

"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."

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Governor's Commission Hard on Cloak and Suit Controversy

Governor Alfred E. Smith Intervenes to End Deadlock Between Union and Joint of Inquiry to Sift Issues Between Union and Employers—Morris Hillquit Presents Union—Sub-Manufacturers' and Jobbers' Representatives Follow—Union's Principal Issue Is That Jobber Assume Responsibility as Real Employer

A series of new developments has taken place in the course of the past week in the controversy between the cloakmakers' organization of New York and the employers' groups in the cloak and suit industry.

Following the practically unanimous strike vote of the cloakmakers, and the final offer of the International and the Joint Board made to the Merchants' Association, which was turned down by the employers and brought the situation to a climax, came an effort by Governor Alfred E. Smith on Friday morning, June 13, to solve the deadlock between the two contending sides.

Governor Smith's proposal came after a hearing attended by the representatives of the Union headed by President Morris Sigman and Attorney Morris Hillquit, and a group of the jobbers headed by Joseph En-

gel. Towards the end of the conference, Governor Smith stated that he would appoint a commission of five impartial mediators who would give testimony on the state of the industry and its evils, and remedies suggested for their cure from all parties concerned. The commission would hold public hearings and, after they had learned all the material facts in the controversy, would render their findings and recommendations with regard to the demands presented by the Union.

These recommendations, Governor Smith told both sides, could be backed by moral force only, but, while not legally binding on either side, they would carry sufficient weight to have a decisive influence in solving the deadlock and bringing about an understanding.

Personnel of Commission

After both sides had agreed to ac-

cept the Government's proposal for a public hearing on the grievances of the workers in the cloak and suit industry, Governor Smith announced that he would appoint the committee at once and that the hearings would begin on Tuesday morning, June 17. The personnel of the commission was announced on Monday, June 16, and consists of Bernard Shientag, State Commissioner of Labor; Lindsay Rogers, professor of political economy at Columbia University; George Gordon Battle, a lawyer; Colonel Herbert Lehman and Arthur D. Wolf, bankers.

First Session of Commission

On Tuesday morning, June 17, promptly at 10 o'clock, before an audience that filled the spacious Aldermanic chamber at City Hall, Governor Smith's special mediation commission began to delve into the intricacies of the cloak and suit problem

which for nearly three months has attracted wide attention in industrial circles of the Greater City and has resisted all efforts at solution. George Gordon Battle presided. The International Union was represented by Morris Sigman, Israel Feinberg, Joseph Breslaw, David Dubinsky, Harry Wandor, Joseph Rubin and Morris Hillquit as counsel. The Merchants' Association was represented by Joseph Engel, Attorney Samuel Blumberg, Max Kopeloff, Morris W. Haft, Joseph Cohn and H. D. Harfield. The American Association was represented by Charles M. Samman, Benjamin Splinard, Harry Uviller, R. Flaster, J. Rosenfeld, and Attorney Louis H. Solomon.

The first stir at the hearing was caused at the very beginning when George Jablow, president of the Protective Association, appeared and

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Forest Park Unity House Opened Last Friday

Villa Anita Garibaldi Opens Next Saturday, June 28

The great summer-house of the New York dressmakers in Forest Park, located in the heart of the Blue Ridge mountains of Pennsylvania, opened last Friday, June 13, for the 1924 season.

The actual celebration, however, took place the following evening, Saturday, June 14. About 300 visitors came from New York to take part in the opening and to listen to the

splendid program of entertainment arranged by the Unity House committee. Sister Pauline Morgenstern, manager of Local 25, acted as chair-lady and greeted in a few short remarks the visitors and invited guests. Vice-president Israel Feinberg was next introduced and welcomed the guests in the name of the General Executive Board of the International.

Short speeches were given by Fan-

nia M. Cohn and Brother Julius Hochman, formerly manager of the Dressmakers' Union. They emphasized the importance of unity in the Labor movement and pointed to the Unity House itself as a result of a unity idea realized in a glorious way.

Owing to the present critical situation in the cloak industry, President Sigman and Secretary Baroff could not be present, and both sent messages of greeting. A telegram was also received from Max D. Danish, managing editor of JUSTICE.

This brought to an end the formal part of the opening, and it was followed by a long and interesting program which included solos and dramatic recitations, lasting until late in the evening. Albert Verichamp,

gifted violinist, played several selections which took the audience by storm. The well-known comedian of the Yiddish stage, Mr. Gerstman Rubin, recited, and after him came the much-admired short story writer and poet, Abraham Reiss, who read some of his best-known songs. Miss Edith Segal, recreation teacher of the Unity House, concluded the program by rendering several classic dance selections.

The Unity House committee desires to express through these columns its sincere thanks and appreciation to all the artists who took part in this program and helped to make the opening night of the Unity House such a memorable one.

In addition to the visitors and guests already mentioned, there came to the opening a delegation from the Joint Board of the Cloak and Dressmakers' Union of New York and also Vice-presidents Harry Wandor, Jacob

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Israel Lewin, Former Sec'y of Local 10, Dies Suddenly

Israel Lewin, former secretary of the Cutters' Union, Local 10 and up to five weeks ago manager of the Boston Dressmakers' Union, died suddenly on Thursday, June 13, follow-

ing direction of President Morris Sigman and Vice-president David Dubinsky, manager of Local 10. Interment took place at the Workmen's Circle grounds of the Mt. Lebanon Cemetery.

He immigrated to the United States from Bialistok, Russia, in 1907. He joined Local 10 in 1914 and was a delegate to the Cloakmakers' Joint Board two years later. He served as an unpaid officer until 1916. Since then he has served as business agent, manager and secretary of Local 10. He was active in the 1921 stoppage in the cloak industry, after which he was appointed by President Morris Sigman as manager of the Boston local. Five weeks ago he resigned and came to New York, and again offered his services in the impending struggle in the cloak industry.

He was about 36 years of age at the time of his death. The eighteen years that he spent in the United States, with the exception of probably two years, were given over to the cause of Labor and our Union. He is survived by a widow, his parents and two brothers.

National Women's Trade Union League Meets in N. Y.

To Plan Organizing Work Among Women

The National Women's Trade Union League of America began on Monday last, June 16, a six-day session at 600 Lexington avenue, New York City. The opening sessions of the convention were greeted by Lieut. Governor Lunn, President John Sullivan of the New York Central Labor Council, and a number of well-known leaders in the local Labor movement.

The Women's Trade Union League is an organization very well known to readers of JUSTICE. It has for years been active in organizing campaigns among women workers and in its early days devoted most of its efforts to organizing women garment workers, particularly white goods workers and dressmakers in New

York City. The league has also done a considerable amount of organizing work among women workers in Chicago, Philadelphia, Baltimore and Boston, where it has branches.

This is the ninth biennial convention and it can look back with pride upon the nearly two decades of its earnest and ceaseless efforts on behalf of the working women of America. At this convention the women delegates will lay plans for further helping to organize the eight million women workers in the United States who are still without the benefit of organization. We hope to be able to give in a later issue a resumé of the work of this convention and the practical plans reached by it.



ISRAEL LEWIN

ing an operation for acute mastoiditis complicated by an infection of the brain and spinal meningitis. The funeral took place last Friday, June 13, arranged by Local 10, under the

Governor's Commission Hard at Work on Cloak and Suit Controversy

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read a letter which he said had been sent to the Governor and which stated that the Protective representatives were without authority to speak for the Association members, because the members by actual vote had determined to follow individual courses of action instead of collective bargaining as far as Labor matters were concerned.

Morris Hillquit First Speaker

The first to address the commission was Morris Hillquit on behalf of the Union, who began by saying that he felt all factions in the industry were represented and that he "had no doubt that all those not represented, such as the many individual firms not belonging to any of the organized groups, and such groups as are determined to have individual rather than collective agreements with the Union, would fall in line with any decisions of the commission."

Hillquit spoke for over four hours which consumed both the morning and the short afternoon session. "The parties here officially represent substantially the entire industry," he stated. "The Protective Association is no longer a factor of importance. It is merely an aggregation of individual manufacturers."

"This is not an ordinary wage dispute, a dispute concerning what is generally understood as affecting work conditions, and the demands made by the Union are unusual because conditions in the cloak industry today are unusual. The demands made by the Union aim at preventing a recurrence of the old sweatshop system."

Prefacing his lengthy statement, Mr. Hillquit presented a brief history of the industry which took about a half hour and was listened to with deserved interest by the members of the commission. He traced the industry's development back to the strike of 1910 and led up to the Protocol of Peace concluded in that year, after the first great general strike, telling how important a factor the Protective Association then organized was in the industry.

Mr. Hillquit then dwelt on the changes in production methods that have come about since that time, and the advent of the jobbing system which forced the Union to present its present program for industrial reform.

Jobbers Control 80 Per Cent of Production

"The jobber-contractor relationship in the cloak industry is a development totally different from the jobbing system prevailing in any other industry," he stated. "The jobbers in the cloak industry differs from the jobbers in other industries who sell goods they have had no part in producing. In the cloak industry, the

legitimate manufacturer now is the exceptional case and 75 to 80 per cent of the industry's production is turned out by the jobber. The contractors have neither capital nor responsibility. "We, the workers as represented by the Union, are orphans here. We have no employers to look to for the usual responsibility," he said. "Our technical employers, the sub-manufacturers, are not responsible. They are under no obligation to provide; they have no serious obligations as employers. We know that our real employers are the jobbers."

Mr. Hillquit then stated that there are 8,000 manufacturing units in the cloak industry, while 1,000 would be a rational number, as the competition brought about by the existence of 3,000 small units is bad for the industry. Under such a condition, price-cutting is inevitable and the contractor has no choice but to pass on his troubles to the worker. The sub-manufacturer has been reduced to the position where he does nothing but deliver the labor of his employees.

Employers Without Employers' Obligations

The jobber development has destroyed the distribution of work principle, Mr. Hillquit further stated. By the factitious method of jobbing, employers escape the common obligation of employers. The sub-manufacturer is the device by which the jobbers side-step what they owe the workers.

Further in the course of his statement, Mr. Hillquit pointed out that there is a great criminal waste in this jobber-contractor system. One-third of the machines in the industry are never operated, and the cost of over-equipment is passed on to the consuming public. Progressive deterioration in garments is also apparent as a result of this system. Quality has been sacrificed under the price-competition system. It is interesting to

know that the high development of the ready-to-wear women's garment industry was due to the fact that the product years ago was superior to the home or custom-made garment.

The 50,000 workers in the industry are the permanent factor which have to depend on their labor until the end of their days, though sub-manufacturers and jobbers may come and go. The Union has told the jobbers that they were not detached merchants, and they knew as well as the workers and the Union have known all the time, that they were the employers, Mr. Hillquit declared. The jobbers have recognized a living wage in principle and we want an agreement by which we will get a living wage.

Afternoon Session

During the afternoon session, Mr. Hillquit went into the details of the Union program, pointing out one after another how the demands of the workers were calculated to remove the baneful industrial effects produced by the uncontrolled jobbing method and the unchecked development of petty work units fostered by it. He emphasized in particular the clause relating to the limitation of the number of contractors or sub-manufacturers to be employed by the jobbers, adding to the members of the commission features of the agreement proposed by the Union referring to this demand:

"The association agrees that its members collectively will at all times employ or deal with a number of steady manufacturers equal to the full number of its members multiplied by five. The total number of such steady manufacturers shall be apportioned ratably among the individual members of the association on the basis of their relative volume of business figures on the average of the preceding three years. A full list of

the steady manufacturers employed by each member of the association shall be prepared by the association and delivered to the union within blank days after the execution of this agreement, and all changes in such lists shall be immediately reported by association members to the association and by the latter to the Union.

"A steady manufacturer within the meaning of this agreement is one engaged primarily in producing garments for a specific member of the association, it being agreed and understood that each member of the association assumes the following obligations with respect to the steady manufacturers employed by him:

"a. That he will not give work to or order or purchase garments from any other manufacturer so long as his steady manufacturers are not provided with work to their full capacity.

"b. That he will not discharge such manufacturers cease dealing with them during the season except for good cause.

"c. That in slow season he will divide all available work equally and equitably among all his steady manufacturers.

"d. That he will provide each of his steady manufacturers with sufficient work during at least blank weeks to enable him to keep all his regular workers continually employed at full time during such periods."

