted rest, rest, and Jennie's remorseful eyes to look at me and her hands to cool my head.

What the degree harassed my frame—as though myriads of ugly insects crept upon me and drove their proboscides into my flesh?

Five minutes too late! Not afraid of the boss, but I hate his presence near me, I do. The machines, like two lines of black bull-terriers, raged and grunted while the operators, with shirt-sleeves rolled up and bowed necks, annoyed them ceaselessly.

No sooner did I take my seat than the boss stood at my right side: "Say, I don't mind that you are a season-stretcher. If I been an 'arbitrator' I might be I do the same. What's the different? But, mind you, I don't say nothin' about stretchin' out the seasons, you nistand? Like last time there was only one day's work in the shop and youse people pulled it out down to three days, you nistand? I ain' kickin'—you nistand? But! I say—But!"

"Please, Mr. Shenker, what's troubling you?" I asked him. Then one of his eyes overbalanced its corporate partner.

"It don't trouble you that you made the pockets spangled, blind and cock-eyed. (The proletariat, with sleeves tucked up, smiled and giggled.) It don't bother you when them overcoats come back. It don't bother you when

"Mr. Shenker, please pick out all the spoiled pockets and let me repair them during the lunch hour."

"Fiyah, tye, tye, tye—repair—reshair!" (an explosion of laughter from the working class). You think you can be loadin' around with girls every night and come to sleep away nine hours in the shop and get paid

for it? I—I—I—I—"

"Mr. Shenker, I want you not to say another word about my girls."

"What's matter? Who are they anyway?" And then his mouth released a quantity of verbal mud upon womanhood.

Love and hate—each one at its extreme—sometimes impel one to great deeds; in the one it may often be self-destruction, in the other it assumes a transitive aspect. For this reason unreasoned I sincerely lifted my fist to crush Mr. Shenker. It did not crush him. But . . . the soft satisfaction!

At the next executive board meeting of our local my boss brought charges against me, namely, that I attacked him. I brought charges against him, namely, that he insulted our womanhood and myself.

I was placed under perpetual parole—in plain words—under the dangerously dangling legs of a progressive fine—beginning with fifteen dollars " . . . in case I don't behave in the future"—which I don't.

What Is Slavery?

'Tis to work and have such pay As just keeps life from day to day In your limbs, as in a cell, For the tyrant's use to dwell.

'Tis to be slain in duel And to hold so strong control Over your own will, but be All that others make of ye.

So that ye for them are made, Loom and plow and sword and spade, 'With or without your own will, bent To their defense and nourishment.

'Tis to see our children weak With their mothers pine and peak, When the winter winds are bleak— They are dying while I speak.

'Tis to hunger for such diet As the rich man in his riot Casts to the fat dogs that lie Surfeiting beneath his eye.

And at length when you complain, With a murmur weak and vain, 'Tis to see the tyrant crew Ride over your wivres and you.

Men of labor, heirs of glory, Heroes of unwritten story, Nurrlings of one mighty mother, Hopes of her and one another, Rise like lions after slumber In unvanquishable number; Shake your chains to earth like dew Which, in sleep, have fallen on you! Ye are many, they are few.

—SHELLEY.

-:- The War In Pictures -:-

The "Free Youth" Press has just published a book of war-pictures, with explanations in English, French, German and Dutch. The book, which was compiled by Ernst Friedrich, will at once take a foremost place among anti-war books. It reminds us of facts which are within the memory of all of us; facts which we should like to forget, but which must not be forgotten if man is to retain permanently his present horror of war. What the pictures do is to show us with merciless realism the war as it is, nothing more or less than the most atrocious murder committed by men who had acquired the utmost technical efficiency in the art of killing. The writer makes use of the most effective and reliable material—photographs taken in the war itself. The comments, which are extremely apt, and are arranged in chronological order, do the rest.

Before and After

We see, for instance, a picture of a railway carriage crammed to overflowing with jubilant heroes bound for the front, and, chalked on the carriage, the jesting inscriptions: "To the Shooting Match at Paris!" "Keep hammering it," etc. We see the smiling, reserved, armed to the teeth, having his photograph taken for his family in the midst of a smiling landscape before he goes to the "joyous little war"; and we see men like him a few days later being lowered in great formless heaps into a black grave, the sides of which are bespattered with blood and mud

Men Without Faces

We see the photographs of men whose whole faces have been shot away, men on whom thirty operations have been performed, men who are still undergoing treatment in the hope of covering ghastly eye-holes with skin from other parts of the body or replacing nose and chin. Thousands of such men are still in hospitals, where they have to be fed by artificial means. Their faces are like cabbage heads which have been trodden underfoot, and for many of them the only alleviating circumstance is the fact that, being blind, they do not know how terrible they look. Many of these pictures are so unappealingly horrible that, as we turn over the pages, we ask ourselves whether it can be right to publish such abominations.

We Must Not Forget!

The answer is: Yes these terrible records must be kept! Pious phrases gave observations concerning the economic results of the war, hair-splitting arguments as to whether wars are offensive or defensive—none of these can make so deep an impression upon mankind as the prospect, if there should be more wars, of possibly having to pass the rest of one's life with a bit of one's thigh transplanted to hide cavernous holes in one's face. If such pictures were to be put in history books, they might indeed frighten children on dark nights. But which is worst, the fears of a nervous child, or the realities of the future, if the misled millions go out again to unspeakable torture, mutilation and death?

What Man Becomes in War

Apart from the atrocities inseparable from war itself the book also shows up the demoralizing effects of war on the normal man. We are shown the naked corpses of men, who have been robbed of the last thread of clothing before being thrown into their last resting place, in mass graves, from which in ordinary circumstances we should shrink in horror. We are shown long rows of hanged men, or whose heads the soldiers, to amuse themselves, have put upon hats, while they have had themselves photographed with their victims, just as an ordinary man likes to have himself photographed with his favorite possession his violin, his cycle, or what not. Pages of the book are filled with photographs of gallows, hanged men, and men who have been shot standing! For the use of one army alone, 11,400 gallows were erected.

Looking at such pictures men crucified, women violated in public places, etc., we understand how it is that there has been so terrible a wave of criminality since the war. Such criminality is both the direct and indirect consequence of the war—and it will prove more difficult to overcome than the economic and financial results of which we hear so much.

Is It Worth While?

If, as we close, Friedrich's book, we call to mind other mental pictures of the starvation, suffering and crime of the ten years which have passed since the outbreak of war, and realize what agonizing pain and a long drawn-out fight against death mean for a single individual, we are forced to admit that the price would be too high to pay even for the establishment of a paradise on earth.

Rand School Notes

On Saturday, December 13, at 1:30 p. m., Dr. Scott Nearing will discuss "Mexico inaugurates a President," in his Current Events class at the Rand School, 7 East 15th street.

On Saturday, December 13, at 3:30 p. m., Miss Jessica Smith will talk on "Three Years in Russia," at the Rand School.

On Monday, December 15, at 8:30 p. m., Mr. August Claessens conducts his class in "Public Speaking and Debating," at the Rand School.

On Wednesday, December 17, at 8:30 p. m., Mr. David P. Berenberg will discuss "The Congress of Vienna," in his class in "Modern World History," at the Rand School.

On Wednesday, December 17, at 8:30 p. m., Mr. Johan Smertens will discuss "The Firebrand," at the Rand School.

On Thursday, December 11, at 7 p. m., Dr. Scott Nearing will discuss the question "Can a Radical Political Party be Established in the United States?", at the Rand School.

On Friday, December 19, at 8:30 p. m., Mr. Herman Epstein will discuss "Music of Our Day, and What Next?", at the Rand School.



DOMESTIC ITEMS

Value of Unionism Is Vividly Shown

Nowhere in the world can a more illuminating object lesson on the benefits of organization be presented than in a comparison of the wages, hours and working conditions of the unionized municipal railway men and the non-union Market street railway men of San Francisco, which run side by side, and even in some instances on the same streets with the municipal line.

Incredible as it may seem, the non-union employees in San Francisco are working for twenty cents an hour less than the Union men receive and with a work day from ten to eleven hours, spread over twelve to fifteen hours' time, and they have no vacation, with pay, as is enjoyed by the union men.

The organized workers have the eight-hour day and two weeks' vacation with full pay each year, and better working conditions.

Many attempts have been made to organize these low paid non-union men, but their ranks are found to be infested with spies and informers, ex-strikebreakers, etc., from all over the country.

Coal Lockout Looms; Wage-Cuts Demanded

Before leaving El Paso, Texas, after adjournment of the American Federation of Labor convention, John L. Lewis, President of the United Mine Workers, said a general lockout of bituminous coal miners on April 1 is urged in certain quarters.

President Lewis informed members of the American Federation of Labor executive council that the proposed attack on the miners is the first general assault on present wages in the various basic industries. The miners' strike of 1922, said President Lewis, forced an abandonment of general wage reductions at that time.

Coal owners who favor a lockout have figured that the resultant coal shortage, together with the opportunity to raise prices, will permit them to continue the operation of high-cost and poorly-managed mines. The last wage conference of miners and coal owners discussed the closing of these mines. Anthracite coal owners, it is stated, are making money.

Union Bank Officers Predict High Prices

Warning that the public must pay for the Wall Street stock boom in increased prices, unless checked promptly, has been issued by M. J. Murphy, Vice-president of the Federation Bank of New York, and H. Parker Willis, member of the board of directors. Both men have been members of the Federal Reserve Board. They declare it is within the power of the Federal reserve system to check speculation which has added \$3,000,000,000 in fictitious values to corporation stock in the last month.

Buyers' strikes are already talked of, as the index levels of the necessities of life are rapidly rising, prices listed by the Bureau of Labor Statistics going from 148.8 in September to 151.9 in October. Mr. Murphy, who is an authority on the relation of credit and prices, said:

"It is in the power of the Federal reserve machinery to effectively stop the speculation which is in evidence.

"The time has arrived when the nation's gold reserve and currency issuing power should be administered in the interest of the nation, and to unify and stabilize our banking system. If we applied scientific credit control, in the early part of 1919, we might have saved much of the disasters that culminated in 1920 and 1921."

Bakery Trust Attacked

The new super-bakery trust is opposed by the milling interests and Governors of wheat growing States. The large purchasing power of the new trust frightens the millers, who will be forced to lower prices when a purchasing agent who has at his disposal an order for 5,000,000 barrels of flour appears on the market.

The millers also object to the trust's plan to secure new business from the housewives of the country. It is stated that fifty per cent of the nation's bread is baked in homes. This is a profitable field for millers because the distribution of flour by sack through the local grocery store is done at a much higher price than if that flour is sold in bulk to the bakery trust.

Porto Rico Frauds Protected By Labor

The outrages committed on Porto Rico workers at the last election should be investigated by Congress, according to declarations by the El Paso convention of the American Federation of Labor.

It is charged that the reactionary element in that island resorted to coercion and other illegal means to rob the workers of their well-earned election victory.