The Second Day

The morning of the second day of the hearings before the Governor's Commission was taken up by the representatives of the American Cloak and Suit Manufacturers' Association on behalf of the sub-manufacturers and contractors. Louis H. Solomon, counsel for this Association, and Harry Uviller, its manager, went into a detailed description of the position held by sub-manufacturers in the industry. They stated that the jobbers had failed utterly to accept the sub-manufacturer as an integral part of the cloak and suit production system and that the undue pressure and competition have affected the status of the sub-manufacturers very badly.

As a result of the immediate-delivery system practiced by the jobbers, the seasons have grown so short and the number of sub-manufacturing units has multiplied to such an extent that the entire industry has been undermined. Mr. Solomon described in detail the arbitrary trade practices which the jobbers have enforced against the sub-manufacturers. He quoted the fact that the shrinkage through ongoing re-examination is being charged against the contractor, and exhibited a sample of an order contract prevailing in the trade, which definitely established the fact that the sub-manufacturers were being subjected to a system of intolerable oppression by the jobbers. Both Mr. Solomon and Mr. Uviller seconded the proposal of the Union to organize a tri-partite adjudication machinery on a permanent basis.

Towards the end of the morning session, Samuel Blumberg, counsel for the Merchants Ladies' Garment Association, began presenting the argument for the jobbers. He pointed to the fact that the Protective Association, after fourteen years of dealing with the Union, had found it

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Pioneer Youth Camp at Pawling Offers Unusual Surroundings

Those who are interested in sending their children to the Pioneer Youth Camp will do well to make their reservations as soon as possible, since this camp can accommodate fifty boys and girls only. It will be an experimental camp for child development. The most modern appliances will be there, and professional and experienced persons will be in charge.

A camp with some of the accommodations that the Pioneer Youth Camp offers, if conducted for business, charges from thirty to thirty-five dollars a week for a child. But the

Pioneer Youth Camp is not a profit-making enterprise and therefore the charge will be \$12.50 per week for children from the ages of 9 to 13 and \$15.00 for children from 13 to 16. Parents who believe that children ought to be brought up in a progressive atmosphere and in ideal surroundings where there are professional people and workers, will make an effort to send their children there.

The committee in charge of the camp, which is run under the auspices of the National Association for Child Development, an association of parents, educators and Labor representatives, is making all arrangements for its opening, Sunday, June 29.

The members of the I. L. G. W. U. can obtain information about the camp at the office of the I. L. G. W. U. Educational Department, 3 West 16th street.

Villa Garibaldi Opens Saturday, June 28

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Heller, Isidore Schoenholtz and Elias Reisberg of Philadelphia.

"The Unity House is this year under the management of Brother Peter Rothenberg, and assisting him are Mrs. Sarah Kaplan as chairlady, Anna Rosenfeldy as secretary and Isidore Schoenholtz as financial secretary, with Pauline Morgenstern and Brothers Greenberg and Rabinowitz as trustees.

The summer colony of the Italian Dressmakers, Local 89, the Villa Anita Garibaldi, will open its doors

for the fourth season on Saturday, June 28. Last year the Villa had a wonderfully successful season, and the Italian dressmakers look forward to an even better run this year. "The Villa will be opened with a banquet which will take place at 8 o'clock sharp on Saturday afternoon, to be followed by a dance.

President Sigman and Secretary Baroff, as well as a number of other leaders of the International and persons prominent in the local Labor movement, have been invited to the opening.

Chicago Polish Dressmakers Get Charter

One of the immediate gains of the strike of the dressmakers in Chicago was the organization of the dressmakers of Polish nationality in that city. The International has succeeded in enrolling into the Union before and during the strike hundreds of Polish dressmakers, who have displayed a splendid spirit since the first day it was declared, and who have shown

their fearlessness in the front picket line.

At the last meeting of the General Executive Board, the Polish dressmakers of Chicago, at their urgent request, were granted a charter under the name of Polish Dress Workers' Union, Local 66. The secretary of the new local is Miss Stella Szpazek, and its office is located at 328 West Van Buren street.

Vienna

By PAULINE M. NEWMAN

II.—A School for Peace.

The Socialist Party of Vienna occupies a distinguished position in the community. It has power. It has influence. It has the respect of the public. It is recognized as the political expression of the working class. In Parliament it retains a two-thirds majority and is, therefore, through its political power strong enough to curb the economic aggression of the rulers of industry and their efforts to reduce the status of the working people of Austria.

The leaders of the Party, as we were able to observe them during a fairly lengthy stay in Vienna, are able, constructive and well-learned men and women. Abstract theories do not absorb their present time and thought. The question of whether or not the Communists of today represent the views held by Marx yesterday hardly claims their attention. The leaders and the Party are fully aware of the task before them today. They know that if the school system in Austria is to be put on a basis comparable to that of our own public schools, the Socialists will have to work for that. They know that nationalism and internationalism cannot be allowed to play into the hands of exploiters. Knowing this, they keep their head high, but their feet all ways on the ground.

Because of its power in the political life of Vienna, the Socialist Party was able to take over (for an insignificant sum) about thirty rooms in the historic Schloss Schönbrunn. The same place where emperors had ruled for centuries; where royalty and nobility had walked in idleness and splendor; where the very existence of the working class was never thought of and where, perhaps, the word Socialism was feared—that place has become the center of activity for the whole Socialist Party of Austria! Their book-store, both for grown-ups and for children, is located here, as are their offices and the "Freischule-Kinderfreunde"—a national institution in itself, but conducted and directed by the Socialist Party. The work of the "Freischule" is, to me at least, the most important job the Party is doing. It is a real foundation for the future peace of the world. It is the kind of work that is counteracting the spirit of hate and revenge so strongly advocated by the reactionaries in Germany. It is the cornerstone for an intelligent civilization, free from the influence of capitalist organization. Perhaps it is the importance of this undertaking that prompted Dr. Max Winter, former Socialist Vice-Mayor of Vienna, to give up all other activities and offices even within the movement, to become the director of the "Freischule."

The activities of the "Freischule" are manifold. All of them have as their object reshaping the purposes of juvenile education in Austria. Yet they are by no means all directly concerned with the instruction of the young. There is, for example, the Parents' Association which is the group that forms the dues-paying membership of the Schulerverein. There is the publishing company which prepares issuing books that shall supply teaching material in harmony with the object of the society. There is the teachers' training institute which in the same way seeks to prepare instructors and leaders of the young. There is the holiday enterprise of organizing outing groups of children, who are taken on trips ranging from Sunday afternoon walks to hikes of days' duration and carrying them nearly across the country.

Finally there is that most tangible

activity—the resident school at Schloss Schönbrunn. During our visit there, it housed about sixty boys and girls. It provided food, clothing, shelter, and schooling. Most of these were either children of very poor parents or left fatherless during the war. The rooms the children occupy are furnished very simply but comfortably. Situated as the castle is, in the beautiful park, the children get plenty of fresh air and sunshine which is so vital to their health and growth. In addition, the "Freischule" maintains a reading room during afternoons which more than 500 children attend daily. It has accommodations for about forty men who receive training in the methods of teaching the young. It gives courses to about thirty women who at the end of a certain period qualify as instructors for the children. About forty-five young men who work by

day are taking evening courses with a view to becoming teachers in the school.

One needs no reminder that so-called educational experiments, "new schools" of one sort or another, are plentiful today. Here is something that, because of its purpose and methods, seems to us to transcend any of them in its social and educational potentialities. Max Winter, its president and director, appeared as the inspiration and mainspring of its power. Here is a man with an educational ideal and also with the organizing ability that is making it possible to try out his ideal among the working class children of Vienna. Like many other educators, Dr. Winter recognizes in the established educational systems a vehicle for "putting over" the social and economic organization of today on to the next

generation. "Can we not," he asks, "best replace this present organization by one we believe to be vastly better, if we supplant the established system of education?" If, instead of permitting our children to absorb all these irrational assumptions and prejudices in favor of things as they are, we make it our business to develop in these children an inquiring spirit that shall seek so far as possible to learn the effects of established institutions on the happiness and well-being of the masses of the people; if we strive to make them desire to help realize greater happiness and well-being for all people; if we make them count kindness, truth, and the desire to cooperate with their fellow mortals as the highest virtues; if we can start them on the road to being informed, open-minded men and women with such ideals and motives, then we are doing something toward assuring the coming of the Socialist State,—and in this Max Winter and the Socialist Party of Austria seem to me to be on the right track.

A Notable Discussion Conference— The June Meeting of the L. I. D.

Trade unionists, socialists and progressives, generally, are showing remarkable interest in the June Conference of the League for Industrial Democracy to be held at the New Columbia Hotel, Belmar, New Jersey, from Wednesday, June 25, to Sunday, June 29, inclusive.

The conference will be devoted to the discussion of one of the most absorbing topics of the hour, "The Tasks Before an American Labor Party." The first session will be held on Wednesday evening, June 25, on "The Possibilities and Limits of Political Action." Benjamin Stolberg, a contributor on Labor problems to The Nation and other periodicals, will lead the discussion. Norman Thomas, Director of the League for Industrial Democracy, will preside at this and other sessions of the conference. An interesting talk will also be given by Professor Alfred Sheffield of Wellesley College, who has made a specialty of the technique of the discussion method. The conference throughout will emphasize intimate, informal discussions, rather than formal addresses.

On Thursday morning, Drs. L. A. Hourwich and Scott Nearing will try to answer the question, "What Economic Basis Is There for an American Labor Party?" On Thursday evening, McAllister Coleman and Marie Macdonald, of the American Labor party, will discuss the most effective propaganda technique for an American Labor party. "A Farmer's Program for an American Labor Party" will be discussed the following morning by Senator Henrik Shipstead (probably), and by others in touch with the farmers' movement in the Northwest. Geo. Soule, of the Labor Bureau, and John Brophy (probably) of District No. 2, United Mine Workers, will present a suggestion for an immediate legislative program for an American Labor party, on Friday evening. The discussion will be continued Saturday morning. An international program for an American Labor party will be discussed Saturday day and Sunday morning by Morris Hillquit, James G. McDonald of the Foreign Policy Association, and S. G. Inman of the Committee on Cooperation in Latin America, Sidney A. Gulick, an authority on Japan, and others. A summary of the conference discussions, "A Social Utopia and an American Labor Party," will be pre-

sented Sunday afternoon by Harry W. Laidler.

On Saturday evening, there will be a humorous sketch on the political situation, participated in by Charles Ervin, Clement Wood, Norman Thomas, Nellie Nearing, Gertrude Klein, Samuel Friedman, Solon De Leon, Marie MacDonald, Margaret Tucker and others.

Carroll Hollister will have charge of the conference music and Agnes Armstrong Laidler will sing at one or more of the sessions.

Among others who have promised to take part in the conference discussions are: Robert Morse Lovett, Harriet Stanton Blatch, Florence Kelley, Sidney A. Gulick, S. G. Inman, Arthur E. Holder, H. W. L. Dana, Stuart Chase, M. D. Danish, Horace M. Kallen, Martha Benley Brubaker, Louis Levine, Charles Solomon, B. Charney Vladeck, Sidney Hillman, J. H. Ryck-

man, of Los Angeles, Morris Berman and others.

The afternoons will be given over to swimming in the ocean, within a stone's throw of the hotel, walking, tennis playing, etc.

Special rates of \$4 a day for a room and board have been secured for the conference for two in a room and \$5 a day for single rooms. Those desiring to attend should send a \$3 deposit with their orders for reservations to the League for Industrial Democracy, 70 Fifth Avenue, New York City.

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JUSTICE

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Health of Working Women

By FREDERICK L. HOFFMAN

(Continued from last week)

Industrial Poisons

The most obviously serious danger to women in certain industries is unquestionably the risk of lead poisoning. Whether women are, on account of their sex, more liable to its subtle influence or not may be debatable, but it goes without saying that women, in a large measure, suffer proportionately more from lead poisoning in the potteries, in the manufacture of electric storage batteries, in the handling of substances containing lead, etc. In my judgment, the danger of lead poisoning, on the part of both men and women, has been very much exaggerated in the literature of the subject, at least during recent times, in disregard of the enormous sanitary advances, in the conduct of the industries most directly affected by the hazard of lead absorption. The liability to lead poisoning is primarily a question of disregarding certain matters of personal hygiene, while the liability is very considerably diminished in the potteries, where formerly it was excessively common.