"When the sovereignty of Porto Rico was transferred," the convention resolution declared, "from monarchical Spain to Democratic America, the workers of Porto Rico rejoiced in the hope that under the constitution and flag of our country, that liberty, justice and democracy would be the happy end of conditions in which they were forced to work and live. These exploited people have been just as ruthlessly robbed of their economic rights by the privileged few, smoke screened under our glorious Stars and Stripes, as they were when held in subjection by Spain."

The convention declared that it is not possible "that in Porto Rico, an American territory, under an American jurisdiction, the laws of the land be violated, the American institutions of freedom be abolished, citizenship be outraged and elections held in such a way as to be a degradation of the American principles of universal suffrage. The people of the United States can not be indifferent to such attempts on a peaceful and law-abiding community."

FOREIGN ITEMS

CHINA

Child Labor in China

After careful preliminary work the Child Labor Commission of Shanghai has submitted to the Town Council of the International Colony of that city a report on the terrible conditions of Chinese child labor, especially in the cotton and match industries.

Many factories employ little children, the oldest of whom are not more than six years of age; and these children are at work in factories where work is continuous, and the day divided into two shifts only. There are twice as many women employed as children, but the number of accidents among the children is one hundred per cent more than among the women; of these accidents twenty-nine per cent total disablement and three per cent fatal. Twenty-two per cent of the child patients in the factory hospitals are tuberculous, and thirty-two per cent are suffering from infectious diseases.

The report urges that in future no child shall be employed who is not over twelve years of age; also it advocates a weekly day or rest, the establishment of a shorter working day, and better conditions generally, under Government control.

A Trade Union Movement in China

"Informations Sociales" announces that, after long preliminary work, which was very difficult because there is so little contact and cooperation between the various unions, a national federation of trade unions has been founded in China.

The new federation comprises seventy-six organizations, with a total membership of nearly 200,000. The speeches at the opening ceremonies show that the federation has a Socialist basis, its chief tasks being declared to be the fight against capitalism, against the militarists of Northern China, and against the foreign imperialistic powers.

The meeting declared strongly in favor of Sun-Yat-Sen, who is very popular in Labor circles, and a champion of the above program. It may be assumed that the defeat of Wu-Pei-Fu in Northern China will make its influence felt in Southern China. When the fight between the military dynasties is over, the class conflict will begin.

GERMANY

Will the Trade Unions Be Consulted?

Negotiations are now pending for a commercial treaty between France and Germany. At previous negotiations of the same kind, which took place at Spa and Genoa, trade union representatives were invited to attend; now the trade unions are passed over, although the eight-hour day may play a considerable part in the negotiations.

As it is clear that the trade unions are very deeply concerned in the prosperity of German industry, the General Federation of Trade-Unions has addressed a letter to the Ministry of Economics, expressing its surprise at not having been invited to take part in the negotiations, and asking the reason for the omission. It asks for due representation upon the Negotiations Commission which is to be formed to determine the provisions of the Franco-German Treaty, and also that it may be consulted in all future negotiations concerning commercial treaties. The Minister of Economics is asked to send a reply.

INDIA

Labor Legislation in India

The Government of India has introduced two bills dealing with Labor. The first is the Trade Unions Bill, which provides for the optional registration of trade unions. Such registration is useful to protect the unions and their members from prosecution for the furtherance of strikes, but the protection proposed in the bill is not so far-reaching as in the corresponding British act. It is not quite clear whether the bill would or would not permit of the expenditure of trade union funds for Labor congresses, propaganda work or election purposes. The second bill, the Trade Disputes Investigation Bill, sets up machinery to investigate and settle trade disputes. Strikes in the public utility service are declared in this bill to be illegal.

Two other bills brought forward by labor leaders are: The Maternity Benefit Bill, providing maternity benefit for women for the six weeks following confinement; and the Weekly Payments Bill, to compel the employer to pay wages on a weekly basis, and thus save the workers from the clutches of mill managers or money lenders.

MEXICO

The Uses of Castor Oil

The American owners of the Mexican silver mines in Pachuca believe in castor oil as part of their special Taylor efficiency system.

Whenever the quantity of silver mined is below expectations, the workers are suspected of stealing, and given castor oil several days in succession, until the official in charge is convinced that the workers are not guilty and have not swallowed any metal. The foreign owner is not prosecuted for this.

The American owners pay a starvation wage in the silver mines, and a worker rarely lasts more than six years.



EDUCATIONAL COMMENT AND NOTES



Our Study Classes

It is already the sixth week since the courses started in our Workers' University, and we are in a position now to appreciate the general advance we are making in our educational activities.

One of the happy signs is that the attendance is continuous, whereas, formerly, we had people "coming and going." At present those who are attending our classes have learned to appreciate the value of continuous study, and as a result of this we are now having study groups.

It is encouraging to note our Sunday morning classes. So many of our members who are compelled to get up early in the morning during the week and rush to work formerly used to look forward to Sunday morning when they could "indulge in sleep." Now they look forward to another enjoyment—the Sunday morning courses.

On Saturday afternoons, at 1:30, hundreds of our members assemble in the beautiful room at Washington Irving High School to listen to a lecture on literature, which is inspiring presented by Mr. R. J. R. Stolper. From these lectures they acquire the ideas of English and American great men of letters, who, as in other nations, were the forefathers of the social forces that were and are in process, that tend to mold our social, economic and political life.

An hour later, at 2:30, they discuss the policies and tactics of the Amer-

ican Trade Union Movement, under the direction of Dr. Paul Brissenden. In this course an attempt is made by the students and the instructor to interpret the Labor movement to the workers; its motives, and the social forces that influence its aims, policies and tactics.

On Sunday morning, at 10:30, Dr. H. A. Overstreet gives his course on the "Psychology of Conflict," where the class analyzes the conflict of motives that is constantly displayed in society.