Like considerations apply to mercurial poisoning, which formerly affected a large proportion of the persons employed in the manufacture of felt hats. The evil has been brought largely under control and it is now seldom that cases are reported, as the result of effective dust and fume removing device. Phosphorus necrosis, which formerly was the bane of women employed in the manufacture of red phosphorus matches, is now practically a thing of the past. The process of making poisonous matches was absolutely prohibited by a Federal Act, and the process substituted therefor has been found entirely satisfactory in every branch of match manufacture. Apprehensions that such prohibition would do vast injury to our match trade at home and abroad have not been realized, but it is to the credit of the Diamond Match Company that it freely surrendered its patent rights to non-poisonous processes in the furtherance of health-promoting legislation.

Industrial Tuberculosis

The chief cause of death in industry, regardless of nation-wide efforts at prevention, remains pulmonary tuberculosis, affecting both men and women, though to a different degree. Lung diseases directly attributable to industrial processes are unquestionably more common and serious among men than among women, largely because of the longer trade life exposure, which is a predisposing condition of the first importance. In cases of typical fibroid phthisis, a trade duration of twenty-one years is required to produce the most disastrous results to the lung tissue, and before the labor turnover among women is much greater, and since large numbers marry and leave the trade, the health-injurious facts of dust inhalation are in their cases less apparent. But there can be no question of doubt but that in many cases women, like men, suffer from industrial phthisis, and the occupational opportunities are many in which such exposure may assume a fatal form. It is to be hoped that the Legislature of the State of New York will amend the Workmen's Compensation Code to provide for compensation in the event of industrial lung diseases, applicable to women as well as to men.

Increase of Women Workers

It is not realized that the number of women employed in gainful occupations in the United States has increased from 3,700,000 in 1880, to 8,246,000 in 1920, or proportionately from 10 per cent of all women 15 years of age and over to 24 per cent

While in 1890, 4.6 per cent of the working women were married, in 1920, 9.0 per cent were married. The number of married women in gainful occupations since 1890 has increased from 515,000 to 1,920,000. The significance of these facts cannot easily be overlooked. It certainly gives cause for reflection that of women wage-earners in 1890, 14 per cent of the total were married, while at the present time 23 per cent are married. The effect of this change on home life, as well as on the birth rate, must be profoundly disturbing to the social organism of the country at large.

Whatever views we may hold regarding the position of women in industry, it seems to admit of no controversy that the proportion of women in gainful occupations will continue to increase. From many points of view this must be looked upon as a wholesome tendency in our democracy, which is opposed to idleness and to a parasitical existence on

the part of many women fully able to work at a large variety of employments. An examination of the Census returns reveals the amazing extent to which women have now entered into practically every trade, industry and commercial form of employment. There is hardly an occupation in which some women are not occupied, while in certain employments women workers far outnumber the corresponding workers of the other sex. There are nearly a million women employed in gainful occupations in agriculture, forestry and animal husbandry. There are even 2,781 women employed in mining. Nearly 2,000,000 are employed in manufacture and mechanical industries, and nearly a quarter of a million in transportation, of which, however, the large majority are telegraph and telephone operators.

The number of women in trade is about 664,000. The public services, not otherwise classified, employ only 22,000, while in the professional ser-

vices over a million women are employed in a large variety of occupations.

In view of the age factor, which is frequently referred to in public discussions as a bar to the employment of women of advanced years, it is of interest to find that 418,400 women in gainful occupations in 1920 were 45 years of age and over.

I have only been able to touch upon a few essentials of the problem of women in industry, but I trust that I have emphasized the need of more qualified and extended consideration of the need of the fostering care on the part of the State, of a mere liberal attitude on the part of many employers, and of a more intelligent attention to matters of personal hygiene on the part of the workers themselves. If our children are the most precious asset of the State, our working women represent the most valuable element in our national economy. They will not decrease in numbers, but increase in response to a wholesome demand that all should work and earn their living who are competent, or qualified, to do so.—From an address before the Consumers' League of New York.

A FEW FACTS ABOUT

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HE was a London dandy, who startled society dinner tables with his wit and conversation.

He was an Irish aristocrat from an ancient titled family, who dressed in velvet clothes that made people gasp.

He was a daring dilettante, and an intimate friend of Sarah Bernhardt and of all the intellectual.

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The New Situation in Europe

After the German and French Elections

By LEON CHASANOWICH

(Special European Correspondent to JUSTICE)

Berlin—First the result of the English elections, and now the outcome in France, is opening a new chapter in the politics of Europe—as if a window had been smashed through in a dark and pestiferous room, letting in some air and sunlight. Europe can breathe more freely now that the ghosts of reaction are beginning to disappear in these two lands.

The situation in Europe today is just the reverse of what took place on the Continent following the first elections, held shortly after the armistice. Those elections had served to strengthen the position of the parties of the extreme Right in England and in France, while in Germany the revolutionary storm had all but swept out the monarchist parties. After the war, the democratic and revolutionary ideas found their haven in Germany and in all of the other vanquished countries, while the victor countries fell far behind in the sense of political progress.

In the last elections, however, the roles have been changed. In Germany the democratic and Socialist forces have lost some of their former influence, while in England and France these forces have become the ruling factors. In conquered Germany, reaction appears to have made steady progress, while in the victorious Western countries, in England and France, reaction suffered a severe defeat. If the country of the communists, the land of Robespierre and Danton, has acquired in the last few years the unsavory reputation of the center of world reaction, it wiped off this shameful stain completely on the 11th of May last.

Disappointment Works Both Ways

This overturn in the state of mind of the population of these three countries has its roots in the same psychological phenomenon: disappointment. The revolution in Germany was the expression of the deep disappointment of the people in the results of the war. But this revolution has not fulfilled the justified or exaggerated anticipation of the masses who turned, in a moment of desperation, to the Nationalist demagogues. On the other hand, in England and France, the demagogy of the Nationalists has fed the people on deceit and totally misleading expectations from the Versailles Treaty, and, when

this bubble finally burst, the great masses of Frenchmen turned away from these demagogues and lined up on the side of the forces of democracy. In Germany reaction grew strong because, thanks to the policy of violence pursued by Poincaré, the chauvinist parties succeeded in deadening among millions of democratic minds in Germany the faith in a common humanity. Had the German election taken place after the French elections, had the German masses at the decisive moment learned that a new spirit was stirring the French people, the results of the German elections would have been entirely different. This is common belief in Germany today and, should it come to a new election, owing to the difficulties of forming a government from the present political parties, the reactionist groups will fare entirely differently. In Poincaré's elimination, they have lost their best ally.

Fascism and Bolshevism

Another chapter of European history is now coming to a close. The victory of Bolshevism in Russia has thrown a huge scare into the European bourgeoisie, and has driven it into the arms of reaction. Fascism, the antithesis of Bolshevism, has come into being, thanks to Bolshevism, and for quite some time it looked as if it was going to conquer triumphantly all European countries. Bolshevism and Fascism have several things in common: the worship of physical force and a contempt for democracy, and between the nether and upper zones of Fascism and Communism, democratic Socialism has led quite a precarious existence in the last few years. But neither the dream of a Bolshevik world-revolution nor the dream of a Fascist world-reaction has come to pass. Bolshevism was compelled to make concession after concession, and, instead of dedicating its will to the bourgeoisie of the whole world, it was making every effort, in the form of its foreign diplomacy, to be "respectable" and tractable. The recognition of Soviet Russia by England, Italy and many other countries (France will surely not remain isolated very long in this respect) places certain prima facie obligations on official Russia and "civilizes" Bolshevism to some extent, at least in foreign politics. Thanks to this development, the deadly scare of Com-

munist among the middle and upper classes of the bourgeoisie has partly disappeared, and they are beginning less and less to accept Fascism as their deliverer. On the other hand, democratic Socialism has acquired considerable popularity recently in Western Europe, perhaps less through the attractiveness of its own program than through the spiritual bankruptcy of its opponents.

If, thanks to the strengthening of the democratic and Socialist elements in England and France, an understanding should finally be reached between Germany and these countries, we may expect, in the next few years, the more or less normal development of general conditions in Europe, a period of closer co-living among her peoples and of economic reconstruction.

The greatest share and responsibility for the nearest future in Europe will devolve upon the Socialist parties. In no country in Europe is Socialism strong enough to be able to exert power by itself; it is, however, sufficiently strong in the majority of these countries not to be left out of the reckoning, especially since the other democratic elements are not strong enough to rule by themselves. This program of the division of power looms up before the democratic Socialist forces in all its sharpness and responsibility. What used to be merely a question of So-

cialist tact and tactic is today a program which affects the vital interests of the nations of Europe and of Socialism as well. In Germany, the Social-Democrats have scorched their fingers through coalition with the bourgeois parties in the central Government, as a result of Germany's desperate internal situation and the inexperience of a Social-Democrat in the conduct of government the bourgeoisie has so far succeeded in hindering every measure of social progress and has robbed the participation of the Socialists in the Government of all its positive value.

The Social Democracy of Germany will hesitate long before it will decide to go into any coalitions with the bourgeois parties, through which it has lost so much of its prestige with the workers, even though it may be compelled to support the Government from the outside, so that the reins of power be not seized by outright reactionaries. For that matter, in England, too, the Labor Party governs only with the aid of the Liberals and is compelled to postpone the realization of its most important social demands for an indefinite period. In France, the Socialists will perhaps adopt an entirely different course. They will allow the democratic elements to rule with their aid instead of assuming the Government, and relying upon the democratic parties to support them. In neither of these three great lands, however, can the Socialists entirely reject responsibility for Government.

The program in Europe for the immediate future is a more or less quiet and gradual development under the strong influence of Democratic Socialism.

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\$1.00 opens an account.

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Workers: Show your shop-chairman you appreciate his work by helping him get a free vacation.

Last War-Time Free Speech Case Won

The last of the war-time cases involving free speech still before the courts has just been disposed of by a decision of the United States Supreme Court reversing the conviction of twelve Socialist Party members indicted at Cincinnati for distributing anti-draft literature in June, 1917. The case has dragged through the courts for seven years. It was finally thrown out on the technical ground that circulation of anti-draft literature did not constitute "a conspiracy to defraud the United States," which was the language of the statute under which the defendants were indicted.

The case, known as "the U. S. vs. Thomas Hamerschmidt and others," attracted widespread attention from its beginning. It was one of the first of the war cases for expressions of opinion, and the defendants were first charged with treason. Two different indictments were brought, and the original trial was not held until June, 1919.

With the exception of two war-time prisoners still held for expressions of opinion, this reversal by the Supreme Court ends the war cases.

All indictments which never came to trial have been dismissed, all the prisoners except two are out, and all appeals have been passed upon. There only remains the matter of the restoration of citizenship to the 1,200 persons convicted for expressions of opinion, and the removal of conditions attached to a few commutations by President Harding.

The Cincinnati case, strangely enough, was the last disposed of although it was among the first brought. Like scores of others it was inspired by war and anti-radical hysteria. Probably only the long delays in the case prevented the defendants from being sent to prison. In the seven years which have elapsed many of the defendants, all of whom were unmarried at the time, have since married and there are now seventeen children in their families. An adverse decision sending them to prison would have worked unusual hardship.

The conviction was wholly unjustified and the Supreme Court's reversal is evidence perhaps not so much of any changed attitude to the law, as of a change in the times.

JUSTICE

A Labor Weekly

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EDITORIALS

AT THE BAR OF PUBLIC OPINION

The jobbers have finally shown their true colors. The mask of friends of peace which they have so persistently worn has fallen off, and when forced by the Union to make a clear and conclusive answer, they came forth with a clear-cut declaration of opposition to the demands of the workers.

Obviously, their reply was meant to provoke an open fight. And, according to the plans prepared by the leaders of the Union, such a fight was the only logical outcome to such a reply by the jobbers. Nevertheless, the representatives of our organization decided at the last moment to make another effort for peace. The strike was overwhelmingly endorsed by the workers and would not suffer through a short delay, they reasoned, and it might be a good idea to place the jobbers once more on record before the bar of public opinion and expose their insincerity throughout all their negotiations with the Union. The Steering Committee of the Union therefore decided to call upon the jobbers to submit the dispute between the workers and themselves to a board of impartial arbitrators, the decision of which would be binding upon both parties.

We are not in a position to state what the answer of the jobbers to this proposal would have been. If we are to judge by the remark made by their counsel, Mr. Blumberg, to the effect that "principals cannot be arbitrated," they would have rejected this proposal and the cloakmakers' strike would have been in full swing by this time. But before the expiration of the 24-hour time-limit given by the Union to the jobbers to reply to the arbitration proposal, Governor Alfred E. Smith of New York intervened with an invitation to meet him and proposed a special commission to be appointed by him to mediate and try to settle the controversy. The Union promptly accepted the Governor's proposal and the jobbers subsequently half-heartedly acquiesced in it.

For the time being, the whole situation has been shifted to the Governor's commission. We have an idea that this intervention by Governor Smith was a rather unpleasant surprise for the cloak jobbers, something which has spoiled their plan of provoking the workers into a strike while at the same time making the appearance that they did not desire the strike and that it was all the work of the bad, bad Union leaders.

It is not clear to us whether the jobbers were gunning for this strike in order to be able to mulct the market, both during and after the strike, for the trade would bear; whether they deemed that this strike would be quickly lost by the workers and the Union would receive a death-blow by it; or for some other ulterior motive—but it was quite clear to us, at the last conference we had with them, that they were mighty anxious for it. Small wonder therefore that the Union's proposal for arbitration and later the Governor's invitation to appear before his commission rudely frustrated their neatly prepared plans.

We desire our readers to clearly understand the strategy of the jobbers—first, that they might grasp the situation as a whole, and, secondly, in order to silence the evil tongues of some of our enemies which have begun to wag that our representatives became scared at the last moment and made a step backward. Nothing can be farther from the truth. Our leaders, with President Sigman at the head, are today convinced as ever that when all other methods for an understanding are exhausted, the strike is the only method by which our workers might win their demands. They are anxious, however, to make certain that nothing has been left undone to achieve our purpose by peaceful means. A strike involving 50,000 workers is not a trifle, and the general public which is indirectly very much interested in this conflict must be fully convinced of the fairness of our demands and of untiring efforts for peace made by us.

We must consider another thing: It is quite probable that such an offer for mediation might have come to us after the strike had been declared and the workers had been in the fight for many weeks. Would the Union then have refused such a proposal? Of course not. And if this be the case, is not it more logical to go through with this proposal to arbitrate the differences now, before the strike has been called, than later, after weeks of suffering and travail?

Again, if the commissioners find for the Union and the demands of the workers, our fight is more than half won, as it is more than probable that the jobbers and the manufacturers would not dare to defy the opinion of an impartial commission. If, on the other hand, the commission should find that all our demands are entirely unjustified—something we refuse to believe it will—then the Union will at least know, if it resolves to fight, that it will have to go through this struggle on its own respon-

sibility and will not worry any longer about the intervention of outside parties.

In other words, we consider the present hearings before the Governor's commission, even if they fail to avert the strike, as a sort of insurance against an arbitration move when the fight will be in its full go and flare, a move that might rob us of the full fruit of victory when a hard-earned victory will be in sight. We need not emphasize that such things have happened in the past and that such arbitration moves on the eve of a victory by the workers have made many of them bitter opponents of conciliatory mediation.

And from this point of view we cannot help regarding the Governor's proposal for conciliation as the best thing that could have happened for the Union at this moment. If it is true, as Mr. Blumberg, the counsel of the jobbers, pretends to know, that the Union has prompted Governor Smith in making this move, it was a sensible and clever step and cannot help, in any event, to be productive of anything but good to the workers' organization of the cloakmakers of New York.

The Governor's commission will have to decide primarily and principally during these hearings at City Hall whether our jobbers are merely "merchants," as they style themselves, or honest-to-godness, actual manufacturers of cloaks as the Union states they are. If they are only merchants, then, of course, the demands of the Union fall by the board completely. If however it is determined that the jobbers are the real manufacturers in the industry, even an avowed opponent of the Union must admit the justice of its demands. We hope that the facts which our representatives will present to the commission will prove to it beyond doubt that, no matter what the jobbers might claim for themselves, the realities speak against their contentions and that they must assume the share of industrial responsibility which an employer of Labor cannot escape. The commission needs only to listen to the testimony of the contractors and sub-manufacturers given freely and without restraint, and it will quickly realize who is lord and master in the cloak and suit industry.

We presume that the commission consists of able and experienced men and we cannot imagine that they fail to master the intricacy of the cloak situation and the issues it involves. And once the true character of the jobbers as the employers in the industry is revealed, the rest will be a comparatively easy matter. We do not mean to imply by this that the commission will admit all of the demands of the workers; it is quite likely that for the sake of compromise it might reject some parts of the Union's program. The Union, however, is ready for it, as we declared in these columns last week. We, of course, know that all of our demands are justified in the light of experience and industrial equity. But we know too that "Rome was not built in a day." The principal thing we want recognized is that the jobber, as he operates today in the cloak industry, is to all practical purposes the manufacturer and that he must bear the full responsibility as such and not put the burden upon the shoulders of others who should not bear it.

That much we expect from the commission, though of course our hopes might not be fulfilled. We know one thing: Our case is in good and experienced hands. President Sigman, Morris Hillquit, Vice-president Feinberg and others will do everything possible to present the argument for the Union's program clearly and unmistakably to the commissioners. Our leaders have the advantage of the opposition because they have the truth and the facts on our side. That's why we were first to propose arbitration to the jobbers and because of this we accepted readily the offer of the Governor. We have no fear indeed to come to any board of honest, fair and fearless men and state to them our case which even the adroit acrobatics of a shrewd attorney cannot distort or begot.

SICK BENEFIT FUND IN LOCAL 22

Our readers doubtless observed in our last issue an article by Vice-president Isidore Schoenholtz, manager of Local 22, dealing with the introduction of sick and tuberculosis benefits in that local, the dressmakers' organization of New York. We cannot add anything to the clear and explicit statement of Brother Schoenholtz, save that we have been wondering all along why Local 22 has not adopted this system long ago.

The point of view that a trade union has only one purpose—the economic fight against the employer—is very much outdated. It is becoming an axiom among thinking workers that the labor union must become a bulwark of protection for the workers in all their needs and requirements. It stands to reason that when workers are sick, when they are moped down at any other time in need of help from their fellow workers, the Union should come to their assistance through fixed sick benefit funds raised and supported by the members and extended not as a gift of charity, but as a means of self-help and fraternal relief.

We are all the more delighted that Local 22 has adopted a sick benefit system because this large local consists largely of women members who do not as a rule belong to benefit societies or similar relief funds. To these workers the introduction of a sick benefit system in Local 22 is of special importance. Another reason is that this is a sign that Local 22, which has been regarded as a local that is concerned little with practical every-day problems, and is largely interested in the roseate, nebulous future, is gradually finding out that its feet are after all planted upon the earth.

A labor union may and should be idealistic, but it must not forget the realities of the day we live in. One may hold his head upright and aloft, but one cannot forget that his feet are on the ground and he must reckon with the practical and daily demands of life.

Is This The "Lincoln Period"?

By LOUIS F. BUDENZ

Between a nomination and election there is many a slip.
So gloomily reflects one Calvin Coolidge, late of Massachusetts, as one vice-presidential possibility after another refuses to run with him. "Keep Cool with Coolidge" is no longer a mere slogan. Lowden and Borah and Hoover have made it a fact. They have left Calvin cold. The handwriting on the wall was too plain.

"Hell-and-Marie" Dawes has the ambition to be the American Maxwell. His Minute Men, formed a twelvemonth back, have as their aim the imposition of the "Open Shop" on American Labor. With him on the ticket, Commercialism has come out into the open. It no longer slinks behind the doors, through its Falls and Denbys, its Inevitable Government has become startlingly visible. It is the issue of 1924.

Our strike-breaking President has been given a fitting, strike-breaking partner. Can any one wonder that Cal, at the last moment, tried hard to get someone else to take the place? After all, he is a cracker-jack ward politician. He saw that two reactionaries on one ticket would make the issue too clear. It would be a dead give-away. But that reactionary convention, packed in his own interest, would not heed. The historic ride of his assistant secretary through Washington's parks and Senator Borah, and try to persuade him to betray LaFollette, was in vain. The bold salesmen, as Heywood Brown termed the Republican delegates, were determined to put the workers in bondage—once and for all.

Well, that much is over. The "party of Lincoln" has become definitely and undisputedly the party of Reaction. Even hesitating, looking-two-ways Copper hasn't a look-in amid the wolves of Wall street, now in full control. Two bitter enemies agree on that—proof beyond doubt that it must be true! The New York World runs a cartoon this bright June morning, showing a wee Dawes and a wee Coolidge, sitting on the knees of a huge Big Business. Its title: "On the knees of the God." The New York American, on this very same morning, also runs a cartoon. It pictures the Republican elephant, small and wasted. On his back, with Calvin in one pocket and a straw man in the other, sits a Giant, marked Wall Street. It is crushing the poor elephant.

But what about the "party of Jefferson"? If the Republicans have forgotten the slavery issue that gave their party birth, have the Democrats equally suffered a lapse of memory? Their party now are advancing on Manhattan. They will give the answer. What sort of pot-pourri it will be, can be glimpsed by looking at the forces arrayed against each other within the Democratic ranks. There are the Volsteadians and the pre-Volsteadians. Bryan stands at the head of the former, dry as the Sahara. Tammany stands at the van of the latter, wet as a rich man's cellar. Between them is a terrible abyss, that may yawn and swallow them up. Scores could be wider than the "great divide" between the Klansmen and the anti-Klan. McAdoo flirts with the former. Smith is solid

with the latter. It is the Klan South versus the Catholic Northeast, Democratically speaking. The Klan and Prohibition—these are the two "issues" that will stir the "Jeffersonians" to their very toe-tips. How can such a convention face the big economic questions, which must be met, in order to be a rival to the reactionary Republicans?

The answer is: It can't. Democracy and Republicanism are as bankrupt today, on the crisis of the day, as were the Whigs and Democrats in 1860.

What reminds me of an interesting book I have just been reading. It is bristling with economic facts. It is full of errors of conclusion. But some of the things it says make one sit up and take notice. Especially, a chapter which was written in 1920. A few quotations will convince you.

"Today commercialism is playing exactly the role which slavery played yesterday." That is quotation No. 1. "Energized by modern invention into such a huge abase that it, and not its natural child—discontent—is about to enforce its own abolition." Those who know American history, and what the agitation against slavery meant, can appreciate what that also means. For fully thirty years Garrison and Phillips and the other Abolitionists went about the land, attacking slavery, and, physically, attacking the pro-slavery mobs—before the "conscience of the country" said that slavery must stop.

Quotation No. 2 becomes more interesting. "The election of Mr. Harding in 1920, as much for the repression of radical expression of economic discontent as from hatred of Mr. Wilson's policies, is a startling parallel with the election of Buchanan in 1856." That is getting warm indeed. For, Buchanan, the dyed-in-the-scarf slavery advocate, was the last slavery President to sit in the chair at Washington.

Quotation No. 3 links Harding and Buchanan in a remarkable way. In 1856, it says, "the North, revolting against having the uncomfortable slavery-issue thrust upon it, and led by the commercialists in protest against disruption of their profits, had elected the non-committal Buchanan in a 'safe-and-sane,' peace at any price campaign, punctuated by anti-Abolitionism, and the Kansas border-war over slavery, as a rebuke to the 'needless agitation.'" Exactly like Mr. Harding's "return to Normalcy."

And then we come to quotation No. 4—and the last. "We have just reached," it says, "the President Buchanan stage of revolution of our pending economic world-crisis." Mind you, that was written in 1920. "Nor-slavery" had not yet exploded itself in oil. No sign of La Follette's big revolt was on the horizon—save as La Follette was always revolting. No array of Progressive Senators sat for the Far West, and menaced attack on the existing order. All was "sitting pretty," as Jess Smith describes it.

The author of the quotations is Sidney A. Reese, and the book, "Modern Economic Tendencies."

Mr. Reese can compare the Harding regime with the Buchanan period, and make something of it, are we not on sound ground in look-

ing at the present as the "Lincoln period" in the fight against Monopoly? We leave the reply to Senator Shipstead. He says, Yes. He says that short word most emphatically. La Follette stands in the same historical position as Lincoln. He had the same problems to face. He has met them in the same way, in his repudiation of the Communists. Oscar Ameringer comes in, to say the same thing in a different way. He compares Debs to the Abolitionists, and La Follette to Lincoln.