At 11:30, a course in the "Industrial Development of Modern Society" is given by Dr. H. J. Cerman. In this class the teacher and students discuss the effect of industrial development on the status of the worker in society, and also stress the place the industrial worker occupies in modern society, and the role that he is to play in bringing about fundamental changes.

The shorter work week which our members have obtained through the strenuous efforts of their union makes it possible for them to develop spiritually and intellectually through the courses and lectures provided by the Educational Department of our International Union. The store of information and knowledge that they will obtain in this way will increase the intelligence and usefulness of their union and will benefit them in particular and the Labor movement in general.

The Aim of Workers' Education

Parliamentary action, in short, is only auxiliary to the upbuilding of a strong working class movement, equipped and eager for the exercise of power. Trade Unionism is more important than the Labor Party, because it is the basis not only of the Labor Party and of the workers' industrial action, but also of the whole organization of the workers for the conquest of power. Trade unionism is the central and essential working class instrument, on which not only the Labor Party but also the co-operative movement ought to be firmly based. And, because trade unionism is the basis of the whole struggle, the trade unions ought to aim above all at equipping their members to strive in that struggle, both industrially and politically and in every other sphere of working class action.

The New Standards has been from the outset above all an educational paper, concerned to promote above all serious trade union action in the sphere of working class education. Nothing matters more than this. Trade unionism is weak and ineffective largely because only a tiny fraction of trade unionists have any clear understanding of the realities of the world situation, of their own economic position in capitalist society, or of the tasks before them in the conquest of power. This is largely for lack of opportunity. The trade unions in the past have not made it any part of their purpose to educate their members, or even to give their members any chance of education, in these vital matters. There are a few exceptions; but what we say has been true of the movement as a whole.

It is no longer completely true. Indeed, we believe the battle for trade union control of working class education has been won, though the fruits of victory are still mostly to be gathered. The trade union congress has at length recognized its serious

responsibility in the matter, and decided to take a share in the control of the various working class educational bodies. One trade union after another is adopting a definite educational scheme for its members, in conjunction either with the Workers' Educational Association or with the National Council of Labor Colleges. Before long we believe the quarrel between these rivals will die out, as a result of changes in both which will follow their new relationship to the trade union movement. They may not unite; for they have largely different functions; but they will learn to work together under the common control of the trade union movement.

The workers do not want "education for education's sake." No sensible human being ever wanted "education for education's sake." Some seek it in order to get on in life, some in order to increase their capacity for enjoyment and appreciation of the world around them, some in order to serve better the causes in which they believe, most from a mixture of motives in which one or other of these predominates. For the trade unions and the workers' movement, the most important aspect of education is its power to make better trade unionists, capable of fuller and more intelligent service to the workers' cause. This motive therefore, will predominate in education under trade union control. But the trade unionist has also a right and a need to enlarge his capacity for enjoyment and appreciation of the good things of life, and this enlargement is in reality an aspect of the struggle for power hardly less vital than the industrial and political struggle. If we are to make a new workers' society better than the old, the workers must master and improve upon the arts and the learning which have grown

(Continued on Page 11)

WORKERS' UNIVERSITY

Washington Irving High School
Irving Place and 16th St.
Room 530

Saturday, December 13

1:30 p. m. B. J. R. Stolper—Clear Voices in English and American Literature.

2:30 p. m. Paul Brissenden—Current Trade Union Problems: Collective Bargaining in the Railroads—The Brotherhoods.

Sunday, December 14

10:30 a. m. H. A. Overstreet—Psychology of Conflict: Psychology of Competition.

11:30 a. m. H. J. Cerman—The Industrial Development of Modern Society: Agricultural Revolution.

INTERNATIONAL LADIES' GARMENT WORKERS' BUILDING
3 West 16th Street

Wednesday, December 17

7:30 p. m. Alexander Fichandler—Psychology and the Labor Movement: Psychology of Praise, Attention and Power.

Thursday, December 18

6:30 p. m. Sylvia Kopald—Economics and the Labor Movement: The Distribution of Human Wants—Satisfaction.

Thursday, January 8, 1925

7:30 p. m. Alexander Fichandler—Psychology and the Labor Movement. In these discussions we shall study some of the fundamental laws of human behavior. We shall analyze some of the instincts that urge us to want to fight, to create, to lead, to follow, etc. We shall also analyze some of the laws which underlie the progress of human reasoning. Illustrations will be drawn from the workers' experience.

UNITY CENTERS

Tuesday, December 16

Bronx Unity Center—P. S. 61
Crotona Park East and Charlotte Street

8:45 p. m. Theresa Wolfson—Changing Economic Institutions: How is wealth distributed; wages, profits, rents, income. "To each according to his needs." Concepts of Mill, Marx, Mitchell.

Wednesday, December 17

East Side Unity Center—P. S. 63
Fourth Street near First Avenue

8:45 p. m. A. L. Wilbert—Social and Economic Forces in American History: Natural Resources.

EXTENSION DIVISION

Friday, December 12

Russian-Polish Branch, Cloak Operators' Union—315 E. 10th Street
7:30 p. m. A. Vetingin—Europe After the War.

YIDDISH

Club Rooms, Local 2—1581 Washington Avenue, Bronx
7:30 p. m. B. Hoffman—The First Attempt of American Trade Unionism in an Independent Political Struggle.

Saturday, December 13

Local 9 Building—47 Lexington Avenue
1:00 p. m. Max Levin—Discussion Method.

Sunday, December 14

Club Rooms, Local 2—1581 Washington Avenue, Bronx
10:30 a. m. Max Levin—Industrial Development of Modern Society.