Beyond personalities, there are the big political and economic forces. How do they line up—those of 1860 and those of 1924? In Lincoln's day the Supreme Court was the citadel of Slavery. Today it is the stronghold of Democracy. It has given us a dozen "Dred Scott" decisions in the past few years. The dollar sign is written all over it.

In Lincoln's time the Democratic party was frankly pro-slavery, even as Calvin and his crew today are frankly pro-Privilege. The Whig party wobbled all around, even as the Democratic line will wobble in 1924. Cotton had as strong a grip on the Cabinet and the White House just before 1860 as Wall Street has in this year of grace 1924. The banking and office-holding boobyocracy were as much intent on "putting down" Abolitionists and Republicans as the same gang are set on the same purpose concerning Socialists, Labor men and Progressives today.

So there you are. It looks like much the same situation—on a more advanced political battle-ground. All sorts of folks, "odds and ends," came together to put over the lanky wood-chopper from Illinois. All sorts of citizens and citizenesses are coming together to support the little fighter from Wisconsin. The other night I sat in such a gathering in the city of Newark. It was an executive committee session to form a New Jersey Conference for Progressive Political Action—and not a general meeting. But within the group, there sat several "Socialists," a number of old Roosevelt Progressives; some Single Taxers, Committee-of-48ers, followers of the late and lamented Hiram Johnson, ex-soldiers, railroad brotherhood men and other trade unionists; women pacifists and women "patriots." And all agreed to a man—and a woman—we must add in these suffrage days—on the excellent St. Louis platform of the C. P. P. A. There was a sigh of relief from each one, they saw every other one united with them on the same ideas. Their issue is clear, too—as clear as that

INTERNATIONAL CALENDAR

By H. SCHOOLMAN

This Week Twelve Years Ago

The Toronto Convention ends with eloquent addresses by Meyer London, Abraham Rosenberg, John Dwyer, and Benjamin Schlesinger. The new G. E. H. consists of Abraham Rosenberg, president; John Dwyer, secretary-treasurer; S. Finkelstein, first vice-president; and among the newly elected vice-presidents are Sigman, New York; Lapidas, Toronto; Harry Dubinsky, Boston; Felt, Cleveland; Lefteris, Philadelphia; Witschick, Mitchell and Zlotchkin, New York; Amder, Philadelphia; Cohen, Baltimore; and Strassberg, Chicago.

Local 17 celebrates the seventh year of its existence by holding a mass picnic.

In the biennial report of Local 35, the cloak grocers of New York, it is stated that their membership consists of 8,000, of whom 90 per cent are Jews, 15 per cent Italians and 5 per cent Russians. Ninety per cent of this membership are in good standing. In 1911 their income amounted to \$95,000 and their cash balance was over \$10,000.

of Mr. Coolidge and Mr. Dawes. They are anti-Commercialism, anti-Monopoly, pro-Labor and pro-farmer and pro-ex-soldier.

Historical analogies are interesting. They are likewise profitable. The knowledge that victory may be near, spurs us all on to a greater effort. The dark days of agitation are disappearing. Years of power and organization are ahead. The "Lincoln period" looks to be just around the corner.

With that thought, we can all go jubilant to the C. P. P. A. meeting at Cleveland on July 4. The future is not all a bed of roses. Not all as easy as that! There is not only the job of stirring up the people, who need very little stirring, but also the job of seeing that the votes are counted. Organization is required as thorough as that of the old parties. The railroad unions, with their fine organization over the land, form the basis for that. We all must lend a hand to it.

The thought that we are now within striking distance of the goal of definite results—that we have a 50-50 chance with the powers-that-be—puts soul into our movement. It will arouse every union man that can, to be present on July 4. A task may be cut out for him—that will mean big things for farmer and worker. It is now certain that Robert M. La Follette of Wisconsin will lead us to that task.

What the New York World says: (Editorial, June 9, 1924).

Save The Cloak Industry

Thanks to the conciliatory spirit shown by union officials and the representatives of the jobbers, the general strike of 50,000 New York cloakmakers set for June 1 has yet to be called. Whether it will be averted altogether depends upon the attitude finally taken by the jobbers.

These are jobbers in name only. Actually, they are manufacturers whose goods are turned out upon contracts awarded under what is practically an auction system, with prices depending upon the needs of the contractors and of those they employ. Under this system the splendid "inside" shops have largely disappeared because of the unfair competition involved, the sweatshop in all its viciousness has returned and standards of wages and quality of workmanship have deteriorated. The jobber has acquired the dominance in the industry hitherto held by the men making goods under their own roofs.

Under it also has come demoralization, with no manufacturer knowing the labor costs of his competing or competent to forecast his own; the law of the jungle rules, with the record written, in part, in the files of the bankruptcy court.

With control of an industry goes responsibility for that industry. Aside from any consideration of humanity or fair play, the jobbers as a matter of self-defense ought to recognize that responsibility amicably, rather than compel the union, in this instance more enlightened than many of the employers, to force its recognition by a strike in which it will have the support of an understanding public.

We congratulate Local 22 on its decision, and we hope that they will soon have this sick benefit system in operation. We are certain that the introduction of this sick fund will not in the least retard the activities of the Union in other fields. If anything, it should intensify its other work as its members begin to realize that the Union offers them aid, advice and assistance at every turn and opportunity. We know that the majority of the members of Local 22 are enlightened enough to understand this and to appreciate that by contributing a few dollars annually they will make this sick benefit fund a permanent union function and a successful institution.



IN THE REALM OF BOOKS



Romance

Pierre Curie. By Marie Curie. Translated by Charlotte and Vernon Kellogg. With an introduction by Mrs. William Brown Mackay, and Autobiographical Note by Marie Curie. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1923.

By SYLVIA KOPALD

There are a few fortunate people to whom life is truly good. Pierre and Marie Curie undoubtedly stand among the foremost of those fortunate few. Rich in none of the things by which the worldly-wise count wealth; knowing poverty and hardship and neglect, their life together makes one of the most glamorous tales of the century. For Pierre and Marie Curie together, hard work and love and service. They shared a great quest, noble ideals and a common capacity for deep personal feeling. It is from such stuff that the true fulness of life is born.

Pierre and Marie Curie met in Paris when both had passed well beyond the threshold of their life work. Pierre was thirty-six and had already accomplished notable things in his field; Marie was twenty-eight and had definitely embarked upon the work that was to make her famous. But more important still, they were full-grown individuals in the highest sense of the phrase. As Marie describes Pierre's development before she met him from those fragments that she knows, there emerges a warm human being and a great mind. Marie's self-offering autobiographical notes reveal her also a sure-footed person, who realized well that there need be no subordination in life's highest values.

Little wonder, then, that these two were the quietly eventful days of their life together into so beautiful a pattern. Together they did a great scientific work, and in the true spirit of service refused to reap any personal gain from their discoveries. Together they lived and loved, sharing their hopes for humanity, their dreams of a better world, their joy in nature, their aspirations for the suppressed national group to which Marie belonged, their thoughts on the common thing that is the modern world. And together they took from life's common fund those high and simple joys that are offered to all men: friends and children and intimate family ties. No finer romance than theirs has ever been lived.

I say "has ever been lived" deliberately. For Marie Curie at no time writes romance in her book. Who touches her story touches no verbal beauty, but the beauty of being. She is most restrained in her account of Pierre. We feel the man not by what she says about him, but by the actual things he does and says. Slowly her own life emerges through an account of deeds and reactions. Fully two-thirds of the book is an account of the life work of these two people, of the steps leading up to and the actual discovery of radium. Yet it is very restrained and simplicity makes it a most warmly human tale of greatness.

Pierre was born on May 15, 1859. He was fortunate in his family and always maintained the most affectionate relations with them. His father and older brother were both scientific men and Pierre thus grew up in an environment where his dominant ambitions and interests were understood and nourished. He passed his entire childhood within the family circle. His parents declined to force his submission to the arbitrary

routine of school and he fed his love for science and natural history at his own will. At eighteen he received his baccalaureate in physics at the Sorbonne, and from nineteen to twenty-four he acted as assistant in physics. During these years he accomplished his first large research work, much of which (as well as his play) was done in co-operation with his brother, Jacques. Their well-known work in crystallization and in piezo-electricity came during this time.

With this appointment as Director of Laboratory Work and then Professor in the School of Physics at the College Rollin in 1884, Pierre entered upon the work that filled practically the entire twenty-two years of his scientific life. Before he met Marie he had completed more or less his fundamental work on symmetry. The full expression of it came in 1895, the year of his marriage.

Marie, during these years, had also been advancing steadily on the path which she had chosen for herself. She was born at Warsaw in 1867 (the youngest of five children), also of a understanding and stimulating family. When she was only nine years old she lost her mother. This first great catastrophe of her life threw her into a profound depression, for her natural love of her mother was joined to a passionate admiration for the exceptional personality who "with all her intellectual... had a big... very high sense of duty." But Marie advanced in her studies rapidly and always "in first rank." When scarcely seventeen, she left her father's house to take up an independent life.

She carried from her father's home not only warm love for its members, but an intense Polish nationalism, high tastes and fond memories. During her work as governess she continued her studies, participated actively in the underground nationalistic propaganda in which the youth of her country were then engaged. But it gradually became clear to her that her field of dominant interest lay in physics and mathematics and she began to prepare for study in Paris. Her path was a difficult one, and the vision of this brave Polish girl studying alone, working, saving money, and at the same time giving loyal love and service to her father and friends, is a moving one, indeed.

She reached Paris and the realization of her dream in 1891. Pierre Curie she met in 1894. They were immediately attracted to one another, and after a year's questioning and doubts they were married. Somehow another story seems to begin here. Both Pierre and Marie have been individuals; they remained individuals throughout. But they were so ideally suited that their lives before marriage seem an almost conscious preparation for the single life their marriage became. They absorbed not only one another but each other's families.

There is no bitterness in Madame Curie's tale of how they discovered radium. But there is a surely shame in it for this acquisitive world, in which we live. Denied laboratory, equipment, materials, they worked in

in their wooden shack with its leaky roof, frozen winters, pine tables, and poor ventilation. While positions that might have meant ease and time for the great work they were doing were given to friends of friends of those who could give them, these two faced poverty and hardship—and worked on. When success had come they refused all worldly gifts—refused everything from copyrights to decorations. True soldiers of science and humanity!

By 1906, the world was ready to recognize the gifts of these two.

They had been granted much that they did not want and some things that they did. A laboratory had not yet been granted them. Then suddenly in his prime, Pierre was struck and killed by a commercial auto truck. There is genius snuffed out.

Madame Curie is carrying on. The gift of radium given her by American women and a laboratory are enabling her to continue her work for science. She has given the world a great discovery and a beautifully patterned life. Let the world keep its brass.

The Amalgamated Almanac

Amalgamated Illustrated Almanac—1924. Published by the Amalgamated Clothing Workers' Education Department.

A beautifully printed, large-size book of almost two hundred pages, full of illustrations and drawings that would do justice to any pretentious publication, this Almanac is decidedly a fine thing to look at. The book consists of several parts, which include reviews of the past twelvemonth in Europe and America, a survey of occurrences in the men's clothing industry, and a chapter—"In a Lighter Vein"—served by the editor in true table d'hôte style after the heavier courses of the repeat have been overcome.

The splendor of the book—I say it without any attempt at twitting—puzzles me considerably, as I bear in mind that it is issued by the Education Department of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers and is therefore to be catalogued as part of the adult Labor education of the tailor's organization. There are nine parts to it—and of these only two, one on "The Amalgamated States" and another on "The Labor Movement of America," have a direct bearing on the union which has published it; while the other chapters are general in scope, touching on a wide and variegated field, from the "Inventory" of the United States by Scott Nearing, an essay on the progress of revolutionary thought by J. B. Salutsky, to "The Twentieth Century—a Flapper." It

is as kaleidoscopic as a Greenwich Village art publication and as luxuriously gotten up as any glittering house organ issued for the trade where expense is of no account.

These seven chapters by themselves are valuable, informative, and could probably on their merits find place in some periodicals devoted to the discussion of revolutionary thought and action. True, in such a case they would not reach the working-class readers of the Amalgamated—but we have a not entirely unjustified feeling that the proletarian readers of the Amalgamated or of other unions will neither get to this Almanac nor could enjoy its gorgeous embellishments if by chance it were placed in their hands.

Nevertheless, the Almanac, while beyond the reach of the average Amalgamated reader, will doubtless serve a purpose. While it is neither a history of the Clothing Workers' Union nor a faithful reflection of the mind and thoughts of the great masses of its membership, it will serve to arouse new interest in the Amalgamated and sustain the old interest and friendship which the Amalgamated has won among large sections of liberals and radicals by its persistent and able presentation of its mission and historic background from the day it was organized.

M. D. D.

In Local 50

By A. BLUMFIELD

The members of the Waist and Dressmakers' Union, Local 50, have again rallied to the support of their Union. An overwhelming majority of the members, at a very large meeting of the Union, voted to make the local self-sustaining by raising an additional fifteen cents to the existing dues, making them fifty cents per week.

The attendance at the meeting held on Tuesday, June 10, surpassed all previously held meetings. The interest displayed by such a tremendous gathering was most impressively demonstrated by the members, who held their seats until the end, and listened attentively to every speaker. Who can say, after this, that the majority of the members are indifferent toward their union?

Brother Winick, chairman of a special committee to investigate and devise means for improving the financial conditions of the union, reported for his committee that under the present conditions our union could not continue to function, particularly in view of the fact that the International at the last convention at Boston added five cents to the per capita. He therefore recommended, in behalf of his committee, raising the dues to fifty cents.

After a considerable discussion, pro and con, Brother Reinsberg took the floor and very ably described to the members the present financial condition of the local, and brought to the attention of the members the

big campaign drive contemplated by our union, which will require a considerable amount of money. After Brother Reinsberg's talk, the recommendation of the committee was taken to a vote and passed by an overwhelming majority. The increase in dues will go into effect in the near future. All those who are in arrears, are urged to pay their dues as soon as possible, for it will be hard for them to pay at fifty cents per week if they let their arrears accumulate much more.

At the same meeting Brother Reinsberg announced that all those who want to go for their vacation to the New York Unity House, will be admitted at the same rate per week as the members of the local which owns the Unity House.

Elections for officers took place on June 12, and the following were elected for the next six months: A. B. Blumfield, recording secretary; Benjie Gorin, Dora Stern, Beckie Mintz, Joe Tessler, F. Shatkin, N. Alexander, Edith Kalish, Sonia Rosenberg, Ida Savitt, Rose Rubenstein, Rose Goodman, Nathan Tocker, Betty Cooper, Sarah Cessner and Dora Waxman, executive board members.

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Hillquit, Johnston and Panken on the Third Party Movement

(Extracts of speeches delivered at the Boston Convention)

The Boston Convention of our International, among other things, will be remembered for the intense interest it has shown in the widespread movement for independent political action which is stirring the country from end to end. The convention not only decided to send delegates to the coming National Conference for Progressive Political Action in Cleveland on July 4, but received with the greatest enthusiasm the addresses of Morris Hillquit, William H. Johnston and Jacob Panken, which were largely devoted to the subject of a working-class third-party movement that would rise to take into its fold every honest rebel against the political corruption which is submerging our entire national life, and the industrial oligarchy which has the country in its grip today more firmly than ever.

We reproduce below some of the most salient remarks from the speeches delivered by Hillquit, Johnston and Panken, as we are sure our readers will be delighted to read these passages which epitomize clearly the whole substance and meaning of the great movement for a real Labor party in America which is engaging so much attention in Labor ranks at the present time.

Morris Hillquit, Legal Adviser of the International

We are here in the United States on the eve of a new, radical great development in the Labor movement. A political Labor party is being born in this country. It may take some time, it may not develop immediately into a full-fledged organization in every respect, but it is coming. The great mass of workers of this country have finally been taught through all the blows they have received in the last few years from our Government, from our employers, from our courts, from all directions, that their only salvation lies in getting together, organizing together, not merely economically but politically, as the whole class of workers and working farmers in the United States; and that consciousness is forging ahead; it cannot be repressed; it will find expression, and it will find expression in a very short time, most likely before the coming Presidential election:

Now, my friends, that will be the opportunity for you men and women, most of whom come from foreign countries, and who under the yoke and oppression of foreign despotic governments have developed a keen sense of justice and a keen love of liberty, to cooperate with that movement; and that means more than merely forming a political party; it means the laying of the foundation of the movement which will liberate the United States and which will liberate the world. It will mean that finally we, here in the United States, will become part of that world-wide procession of the workers of all countries towards emancipation, towards complete liberty.

For America is the only country that holds back the triumphant procession of Labor throughout the world. In every other country in the world the workers are united politically and economically. The world cannot proceed without America, and America will not join in the world's liberating procession. So long as it will be governed by our capitalistic classes, so long will the workers of America politically be impotent.

We have reached a very crucial point in the history of the whole world. We have reached the point where it has become apparent and obvious that the capitalistic class can no longer govern. It is not merely the incompetence and the corruption that are today displayed by our own Government in this Washington investigation. Oh, no, it is more than that. It is an absolute, complete bankruptcy of the capitalistic class all over the world.

Look at them. They have ruled, they have governed for generations. They have ruled without question. The workers of all lines have submitted to their rule. They have ruled in ruin, in devastation, in destruction. They have ruled until the point when they have driven the whole human race in a frenzied war of mutual extermination, until they have covered the countries of Europe with rivers of human blood. They have ruled until they have taken the most progressive, the most prosperous part of the world, Europe, and turned it into a porchouse and into a condition of misery that beggars description. If they are allowed to continue ruling, it may mean the end of human civilization.

There is but one force that can save the world, and that force is the force of the workers who have no interest in the competitive fights and struggles of the capitalistic class, who stand, and of necessity must stand, for universal prosperity, for universal brotherhood and for peace, and the workers alone can establish a world on that basis.

President William H. Johnston of the International Association of Machinists

It is useless to expect the Labor unions to perform the work, the duties, the functions that they are organized for so long as you permit special interests to control the reins of Government. Our railroad unions and other unions have been splitting their votes for years. We would work together on the industrial field, but at the ballot we were defeated, and because of our division we were so often betrayed.

A little over two years ago we called together a group of men to see if we could not reserve some of the rights guaranteed under the Constitution. I issued a call to all of the Labor unions, to the farmers' organizations, to the Socialist party, to the Farmer-Labor party, to other progressive groups, and for the first time in the history of this country a very complex group of people got together with diversified views, who had a lot of erroneous ideas about each other and a great deal of misunderstanding.

We drafted a program, modest, of course. We felt, if we were going to do anything worth while, we must have a program broad enough to embrace all of these elements, and then we went out to see if we could not elect men and women who would represent the people. Our initial effort, even though some have thought it was simply a makeshift, accomplished more good than all of the efforts that had heretofore been put forth by other groups, divided as they had been.

Men like Poindexter, who had succeeded in putting an anti-strike bill through the Senate with only five men present, were defeated through our efforts. Poindexter a few years ago posed as a friend of Labor and one day, when only five men were in the Senate Chamber, he called up his bill. When Senator Kenyon, now judge, was seen coming in the doorway, they knew that he would object to the consideration of such an important measure with only five men present, and they sent a man to take Kenyon to one side and to get him into conversation in order to keep him away from the Senate Chamber a few minutes longer, in order that they might put over this nefarious anti-strike bill. But, thank God, we had men like Senator La Follette in the Senate who forced a reconsideration and who defeated the bill. But what can one man do, what can two men do in an organization such as the Senate? We went out and defeated Poindexter, Kellogg, and McCumber and New and Townsend and Frelinghuysen and Mandell and Hitchcock and Sutherland and numerous others.

The conferences have gone on. The work has been largely financed by the railroad organizations. Your organization has been represented at two of the conferences. We are going to have a convention in Cleveland on July 4 and we are looking forward with great expectations to it because it now looks as though the same selfish, sordid interests control both of the old parties and they will, in all probability, nominate reactionary candidates. It seems to me the time is most propitious to launch a new party representing the toiling masses of America. I am going to ask this convention to consider sending delegates to that conference. I hope you will consider making a contribution to the work of educating the great masses and organizing them throughout the land.

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Judge Jacob Panken of New York

You cannot possibly rest your ears upon what you can do on the economic field, for your achievements are often nullified by the political situation in our country. The injunction is made use of by the employer against your union as well as against other unions. Not only is the court often used against you, but sometimes even the executives and often the legislative departments of our Government are used against you in the interests of the master class. It behooves us to be mindful of the fact that the majority of the American people are the workers, that the wealth of America is the result of the labor of American workers. It behooves us to take cognizance of these facts and to resolve that we should not only devote ourselves to our economic problems but that we should also participate in the movement for the conquest of the political power of our nation.

There will be a convention on the fourth of July in Cleveland. There will be millions of organized workers represented. I am hopeful that at that convention a new Declaration of Independence will be declared—a declaration which will declare the independence of the workers from the master class.

We cannot be blind to the fifth which has accumulated in the city of Washington. We cannot agree with the President of the United States when he says, "The wonder is that there are not more grafters and much more stolen." We cannot be blind to the fact that the national Government is sanctioning that serpent, the Ku Klux Klan. Just turn your eyes to the immigration law. They claim that, unless the restricted immigration law is enacted, this country will be flooded with inferior races, people from the Southern countries. The Ku Klux Klan takes exactly the same position.

We cannot be blind to the raid that is going on upon the national wealth. They have not only made a raid on the wages of American workers and the products of your toil, but they are raiding day in and day out the wealth that belongs to the people of this country. The time has come for American labor to tell the master class, "You have gone far enough, not another step will we permit you to go!"

They have stolen the oil, they have depleted the forests and now are perpetrating a raid upon the water power of the nation. The only power that was left is that power which is generated by water which results in electric currents. Congress today seeks to transfer for private exploitation Muscle Shoals. The American Government does nothing in the direction of developing that water power and generating electricity for the people of this nation. \$800,000,000 could be saved annually if the railroads of the United States were electrified. Our shipping industry can be put on a smaller cost of operation if oil is used instead of coal. But the national Government has done nothing in that direction. We owe a duty to our children and to posterity not to permit this raid.

You must get together and organize and do the same thing that British Labor has done. There is no hope in any direction but in the direction of the working class.



EDUCATIONAL COMMENT AND NOTES



A Course in Trade Union Policies and Tactics

By DAVID J. SAPOSS

Given at the

WORKERS' UNIVERSITY

of the

INTERNATIONAL LADIES' GARMENT WORKERS' UNION

Seasons 1922-23 and 1923-24

LESSON 6—Continued.

- V. 1. With the trustification of industry, another step was taken. Unions which had members in an industry joined to carry on organizing campaigns, strikes and joint bargaining.
2. This is how the iron and steel, packing, railroad, ship-building and other trustified industries were organized.
3. To meet the new need, the American Federation of Labor created a Building Trades, Metal Trades, Mining and Railway Employes Department.
4. These intercraft federations and departments are intended to enable trade and craft unions to act as a unit in each industry.
5. They differ from industrial unions in that it remains optional with each union to join or refrain from joining the other unions in the industry, and it can withdraw whenever it sees fit.
6. This form of autonomy has often prevented united action, and has weakened the efforts of the remaining unions.
- VI. 1. At present the advocates of industrial unionists agitate indiscriminately for two types of industrial unionism.
2. One form would consist of all the workers employed by a specific business unit, as workers employed by railroads, or iron and steel mills.
3. Second type would organize all workers engaged on a specific kind of material, as metal trades, clothing and wearing apparel trades, etc.
4. Industrial unionism is inevitable if trustified industries are to be organized. The present makeshifts have proved ineffective. But it would behoove the advocates of industrial unionists to study carefully the obstacles and problems confronting them.

LESSON 7—The I. W. W. and Dual Unionism.