Friday, December 19

Cloak Examiners' Union, Local 82—231 E. 14th Street.
7:00 p. m. B. Hoffman—Labor Governments in Europe and Their Political and Economic Achievements.

Club Rooms of Local 2—1581 Washington Avenue, Bronx
7:45 p. m. H. Rogoff—The Meaning of the Expulsion of Senator La Follette and His Colleagues from the Republican Party.

Beethoven Hall—210 East 5th Street
7:45 p. m. B. Hoffman—The First Attempt of American Trade Unionism in an Independent Political Struggle.

Saturday, December 20

Public School 61—Crotona Park East and Charlotte Street, Bronx
7:30 p. m. Concert given by the Cloak Operators' Union, Local 2, to celebrate the reopening of our Educational Season. Participants in the program will be announced later.

Sunday, December 21

Harlem Socialist Educational Center—42 E. 108th Street
10:30 a. m. B. Hoffman—Twenty-five Years Labor Movement in America.

OUT-OF-TOWN EDUCATIONAL ACTIVITIES

PHILADELPHIA

Friday, December 12
431 Pine Street

7:40 p. m. John B. Leeds—Sociology: Education—the School, the Press.

РУССКО-ПОЛЬСКИЙ ОТДЕЛ

ВНИМАНИЮ КЛОУК И ДРЕС МЭНЕРОВ.

Доводится до сведения членов Р. П. О., что выборы администрации Отдела на 1905 год будут проведены в субботу, 20-го декабря с. г. в помещении 315 Ист 10-ая уз.

Голосование начнется ровно в 12 час. дня и будет продолжаться до 6 час. вечера.

Долг каждого члена принять участие в выборах.

ЛЕКЦИЯ.

В пятницу, 12-го декабря с. г. ровно в 7 ч. 30 м. вечера, в помещении 315 Ист 10-ая уз. состоится лекция на тему: "Натуральное богатство России". Лектор проф. Ф. Н. Полушкин.

ВНИМАНИЮ ЧЛЕНОВ Р. П. О.

В понедельник, 15-го декабря, в 7 ч. 30 м. вечера в помещении 315 Ист 10-ая уз. состоится очередное деловое собрание членов Р. П. О. клоукемеров.

КОНСТИТУЦИЯ

Интернациональное Юниона Пертык
Дамского Пальт.

Статья 9. Регулярные доходы Локала, состоящие из взносов и членских взносов, налогов и штрафов делов, должны считаться фондом И. Ю-на П. Д. П. по договоренности содержащихся у Локала для членов И. Ю-на П. Д. П., составляющих такой Локал; при чем последний распоряжается этим фондом согласно тому, как это предусмотрено настоящею Конституцией.

Статья 10. Регулярные деловые сужия Локала должны быть употреблены исключительно на уплату погашенной пиллы и других деловых промисловых издержек, на уплату деловых взносов, составляемых во время забастовок, а также для оказания содействия наемным работам организациям и другим организациям, дружественным И. Ю-ну П. Д. П. и рабочему движению. Каково бы то ни было специальные фонды, которые могли бы оказаться среди сужиями стейв Локала, должны считаться частью регулярного дохода и выделяться тем же ограничениям относительно их расходования, как и сужия регулярного дохода. Локал, не деловый, или, как член Локала, предоставляющий или предоставляющий раскладку на сужия регулярного дохода вопреки предписаниям настоящего параграфа, подлежит отлучению от деловности и исключению из И. Ю-на П. Д. П.

Статья 11. Немедленно после первого собрания каждого месяца Локал должен уведомить составленное сообще- нием отчета, каловой, за подписью надлежащих должностных лиц, должен быть отправлен Главному Секретарю-Канцелярии. После первого собрания, случившегося после объявления каждой четверти года, поборки на образцы должны быть опубликованы предостережения и, впоследствии надлежащими должностными лицами, должны быть отправлены Р. Секретарю-Канцелярии. За нарушение вышеизложенного предписания Локал подлежит штрафу или иному наказанию, налагаемому Г. И. Комитетом. Должностные лица Локала обязаны представлять системные книги последнего по всякое время по требованию Г. И. Комитета или назначенного им какого-либо официального лица. За неисполнение предостережения Г. Секретаря-Канцелярии от покровительству Г. Секретаря-Канцелярии сего лица членов Локала (30) отсчитано для требований, Локал подлежит отлучению от деловности и исключению от И. Ю-на П. Д. П.

Статья 12. Локалы, партикулярные решения, правила на распоряжения Конференции или Г. И. Комитета, подлежат исключению, согласно Параграфу 1-му настоящей Конституции.

Статья 13. Без согласия Г. И. Комитета никакой Локал не должен быть корпоративной, утвержденной по законам какого-либо штата, территории или страны, и не должен становиться таковой. Факт корпоративности Локала без вышеизложенного не по согласию должен считаться фактом распутивания такого Локала, если на член Г. Секретаря-Канцелярии становится явным сокрытие в распутивании у такого Локала его чар-

тер и имущество, как то предусмотрено настоящею Конституцией на случай такого распутивания Локала.

Избрание должностных лиц. Статья 14. Локалы должны производить ежегодно выборы своих должностных лиц, в число которых входят: Президент, Вице-Президент, Финансовый и Протокольный Секретаря, члены Исполнительного Комитета и, по мере надобности, другие должностные лица, назначаемые Локалом (Бюджетный Комитет) если Локал по желанию в какой-нибудь Общественный Комитет (Джентльмен). Способ голосования должен быть таковой, как то предусмотрено законом для выборов главных должностных лиц (Джентльмен Офисере).

а) Для Протокольного Секретаря и Вице-Президента Исполнительным Комитетом могут быть выбраны те же лица, права, при условии выбора тех же должностных лиц из числа членов Исполнительного Комитета.

Статья 15. Непосредственно должностных лиц и членов Исполнительного Комитета Локала должны быть произведены на экстренном собрании, специально для этой цели созванном по крайней мере на три (3) недели до дня выборов. О дне и месте выборов Исполнительный Комитет Локала должен довести до сведения членов посланного на уведомительном экстренном собрании. Каждое избрание членов Локала отсчитывается для и места выборов должно быть сделано посредством гласного объявления или писем по меньшей мере на три (3) дня до выборов. На экстренном, созванном для информирования кандидатов, собрании Локала должен прежде всего информировать и выбрать членов в Исполнительно-Отделную Комиссию, которая должна быть составлена не менее, как из трех (3) избранных членов. Кандидаты, получившие большинство голосов, должны войти в Исполнительно-Отделную Комиссию и, таким образом, назначить соответствующее обязательство членов собрания должностных лиц. Если Исполнительно-Отделная Комиссия на таком экстренном собрании по какой-либо причине выбрана не будет, то она должна быть выбрана на следующем собрании Локала, созванном до дня выборов должностных лиц.

Статья 16. Исполнительно-Отделная Комиссия приобретает полную власть каждого кандидата, вполномочия от его имени, рассудит его права и обязанности и, вдобав, может заключить с его кандидатурой на должностные, на которые он является кандидатом. Пред тем, как избранный кандидат войдет на требования, должен явиться со кандидатурой. Не явившись на рассмотрение Исполнительно-Отделной Комиссии кандидаты должны быть от баллотировки отстранены. Исполнительно-Отделная Комиссия, решения которой подлежат обязательству в Локал или в его Исполнительный Комитет, должна иметь полномочие отстранить любого кандидата, отказавшегося исполнять обязательства, произведенные или объявленные

тоск избранным в партикулярный Исполнительный Локал или предписанный Конституцией И. Ю-на П. Д. П., равно как и в случае кандидата, по ее мнению, не заслуживающего избрания на должность кандидатурой. Она Комиссия может быть объявлена в другие полномочия, данные ей Локалом, при условии, что таковые не окажутся inconsistent с Конституцией И. Ю. П. Д. П. Собрание Исполнительно-Отделной Комиссии должно иметь место по крайней мере за две (2) недели до дня выборов должностных лиц.

Статья 17. От кандидатов на должности в Локал, в Исполнительном Комитете (Джентльмен Бора) или в Уставном Совете (Джентльмен Маркс) требуются также по квалификации, как предписываемые настоящею Конституцией в отношении деловности на конвенции И. Ю-на П. Д. П. Для избрания в должность члена Исполнительного Комитета необходимо, чтобы кандидат состоял членом соответствующего Локала.

(Продолжение следует).

ит Локала вполномочие по мере нужного года.

Статья 18. Введение выборов и избрание на эти места должны быть возложено на Исполнительно-Отделную Комиссию; ей принадлежит полномочие решать вопрос о кандидатуре в голосование членов, избравшихся на посты палаты, при встречном возмущении относительно его правоспособности голосовать; она должна иметь власть голосовать членов; она должна побуждаться к том, чтобы в палатных книжках голосовавших членов были указаны отцы, дедушки, бабушки, дяди, братья, сестры, и другие родственники, а также факт их участия в избирательном процессе; она должна производить подсчет голосов при созыве кандидатов, являющихся присутствовать при этом, и месте выдвижения бюллетеня в пользу кандидатуры. На ближайшем после выборов собрании Исполнительного Комитета или Локала этой Комиссии должен быть представлен о результатах выборов отчет.

LADIES' TAILORS-LOCAL 38

ATTENTION!!

On Saturday, December 13, at 12:30 p. m., at the office of the Union, 877 Sixth Avenue, there will be held a meeting of our Objection Committee. The following members have been nominated for local offices:

SECRETARY-ORGANIZER

Drasin, B.	Wishnevsky, D.
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EXECUTIVE BOARD

Abramowitz, N.	Drezninsky, S.	Rosenfarb, F.
Abraham, V.	Fomin, S.	Rosenfeld, Sarah
Belevsky, D.	Goldstein, H.	Slonimsky, A.
Blazek, A.	Goodman, J.	Torchinsky, A.
Brohinsky, G.	Kleinman, Dora	Wilkes, N.
Chazanow, B.	Pocker, Sarah	Wishnevsky, D.
Drasin, B.	Rosenfeld, M.	Zack, J.

CHAIRMAN OF LOCAL

Chazanow, B.	Drasin, B.	Drezninsky, S.
Cohen, S.	Rosenfeld, M.	Wilkes, N.

VICE-CHAIRMAN

Cohen, S.	Slonimsky, A.	Zack, J.
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RECORDING SECRETARY

Lupu, Wm.	Slonimsky, A.	Zack, J.
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SICK COMMITTEE

Abramowitz, N.	Brohinsky, G.	De Alto, M.
Berman, M.	Cohen, S.	Gershtman, D.

TRUSTEES

Cohen, S.	Fasani, R.	Rosen, G.
	Russo, G.	Romeo, G.

Should any of the nominees fail to appear before the Objection Committee, their names will not be placed on the ballot. The nominees are requested to bring their Union Books with them. Members having any objection against any of the nominees are requested to appear before the Objection Committee.

By order of

EXECUTIVE BOARD LOCAL 38.