- I. 1. Just as the American Federation of Labor was the rival of the Knights of Labor, it in turn has had to contend with opponents.
2. The attempt to organize internationals in opposition to those affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, or a combination of unions to replace the Federation itself, is popularly known as "dual unionism."
- II. 1. Some of the dual unions do not differ in philosophy and tactics from the American Federation of Labor unions. They were founded largely on account of dissatisfaction with the leaders of the old union, because of rivalry between leaders, etc.
2. Dual unions of this nature are apt to be socialistic and to favor industrial unionism. But they believe in collective bargaining and trade agreements, trade autonomy, strike funds and other benefit features, and other practices common to either radical or conservative unions within the American Federation of Labor.
- III. 1. Another element has organized dual unions to replace the American Federation of Labor, because it differs fundamentally on policies, tactics, and philosophies.
2. Several such organizations have challenged the leadership of the American Federation of Labor during its existence.
3. The I. W. W. is the most outstanding. It took an uncompromising position against collective bargaining and trade agreements, strike funds, benefit features and other "opportunistic and immediate demands" to improve the conditions of the workers. It set out to stress ultimate aims, to be secured through highly centralized and non-autonomous industrial unions and departments, and the general strike.
- IV. 1. In its attempts to win over unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor it made little headway.
2. Its chief success lay in following up failures of the American Federation of Labor unions.
 - (a) A number of American Federation of Labor unions failed in organizing trustified industries, which employed large numbers of unskilled and immigrant workers.
 - (b) Likewise, in a number of instances the leaders of American Federation of Labor unions did not know how to reach the immigrant workers, or could not hold their confidence.
3. On the other hand, the I. W. W. made a special effort to reach these workers. It distributed its propaganda in all languages and thereby succeeded in advertising itself among these immigrant and unskilled workers, and made converts among many of their local leaders.
4. Naturally, when the working conditions of these workers became unbearable and they spontaneously joined in a strike, they turned to the I. W. W. for leadership.

5. Thus in addition to carrying on its propaganda, the I. W. W. also supplied leadership to unorganized workers during strikes.
6. The I. W. W. also influenced through its propaganda many active and intelligent radicals to abandon the American Federation of Labor unions.
- V. 1. As a propaganda organization, the I. W. W. has succeeded in influencing large masses of workers, especially unskilled and immigrant workers in trustified industries, and American migratory workers in the West.
2. Through its propaganda activities it has popularized radical trade unionism, and anti-American Federation of Labor sentiment.
- VI. 1. As an economic organization it has proved a failure. Outside of supplying leadership during spontaneous strikes, aiding dissatisfied elements of American Federation of Labor unions, and keeping migratory workers of the West together, it has confined its activities to propaganda work.
2. (a) It failed to establish stable economic organizations in industries where its counsel and leadership was accepted;
- (b) It discouraged accumulation of funds for financing strikes and routine activities;
- (c) It did not aid local leaders to perpetuate unions founded during strikes so as to see that the conditions won by those strikes were not taken away from the workers after returning to work;
- (d) It did not supply counsel and guidance during normal times.
- VII. 1. As many of the local leaders began to acquire experience and to familiarize themselves with conditions elsewhere, they realized the shortcomings of the I. W. W.
2. These leaders counselled and secured the repudiation of the I. W. W., and the formation instead of independent unions.
3. Several such unions were organized, retaining belief in the ultimate abolition of capitalism, but also aiming to establish strong and stable unions that will better existing conditions and protect the immediate interests of the workers.
4. Another element of the I. W. W. is even opposed to independent unions, and is urging the radicals to join the American Federation of Labor unions in order to "bore from within" and capture these unions.

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LESSON 8—The American Federation of Labor.

- I. 1. The American Federation of Labor is the predecessor of a number of national organization of unions.
2. The Labor movement was not long in existence before it was realized that all unions have national interests in common. With this feeling plans were evolved for national organization of existing unions.
- II. 1. The first national federation of trade unions was founded in 1835 less than ten years following the formation of the first city centrals and beginning of the Labor movement.
2. This federation was called the National Trades' Union and was organized on different principles than the American Federation of Labor.
3. It was composed of city centrals over whose action it had considerable control to the extent of even requiring them to contribute to a national strike fund.
4. But the Labor movement was still too unstable for permanent organization so that the National Trades' Union was short lived.

"WHAT WILL THE KNOWLEDGE OF PSYCHOLOGY ACCOMPLISH FOR THE LABOR MOVEMENT," A LECTURE BY ALEXANDER FICH-ANDLER

Mr. Fichandler will lecture in our Unity House in Forest Park Sunday morning, June 22. His topic will be "What Will the Knowledge of Psychology Accomplish for the Labor Movement?"

At the request of the Unity House Committee, the Educational Committee of the I. L. G. W. U. decided to arrange weekly lectures to be given by prominent lecturers and teachers. The object of the lectures will be to interest our members in topics important to them as men and women and as workers. The lectures will be given in English and in Yiddish.

The lectures to follow will be announced next week.

РУССКО-ПОЛЬСКИЙ ОТДЕЛ

ЮНИОН ГОТОВ К БОРЬБЕ!

Начавшая с понедельника, 9-го июня, битва за права рабочих переговоров между наемных рабочих и представителями ассоциации "Дабнера" почти не прекращалась. Вследствие тактики дабнеров отставивших от своих услуг большинство из числа наемных работников, чтобы они получили своей отсыл на требования наемных писем с указанием о казенных пунктах они согласны с казенным вето, и если вето, то почему и что они предлагают с своей стороны для устранения упомянутого вето.

В своем ответе на это требование наемных деловых не только не сделали никаких уступок, но даже взяли обратно письмо из сказанных книг за время конференции обещаний совершенно не исполнили о гарантировании определенного часа работы неделя и т.д., о сокращении часов работы недели и о сокращении платы (всего).

В среду, 12-го июня, наемные, после продолжительных дискуссий, послали дабнерам следующее письмо:

Господа!

События указывают и разочарованием их претвития предостережений Ваши черепашки деловые. Преподанные Ваши, что наемные неограниченные конференции о Ваши были более или менее социальным характером, мы все так считали, что все пункты, на которых мы согласились с Вами во время этой конференции будут Вами признаны и в писемном черепашке. Ваше письмо очень ясно показывает противное.

Мы делаем обратное во в каждом существенном из сказанных Вами обещаний и даже больше — отвергаете некоторые из обязательств принятых Вами по старому договору и даже стараетесь возложить на наемных больше обязательств, которые абсолютно невозможно исполнить.

В своем предостережении наемные писемные исправили некоторые из критических недостатков в индустрии, которые вошли в нее с так называемой "дабнерской системой". "Дабнеры", которых представлял Ваши ассоциация, являются фактически фабрикатами, которые отказываются от своей прямой ответственности перед рабочими. Членами Ваши ассоциации не являются купцами, которые покупают свой товар на рынке. Они делают свой товар из казенного собственного материала. Разница между успешными "дабнерами" и фабрикатами состоит в том, что последний сам возмещает рабочим, а первый получает их через посредство своих контракторов. Результат этого последнего метода производства ожиданий отменяется полной деморализацией индустрии и бедствием рабочих. Создающее положение порождает головорезную конкуренцию между контракторами. Конкуренция эта очень тяжело отзывается на рабочих и ведет к возврату назад к посредственности в индустрии "потопленной системы".

В последнее время рабочие наемных индустрий имеют возможность найти себе работу только в самых разрозненных, но временных или производственных обстоятельствах заставляют их прибегать к конкуренции в работе друг с другом, что

ведет к еще большому ухудшению их положения.

Мы представляем себе огромное большинство фабрикатам производимых деловых писем и должны принять на себя ответственность за ответственность за рабочих производимых казенных писем и должны нам предложить в промышленности меры, по которым всякий рабочий имел бы равную часть выгоды в течение своего труда. В настоящее время большинство рабочих не работают больше 20 полных недель в году. Рабочие эти являются важнейшим фактором в индустрии и в разрыве своего все они как нужны, потому что должны быть выработаны на производимых трудах по времени безработицы.

Обсуждая на конференции упомянутые нам вопросы, Вы от своего отсутствия отнеслись ко многим из них, в своем же писемном ответе вынуждены отказываться признавать их, но предлагали ничего с своей стороны, чтобы исправить создавшееся ужасное положение в промышленности, и сегодня мы находимся дальше от соглашения чем мы были в день прекращения с Вами казенных требований.

Если 30,000 казенных рабочих будут изгнаны из казенных заводов, то должны мы нести, кроме потерь заработной платы, 50,000 семейств казенных рабочих, и также не число семейств рабочих казенно зависающих от казенной индустрии.

Нам наемным, понимая всю серьезность положения и чувства ответственности перед наемными, решая испытывать все доступные средства в его распространении для предотвращения грядущих бедствий. Поэтому настоящим писемным предлагаем, чтобы требования Ваши были переданы на решение Арбитражного Бюро, состоящего из представителей наемных граждан и мы готовы вместе с Вами конференцией для выбора такого Бюро, и в случае конференции не согласны на лиц для этого Бюро, то мы согласны, чтобы вместе с Вами просить губернатора Санта-Кларита наложить по своему усмотрению вето на этот Бюро.

И спасибо уверению в справедливости своих требований, мы заранее обещаем подчиниться решению Бюро и надеемся, что мы также найдем возможность сделать это самим.

Если Вы откажетесь от этой справедливой возможности наложить наемный казенный, то ответственность за последствия лежит на Вас.

Мы вынуждены просить дать ответ на это предложение в 24 часа.

М. Сигвал, През., Нат. Юлсон.

И. Файбергер, Ген. Менеджер Д. В.

Губернатор Смит настоял на том, чтобы "дабнеры" передали решение конференции с наемными на усмотрение казенных из неинтересующихся лиц.

Результат этого письма был в том, что губернатор штата Нью-Йорк Смит "вынужден" дабнерам представить их сторону дела на усмотрение казенных казенных из пяти человек.

Заседания этой комиссии началось во вторник, 17-го июня. Очень замечательно, что и другие ассоциации казенных промышленников и "дабнеры" в защиту своих интересов в этой комиссии.

М. Шапченко, Секретарь.

LABOR THE WORLD OVER

DOMESTIC ITEMS

WAR DOESN'T PAY.

From a material standpoint, the war has not benefited Canada, according to C. Howard Smith, retiring president of the Canadian manufacturers' association. In addressing the annual convention of the organization Mr. Smith said he could not accept the statement that Canada has progressed since the war.

"It is a steady, annual increase in national, provincial and municipal debts and private borrowings are taken into consideration, it is doubtful if the country has broken even," said Mr. Smith.

P. O. WAGE INCREASE VETOED BY PRESIDENT.

A wage increase of \$300 a year to postal employees has been vetoed by President Coolidge, who declared in his message of disapproval that "Government extravagance must stop."

The veto is a crushing blow to these workers, who saw their hard-fought victory wrenched from their grasp in the closing minutes of Congress, when it was too late to pass the bill over the veto.

The postal employees' campaign for a living wage enlisted sympathy and support from the general public and Congress passed the wage increase almost unanimously.

SEATTLE PAPER STRUCK; IS OWNED BY HEARST.

After a five-months' failure to negotiate a wage scale, printers employed on Hearst's Post-Intelligencer, published in Seattle, suspended work. Organized steno-types and mailers were locked out because they refused to handle struck work.

In statement issued by the three unions, it was declared that the printers were compelled to strike to secure the same wage rate and work conditions from the P-I. that all other Seattle newspapers agreed to.

ENAMEL WORKERS STRIKE.

Enamel workers employed by the Chattanooga Stamping and Enameling Company of Chattanooga, Tennessee, were forced on strike because of poor work conditions. Employees were compelled to correct defective work on their own time, though they were not responsible for the defects.

EMPLOYMENT DROPS.

Factory employment in New York State lowered in May, according to the State Department of Labor. Reports from manufacturers who employed over 500,000 persons in April show that about 22,000 of these were idle by the middle of May. This decline, following a similar movement in April, has reduced employment in New York State factories over 7 per cent in two months. It is estimated that in these two months over 160,000 workers were dropped.

TRUST MAY CONTROL U. S. BREAD SUPPLY.

Wall Street would control the nation's bread supply through ownership of the retail baking business, according to Alfred Klopfer, editor of Bakers' Weekly, before the convention of the Retail Bakers' Association. Mr. Klopfer told the retailers that their business may be the next that Wall Street will take over. The editor assured his audience this is very possible, and told of his experience with representatives of a Wall Street syndicate who have surveyed the situation.

The retailers were reminded that practically every retail tobacco dealer has been driven out of business, and Wall Street is now headed toward control of the candy business.

The plan to control the bakery trade would include the establishment of a central baking plant in each city from coast to coast.