B. DRASIN, Secretary.

The Aim of Workers' Education

(Continued from Page 10)

up under capitalism. They must master science and literature as well as politics and industry if the new world under their control is not to become a barren intellectual waste. Only the mobs of proletarianism deny this, and this need.

But, just as the worker-student looks on politics and economics with fresh vision, so he will look at the products of culture. He will not merely appreciate; he will make new. As the art of Shaw and Bennett and Wells reflects the emergence of new social forces, so will theirs, as they master the arts of expression. And they will be able to make this power of theirs a tremendous iconoclastic instrument for the breaking down of the limitations and half-truths of the interpretations of life older artists and craftsmen have made. The arts have counted, and will count again, as factors in world revolution.

These things, however, will not be the first or the most obvious expression of the workers' educational movement. Most of all it will center round politics, economics, above all history—the search for clues to the present in the study of the past. For history has, above all other studies, the power to make men feel at home in the world, and potent to act because of their familiarity with causes and forces making for change. It breeds realism, and throws Utopia out of the window. Chiefly, if they are wise, the workers will study history, the story of man's struggle, now failure, to adapt his environment to the development of fuller forms of life.

To emphasize the vital import of the educational movement, and its relation to the whole world-wide struggle for workers' control, has been throughout our principal object. If we have succeeded at all, we have brought this home to our readers. If we have brought it home as a new and living truth even to a few, New Standards has been worth while. And if we have failed, what of it? We persevere—New Standards.

The Week In Local 10

By SAM B. SHENKER

Never before within the memory of the oldest standing members of the Cutters' Union was a meeting held such as took place last Monday night, December 8, in Arlington Hall. That this was the almost unanimous opinion of the nearly 500 members present was expressed by a chorus of noes and similar statements made on the floor by the younger members in answer to a question to this effect by manager Dubinsky.

Make Meeting Open Forum

Upon opening the meeting Chairman Ansel called only for the roll, the reading of the minutes of the previous meeting and the obligation of applicants to membership. Upon the conclusion of this, he declared that in accordance with a decision of the Executive Board all other business would be dispensed with. But he declared the meeting open under good and welfare.

Ansel said that any member could take the floor and discuss any question he desires. However, he warned them against abuse. He said he would tolerate no interruptions, no points of order and every man was afforded the opportunity to speak on any subject.

The turning of the meeting into a forum came about in a novel way. Dubinsky's attention was directed to the fact that certain members had appeared before International Secretary-Treasurer Baroff and requested permission to print circulars dealing with the coming election of the union. Permission to this effect was denied owing to an edict of the General Executive Board. The order, it will be recalled, was to the effect that the business of the organization be carried on within its ranks unimpaired by groups not directly connected with the union.

The manager felt, however, that some opportunity should be afforded members and candidates to express their opinions on issues of the campaign or on matters affecting the welfare of the organization. With this in view he recommended to the Executive Board that the regular meeting of the Union of December 8 be termed a special one for the purpose of discussion. Notice to this effect was posted in the press.

Oppose Denial of Rights to Members
Fourteen members spoke, four of whom were paid officers. It was, as one of the members expressed, a "rank and file" meeting. The first tilt occurred when one of the men attempted to smuggle in a motion tending to deprive some members of the right to speak, on the ground that they were not actively engaged in the trade.

Of course, this motion was laughed away by the great majority of those present. No one else sought to support the contention of the maker of the motion.

The manager came prepared with heavy matter dealing with almost every phase of the work of the office. This, in part, consisted of records of working cards secured by members showing the rate of wages for the past two and three years, with letters reminding members of their delinquency and with records showing the results of control of shops. He had matter enough prepared to spend three hours in discussion. But he did not take the floor until the last. He waited patiently until the list of speakers was exhausted.

Lauds Manager For Action on Dues Rate

One of the members speaking in opposition to the administration said that he was not satisfied with the action of the manager when sometime ago he tendered his resignation when the members voted down the first time the recommendation to increase dues.

A second speaker, an old-standing member of the union, made a fine dignified reply to this. He seemed to speak as one who is familiar with the procedure of congresses and parliaments. His name, Morris Kroll, is probably known to most old-time dues cutters. "What else was there for the manager to do but resign when you repudiated his budget plan? Your organization is conducted, on a smaller plane, under the same rules and procedures governing parliaments. Your manager in a large sense takes the place of the premier in parliaments. And when he, your manager, your premier, came before you with a budget and sought approval of it, there was nothing else for him to do but resign when you rejected his plan. I would have done the same thing and so would any leader of an organization who was a leader in the true sense of the word."

Samuel Perlmutter, manager of the down-town office of the Joint Board, also touched on this point. Mention was made by one of the speakers that when Dubinsky resigned over the dues question, he, Perlmutter, took this question up at a meeting of shop-chairmen and active members. The speaker did not deny this. "What else was I going to do when members approached me and asked me to be present at this meeting? Was I not interested as a member of the union? Did not this question affect me, both as a member and officer? He did not beg the issue. He said he saw the gravity of the situation and the need for an increase and helped the shop-chairmen when they approached him.

Maurice W. Jacobs, the organization's vice-president, spoke also. He spoke on the question of the fines imposed upon the men who were found guilty of working excessive hours and Sundays to make up for certain holidays. He said that if the administration had wanted to seek patronage it could very well have paid the men found guilty on the back and he sought them not to repeat the violation. But the manager and the Executive Board, in accordance with the tradition of Local 10, Jacobs said, imposed penalties as behooves men charged with a duty.

The list of speakers included Brothers Brown, Kwait, Gordon, Fish, Treasurer of the Joint Board; Nagler, secretary, and the President of the organization, Ansel.

Recounts Activities of Union
Some of the opposing candidates extolled their virtues and pleaded election. The candidates running for re-election contented themselves with an analysis of the work accomplished.

Manager Dubinsky's talk was interesting in that it dealt with the activities of the office for the past two years. That the members were interested in it as such could not be doubted by those present. This was borne out by the complete silence that attended his talk. He made it plain at the outset that his talk was not going to center itself around the campaign.

In fact, the manager said, this meeting was the result of his having been approached by some active members, asking why something was not done to offset loose talk in circles congregated by cutters. These men said that they, as active members, knew what work was accomplished by the organization.

It was the desire on the part of these active members to make the opposition face issues squarely that prompted the manager's recommendation for a Good and Welfare Meeting.

It was in his opening remarks that Dubinsky asked the older members as to whether, in their experience, op-

ponents in an election had been afforded such an opportunity as the present to "knock" the administration. He was for that reason proud of the meeting.

One of the speakers had made a statement to the effect that an officer had appeared before the Appeal Committee of the Joint Board and had opposed an appeal by one of the members who was fined by the Executive Board.

"What should be the duty," the manager asked, "of an officer who is charged with an obligation? The member in question was fined by your Executive Board for a violation. This was rendered to you in the reports. The member appealed his case and you members granted him the appeal. The committee reported back to you and you sustained its action, which recommended sustaining of the original action by the Executive Board."

"In other words, the case in question was reported to you and the action of the local was upheld on four different occasions, and practically four hearings were granted the appellant. Does it not then become the duty of every officer to do his utmost in seeing to it that decisions approved of by members are upheld?"

Not Prompted By Welfare of Union

The manager recounted to the members, as described here, how this meeting came about. One of the active members who appeared before him sought to know what he could do to assure the election of the present administration and put a stop to what he knew to be slanderous remarks concerning the work of the organization.

"Innocent man," I said, "you cannot do anything to put a stop to this. The men who accepted nomination in opposition to the administration did not do so because they felt that they could honestly better the lot of the members."

The manager then read from a pamphlet issued by a certain outside group. "Let me tell you what prompts most of these men to oppose any administration. In this pamphlet the workers are asked 'to turn their eyes towards the establishment of a communist society through the dictatorship of the proletariat' and 'the national and industrial committees shall devote particular attention to the securing of regular donations and special contributions from local unions within their sphere of influence.'"

"This is the purpose of the organization with which some of the candidates in opposition are either members of or in sympathy with. As to improvement of conditions, I say that even if wages were raised to ninety dollars a week these men would not be satisfied. They would still be in opposition. It makes little difference to them whom and what they support so long as they can accomplish the aims I mentioned in the pamphlet."

"Some members told me that if I would recount in minute detail all that the office has accomplished the members would be unanimous in their support of the administration. But I told these men that this was not doing themselves,—to those members who are interested in the support of

communism and the dictatorship of the proletariat, the organization would never do anything well."

What Issues Should Be
"Let us see as to whether these men are honest in their opposition. Let me familiarize you with a little of what was accomplished and then you may judge for yourselves as to whether our opponents are interested in your welfare or in the welfare of something altogether foreign to your interests."

"I have before me the record of the working cards secured by one of the opponents. In 1921 he secured a working card for forty-five dollars per week; in 1922 he secured a card for forty-five dollars; in 1923 he received fifty dollars per week; in 1924 his wages rose to fifty-five dollars. Another opponent secured a working card in 1922 and 1923 for fifty dollars per week, and in 1924 he secured a card for fifty-five dollars. A third man in 1923 secured a card for fifty dollars and in 1924 for fifty-five dollars. The fourth candidate of the opposition worked successively for fifty dollars, fifty-five dollars, and in the year 1924 sixty dollars. The fifth candidate secured cards calling for fifty dollars, fifty-five dollars, and at the end of 1924 sixty dollars per week successively. Another one secured working cards in successive seasons for forty-four dollars, forty-eight dollar and fifty dollars per week, and so on. I could go on endlessly with these."

"But it is useless in my opinion. As I said, these men are not interested in the organization as such. I have before me a list of the average earnings of the cutters in our trades. These rose in certain periods from fifty-two dollars to fifty-four dollars per week on an average. I have another list before me showing that in 1920 a little over \$2000 was spent for relief purposes. In 1921 this rose to over \$1,200. In 1922 the amount rose to almost \$1,900. And in 1924, for nine months' time this amount has reached almost \$1,500."

"I have another folder of records before me which are copies of letters sent to members, reminding them of their obligations with regard to working cards, dues, and so on. I have still another list, a bulky one, which contains a record of the fines imposed upon the members for various violations."

It would be folly for the organization to depend upon and seek the support of those whose grievances against the union arise from their having been found guilty and fined and in this manner forced to live up to the rules and regulations of the union. The same can be said concerning those who fear exposure—who undermine the conditions of the union and the welfare of the membership, but who escaped detection.

The manager strongly emphasized the fact that it is the duty of every officer to observe and strictly enforce the decisions of the organization. And in doing this he must be unmindful of the enemies he creates. Any one claiming that he is in a position to satisfy the entire membership is a demagogue.

CUTTERS' UNION, LOCAL 10

ELECTION OF OFFICERS

For the term beginning January 1, 1925.

Saturday, December 20, 1924. Polls open from 12:30 to 6 P. M., in Arlington Hall, 23 St. Marks Place.

Members owing not less than twelve weeks' dues and holding membership in the union for at least six months are eligible to vote.

Notice of Meetings

Miscellaneous Meeting *per.*, Monday, December 15th

At Arlington Hall, 23 St. Mark's Place

Meetings Begin Promptly at 7:30 P. M.