BANKS' ENORMOUS PROFITS.

The last half of 1923 and the first half of 1924 has been one of the most profitable periods in the banking history in New York City. Dividends of more than 50 per cent have been paid to stockholders of the Fifth Avenue Bank. The United States Trust Company paid dividends that total 60 per cent during the last fiscal year.

WORKERS WON'T DIVIDE.

Textile workers representing the two Carolinas, in a conference at Lexington, North Carolina, rejected the proposal to form a "Southern textile union." Delegates reminded advocates of secession that "we have never had the help of so-called friends in bygone days to better our condition."

In renewing their allegiance to the United Textile Workers the delegates declared that "it has only been through the regular trade union movement that we have made progress as to hours, wages and work conditions."

HUGE COAL PROFITS.

Last year's financial report of the Lehigh Valley Coal Company, just issued, shows a net profit of \$4,495,064, after taxes were paid; also charges, depreciation and depletion and 5 per cent interest on a bond issue of \$15,000,000.

BAKERS RAISE WAGES.

Employing bakers in Denver, Colorado, have concluded not to reduce wages. They said they would when the bakers asked for wage increases. The new agreement calls for an advance of \$2 a week.

CUBAN RAIL WORKERS ASK MORAL SUPPORT.

Cuban railroad workers have appealed to President Gompers and other American unionists to aid them by giving publicity to their strike.

This is the second strike of these workers within the past few months. Prior to the first strike there was little organization. When the workers began uniting they were victimized. They suspended work. The railroad management signed an agreement in which they acknowledged the men's right to organize, and pledged not to discriminate. A violation of that agreement caused the present strike.

Governor's Commission At Work

(Continued from page 2)

desirable to abandon all relations with the workers' organization, though he stated nothing explaining why and on what account the Protective group had broken off relationship with the Union. He referred to the Cleveland market as an example of what happened when manufacturers accepted such a union program as is now being presented by the New York clockmakers' or-

ganization, though he failed to recite any of the "terrible" effects that have happened in Cleveland. He also denied that stockholders furnished capital or styles to sub-manufacturers, maintaining that most of the jobs were being bought outright finished garments from the sub-manufacturers and that these garments were made from cloth owned and purchased by these sub-manufacturers.

The Week In Local 10

By SAM B. SHENKER

The entire membership of the International of this city and Boston was grieved to learn of the death of Brother Israel Lewin. He died suddenly in St. Mark's Hospital after a short illness, while the Executive Board of Local 10 was in session on Thursday, June 12, at 10 p. m. The funeral arranged by Local 10, under the personal direction of Manager Manager Dubinsky, with the assistance of President Morris Sigman of the International, took place on Friday, June 13, with interment in the Workingmen's Circle grounds at the Mt. Lebanon Cemetery.

The cause of death was acute mastoiditis, complicated by an infection of the brain and spinal meningitis. Even while in Boston, Brother Lewin had suffered an abscess on the ear, during the two weeks of the convention. He came to New York City, following his resignation in Boston, in the last week of May. Two weeks later, he was again stricken, this time with mastoiditis. He reported to the hospital and was operated on within a few days. He became unconscious and remained so for forty-six hours. Manager Dubinsky had secured the services of three specialists as consultants, each of whom, following an examination, gave up hope for the patient's recovery. Brother Lewin leaves a widow to whom he was married little over a year ago, and who is soon to become a mother.

Life Devoted to Cause of Labor

Brother Lewin passed away in the flower of manhood, leaving behind him an enviable record of devotion to the cause of labor. Practically at the moment that he came to this country from Russia, in 1907, he joined the Cutters' Union and became active from the first. He possessed a brilliant mind, full of practical wisdom, which he placed at the disposal of the labor movement and the International.

Manager Dubinsky and Brother Charles Stein delivered eulogies at the bier. Brother Dubinsky emphasized Lewin's unstinted devotion to the cause of Labor, and particularly to the work of the International. He said that in the passing of Brother Lewin, the Union had suffered an immense loss. He recalled to the vast numbers gathered around the grave the activities of his departed comrade.

"Service to Labor's cause," the manager said, "was constantly uppermost in the mind of Brother Lewin. He disregarded at all times material benefits. At all times and on all occasions Brother Lewin offered his services. And in the name of the membership of our local and of the International, I bid here to our departed friend and brother eternal farewell."

Brother Stein, too, recalled the activities of Brother Lewin. It was under Brother Stein that he served as business agent and cooperated with him in some of the most trying ordeals of the Union. Stein said that the departed leader was without personal ambition and his refusal to accept wages during the recent Boston dress strike was characteristic of his service in the Labor movement. He said that immediately upon his arrival in New York one of his first acts was to offer his services in the impending struggle in the cloak industry.

Steadfast in His Beliefs

The eulogies delivered were well deserved in the opinion of those who knew the departed ex-officer of Local 10. He seldom compromised with his principles and beliefs, and then only if they involved the good of the Union. His resignation as manager of the Boston Dressmakers' local is a fine and most recent example of this. He

was liked and respected by the membership of the Boston Union, for which post he was chosen by President Morris Sigman of the International. He had established his home in that city and had led the Union through a successful strike for improved conditions and shortening of hours.

However, when a difference arose between himself and some of the so-called "lefts," and when it seemed to him that in order to continue as manager he would have to compromise his principles and loyalty to the International, he tendered his resignation.

In spite of his refusal to compromise with some of the dissenting elements of the local in Boston, the members, even those with whom he disagreed, recognized his ability. When it was seen that Brother Lewin was determined upon his resignation, a committee appeared before President Sigman and urged him to use his influence to have Brother Lewin continue, at least for a short time. Lewin, however, refused to swerve, and insisted that his resignation be accepted.

His Activities As Manager

The abilities of Brother Lewin will be better seen when mention is made of his remarkable leadership during the trying days of 1919. It was in that year that, as manager of the Dress Division, Brother Lewin very successfully steered the waist and dressmakers' unions clear of dangerous obstacles. Locals 10 and 25 in that year had determined on and declared a strike for the institution of the 44-hour week.

In that memorable strike, the Union was not merely engaged in a battle against the employers. A few unscrupulous members of Local 10 then conspired with the manufacturers and promised to break the strike by organizing a dual cutters' organization and supplying the striking manufacturers with cutters.

This phase of the 1919 strike is still fresh in the minds of the members of the waist and dress unions. It is needless to recount the history. Suffice it to say that Lewin led the organization very successfully during the strike and caused the expulsion of those men who sought to wreck the union.

Following this strike there again began trouble. The waist trade, in the early part of 1920, was gradually disappearing, and the dress trade was beginning to assume a position of importance in the Association. However, the waist manufacturers continued their control of the Association and sought to impose their will on the majority of the Association, which was composed of dress manufacturers. The agreement was being violated. Local 25, which then controlled the membership in the dress-making trade, was in sore need of a manager who could cope with the situation. Brother Lewin was finally chosen and served temporarily, until the Waist and Dress Manufacturers' Association was practically broken.

His Record In Local 10

Lewin was born in Bialostok, Russia, about thirty-six years ago. Aside from his wife, he is survived by his parents and two brothers. His parents and brothers, however, are still in Europe. He joined the Cutters' Union in July, 1910. Two years later, in the Local 10 elections in December, 1912, he was elected as a delegate to the Joint Board of Cloak-makers. From then on he served in minor capacities.

In December, 1916, he was elected

business agent for the Waist and Dress Division. He was re-elected to that post in June, 1917. In June, 1918, Lewin was elected manager of the Waist and Dress Division. And in December, 1918, he was re-elected to that post and served until the end of 1919.

It was in the year of 1919, as manager of the Waist and Dress Division, that he led the strike for the 44-hour week. That year taxed his energies to the utmost. At the end of his term he refused to accept re-nomination, though his friends and co-workers urged him to do so. He was the type of man who drained his last ounce of energy for a cause. As a result of this he felt that he needed a rest from all activities.

However, the opportunity for rest was not his very long. In January, 1920, Elmer Rosenberg was elected executive secretary of the organization, and resigned within a few weeks. The local looked around for a candidate to take his place and felt that no one was more competent to do this than Brother Lewin. And in February of 1920, when delegates to the Chicago Convention were being elected, Brother Lewin was finally persuaded to accept the nomination and consented to place his name on the ballot.

The position was not contested and he was unanimously elected as secretary of the Executive Board. He served the organization in that office until December, 1920. Again he determined not to hold office any longer.

His Services Sought For

He felt that he owed it to himself to provide for his future. But the organization felt that he was too valuable a man not to serve within its ranks. And in November, 1921, when the stoppage in the cloak and suit industry occurred, Manager Dubinsky, who was then chairman of Arlington Hall, insisted upon and secured Lewin's assistance.

Following the stoppage, the International was in need of some one to head the Boston Dressmakers' Union. President Sigman's eyes fell on Lewin and he was urged to and did accept the management. He served in Boston until his resignation on May 24. What transpired after that resulted in his death.

He was of the restless type. Wherever there was a service to be performed, wherever there was danger and wherever Labor was in need of assistance, he was ready. Even while he suffered about three weeks ago he attended a meeting of the committee which had charge of the arrangements for the strike for the cutters in the cloak industry, and offered his services. It had been arranged with Brother Perlmutter, who has been appointed Chairman of Arlington Hall, that Brother Lewin should assist him. Fate, however, decreed otherwise.

Manager Dubinsky Raising Fund

Manager Dubinsky has undertaken to raise a trust fund for the posthumous child. The manager feels that since the departed officer of Local 10 practically gave up his life in the interests of Labor, in general, and the International, in particular, the least that Local 10 can do is to raise a substantial sum of money for the care of his child.

A committee was appointed which has charge of the raising of the fund and a board of trustees was selected for the administration of the fund. The committee consists of International President Morris Sigman, who acts as chairman; Manager Dubinsky as secretary; International Secretary-Treasurer Abraham Baroff; Israel Feinberg, manager of the Joint Board; Joseph Fish, treasurer of the Joint Board; Philip Kaplowitz, cashier of the International Union Bank; Louis Langer, secretary of the Joint Board; Philip Ansel, president of Local 10; Vice-presidents Fred Monomson, Saul Feldman, Salvatore Ninfo, Elias Reiberg, and Isidore Schoenholz; and Louis Cusack, a personal friend. The Board of Trustees consists of Morris Sigman, Israel Feinberg and David Dubinsky.

Each week a list of donors will be printed. Below appear the names of those who have already contributed and the amounts:

President Sigman, Secretary Baroff and Vice-president Halperin, \$25.00 each.

David Dubinsky, Sam B. Shenker, Joseph Fish, John W. Settle, David Fruhling and Philip Ansel (president), \$25.00 each; Herman Volk (bookkeeper), Samuel Perlmutter, Benjamin Sachs,* Jacob Fleischer, Morris Jacobs, Herman Herszkowitz and Charles Pollack, \$20.00 each; Isidore Nagler, Julius Bender, Benjamin Erry, Milton Civin, Harry Zaslowsky, Louis Forer, Morris Alovis, Philip Hansel (controller), Sam Greenberg (dress cutter) and Benjamin Rubin, \$15.00 each; Henry Robbin, Meyer Skliuth, Max Goldenberg, Joseph Weinstein, Sam Sokol, Max Berkowitz, Dave Phillips, Louis Alovis, Emanuel Harris, Morris Schuster, Morris Toran, Abe Wildman, Nathan Cohen and H. Tobachnick, \$10.00 each.

Joint Board Officers

Israel Feinberg, \$25.00; Louis E. Langer, \$5.00; Israel Horowitz and Harry Wandt, \$15.00 each; N. Schechter, Abraham E. Freedman (jobbing department), Charles Jacobson (jobbing department), Bernard Shane, J. Rubin (protective department), Joe Keston, Louis Hyman (Local 9), Leo Brodfield (Local 45), M. Weiss (Local 6), Harry Shuster, L. Heit, H. Slutsky, Abraham Bernstein, Julius Portnoy, Isidore Weinberg, Nathan Wolfe (International auditor) and Max Kalinsky, \$10.00 each.

CUTTERS' UNION, LOCAL 10

NOTICE OF MEETINGS

REGULAR MEETING Monday, June 30th

REGULAR MEETING Monday, July 14th

Meetings Begin at 7:30 P. M.

AT ARLINGTON HALL, 23 St. Mark's Place